

Managing change and constraint in
Cardiff Market: Understanding the
everyday work of market-traders with
Actor-Network Theory.

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A thesis submitted to Cardiff University in accordance with the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
School of Geography and Planning.

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Abstract

Market Halls or Traditional Retail Markets (TRMs) in the UK are spaces within town and city centres where despite wildly changing economies and urban landscapes, traders have continued to operate across generations, supporting local economies and communities. Despite continuing attempts to account for the economic and social value of these spaces there is a lack of attention to how these spaces operate. This thesis therefore addresses questions focussed on the marketing work conducted by traders, in order to demonstrate how this work is organised, how this work interacts with logistical concerns, and how practices of accommodation and conviviality run alongside the work of market exchange. Answering these questions requires the deployment of key methodological developments from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in particular work focussing on economic issues as performative. A number of market stalls within Cardiff Market were used as the research site, and an ethnographic approach was adopted which included visual methods. This provided insight into the economic, social and material life of the market, and this thesis groups these findings into three empirical chapters. The first chapter is centred around market stall displays and the arrangements that perform products as economic objects. The second empirical chapter focusses on the management of matter as it moves around markets, and the connection between logistical choreographies and economic performances. The third and final empirical chapter deals with the accommodation and conviviality that the market offers to customers and the public, and how this runs alongside market exchange. Attending to the bodily, non-human and mundane aspects of market life in these ways provides new insight into the performance of the Market Hall as a constrained space oriented towards the provision of basic sustenance and sociality.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Apart from its grand entrances, Cardiff Market is relatively hidden within Cardiff city centre, enfolded within buildings and nestled between two major shopping streets. Multiple generations of traders have done business under the pitched glass roof erected in the 1890s, although the site is associated with market trading as far back as the 1700s. The market has a balcony level with stalls accessible by the stairs which rise from either side of the two main entrances. Along the ground floor, stalls constructed from white-painted wood fill the cavernous space produced by this encircling balcony. This airy chamber reverberates with noise and different sounds swell and recede as you move around the aisles: music is often playing loudly from the record store on the balcony above and hammering and pounding pulses from the butchers below. Laughter carries through the space while conversation is muffled, caught in the gridiron aisles bounded by high stall-fronts. The scents of cooked onions and spices waft across the hall from the vegetarian snack stall, and others linger in particular places, like the solvent smell of pear drops which hangs in the air around the key-cutters stall or the rich, fishy smell around the fishmonger. You can always tell what the weather is outside by the light filtering through the glass above, dappling the market in a warm glow or submerging it in a cold blue, or by the sound of wet and dry feet on the concrete below. This taste of the complexity and richness of the sensory landscape of the market does little to communicate the visual impact of the bulging, colourful displays or the possible meanings and importance of these presences.

Each stall in a market contributes towards the complexity described above. Some of the bustle comes from the aisles, from customers and traders making their way through and interacting with the market, but much of the sensory richness comes from the stalls. The festive spectacle of a marketplace may

provide a backdrop for conviviality and comfortable relations (Watson, 2008), but there are also economic relations and the potential for disquiet and difficulty in this space. Market-places of this type in the UK are celebrated for their unique vibrancy, but also for their quotidian charm. This thesis argues that this framing obscures how spaces such as Cardiff Market come together and function on a more mundane, practical level. The interactions that take place inside it, between traders, customers and their stalls, do not exist to produce 'buzz' (Coles, forthcoming). Rather they are instead constituted by with the transactions of market exchange or matters of everyday, mundane accommodation and hospitality. Smith, Maye and Ilbery (2014) call for more attention to the spatial contingencies and pressures that affect the dynamics of everyday market exchange. This account of a Market Hall in South Wales represents an attempt to respond to this call, by exploring the contingent relations and dynamics surrounding market exchange and related social activity inside the market-place. The aims of this thesis will first be outlined, along with their framing within wider theoretical movements, before the structure of the thesis is described.

Much of this thesis is concerned with the practice of marketing at the market stall. As such there is an interesting and appropriate confluence with academic approaches to the performance of abstract economic markets through concrete, situated practices and spaces of marketing. The relationship between these is closely related to the relationship between the economy and society as theorised in economic sociology and other adjacent fields. In recent years a performative approach has emerged which suggests that specific situations and spaces perform economic markets, rather than viewing economic markets as abstractions (Çalışkan and Callon 2009). To demonstrate how these understandings affect methodologies, Cochoy (2007) contrasts his own work, which aims to describe the details of how a consumption site functions, against the ethnography conducted by De La Pradelle (2006) which focusses on a traditional French street market, and aims to use the empirical details to illuminate a hidden reality. It has been possible to develop upon ideas within

economic sociology about the nature of economic or market-spaces by applying a similar approach to the descriptive methodology. Consumption geographies frequently deal with spaces which are in similarly marginal positions as Market Halls (Gregson and Crewe 1997) and engages with similar themes to economic sociology (Kelsey et al. 2018), but there is also a focus often on spectacular or novel forms of consumption at the expense of more ordinary forms and spaces (Miller et al. 1998; Gronow and Warde 2001). Such an approach has generated new insights into Market Halls as older, well-established and more ‘ordinary’ sites of consumption, and it clearly also has the potential to create a bridge between these fields. Bringing in ideas from consumption geographies also contributes towards improving approaches to markets as performative entities, by allowing a broader focus which can include instances of performative failure and breakdown.

Market Halls (or Traditional Retail Markets) sit at the intersection between different fields of study, and this is demonstrated by the overlapping, yet distinct approaches which have been used to understand them thus far. This is also reflected in the fact that Market Halls can be discussed in similar terms to street markets and Farmers’ Markets¹ (FMs) (Regeneris Consulting, 2010) because of the format that they both share as sites of food retail. More detailed reasons are given for choosing to use Market Halls as a term for these covered, indoor marketplaces in the methodology chapter, but the specificity of the architectural form and historical trajectory of these markets essentially marks them out as distinct from other kinds of street market. Particular stalls within markets are often passed down within families, ensuring a continuity and longevity unseen elsewhere in the wider economy or food system. Market Halls and select market stalls have persisted through periods of intense change in the UK economy and

¹ Farmers’ Markets here refers to markets in which the stalls are run by farmers selling their own produce, or producers. The National Farmers’ and Retail Markets Association (FARMA) provides accreditation for these markets, but there are other markets with the same name which are not accredited. These are generally held outdoors, but there are exceptions, and instances in which periodic casual trading tables are set up for farmers inside Market Halls.

agricultural system and are to an extent a product of or response to particular changes in these systems (Schmeichen and Carls, 1999). By attending to the materiality of these stalls, it has been possible to develop new insight into how these businesses operate from such a marginal position within the wider retail sector, contributing to efforts to better understand these businesses (NMTF and NABMA, 2015). The relationships between the physical structure of the Market Hall, the stalls themselves, and the logistical agencies of the stalls themselves within changing urban environments are revealed to be critical for understanding their current operation. These relationships speaks directly to attempts to place Market Halls on a 'gentrification frontier', as residual public services offered to private interests in the neoliberal city. Smith, Maye and Ilbery (2014) claim that this frontier may be a much more contingent phenomenon and this thesis contributes towards building empirical evidence of this contingency and theoretical and conceptual tools to understand it in greater detail.

Marginal sites of food retail like Market Halls are of interest within food geographies, but there has been more significant and sustained geographical interest in alternative forms of food provision with similar but less permanent formats. Certain works on Farmers' Markets (FMs) for example (Hinrichs 2000; Kirwan 2004; Kirwan 2006; Eden et al. 2008) deal with the relationship between these forms of alternative retail, notions of alterity and more mainstream retail forms. This results in discussions which often appear to be adjacent to the matters which economic sociologists have engaged with as previously described. While the direct marketing format of FMs that is discussed by Kirwan (2006) is also present in Market Halls, the overt political goals that spaces of alternative food enact are not present. Bua et al (2018) demonstrate ways to systematise and mobilise understandings of the social value of marketplaces as political commitments, inadvertently showing that the economic marginality of market spaces makes space for other matters. By taking into account the full range of what these sites do, the call for a holistic approach to markets addresses their marginal position in wider terms. As much as the marginality of market halls can be understood in terms of economic and practical adaptation

and change, there is also a question of the lives and worlds these spaces support. The approach offered in this thesis offers an empirical approach to how social and economic matters become entwined in a constrained environment.

Structure of the Thesis

Following this introduction, the structure of this thesis is as follows. The literature review identifies relevant gaps in the existing research and frames research questions by examining tendencies in the relevant theoretical and empirical material. It is comprised of four main parts, the first two of which deal with the broad literatures critical to understanding the positioning of this approach and the specific conceptual omissions and oversights which provide space for the research questions and set the terms of reference. The first part deals with the literatures concerned with marketing and conceptualisations of the market in economic sociology. To understand this theory and its relevance for this topic, it is necessary to engage with the different schools of thought on the relationship between the market and society. Once this is examined it becomes possible to comment on the construction of particular instances of market exchange. From this theoretical base, it is possible to elaborate on concepts like market devices and the notion of performativity which offer a way to approach the activity in Market Halls as both economic and social entities. This section draws upon the wide body of work on economic markets and marketing which emerges from economic sociology informed by Actor-Network Theory. In focussing on Market Halls in this way, this thesis returns to a topic shared with certain key works which have informed the development of this field (Geertz 1978; Çalışkan and Callon 2009) but which have since been relatively neglected. Critiques of this field and approach are detailed, especially surrounding the issue of performative failure.

There is also an unhelpful separation between this literature on marketing and the literatures on consumption and consumption geographies, which feature in

the second part of the literature review. Consumption geographies are often rooted in sociological approaches to the figure of the consumer or historically specific spaces of consumption. This has led to the dominance of particular theoretical approaches to the topic, and arguably potential over-theorisation of consumption spaces, alongside an undue focus on spectacular consumption which preserves the model of the consumer as tricked or cheated. These issues provide a justification for the choice of Market Halls as under-researched and fairly mundane spaces, and the conceptual and methodological focus on the distribution of agency between the customer and trader. As mentioned previously, this thesis is aiming to bridge the divide between these literatures, by the selection of the research site and by correcting corresponding conceptual issues noted in both. This is reflected in the research questions, which allow for diverse formulations of agency between customer and trader.

Another two sections follow these theoretical sections, which together outline the current position of Market Halls in broad terms. The third section accounts for their historical origin and current position within the economy and agricultural system. To understand their relative neglect by consumption studies and their marginal position in the current urban environment, it is important to revisit the historical origin of Market Halls and to locate their position within the parallel trajectories of retail development. This is the beginning of a story which includes their relationship to the agricultural systems of the UK and more recent developments towards oligopolies among supermarket retailers. This account addresses the current position of Market Halls, but it is constructed from diverse literatures which do not address the current position and issues which Market Halls face, either in general or specific terms.

The final main section of the literature review deals with current research into the situation of Market Halls generally. In the last two decades, trade bodies for markets and market authorities have begun to publicly advocate for more dedicated support and policymaking for Market Halls and the traders that occupy them. This emerged from fears that markets were beginning to fail

across the UK, jeopardising the valuable support they provide for particular vulnerable groups of people (Watson, 2008; Zasada, 2009; Gonzales and Waley, 2013) . While this decline has largely stalled, much academic research still shares this urgency but often for other reasons. Fears of Market Hall gentrification are not unfounded, but the broader picture is unclear and not uniform across the UK. This research additionally does not pay close attention to how markets operate and how they offer what they do, but a number of academics have recently produce theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich studies of markets. A major omission in the literatures addressed in this section is that alongside everything else, Market Halls are spaces of consumption and are partly constituted by marketing activity. This section ends with an account of literatures on conviviality, hospitality and maintenance. These are vital for understanding and discussing the social value of marketplaces, but they also have several significant conceptual omissions, which the research questions aim to address in their specific formulation. These research questions are listed, discussed and justified in the final section of the literature review, in a smaller fifth section (p.59).

A chapter describing the methodology used to address these research questions follows this final section of the literature review (Chapter 3). Issues of epistemology, ontology and disciplinary boundaries are outlined first, as they arise from the approach discussed throughout the literature review. This creates unique issues of framing which engage with the definition of the research site and therefore the associated approach to sampling that is taken. A shift from Market Halls to market stalls is necessary, and reasons for the various sampling decisions taken are given and justified. The necessary selection of ethnographic methods within this approach is discussed, and the practice of these methods in Cardiff Market is detailed with reflections on and adaptations to the methods also provided. Visual methods were used to complement the traditional ethnographic approach, and this is justified before a small note on the collection and treatment of sensory methods and data is given. The methodology chapter is then concluded with a section outlining the ethical and

political issues which arose from the conduct of fieldwork in Cardiff Market, including a number of vignettes with a methodological focus.

Three empirical chapters follow the methodology chapter, each of which build upon the previous one (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). The chapters do not directly correspond to the research questions (See p.67-68), as they emerged from themes and ideas that coalesced from the empirical analysis. Chapter 4 for example deals with the most visually immediate feature of market stalls, namely the ways in which they are arranged and set up. This refers to the relationship between each part of the stall to the others but also refers to the practices and principles by which the traders achieve these relations and the agencies that the products and stall structures may have. This chapter addresses the first two research questions by building upon ideas about how sensing can be considered a form of work or involved in work practices. It also engages with two research questions by developing on instances of collective calculation. In addition this chapter engages with the sale and display of discounted goods on particular stalls and in so doing also begins to address the third research question which focusses on the agencies of objects in the market.

Chapter 5 focusses on how practices and technologies of display relate to practices and technologies of storage. Market carts have the ability to move large quantities of produce back and forth within and into the market, easily overcoming critical spatial and temporal bottlenecks. These carts can be stubborn however, and their ability to market produce inadvertently leads into a wider discussion of the different states produce can be enacted in. These states are further explored through the forms of ontological separation and integration which stalls can enact. The particular attitude to change and the management and navigations of the constrained and difficult environment of the market is also highlighted, leading to a depiction of markets as malleable yet constrained rather than flexible in operational terms. This focus means that Chapter 5 addresses the third research question most directly through its focus on objects but this is closely related to the second research question, since these objects

and their enactments shape how the stalls are arranged and come to be performed as economic.

Conviviality, hospitality and accommodation emerged as a significant theme during fieldwork, and Chapter 6 deals with these related subjects in empirical terms. Rather than focussing on the more straightforward instances of conviviality and accommodation, instances where these relations become more difficult are examined instead, where there may be conflicting priorities, asymmetrical relationships, or outright exclusion at work. This reveals instances in which the difficult environment of the market is made more accessible and hospitable through various kinds of accommodative work done by the traders and customers. Other instances are also described in which asymmetrical interactions contribute much to the atmosphere of the market. This chapter also engages with how customers and traders engage with the affective atmosphere of the market over time, creating links to maintenance as a form of practical-affective work. This contrasts with depictions of Market Halls as spaces of unproblematic sociality (Watson and Studdert, 2006) by drawing attention to the physical difficulty of accommodating different customers and being hospitable when there are different needs and demands on time and energy in a constrained space. As a result, Chapter 6 engages primarily with the fourth research question, which is concerned with the forms of hospitality and accommodation offered and how these kinds of relations move smoothly or otherwise alongside market exchange.

Each of these empirical chapters (4, 5 and 6) contains a discussion section, where theoretical issues are drawn out and developed upon in turn. The specific contribution of these developments to the research questions is discussed in a separate, standalone discussion section (Chapter 7) due to the overlapping way in which the first two chapters address the research questions. This discussion section also identifies and in some cases further develops these ideas, drawing connections and contributions back to the relevant areas of the literature review. Themes that run through the thesis are also drawn out, and

questions are created for the final concluding chapter which follows. Chapter 8 will address these questions to conclude the thesis, directly addressing how each empirical chapter addresses the research questions. This final chapter will also include brief sections on the wider significance of some key ideas explored, and comment on possible future research which may build on this thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Market Halls have a long and complex history, associated with both changing consumption patterns in urban areas, and with the agricultural system and developments in retail which have come to shape the UK economy. Market stalls also demonstrate in immediately visible terms the intricate connection between marketing and consumption as practices. These intersecting trajectories mean that this literature review draws from a wide range of sources across multiple disciplines, including critical marketing studies, economic sociology, geographies of consumption, historical literature and elements of theory emerging from science and technology studies. This broad perspective is necessary to produce a set of research questions which take into account the contextual factors affecting Market Halls while also remaining able to explore the relationship between economic, material, cultural and, practical issues. The purpose of this thesis is to empirically demonstrate what the work practices of traders and consumers does in the marketplace. This will provide an empirical base which can inform discussions around the future of markets. It is worth noting that there are many parts of this chapter which detail related or parallel histories. For this reason it is possible to read this chapter as a palimpsest and to draw the connections which cut across the sections for yourself although care has also been taken to show how the consecutive sections contribute sequentially to one another.

As noted, this literature review generates the set of research questions that guide this thesis and which the empirical sections aim to address. This requires accounting for a number of broad areas of literature. To begin with, an account of the debates surrounding the relationship between the economy and society will be given. These questions and the literature surrounding them underpins

particular approaches to the mutual construction of these questions in practice and their relevance to particular spaces of exchange. Attending to this literature provides the reader with a sense of the 'conceptual toolkit' which was created and used to inform the conduct of the fieldwork and analysis. This toolkit is also explicit in the framing of the research questions. There are a number of oversights in this marketing focussed literature which are also highlighted, which the research questions take into account. Following this, the second part of this review engages with literature on consumption, as a social phenomenon. In the course of this section, the history and development of retail formats relevant to markets, along with some of the social theory which influences research on consumption will be addressed due to its impact on empirical approaches to consumption spaces. Some recent developments in this literature may help to address these issues, although it has its own weaknesses and gaps. The third section of the literature review consists of three interlocking histories which serve to provide a clearer sense of the position which market halls occupy within retail and agricultural systems. As well as providing vital contextual information for the research questions, these histories also illustrate how Market Halls are very often omitted from the narratives and histories around agricultural, retail and consumer change, which the third section aims to rectify. The fourth and final part of the review deals directly with market halls. Problems around the classification and definition of Market Halls are discussed, leading into a review of trade body attempts to research and make policy for markets. A review of academic research into market halls follows, and on the basis of this literature review a set of research questions responding to these theoretical concerns and empirical omissions is produced. These correspond to the to the aims given below.

Research Aims:

1. To contribute to the body of work concerned with the materiality of markets, marketplaces and consumption sites.
2. To contribute empirically to the body of work attempting to understand marginalised sites of economic activity through a focus on food.

3. To contribute empirically and theoretically to research efforts aiming to assist and advocate for traditional markets.

Theories for Markets: From Abstraction to Materiality

One of the primary concerns of this project is to understand in more detail how particular consumption sites work and how they are organised to manage consumption in particular ways. Discussions of consumption as a social phenomenon often seem to take place in parallel to theorisations of economic spaces and markets which may in fact overlap or interact. The goal of this section is therefore to describe sociological approaches to the situated-ness of economic markets and identify how these can be used to address particular spaces of consumption. This approach requires revisiting some of the foundational assumptions about the nature and role of economic markets in human society. These assumptions deeply affect the way that consumption is theorised, making it important to attempt to empirically ground or challenge these assumptions about market exchange in particular sites and spaces. To begin this intervention, it is necessary to deal with the two principal schools of thought on economic markets and their relationship with society. An alternative to these schools of thought is then presented in the form of developments upon economic applications of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Recent work on market-devices, or the socio-material assemblages that enact products as economic, bringing them to market in particular ways, allows a new position to be taken with regard to the economy-society relationship. The recent intervention of performativity theory in economic sociology (Butler, 2010) is also covered in detail, and a description of what these conceptual issues may offer this particular research site and topic is provided, along with attention to its omissions and limitations, all of which connects this section to the research questions produced.

Conceptualizing Markets in Society

Within economic anthropology there is a vein of work that has explicitly focussed on the economic functioning of market spaces in different cultures (Geertz 1978; Plattner 1982), and much of this interacts directly with theory about economic action and sociology. There is a distinction, between the market considered as a function of the interaction between demand and supply, and the idea of a market place as a physical and material site in which socio-economic interactions take place. The core conceptual differences within these different theories of markets address the definitional distinction between markets as abstractions and markets as physical spaces. This is a distinction which is crucial to understand in order to academically engage with the economic activity that happens in market halls. The assumptions about agency made by the Formalists and the Substantivists (Çalışkan and Callon, 2009) are particularly critical in this regard. These assumptions have an impact on the relationship that economic activity has to social activity, and determine whether each of these activities can be considered as separate and discrete. Questions with implications for many areas of geographical enquiry are embedded within this relationship, especially given the complex relationship between geography and economics as academic disciplines (Amin and Thrift, 2000).

For the Formalists, strongly influenced by neo-classical economics, the market is a natural function and result of individual human capacities to make rational utilitarian judgements in the service of their own utility. These capacities are then used to create models and used to make predictions about behaviour in general (Granovetter, 1985). Societal forces and institutions are absent from the Formalist modelling of markets in favour of individual agency, or for the purposes of such modelling are seen as frictional 'drag' on the establishment of competitive markets in any area of social life (Granovetter, 1985. p.485). Individualistic and utilitarian interpretations of markets are well documented in studies of consumer behaviour change within academic discourses concerning sustainability and public health. These studies provide examples of how the

Formalist school of thought has developed from the original neoclassical perspectives. Widespread critique of these models has led to significant adaptations towards such concepts as 'choice architecture' (Hall, 2013. p.1095-1099). In choice architecture for example, institutional arrangements are treated as prostheses to the inherent cognitive and decision-making capacities of individuals. It is important to stress here that Formalists understand cognition to be an intrinsic quality; the capacity to enact cognition in this school of thought is an internal, given quality of a rational economic actor (Granovetter, 1985).

Agency is located differently in the Substantivist school of thought on markets. Originating with Polanyi (2001) and developed further by others (Storper, 2005; Basant and Chandra, 2007), agency is considered by Substantivists to be located not with the individual but with social institutions (formal and informal) and forms of social behaviour and relations (Granovetter, 1985) which create markets. The distinction between the social and economic worlds indicated here is tied somewhat to the advent of modernity, with its institutions playing a structuring role in producing individualised subjects and transactions. This can be contrasted against more mutualistic, reciprocal forms of relationship (Cook and Young, 2016. p.658; Granovetter, 1985. p.482), though this is clearly neither a complete or thorough historical process in empirical terms, as reference to Kropotkin (2009) demonstrates. The qualitative function of the economic, and thus the market, in Substantivist thinking is directly concerned with the material needs of humanity (Elardo, 2007. p.417). The economy and society can occupy different spaces in relation to one another and come to influence each other over time in diverse ways, in contrast to the Formalist position, and little of this influence comes from the individual. Instead, any influence is enabled by social institutions or collective organisation. The Substantivist understanding of the economy-society relationship is convincing to many, and has become increasingly flexible to account for new empirical advances since the time of Polanyi (2001), with additional refinement in progress with regard to more specific questions about the nature and effect of particular forms of institution and social relation (Storper 2005. p.31).

Comparing the two positions, and their respective assumptions about agency, there appears to be something of an insurmountable divide between these two perspectives and the apparent implications for the economy-society relationship. Either the market is perceived as a theoretical device describing forces which are exerted through the aggregated actions of the individual, or institutions and social relations are perceived to structure society, with a particular preserve of these recognised as economic or market dominated. While these conceptualisations of markets are evidently useful from their varied applications, there are more similarities than are immediately apparent. Granovetter (1985, p.487) argues that despite the non-individualistic conception of agency, the actor is still treated as an atomised and individuated subject under both Formalist and Substantivist formulations. This is explicit in the Formalist perspective, but is also present in the Substantivist perspective since individuals are considered to be affected and influenced by external institutions. The criticism of both perspectives made by Granovetter (1985) also introduces the concept of embeddedness. Embeddedness collapses economic action into the particular social relations of a given locale, which indirectly presents a strong case for the study of economic activity with sociological theory and methods. Çalışkan and Callon (2009, p.381-382) argue that in establishing embeddedness, Granovetter (1985) enmeshed the economy firmly within society, effectively making any boundary, and thus any interaction between them meaningless. While this revitalised economic sociology, it left a number of questions about the interactions between social relations and market exchange beyond the scope of this field. This Substantivist hangover evident in Granovetter (1985) can be traced back to the writings of Polanyi (2001; p.48-58) and there are reasons to question these assumptions.

The writings of early modern social contract theorists like Hobbes and Rousseau on human nature and society likely inspired the approaches taken by economic sociologists like Polanyi (2001). Latour (1993) identifies the critical role that rationality and the scientific method play in these early writings and

their emerging depiction of modernity. This coincided with the development of a distinction between the modes of discussion seen in relation to physical, material issues, and those relating to society and power. This led to a lasting theoretical separation not only between materials and society in scientific thought. This separation is also demonstrated in the various forms of separation between economy and society; in Substantivist thought, the economy is subsumed within society. Due to their incongruencies, considering interactions between these different spheres of influence requires a different set of conceptual tools. Actor-Network Theory (ANT) offers a way to experiment with agency by paying attention to the social role of materiality. This allows new formulations of agency to emerge, which can generate new approaches to economic matters, while taking account of how these may impinge on social life. ANT is a broadly posthuman school of thought that is present in several disciplines, and which emerged from Science and Technology Studies. Among other things, it attempts to re-define the social to include physical objects, without accepting *a priori* ontologies which predetermine the nature of the relationship between actants² (Latour, 2005), since this is precisely what it intends to understand in each case. It has a uniquely decentred approach to agency which offers a way to understand the mechanisms underpinning the translation of action over time and space and therefore the persistence of power relations. Agency is therefore central to this approach as it is thought to be the continuously achieved outcome of material and social arrangements, rather than an accepted quality or property of certain actors.

Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) offer a definition of the commodity as an object intended for exchange, formulating it as simultaneously a social and economic entity. This departs from the Marxist conception of a commodity as an abstraction, and returns to the specific conditions which establish such abstractions within the system of exchange they are part of. The duality of this

² Instead of using the term actors, which can imply a subject with agency, those using ANT use 'actant' instead to refer to interacting social elements.

definition allows examination of the socio-cultural constructions that shape the dynamics between use-value and exchange-value throughout the lifetime of a particular object and more importantly, within the cultural framing of market exchange in a particular situation. This definition from Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) is a critical influence on the economic applications of ANT (Çalışkan and Callon, 2010. p.15; Muniesa et al, 2007) as are the works of Geertz (1982) and Plattner (1978). Working from within a framework influence by ANT, Çalışkan and Callon (2009) treat the commodity as a coherent object with a 'career' and history of its own, rejecting the existence of the commodity as part of *a priori* systems of value. This is not to say that systems of value do not exist, but rather that these must be understood in empirical terms as constantly performed. As Çalışkan and Callon (2009) state: "Instead of being driven by forces which are above or beyond them, subjectified agents are actively engaged with the very cognitive and material devices that enable them to participate as economic subjects". In other words, economic subjects actively participate in shaping the terms of economic exchange. It is worth noting that this conception of engagement specifically allows for the asymmetries of power described in structural terms by Marxist political economists. This lays the foundations for a study of marketisation processes as a counterpart to studies of economisation processes within economic sociology (Çalışkan and Callon, 2010). This process involves examining how markets are made possible and maintained³ (Çalışkan and Callon 2010) by means of various devices in empirical rather than theoretical terms.

³³ This is distinct from the processes of marketisation variously described by Birch and Siemiatycki (2016), but there is an overlap in approaches to the construction of economic markets.

Market-Devices

The term 'market devices' is useful for explicitly establishing how the divergence between approaches to markets as theoretical models and approaches to markets as sociological entities can be exploited. Market devices refer to those collections of entities (conceptual, social, material) that within an economic market make objects and practices embody what it means to be economic and thus suitable for exchange (Muniesa, Millo, and Callon, 2007). In other words, the processes that make a particular 'thing' economic, rather than social, political, scientific, moral, or part of any other normatively bounded sphere. The concept of extended cognition developed by Clark and Chalmers (1998) provides an alternative to the division between mind and matter in psychology and a useful way to demonstrate what market devices mean in practice. While there are differences between the way in which information is transferred within and outside of the brain, mind or individual, according to this approach these differences do not constitute viable grounds for maintaining a rigid separation between the internal self and external elements and events. On this basis, it can be argued that cognition is a process which can happen at least partially outside of the brain, mind or individual. The practical application of these ideas in economic sociology is best exemplified for the purposes of this account by a variety of applied empirical works conducted by Cochoy (2005; 2007; 2008; 2009) concerning the physical management of supermarkets and the negotiation of these mainstream retail sites by the public. Environments where consumption takes place are often highly engineered and designed, and within this approach, these environments partly constitute the decision-making framework that exists to enable the possibility of a decision. This is not simply a way of describing how the environment influences behaviour, but a way of describing how the environment shapes and structures the experience and possibilities of action for the customer, and ultimately the nature of the economic activity taking place.

By treating cognitive processes as collectively achieved and performed, Cochoy (2008) pre-empts criticisms that the approach is overly focussed on the individual. Cochoy (2008) also identifies and describes some of the variations to these processes, using portmanteaus for the concepts of qualculation and calculation, which describe qualitative calculation and forms of collective calculation, including collective qualculation. These are awkward terms in English, but they express key differences in the calculative processes involved in consumption (McFall, 2009). Fine (2003, p.480) heavily criticises Callon et al (2002) as the conditions (or arrangement of actors) giving rise to the decision are arguably more critical to understand the situation than the outcome⁴. Cochoy (2008) avoids this potential criticism, as he does not place an undue influence on the final purchase decision as an absolute end-point. The relationship between market devices and the idea of a socio-material marketplace or consumption site is therefore one of constitution, in that market-devices constitute market-sites and are directly implicated in economic markets, being the socio-material assemblies which allow market action to take place.

Market devices is derived from the notion of 'agencements' (Cochoy et al. 2016; Callon 2016; Muniesa et al. 2007), which in turn emerges from the mundane french verb 'agencer'. Rather than this being part of a complex francophone intellectual tradition, Cochoy (2018) insists that the term is most often used to refer to the practice of arranging kitchens. The term 'agencement' is a portmanteau (of agency and arrangement, often used to refer to stalls and displays), and speaks to the governance of everyday, mundane objects and practices. It aims to captures the particular forms of agency resulting from specific, stable arrangements of heterogeneous elements. 'Arrangement' alone does not quite capture the manifestation of social agency in a set of material and social configurations (Muniesa et al., 2007) in the same way that 'agencement' does, and it also avoids potential conflation with the Deleuzian

⁴ The examples used by Cochoy (2008) focus on the attachment of products to consumers and the sale of them at the checkout..

connotations of the word 'Assemblage' (Muller, 2015). Discussions concerning markets and market devices have also been moving on since their inception from static-interface conceptions of markets and market-spaces and have increasingly been emphasising the locally performative nature of the relationship between the two instead (Callon, 2016. p.24; Callon, Araujo and Trompette, 2016). In practice, the move towards examining agencements in this field has been achieved by attending to how markets are produced by marketing and by looking inside marketing practices. The effect of this is:

'[a] move away from representations where marketing theories look at markets either from an external, academic perspective or conversely, from an insider, normative managerial perspective... [and towards] looking at what marketers do and how their theories and toolkits help shape consumption and market processes' (Cochoy et al., 2016. p.4).

This perspective is potentially very productive for those interested in consumption, as it offers a way to move beyond the divides between approaches to consumption which focus on either large scale phenomena or micro-scale analyses. The different forms of consumer and consumption research and their attendant methods are a result of these divisions (Halkier, 2017; Belk, 2017). Market devices provide a practical tool for examining the co-creation and/or performance of retail environments. In other words, market devices as a concept make it possible to identify, examine and comment on various socio-material formations of agency in society as they emerge. Symmetrical methodologies (Latour, 2005. p.63-86) are able to attend to such variable, heterogeneous formations of agency, in situations where attention to the performance of a setting by its human and non-human participants is required without an a priori (and arguably linguistic⁵) understanding of relations between actors. This is appropriate given the site of this research and the overlapping and significant concerns at play there.

⁵ Subject and Object are very often used to discuss the notion of relations between different elements of a relational system. This is a peculiarly grammatical way of understanding power relations.

Understanding performativity in ANT

The concept of performativity is highly important to any approach to economic matters informed by ANT, but unfortunately it is also one of the more contested and misconstrued. Performativity as referred to in economic sociology (Çalışkan and Callon 2010a) is part of an attempt to examine the interactions between economic theory and the practices of businesses. Callon's (1998) original work focussed closely on how theories of and about markets influenced the functioning of real-life markets⁶. While this approach indicates some new possibilities, it is also open to critique on the basis that the approach taken to performativity is not sufficiently wide. Fine (2003, p.480), criticises Callon (1998), accusing him of conflating theoretical and empirical claims about the nature of markets. Judith Butler (2010), in an critique of the early performativity concept provided by Callon, outlines an alternative. Butler (2010) emphasises the distinction between illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts, the former being acts that bring about certain conditions directly, the second being speech acts that only function in this way when certain pre-conditions are in place⁷. Only the second form of performativity has any claim to escaping the kinds of ambiguity criticised by others according to Butler (2010. p.147). Butler (2010, p.150) goes even further, adding that speech acts are not the only exercise of performative power possible. Mundane acts of separation between normative spheres (social/economic/political), the modes of prediction and anticipation necessary for economic life to function, and the organisation of human and non-human networks which enter into economic activity all perform economic action

⁶ Muller (2015) argues for a more extended dialogue between ANT and the works of other post-structural thinkers who seem to have similar tendencies, such as Foucault. I would suggest that empirical attention to micro-political power inequalities could be a prime site for such a dialogue, given the attentiveness of ANT to the material world.

⁷ These conditions are later referred to as felicity conditions, and mirrors discussions of power within debates about ANT (Callon, 2010).

in various ways. It is thus possible to see economic action as performed, with the conditions and outcomes achieved becoming the focus of attention.

This performative approach is demonstrated, as noted earlier, in the study of supermarket design and use conducted by Cochoy (2007). Pahk (2017) in particular demonstrates this approach well by detailing how misappropriation of a widespread set of socio-material agencements, in the form of street food vendors, led to an instance of market creation. The notion of a new and emerging market is underpinned by the displacement of the old, in socio-material as well as discursive and ideological terms. Pahk (2017) explicitly makes use of the reworking of performativity discussed by Butler (2010) to indicate that this approach may be capable of speaking to both change and stability in markets through the notion of performative failure. Crucially it also allows an exploration of the reciprocating and co-constitutive relationship between markets and society that does not rely on the problematic references to economic theory implicit in simpler formulations of market devices and performativity. The research questions aim to follow this more elaborate approach to performativity and market devices.

Qualification and Marketing

If market devices perform particular objects or interactions as economic, it is not immediately clear how these devices achieve this, or what kind of economic qualities are attached to the objects. Attending to qualification can clarify this, although it is ultimately an empirical question. Qualification here refers to the process by which market exchange is delineated as inclusive or exclusive of other concerns and thus made possible (Çalışkan and Callon, 2010b. p.3)⁸. It is

⁸ In answer to those critics who argue that this approach is focussed on the end goal of the commodity exchange between retailer and consumer, a number of studies have been produced recently demonstrating the failure and problems that can occur in the process. In addition, Cochoy's (2007) article on the consumer suggests that in many cases, this bias is not a feature

achieved by defining and differentiating a product from others by temporarily attaching a set of qualitative characteristics (or qualities) (Callon, Méadel and Rabeharisoa, 2002). This refers largely to the work of marketing in material terms, including any of the multiple aspects of interpersonal interaction involved, the nature of the object itself, and the practices of advertising and pricing. This approach also includes the socio-material practice of organising and maintaining product lines (Lury, 2004. p.26-27) which is rather under-theorised outside of marketing studies. Cochoy (2007) demonstrates the value of qualification for understanding the repetitive and collective enactment of the mundane day to day interactions between customers and retailers in settings such as supermarkets. It is this approach which is built upon and taken forwards here.

The notion of product as process, separate from the 'good' envisioned as a stationary lynchpin between forces of supply and demand positioned at a single state in the production-consumption process, allows for a conception of the commodity as an object with a career, a trajectory of its own. This allows greater account to be taken of the product in different arrangements, as it passes in and out of different agentic collectives. This builds a sensitivity to the specific physical interactions involved in the marketing process. As Callon et al (2002) detail, the 'singularization'⁹ of a product and its attachment to the consumer upon purchase, relies on specific socio-technical agencements which facilitate the transfer of certain information; in practical terms this means packaging, the positioning of goods, and the physicality of price display. Callon et al (2002) assume that in producing knowledge about consumers through such transactions of information, marketers are thus able to modify not only supply, but also demand (consumers). This is a contentious assumption given

of this particular approach, but of the landscape and environment in which it is seen (see following section for an overview of the 'formatting' of retail spaces).

⁹ This is singularization as referred to by Callon et al (2002) rather than as it is used by Karpik (2010). See footnote 23 on p.107 for more detail on this distinction.

that the systematic limitations of such knowledge and the methods used to produce it are well known, as are the occasions of performative failure which occur (Butler, 2010; Cochoy et al. 2010).

As noted, Cochoy (2007) demonstrates that there is a clear role for the conceptual 'toolkits' developed in the economic applications of ANT in examining the mundane and routinised processes of marketing in different situations. Rather than attempting to understand marketing as a complete, discrete process which structures the experience of the consumer and ends in the purchase of fully qualified and understood products, it is hoped that the unfinished, imperfect and flawed elements of the process can be illuminated. Without much enquiry it is easily conceivable that traders, through their unique ways of interacting with customers, may have access to different ranges of different kinds of information than conventional retail, and that they could act upon this information in markedly different ways. The open-ended futures and possibilities of the interactions between customers and traders are somewhat closed off by this approach, and the open-endedness of the research questions aims to rectify this. The following section also may do much to rectify the potential narrowing effect of this kind of approach, when these sections are viewed in parallel.

Understanding Market Halls as Spaces of Consumption and Retail

To say that consumerism, or the idea of the 'consumer society', and the consumer-commodity relationship have provoked many debates across the social sciences would be a gross understatement. There is a wealth of writing across marketing, consumer research, social theory, sociology, human geography, anthropology, and history which comments on aspects of social life vital to anyone seeking to understand consumption. The breadth of different approaches and the overlap between them makes it difficult to create a coherent thread of argument and critique which does justice to the development of geographical research on consumption and the external influences on it. The task of this part of the literature review is therefore to locate Market Halls as a space of consumption (or retail) within this wider literature, identifying gaps and omissions to which the research questions will respond. As a result, this section of the literature review is oriented towards understanding current research into similar examples of fairly mundane sites of consumption. Other, wider literatures need to be examined to engage with these more specific literatures, and to understand the context of particular omissions and gaps. For example, much theoretical literature on consumption is based on histories of the development of mass consumption. These histories are often limited to particular spaces of consumption, meaning that there is space to widen and reconsider the development of retail formats and how this development has shaped the relations between customers and traders, and thus the figure of the consumer. This leads into an engagement in the second part of this review with the idea of the commodity as illusion and consumer as fooled; critiques of these ideas are also discussed. These critiques are flawed however, and the nature of these flaws and omissions are therefore explored and demonstrated. Recent geographical work on consumption spaces more specifically shares some of these weaknesses, and these are explored before potential alternatives are

suggested. As a final note, the working definition of consumption adopted for use in this thesis is aligned with the definitions used throughout this chapter.

Ordering Retail Spaces

Historical retail spaces have been subject to much analysis and critique as some of the principal elements of the 'consumer revolution', and as some of the defining spaces of consumerism. The work of Walter Benjamin (2002) on the Parisian arcades has been highly influential on subsequent research, with consecutive generations of urbanists and geographers deriving new inspiration from his work. This work was instrumental in drawing associations between the development of department stores with earlier forms of retail, among other things. While it is not the major focus of this review, the genealogy of other retail forms are certainly worth bearing in mind, as it may help to in contextualising the historical trajectory of Market Halls, and how they may have influenced and been influenced by the development of other retail spaces and vice versa. As Schmeichen and Carls (1999, p.34) demonstrate, there are parallels between the architectural form of market halls and department stores, which is significant considering that the two retail forms appear to have matured around the late 1800s. This represents an extension of the more common comparisons made between department stores, supermarkets and malls which centre around the provision of an environmentally controlled space for consumption (Goss, 1993). What these comparisons share is an emphasis on the externalisation of things such as the weather and social problems through architecture and surveillance, and moreover through the specific arrangement of displays. There are a number of social, political, economic and practical developments which I will argue are fundamental to understanding the historically successive formats of mass consumer exchange. This approach may be misleading. It important to note that the intention here is not to make claims about the specific causality of these events and forms in influencing each other. Rather, the intention is to

identify and comment on how each development enabled the next and allowed it to become fully realised, through the presentation of novel retail formats as successive developments.

Perhaps one of the earliest and most significant developments in retail format involved the role of trader or salesperson in the process of establishing a price. Benjamin (2002, p.52-60) notes the role that fixed prices have in first the arcades and later department stores in creating a particular and differentiated environment from other forms of exchange. Before the widespread use of fixed prices, it is assumed that exchange was based on a process of direct negotiation between seller and buyer. To clarify, the time before fixed prices was not an era 'free markets' as legal mandates of minimum and maximum prices and social norms of exchange regulated this process closely, and were hotly contested (Sutton, 2014). As forms of mediation between retailer and consumer, forms of exchange with and without fixed prices still differ significantly from each other, and there are different relations of power and information exchange associated with each. Benjamin (2002) attributes the uptake of fixed prices form to a desire on the part of the retailers to decrease the time spent on each exchange by each salesperson. This could easily be described as a form of rationalisation or formalisation. Laermans (1993) follows similar lines of argument, making the case that department stores between the mid-1800s and the end of the 19th century played a key role in familiarizing people with the practices, sensibilities, and subjectivities necessary to take the role of consumers.

The widespread development of increasingly complex packaging for everyday products from 1900 onwards is another significant development which formed part of the gradual standardisation of retail practices. The packaging of products meant a move away from sale purely based on dimension or weight, allowing a new form of advertising to develop. Early packages very often emerged as a kind of mobile extension of the luxurious window and store dressing which was common in upmarket shops and department stores at that time (Bowlby, 2000).

It also endowed products with new kinds of mobility and durability which were intended to be analogous to that of the consumer. The package/product had to retain its shape while the consumer travelled, and stay fresh while in storage (Bowlby, 2000. p.109). The resulting experiments in packaging were often considerable technical accomplishments. Due to a wide variety of concerns, widespread packaging did not become ubiquitous in fresh fruit and vegetable retailing until the post-war period, when new material and transportation technologies were developed in earnest (Freidberg 2009). Bowlby (2000, p.81) describes tinned goods, present widely from the late 1800s, as an 'advance guard' for packaging. The maturation of retail formats like supermarkets changed supplier practices sufficiently for packaging and the advertising included with products to become a significant intermediary between consumer and product.

This mediating action is more significant than it may appear at first. The consumer is very often treated as a subject within capitalism, as a state or function of power relations which is subjectively experienced. With this in mind, it is worth remembering that marketing professionals have a very different conception of the consumer, which is put to different uses despite a similar object of interest. In fact, the version of the consumer constructed through marketing research is very often produced with particular methods in order to be amenable to the processes by which advertising and marketing material is produced, sold and put to work (Ariztia, 2017). This figure of the consumer and the subjective state of consumer-hood may differ considerably in terms of their construction, as the different stages of the marketing process may induce different actions from the consumer, and establish different relations. Packaging as one such stage for example intermediates¹⁰ between the consumer and the product in a number of important ways. By intermediating between the product and the consumer. the packaging contributed to fundamental changes in the

¹⁰ To follow Latour's (2005) mediator/intermediator distinction, packaging does the work of marketing previously conducted by human marketers.

way in which consumers engage with products and the process of purchasing. The widespread uptake of packaging technologies enabled further changes to retail formats. As opposed to the dominant shops at the time, the first few early supermarkets in the 1930's took full advantage of this, utilizing wall-to-ceiling shelving gondolas with narrow aisles between them. The intention behind this innovation was to not allow any space to remain unoccupied by products (Bowlby, 2000. p.146).

Bowlby (2000, p.156-163) links these physical developments in retail to the historical development of social critiques of consumption and spectacle made by Debord (2002) and others (Bauman, 1998; Baudrillard, 1989), which are discussed further in the next sections of this review. The situationist critique of consumption spaces is particularly relevant here considering the visual internalisation of the consumption experience within supermarkets and shopping centres/malls (Debord, 2002). Internalisation here refers to the lack of connection or integration between the consumption space and the surrounding streets. There is often a lack of visual and physical links to the external environment which ultimately contributes to the creation of an internal 'free space' in which the consumer is left to serve themselves, and thus engage with the product without the routine intervention of salespeople. Packaging, by doing much of the work of salespeople, along with such enclosed and carefully delimited spaces, allowed the full realisation of self-service in retail.

Supermarkets are the most obvious example of spaces where this development could be seen, and were certainly among the earliest, preceding changes in other sectors and the development of other forms of retail/consumption site. Supermarkets tightly control points of entry and exit, as described by Bowlby (2000, p.141), and this control is necessitated by such a free and open internal space. This raises the issue of material arrangements and the use of technology in consumption spaces again. Cochoy (2009) details the implication of the socio-technical innovation of the shopping cart in the configuration of smaller stores for example, and elsewhere details the manner in which the

active management of supermarkets is conducted (Cochoy, 2007), as an effect of these developments.

To engage with consumption spaces of any kind in qualitative terms, it is necessary to engage with the active management and control exerted over their internal environment. In the case of retail with a self-service form, the connection with marketing as an academic discipline and profession is also important. As noted previously, marketing as an academic field and a commercial practice relies on particular research methodologies more than others. The discipline of marketing is deeply intertwined with the history of consumer research (Cochoy, 1998; Bode and Askegaard, 2017). However, producing knowledge about consumers (customers) is not a preserve of these academic disciplines, as the institution of bureaucratic modes of data collection, enabled by the proliferation of the survey and information technology, meant that it could be expanded out beyond particular settings to gather statistical information about groups of consumers and their preferences (Cochoy, 1998. p.208). From this data, different figures of the consumer have emerged, partly due to different academic and theoretical influences on consumer research (Bode and Askegaard, 2017. p.65-67). These methodologies have moved over time from the collection and processing of customer data (Bowlby, 2000. p.212), to considerations of how consumers move through supermarkets and the reordering of shelves on this basis (ibid, p.236-241). There is evidence to suggest that consumers are increasingly aware that retail environments are structured to take advantage of their habits and movements, or at least that they are ordered in material ways that are legible and predictable to them (Valenzuela et al., 2013). Consumer suspicions may not be correct in all instances, but this does create a tension around the idea of the consumer as a simple unit of analysis unable to perceive and understand their surroundings without a degree of reflexivity or critical thought.

Marketing as a discipline and a practice has moved beyond a conception of the marketing process as based on a simple psychological model of stimuli-

response, to one based on the idea of two-way exchange, between brands/producers and the consumer (Lury, 2004, p.24). The activities that consumers engage in to consume in particular ways are increasingly being considered as a distinct form of work which is separate from the productive work necessary to materially support themselves (Cochoy and Dubuisson-Quellier, 2013). While there is not the thematic scope here to review the importance and relevance of branding to changing consumption environments/sites, it is crucial to draw attention to the possibility of complex and reflexive relationships between marketer and consumer and multidirectional relations between the devices and arrangements that mediate these relationships. Throughout the majority of this subsection I have been dealing with socio-material developments in retail format, for the purposes of highlighting the sequential nature of this process of change, while attempting to withhold judgements of historical causality. As such consumers have largely been represented as passive, as individuals subjectified within the phenomena of mass consumption. As the history of research concerning consumption shows, however, there are significant differences between approaches to position of the consumer in the consumption site, which are rooted in the position taken on agency. More recent notions of collective agency, such as those discussed by Cochoy (2008) further complicate these issues, and are discussed in the previous section. The following section deals with the variety of positions taken on consumer agency, to prepare for a more specific engagement with the spaces of consumption.

The place of consumption in society

Within sociology, geography, and the humanities, it is common to understand consumption as a dominant form of socio-cultural activity which comes to produce a 'consumer society'. Consumption is understood to be a defining characteristic and activity of society in this age or period and is generally considered to mark this period as distinct from others in a manner that is linked to the division between modernity and post-modernity. The goal of this

subsection is to theoretically examine some of the roots of these ideas about consumption in the hope of challenging some of the underlying assumptions, and to outline the effects of these assumptions on other modes of thinking about consumption, in order to better contextualise work on spaces of consumption. As Miller (1998) and Gronow and Warde (2001) establish, the history of consumption studies is closely associated with developments in the history of consumption sites and spaces, and contemporaneous ideological changes. Early social theorists and critics of consumption (Such as: Veblen, 1899) have generally tended towards macro-level or collective critiques of mass consumption practices, based on conceptualisations of society which are dominated by the processes and conditions of production. What makes these approaches distinct from others is that they necessarily rely on and reproduce the idea that there is a separation between forms of sociality and social interaction organised around consumption and other forms. This enables the portrayal of modern consumption practices as inherently distinct from historical practices of consumption.

This distinction is often made as part of a historical distinction between the uncertain eras of modernity and post-modernity, as noted by Latour (1993). Too much has been written across too many disciplines to review the full, nebulous range of ideas concerning the consumer society in full here, and therefore discussion of this issue will be limited to how it impinges on conceptualisations of consumption spaces. Baudrillard (1989), in describing the loss of stable meaning and purpose in social life caused by this proliferation of signs in a consumer society, associates the notion of mass consumerism, established in his account subsequent to the post-war period, with the broader idea of a 'post-modern condition'. Capitalist society is depicted by Baudrillard (ibid.) as increasingly producing consumption, with particular creative industries responsible for these extensions of the system of production. In this conception commodity-objects come to be replaced with a field of free-floating signs, which are not necessarily linked to desires for particular things (ibid.). Commenting on the widely noted immediacy and ephemerality of 'consumer culture', Bauman

(1998, p.26) makes a similar analogy between the turning of the conveyor belt on the assembly line and the activity of the cultural industries and consumers. In this conceptual framework, consuming, in the sense of using an object for the use-values alone has become impossible as each visual sign signifies a position within the system of exchange. This bears a similarity with the work of Debord (1992) who argues that the commodity is an illusion, an element of a wider societal false consciousness obscuring the exploitative nature of consumer society. This focus on the illusions of the consumer society is partly attributable to the concept of the fetish¹¹, a notion of entangled enchantment and desire widely used as a concept to understand the desiring-relationship between commodity and consumer.

The fetish emerges from a very particular understanding of the values inhabiting work and leisure (Campbell, 1989. p.227), which invokes culture as concerned with cultural products rather than the more mundane practices which make life meaningful. This has the problem of reducing the individual to a fooled or mistaken subject, who is manipulated by cultural industries and the interests of production. Though this conception may be true to some extent, it may also be an empirical question to be answered rather than a theoretical issue or general feature of reality. Hetherington (2007, p.51-78) thoroughly critiques the notion of the consumer as a fooled subject and Kozinets et al (2004, p.658-659) also critiques this framing for failing to take into account the subjectivity and agency of the consumer and the differing subject positions they can come to occupy. Miller et al (1998, p.24-26) also point out that theorisations of the consumer society are very often based on readings of particular spaces or sites of mass consumption such as arcades, shopping malls and large event spaces. These readings then lead to analogies being drawn between consumption practices and the spectacular, and a focus on the industries which produce such spaces.

¹¹ Fetish here refers to the quality of the commodity-object to be the locus of a number of desires and significations, often in a manner associated with African ritual and religious practice. See Hetherington (2007) for a full critique and historical discussion of this concept.

This has a deleterious effect on theorizations of more mundane spaces of consumption. As Featherstone (1990, p.7) notes, the work of Baudrillard (1989) around the proliferation of the sign in society has had a particularly lasting effect on social understandings of consumption in this regard, which has arguably resulted in a lack of attention to more mundane consumption sites involved in routine and ordinary practices of consumption (Miller et al, 1998. p.27). Challenging some of these assumptions about the nature and effects of consumption as a social phenomenon is necessary in order to delineate and justify an appropriate way in which to approach under-theorised sites of consumption associated with more mundane practices.

Approaching consumption as illusory creates more specific problems for other related sub-fields, which have a similar focus on consumption. Kjellberg (2008) for example, identifies a focus on portraying marketing as a homogenous agent intent on encouraging over-consumption within sustainable consumption. This may have contributed to the obfuscation of the actual practices of marketing, preventing the identification of areas for intervention and change in policy. There are also common 'throwaway society' tropes which are widely reproduced in public discourse, and these are critiqued by sociologists of waste and food consumption (Gregson, Metcalfe, and Crewe, 2007; Evans, 2012). Such tropes have been shown to poorly correspond to the empirical evidence concerning everyday waste disposal and over-consumption practices, misleading governments, retailers and policy-making processes. Examining the history of approaches to consumption across disciplines can explain these particular failings of consumption research, as Warde (2015, p.12) notes, because empirical research concerning consumption as a social phenomenon (rather than an economic one) was scarce until the end of the 1980s. Much of this early research was either theoretically driven and from a Marxist-productivist background or firmly economic, and there was little contact or cross-over as a result.

The cultural turn in geography was in part a direct reaction to discipline-specific analogues of the modes of explanation used in this economistic consumer research. This element of the trajectory of consumption studies arguably mirrors debates within economic geography about the relative conceptual importance and positioning of the economy in relation to society (Williams and Paddock, 2003. p.137). One of the results of the cultural turn in geography was that symbolically meaningful aspects of consumption activity received much attention, especially where this activity related to the formation of individual identity (Warde 2014. p.281–282). This was perhaps due to a shift in perspectives on the location of agency within society, since the consumer was emerging as a political figure at the same time in the 1990s. Consumption as an agentic social and cultural practice in itself came to appear increasingly important (Warde, 2015). As noted however, bodies of research working with an individualised consumer-figure had been proliferating since the 1960s within the fields of marketing and behavioural science, and this largely follows the development of ‘mainstream’ retail associated with mass consumption (Bowlby, 2001; Cochoy, 2005; Bode and Askegaard, 2017). The specific difference between economistic approaches and the body of work that emerged under the cultural turn lies in their understanding of the goal or telos of consumption activity. This is of crucial importance as it deeply shaped the resulting conceptualisation of consumption, creating a divide between consumption as a form of exchange and consumption as form of broad symbolic engagement with the material and social world. that goes beyond the moment and site of exchange of goods (Zukin and Smith Maguire, 2004; Featherstone, 1990).

While Warde (2014, p.283) rightly criticises the work influenced by the cultural turn on the basis that it is theoretically weak, there are notable exceptions to this (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Belk, 2017; Kozinets et al, 2004). A key, lasting point that Warde (2014) makes is that uncritical acceptance of the consumer as an active, reflexive agent capable of change, is very close to the idea of the individual as conceptualised by neoliberal and Formalist theorists. It is arguable that the criticisms of theoretical weakness made by Warde (2014,

p.283) at much of the work influenced by the cultural turn is misplaced and somewhat overstated given the often highly critical contributions of the Consumer Culture Theory group among others (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Belk, 2017; Kozinets et al, 2004). Warde (2014) makes this critique in opposition to the apparent acceptance that has been given to the idea of the consumer as an active, reflexive, and capable agent of change. Attempts to frame the agency of the consumer in mundane settings are therefore critical when attempting to engage empirically with specific spaces of consumption.

Spaces of consumption and approaches to them

More specific questions around geographical spaces of consumption are complex because there are a number of difficult theoretical and disciplinary overlaps between social theorists and urbanists in this realm. It is arguably crucial to understand these in order to discern the most appropriate empirical response. In his significant work on the Parisian shopping arcades, Benjamin (2002) introduces the figure of the flâneur which has strongly influenced the development of much work within the field of critical urbanism. This figure of the detached and disinterested urban observer has influenced has been used so often in fact that it would be thematically difficult to provide a critical synopsis here. The work of critical urbanists (See: Fuller, 2012) has often been concerned with the role of newer consumption spaces such as shopping centres (or malls). These borrow heavily from critiques of consumption, utilising the figure of the flâneur to describe the illusory or misleading subject positions which consumers experience.

Without repeating the accounts of critiques of approaches to consumption organised around the idea of consumption as illusion given earlier, it is worth noting how these ideas manifest in studies of consumption sites. Goss (1993) demonstrates this peculiar treatment of consumption in his analysis of the

architectural form of malls, although they do not overtly demonstrate the tendency to produce an account of mass consumption in which consumers are produced as passive dupes of the manipulative architect or planner. In referring to the total exclusion of a range of certain kinds of people and enterprises from malls through various devices of planning and technology, referring to Lefebvre, Goss (1993, p.40) makes the argument that such spaces are “representation[s] of space masquerading as a representational space”. This way of thinking about commodities and the process of commoditisation is critiqued by Hetherington (2007) as being dependent solely on the idea of the commodity fetish as illusion, which discourages attention to other subject positions which may emerge within the process of consumption. Thus while Goss (1993) pays close attention to the particular form and construction of malls, there is a noticeable lack of attention to the how the consumer is enacted in the consumption sites examined. This approach to consumption spaces also applies the same illusion-based reasoning, and as a result treats the creation or formation of space as subject to similar criteria of truthfulness, which relies on an *a priori* judgement on the nature of the commodity and therefore spatial relations.

Despite focussing on a single case study, Shields (1989) argues convincingly that there is value in attending to particular consumption sites as specific instances in which the relationship between consumer, commodity and society is enacted. This is done by paying attention to the sub-cultural and non-respectable forms of behaviour in the tightly regulated space of the mall. Staeheli and Mitchell (2006) partly fulfil this call for more close empirical attention to the site of consumption through their close empirical attention to instances of political engagement with mall authorities by civic and public bodies. It seems entirely feasibly that a more empirically driven approach to engaging with spaces consumption can be taken. This involves starting with the particular relationships between consumption, consumer and society in specific places.

Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) also examines sites and spaces of consumption in empirical terms, exploring how places can be deeply involved in mediating the relationship between consumer and commodity (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). It does not reproduce the division between approaches to the consumer as a passive victim of the allure of commodities and the manipulations of marketers and approaches which insist on the consumer as a reflexive, decision making individual. Instead, Kozinets et al (2004) and Hamilton and Wagner (2014) use a conception of the consumption process as performative. These examples are empirically led, and intervene in the division between paradigms of the consumer as 'cultural dopes' and paradigms of the consumer as fully rational/reflexive actors. These interventions are made with nuanced presentations of the bilateral agency of both consumers and producers/retailers at work performing consumption activity. Much of the other work of the CCT group however focusses solely on the experiences of consumers and the meaning/symbolism that these experiences provide for their identities (Healy et al. 2007). This may be because of the preoccupation of CCT with branding in particular as a form around which cultural, identity constructing activity very often emerges (Van Marrewijk and Broos, 2017). While the nuance that CCT brings to a consideration of consumption is clearly worth noting in the process of developing more spatially coherent conceptions of the ambiguous relationships between commodity, consumer and society, there still appears to be ongoing influences from the cultural turn, in the sense that the relevant elements of the material and social world are treated as theatrical devices for the performance and struggle of identity. To avoid producing accounts of social and cultural life which rely on a representational model of social action, it appears to be important for the purposes of this project to foreground practice over teleological orientations for action as discussed by Warde (2014) and others (Schatzki et al., 2001).

The contribution of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to the body of work on the performativity of economic markets is a significant development with regards to approaches to consumption spaces. These theoretical contributions arguably

have not been fully explored (Cochoy et al., 2010; Butler, 2010) but while they have emerged from radically different disciplinary backgrounds from the conventional approaches to consumption, the approach they take offers a novel way to approach consumption spaces as performed achievements. Attention to consumption spaces has long been focussed on the relationship between producers and consumers as articulated through the commodity-object relationship and the effects of various mediators such as brands and various parts of the cultural industry. This new approach may provide a way to address the empirical gaps and theoretical oversights which have hindered other approaches to consumption spaces. Looking more closely at the practices of both consumers and those implicated in the marketing and production of traditional market halls appears likely therefore to generate new insight into their operation and is therefore a critical influence in the construction of the research questions. Thus far, there has been little overt attention paid to Market Halls in particular, and the next part of this literature review concerns their unique economic and social history.

The place of Market Halls in changing worlds

Market Halls (or 'traditional' retail markets) represent one of the most historically significant sites for the sale of agricultural produce in the UK as documented by Schmeichen and Carls (1999). This section of the literature review is comprised of three interlocking parts, and aims to situate Market Halls within an economic, agricultural and social landscape that is vastly different from the time of their origin. A detailed examination of the historical development of these sites will be given in the first part of this section, but in order to put these developments in their current context, the following second and third parts will exclusively highlight and draw out changes in the agricultural system and how these have resulted in the economic marginalisation of Market Halls. As the organisation of agricultural systems has changed historically, so have the modes, places, and systems which move, market, and ultimately sell the products which the former system exists to produce. The changes in these systems, and particularly the way in which the oligopoly over the retail sector is maintained, leaves Market Halls in the UK in a particularly marginal position within wider urban, agricultural, and retail landscapes. This section therefore connects a wide narrative to the questions of marketing and consumers discussed in the earlier sections of the literature review. This further contextualises the research questions that emerge from this review, while introducing some of the challenges and problems faced Market Halls which are addressed in more detail in the following section.

The Origin of British Market Halls

The specific origins of the 'consumer revolution' are much debated by historians and social theorists. Given that modernity and mass consumerism are closely associated as discussed in the previous section, the meaning of epithets such as 'traditional' which are often attached to Market Halls are called into question by this debate. The general focus in historical literature is on the newer forms of

retail and the emergence of new mass-produced consumer items which had not previously been seen. As Smith (2002) argues, important changes in the physical and geographical organisation of the sale of necessities may be obscured by the tendency within the literature on consumption to divide approaches between newer and older forms of retail. Markets at the turn of the nineteenth century were generally located at the centre of a town or city where major roads met and for the most part were privately organised by local landowners who extracted rents from itinerant traders. These traders were often farmers and producers who brought produce into towns to sell it. In the Georgian period (from the mid-1700s to the start of the 1800s) these sites were the focus of much violence and upheaval, as the often locally negotiated legal frameworks underpinning the terms of exchange at these sites began to change (Sutton, 2014). As a result, new norms of market exchange were not accepted easily and localised instances of intervention in name of the public good, often related to maximum prices for staples, were exerted through riots and carnivalesque violence. The triggers for this violence were often caused by problems in the supply of food which were related to changes in rural land ownership and the opening of new markets for agricultural produce (Sutton, 2014).

As problems with market congestion and competition grew, local authorities or city corporations took possession of the legal rights to hold markets. Towns often experimented with a variety of different ways in which to decentralise markets around towns, grouping traders in markets defined by product type or by the origin area of traders or farmers which often had highly ambiguous outcomes (Schmeichen and Carls, 1999). By 1835, growing concerns about the stability of food supplies to urban centres motivated parliamentary action which ultimately resulted in the Municipal Reforms Bill, which allowed local authorities to take control of market improvement commissions (Schmeichen and Carls, 1999. p.39). Between this time and 1858, around a quarter of British markets passed from private to public ownership. The drive to improve and renovate markets was presented as an effort to sanitise and order unruly and unplanned

market spaces, which had previously been poorly regulated (Howard, 1998. p.100). A regional and national system of food distribution was beginning to emerge during this period due to the spread of the railway network and the mechanisation of agriculture. It is arguably these developments, and the rapid urbanisation which accompanied industrialisation, that are responsible for the upheaval during this period. The 'traditional' label given to markets arguably elides and flattens the local political controversies over market regulation, exchange, and the socio-material changes that these spaces have been witness to over time.

Schmeichen and Carls (1999, p.29-39) argue that the emergence of these market halls as large, centrally managed and self-contained buildings owes much to their development through the agencies of local government. Regardless of the impact of this urban form on later retail centres, it is certainly the case that these markets played an important role in changing urban working class eating patterns. In the case of fish for example, local authorities subsidised the stall rents of fishmongers, which allowed that industry to grow and led to fish becoming a staple part of urban working class diets (Schmeichen and Carls, 1999. p.141; Edwards, 2014. p.124-128). In 1858 the Local Government Act was passed, giving local authorities the power to raise finance to construct and operate markets directly, while also and allowing them to retain income from markets and to set tolls (Schmeichen and Carls, 1999. p.157). This stimulated the construction of market halls and encouraged their close management until around 1900 (*ibid.* p.160) when newer forms of retail, such as more elaborate shops and department stores, began their rise to prominence. It is worth noting however that throughout this period other forms of retail, such as shops, ambulatory traders, street markets, were present and significant in many places and for many product categories, such as wild and gathered food products (Neeson, 2014) and seafood (Edwards, 2014). This was particularly the case in London, potentially due to the early development there of separated wholesale and retail markets (Smith, 2002). Laermans (1993) notes that the second half of the 19th century was a time in which many of the

retail forms implicated in understandings of the 'consumer society' emerged. The market hall is not mentioned in his argument, and it is left unclear as to how this previously dominant form of urban retail influenced the development of other forms. Charting this history and drawing this comparison is significant, as it details the changes within these 'traditional' spaces of consumption and touches upon the connections of these spaces to the food system more broadly.

Performances of Connection and Separation in the Agricultural System

Political discourse concerning Globalisation has been incredibly polarised in the past and has returned recently as a more controversial topic. Agriculture does not escape this controversy. Many political economies of agriculture have established empirically that the pace and direction of agricultural liberalisation is far from measurable, even when assessed across a number of scales (Watts and Goodman, 1997; DuPuis, Goodman and Goodman 2012). Increasing protectionism at different levels (Watts and Goodman, 1997. p.9), and a global population of subsistence farmers trading in territorial markets demonstrates the uneven progress of globalisation (The World Bank, 2008. p.3-8). Along with the partial re-emergence of regions and localities as loci of food production networks (Marsden, 1997. p.183-184) any simple conceptualisation of globalisation as a total political process has been undermined. As Watts and Goodman (1997, p.13-15) note, there is a distinction to make between "totalizing, deterministic conceptualisations and an empirical referent for international production in agro-food systems". It may therefore be more appropriate to conceive of the globalisation in agriculture as a set of unevenly distributed phenomena which form part of processes that work towards loosely integrated markets and articulated supply chains.

The development of truly global networks of production and distribution, rather than local or regional networks has reshaped the nature of food supply for the Global North, and has also had significant effects on developing countries across the world (Freidberg, 2007). The globalisation of agriculture and the international trade in fresh food are both recognised to have originated in the transatlantic trade in grain, and developed subsequently into the marketing, trading and shipping of meat and fresh fruit and vegetables (Watts and Goodman, 1997. p.8). As Freidberg (2009) documents, the international trade in fresh food is a collective scientific and political project several hundred years in the making, which has involved the creation and manipulation of both technologies and social practices. It is also a marketing project, as it took concerted efforts on the parts of marketers to adapt and mould attitudes to freshness in order to create a market for this produce (Friedland, 1994. p.212; Freidberg, 2009). The development of global articulated supply chains has been a considerable socio-economic achievement which are strongly intertwined with industrial agriculture. The process of industrialisation in agriculture is oriented towards achieving higher yields (rates of production) and thus higher profits (via the economies of scale accrued from the higher production rates) by utilizing higher capital inputs (machinery, fertiliser etc), the collection and deployment of scientific and technical knowledge, and the reorganisation of production along the same principles which commonly guide other industrial sectors. The agricultural-industrial complex which has emerged from this process is largely thought to be dominated by corporate interests (McMichael, 2000; Lang and Heasman, 2004). It demonstrates tendencies towards resource intensive, fast-turnover and technologically driven forms of agriculture which are seriously affecting the environment, health, and economies of many different locations around the world (Bruinsma, 2003; Marks, 2001; Gillespie, Hickley, Clare Hinrichs and Feenstra, 2007; DuPuis, Goodman, and Goodman, 2012; Miele et al. 2013; Oakeshott and Lybery, 2014).

In the previous section, it was established that industrialisation and urbanisation within the UK and the introduction of industrial farming methods were the

conditions from which Market Halls emerged. Thinking about the way these conditions are discussed is useful for understanding what markets provide and their position in these wider systems. Idealised visions of rural social life are often associated with the ecologies underpinning agricultural practices, so that current forms of industrial agriculture can be used to represent alienation and damaging homogenisation (Tsing, 2009. p.155). Market Halls are often used in a similar way, represented as an emblem of anti-modern holdouts in the post-modern city (Smith, 2012. p.139). These separations relate to the debates around the relationship between economic and social life discussed in the first part of this review. Hinrichs (2000) for example, discusses the 'embeddedness' of direct agricultural markets and aims to dispel the uniqueness attached to such attributes. This is grounded in the writings of Polanyi (1957) and the ideas of the Substantivist school. Incidentally, embeddedness begins to challenge the notion that closeness to production in the case of agriculture necessarily means freedom from economic logics or market rationality in a societally meaningful sense. In discussing agricultural systems, Goodman (2002, p.272) comments on the separation of production and consumption and in the process, draws attention to what performs the various kinds of connection that traverses these separated worlds. As an institution which emerged in the throes of industrialisation and agricultural change, the Market Hall has a unique connection to these separated worlds. To understand their current position however, it is necessary to attend to the growth and power of international supply chains, which enact distance between producer and consumer by performing a particular version of connection.

Retail Oligopolies and Marginalisation

The concentration of retailing operations in the UK has become dominated by an oligopoly, which excludes many smaller retailers from the market, and alters the landscape for wholesale markets and those outside particular supply chain arrangements. Market traders are similarly isolated by this. In 2004, 75% of all sales in the UK supermarket sector were controlled by just four firms according

to Lang and Heasman (2004) and just ten retailers were set to dominate 60% of the European market share by 2010. New data has confirmed this trend, though it suggests that future expansion in the same vein is unlikely due to approaching market saturation (Wood and McCarthy, 2013). The story of the consolidation of power by a handful of retail corporations is tied up with the development of new formats for food retail which have emerged over the last 100 years and these forms, most notably (and pertinently) supermarkets (Howard, 2016), have been during their maturation, culturally and economically controversial. While some aspects of supermarket activity have attracted scorn from NGOs, such as land-banking, anti-competition and anti-union policies (Howard, 2016), supply-chain management is perhaps more critical in addressing why these retailers have come to increasingly dominate the retail environment.

In business management there are a number of models which can be used to theorise the operations of a firm in order to select appropriate action. In many cases, instead of working with a neoliberal, utilitarian model of business in which where the operations of the firm are considered as the unit of analysis, it is possible to take the entire supply chain that is involved in assembling a product as the unit of analysis. On the basis of such an analysis, intervening decisions can be taken to benefit the firm, but these decisions will necessarily cause change elsewhere throughout the supply chain which will be beyond the boundaries of the firm. This is known as Supply Chain Management (SCM)¹² (Busch, 2007. p.443). This management manifests in a variety of forms, including well publicised examples within studies of globalisation such as ‘Just-In-Time’ production models in the automotive industry. Food retailers and

¹² A supply chain is a word in common usage, but it worth offering a socio-material definition amalgamated from Busch (2007): a chain of business to business market and non-market interactions, enacting the movement of different elements of products between various sites of production, to a final point of consumption, where the firm in question sells the product. It is conceptualised as a chain to signify its durability over time, and the connections it makes across space.

supermarkets have actively mobilised in order to control elements of the agricultural system through their management of supply chains, moving from their traditional responsibility for distribution towards influencing both production and consumption patterns. (Burch, Dixon and Lawrence, 2013)

This growth and consolidation of these retailers also partly depends on the formatting of food retail. Supermarkets are the most significant example of this, and their particular spatial form has been detailed elsewhere in this chapter. In particular, the creation of a space of 'free' choice inside the supermarket is particularly significant in economic and political terms, since this free space is underpinned by so much organizing work within and outside the space itself, as detailed by Cochoy (2007). It is important to remember that the crystallisation of supermarkets as a centralised format for retail began in the 1950s and 1960s with the merger of several larger grocery store chains regionally within the US (Cochoy, 2009). The story of UK supermarkets is different, yet strongly inspired and directly influenced by US retail corporations such as Wal-Mart. Much of the power that supermarkets have to reorder supply chains and shape consumption exists in relation to their specific position as the entity closest to the consumer. Lang and Heasman (2004. p.148-149) among others (Smith and Thanassoulis, 2015) detail how larger amounts of money are generated at stages along the supply chain increasingly close to the consumer within the agricultural system. This means that retailers receive much higher proportions of the value produced through the lifetime of the product, while producers and processors receive much less. This situation is described as a bottleneck, as retailers are able to dictate terms to suppliers based on their access to consumers (Lang and Heasman, 2004. p.160) within the 'free' space of the supermarket in such an oligopolistic sector. This results in a situation where suppliers are charged 'slotting fees' so that their products are shelved in particular preferential places, as Aalberts and Jennings (1999) note.

Phenomena like shelving fees are usually used to demonstrate the level of competition between suppliers (Howard, 2016. p.21) but it is worth focussing on

how these fees relate so closely in practice to the positioning of products inside the supermarket. The oligopolistic power and control which retailers have over the sector, and the supply chains which supply them, seems to rely as much on the organisation of the internal space of the supermarket and its properties, as the political and economic efforts made to lessen competition, regulation, and worker organisation. An effect of the resulting oligopoly has been that other retailers have been marginalised, as suppliers orient business models towards supplying and finding advantage within the supermarket dominated environment. In the US, this has forced public markets to play limited, niche roles within the food system in order to survive (Smith, 2012). It would appear that something similar has happened in the UK, although there are a paucity of historical sources discussing Market Halls in the 20th century, particularly in the post-war period. Highlighting this effect brings attention to the internal space of the Market Hall, since this marginalisation would likely bring problems and result in traders producing a different kind of space, organised differently from the highly managed space inside supermarkets. If the internal layout of supermarkets is critical for understanding their economic dominance, then it becomes critical for the research questions to address the internal organisation of Market Halls as less dominant, marginalised spaces.

‘Traditional’ British Market Halls Today

Following the outline of the historical and social context of these Market Halls in the previous section, this final main section of the literature review is intended to give a sense of who currently has a stake in these spaces, what their intentions or interest in them consists of, and current research which deals with markets in particular. This involves a brief overview of the various government policies which relate to these markets, along with documents from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), trade bodies, national guidance for legislators, and local government guidelines from particular local and regional government bodies. This also includes a description of the current economic state of markets as a sector of the economy, and their trajectory relative to their recent past. In the process, this part of this section accounts for the more recent history of markets which is not directly addressed in the previous section. It depicts a market sector with an uncertain future, which is not quite as dire as it seemed in the previous decade. There has been a recent increase in academic research focussing on markets and the following section is dedicated to this as it has significant implications for the areas which the research questions are able to address. An instrumental approach to markets is identified as dominant, which provides space for more holistic approaches and for approaches focussed on the everyday organisation of market life. The third and final section is dedicated to the connections between the concepts of conviviality, accommodation and maintenance. This has a specific relevance to particular research questions, and one of the empirical chapters is also connected deeply to the convivial atmospheres and sociality which Market Halls are widely celebrated for. Special care has also been taken to specify the kinds of markets under discussion in order to provide a more focussed discussion of policy and contextual issues, with only passing reference or comparison with markets and specific contexts outside the UK.

Contemporary Market Halls

Two organisations exist to represent the needs and interests of those directly involved in 'Traditional' Market Halls as they exist today. The National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA) supports and represents the interests of local authorities and other entities responsible for the management of markets. While the majority of markets are still being operated by local authorities, there is an emerging trend towards markets being operated by private sector bodies (Mission 4 Markets [M4M], 2018). The National Market Trader Federation (NMTF) is responsible for representing market traders across the country, and this representation is achieved both by individual membership and traders who take on the role of NMTF representatives. Both bodies commission research and provide resources for traders and authorities, much of which is concerned with the future of markets and attempting to better measure various attributes of markets, and their effects on their surrounding environment. It is this body of trade literature that I will predominantly draw from here, although there are relevant local government documents which will also be taken into account. It is worth noting that until Smith (2012) conducted a thorough review of markets across the country, there was no accurate estimation of the number of markets, and little systematic documentation existed aside from the significant work conducted by Kryszewski (2009). Some of the information about retail markets as a sector of the economy is listed below, and immediately below this is a breakdown of the various organisations officially involved in advocacy and policy-making for markets:

- 1173 Traditional Retail Markets (M4M, 2018), 605 Farmers' Markets, and 36 wholesale markets (Zasada, 2009).
- 32,400 traders provide employment for 24,500, people (M4M, 2018).
- Total retail market turnover of over £3.5 billion a year in 2008-2009 (Zasada, 2009) and £2.7 billion in 2015-2016, with turnover currently increasing year on year by around £200 million each year (M4M, 2018).

- Multiplier effect of markets estimated to be around 3, so £3.5 billion turnover is estimated to be worth £10 billion to the UK economy. (Hallsworth et al, 2015. p.3)
- A retail trader with a permanent stall is likely to earn between £15,000 and £25,000, less than half of that if stall is only a few days a week. (Sveinsson et al. 2009. p.3).
- Over 70% of traders are over 50 (M4M, 2018).

Figure 1: Table containing various relevant trade bodies which influence policy pertaining to markets and market traders.

Organisation/Campaign	Purpose	Membership
National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA)	To work with market operators, private and public, local and central government, and the NMTF, among others, to secure the future of markets (NABMA, 2017 ^a).	Private and Public Market operators in the UK.
National Market Traders Federation	To support and represent the collective interests of market traders, events retailers, and mobile caterers in the UK. Also provides insurance at a reduced rate for members, and works with colleges and schools to encourage younger people to consider market trading (NMTF, 2017)	Market traders in the UK; anyone who is currently running a business from a market stall. This does not include employees of market traders.
Love your Local Market Campaign	This campaign is intended to raise the profile and awareness of markets, mostly through a month of	This campaign has different levels of participation in different markets, but many take part; on average, around

	celebrations held each May. Also conducts significant promotional activity on social media throughout the year and organises the National Youth Market Scheme (LYLM, 2017)	5000 special market days are held each May. There are participant markets from other countries than the UK as well.
Mission 4 Markets (M4M)	To assess and review the ‘health’ of markets, and to establish good practice for traders and operators. (M4M, 2017)	Both the NMTF and NABMA
The Markets Alliance	To work with the all-Party Parliamentary Markets Group, and coordinate between other market trade bodies to ensure important issues are being discussed (NABMA ^b , 2017).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NABMA, - National Farmers’ Retail and Markets Alliance, - Association of Town Centre Management, - Association of London Markets, - Country Markets.
National Farmers’ Retail and Markets Alliance (FARMA)(Now: Farm Retail Association [FRA])	To promote the role of the farmer within the food system, and help them develop retailing businesses through advice, resources, and lobbying of local and	Farm shop and Farmers’ Market operators.

central government.

(FARMA, 2017)

Association of London Markets (AoLM)	To represent some of the oldest and most important markets in the country, by lobbying the London Assembly, as well as representing the interests of the 160 street markets in London (and the 73,000 jobs they provide.) which have a key role in the capital's food supply. (NABMA, 2017 ^c ; Mayor of London, 2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Billingsgate Market,- Borough Market,- New Covent Garden,- New Spitalfields,- Smithfield,- Western International Market.
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Much policy research into markets has focussed explicitly on the value of markets to their surrounding area, to the extent that this value appears to be common knowledge among policy-makers even if those benefits are difficult to quantify. This emphasis put on the benefits of markets arguably comes as a result of markets falling into disrepair during the second half of the 20th century and early 2000s. The Communities and Local Government Committee (HoC, 2009) notes that one of the reasons for the apparent decline of markets is a lack of reinvestment and directed support for markets, making their management a contentious political and economic issue. This decline has been particularly acute in London, where local authorities have been accused of

allowing markets to fall into disrepair through disinvestment in order to better mobilise privately financed redevelopment initiatives (New Economics Foundation, 2006). While the link to redevelopment and regeneration initiatives is not made consistently by all researchers, the contribution of markets to the viability of town centres has not been widely recognised or acted upon by local authorities until recently. Markets generate significant amounts of money through rent payments and in times of limited and shrinking budgets for local authorities, this leads to a situation where markets are viewed as cheap sources of income requiring little continuing investment (Gonzales and Waley, 2013. p.3).

While there is evidence of a general decline concurrent with the growth of supermarkets, the now defunct Retail Markets Alliance (RMA) (Zasada, 2009) stressed that the picture is far from uniformly negative, with a significant proportion of markets unaffected or actually improving in performance. This success has been seized upon in certain circumstances, with additional attempts to quantify just what kind of benefits markets bring to their locale. Hallsworth et al., (2015) note the strength of the apparent effect of the market on the footfall through the town, based on a quantitative study examining towns with and without markets. It is also claimed that markets act as barometers for the economic viability of a place and act as a proxy for the state of the relations between local authorities and local stakeholders. London Councils (2015) also stresses the need for local authorities in London to pay much closer attention to market policy and management structures. There has been a general drive from trade bodies over the last 15 years to build an understanding of markets, in order to make the case to local authorities that these are worthwhile ventures for investment, which will assist with achieving policy goals.

As such, the trade bodies involved have done much to collect and provide information about markets, which is exemplified by the Retail Markets Alliance (Zasada, 2009) report, which provided a template for the data collection and analysis exercises conducted by NABMA which continue to this day. While the

RMA is now dissolved, the group included: the Association of Town Centre Management, the National Farmers' Retail Market Association, the Association of London Markets, and the Country Markets organisation. The purposes of these bodies among other are outlined in the table above. In addition, the NMTF and NABMA have cooperated to produce the Mission for Markets (M4M) manifesto (2015) which sets out clear political goals to orient their joint lobbying efforts. The RMA report (Zasada, 2009. p.55-57) in fact dedicates an entire section to knowledge management and benchmarking practices, arguing that the situation for markets is likely to continue changing, and that consistent monitoring will enable more appropriate recommendations and action.

There is also an overt call in the M4M (2015, p.30) manifesto document for markets to modernise and adopt digital marketing practices and card payments. The Love Your Local Market (LYLM) campaign has had an active social media presence and enrolled many markets across the UK in actively marketing their stalls and traders on social media (LYLM, 2017). There is a sense through these documents and campaigns that while market halls are considered worthy of local authority and central government support, traders will have to adapt in order to survive, which is crystallised in the documents following the submission of the Department for Communities and Local Government reports (Communities and Local Government Committee (CLGC), 2009; 2010). This focus from the trade bodies concerned with markets on adapting to change by updating marketing practices is particularly interesting as it may present conflicts with the traditional mode of marketing for which these spaces are known. In response to the progress made in understanding the economic value of markets, Bua, Taylor and Gonzales (2018) have called for more attention to the social and cultural value that markets bring to urban spaces, providing a response to these calls for adaptation. Holistic, bottom-up approaches may therefore be better for understanding the needs of particular markets and their communities.

Researching Markets

Geographical research into 'traditional' Market Halls in the UK is not particularly prolific, and for this reason, academic research into street markets will be included here, despite the distinctions drawn elsewhere in this thesis between Market Halls generally and other kinds. Markets are often approached as public spaces, especially outside geography (Balat, 2013; Filipi, 2013; Janssens and Sezer, 2013; Mehta and Gohil, 2013; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013). Within geography, Watson (2008) and Watson and Studdart (2006) also focus on markets as public spaces, vital for the development of community life and town centres. Watson (2008) also directly contrasts markets with the presentation of the shopping mall offered by Goss (1993). Watson and Studdart (2006) assess the different reasons why people visit the market, crucially dividing economic rationales from social motivations in their appreciation of the value of markets.

In recent years there have been fears from the media, public and traders themselves that the decline of markets is accompanied by a fundamental change in the way they operate. Gonzales and Waley (2013) associate the economic decline of markets with retail gentrification driven by neoliberal policymaking in local government (Smith, 2002; Slater, 2006). Markets are placed on a 'gentrification frontier' (Gonzales and Waley, 2013. p.3-7), on which change stands to exclude the current clientele or effect wholesale changes in the make-up of market halls. Such discussions of retail-led gentrification are associated with notions of authenticity (Zukin, 2008. p.727-728) and the appropriation of urban working class cultures and spaces by bourgeois elites (Hubbard 2016; Zukin, 2009; Annunziata and Lees, 2016). This has not resulted in a drastic change over the last decade, but the frontier still seems relevant as many of its tensions are still present and unresolved. More recently, Gonzales and Dawson (2015) noted that gentrification has instead meant that many changes have been made to markets in London without the closure of market sites. This approach has proved to be a crucial foundation for positioning

markets as under threat and establishing their value as social spaces, but it does little to advance understanding of the internal operations of markets and the stalls that constitute them, or the basis of the economic and marketing activities which take place there.

Other approaches replicate similar issues when approaching markets with particular policy agendas or goals in mind. In the US, Morales (2011; 2009) has approached markets from a planning policy perspective, raising questions about how marketplaces can be used in public policy. Machell and Caragher (2012) have similarly approached markets with a policy goal in mind, in this case access to fresh food. Farmers' markets (FM's) have previously been given much more attention in this regard (Gillespie et al, 2007; Kato and McKinney, 2015), which is remarkable considering that the earliest local authority policy towards urban markets was motivated by concern for ensuring adequate food supply, and the relative neglect that Market Halls have faced in recent years. As Machell and Caragher (2012) note, markets are more complex internally than the historically underpinned assumptions about them would lead us to believe, and this complexity needs exploring in more detail to better inform policy changes in markets. Smith, Maye and Ilbery (2014) repeat these calls for more nuance in studies of markets. Smith (2012) additionally argues for a reconsideration of the 'traditional' element of their role in urban food provision based on their current involvement in the contemporary food system. Smith (2012) also criticises the continuing lack and narrowness of current research into markets, which appears to be a critical omission for this body of research on Market Halls.

There are a number of notable studies from sociology that have attempted to understand markets as contemporary spaces, rather than 'traditional' spaces of social activity. These are noteworthy due to their innovative and exploratory methodologies. Rhys-Taylor (2013) has demonstrated the social and sensorial complexity of marketplaces through an in-depth sensory ethnography of a London street market. Lyon (2016) has also explored markets, through the use

of a montage methodology inspired by Rhythmanalysis. These particular examples emphasise the importance of the work that is needed to operate and maintain such markets and begins to move beyond static theoretical conceptions of action at the market to fully integrate considerations of the skill and smoothness that is accrued over time by traders. The day-to-day cognitive and improvisational skills needed to perform the social and material marketing functions that constitute these markets is likely to be more formalised, routinised and specialised in other sites such as supermarkets, where much of it can be automated or delegated to objects and materials in some way. The approaches demonstrated by Lyon (2016) and Rhys-Taylor (2013) indicate ways in which these marketing skills may be apprehended, how the material arrangement and organisation of marketplaces can be understood, and how the critical omission of much academic work on these spaces can be rectified.

Conviviality, Hospitality and Maintenance

In many discussions of the relations between customers and staff in Market Halls and similar semi-public commercial settings, conviviality emerges as a characteristic element of social activity that runs alongside processes of exchange. A set of connections appear between literatures concerned with convivial spaces, care and hospitality, but also between these themes and maintenance. This section aims to describe these connections and provide a way to navigate and utilise these connections through the notion of accommodation. Warner, Talbot and Bennison (2013) demonstrate some of these connections by describing a simple and long-established café as an affective community space, in which care and emotional labour are performed alongside the provision of food and drink. This kind of space is often described as a 'third-place', a place between public and private spheres where informal, non-instrumental socialising is possible (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982. p.280). Watson and Studdert (2006, p.17-20) note that café spaces in markets are similar focal points for conviviality and informal socialising which become particularly important for vulnerable people, as they provide a form of support

often simply by their presence. To be able to understand and discuss in detail what these spaces offer and how conviviality is formed, it is necessary to engage with wider discussions around conviviality, how it connects to notions of hospitality, and how it is relevant to other issues.

Conviviality is often considered to be more than a simple friendliness or sociability. It is often thought to have the particular ability to ease strained social ties. Anderson (2011) discusses marketplaces as potential cosmopolitan canopies in which different cultures may exist comfortably together, leaving the divisions which shape the city behind. Marketplaces are often used in passing to exemplify how a convivial space with a shared focus (often food and drink) and relaxed atmospheres can allow for social encounters that over time may challenge or suspend prejudices. Aptekar (2019) and Wessendorf (2014) both engage with these formulations of conviviality through encounter by teasing out its limitations and borders and in the process advance the possibility that conviviality can be a way to deny difference. Discussions of convivial spaces seem to be close to geographies of encounter, and similar criticisms are made of encounter on the basis that it poorly describes the mechanism by which cumulative encounters across lines of difference lead to change (Valentine, 2008). These criticisms have been largely addressed by Wilson (2008), who argues for close attention to the temporality of encounter and the conditions under which it takes place. With these debates in mind, it is possible to detect a shared concern by those making and addressing these criticisms for the accommodation of difference and how it takes place.

Koch and Latham (2012) describe the concept of conviviality as offering a way to think through the qualities of collective urban life and accommodation of difference. This approach to conviviality focusses on the material and practical arrangements that enable openness to others. Rather than understanding conviviality to be a property of a particular type of space, it is also possible to understand it as an achievement made possible by the work of those involved, including the material elements that make up a space (Laurier and Philo, 2006).

As such, Laurier and Philo (2006) argue that the constitution and nature of conviviality is unique to each setting in which it is achieved. In detaching conviviality from its association with particular types of places, it becomes easier to understand the particularities of conviviality in each case. This is demonstrated by Bates (2018) who engages with the arrangement of a public square and the resulting constitution of conviviality, including the particular limitations and exclusions that result from its design and use. These approaches to conviviality attend to the details of the spaces as they are formed and indicate a way to think about the accommodation of difference in practical and affective terms. This includes attending to conviviality as a feature of the affective atmosphere of a place, as Koch and Latham (2012. p.522-523) also discuss. The conceptualisation of atmosphere developed by Anderson (2014, p.138-169) provides a description of the mechanism by which the affective qualities of conviviality may transcend interpersonal relations, becoming collective affects, experienced locally in particular places. Through resonance between interacting bodies (widely defined to include non-human subjects), atmospheres radiate, enveloping a space (Anderson, 2014. p.149). What this means is that the affective accommodation of difference that conviviality refers to, can therefore be considered to emerge from the specific arrangements that make up a space.

If conviviality is considered to be closely concerned with the accommodation of the other, then it also challenges certain understandings of hospitality. Derrida (2000) argues that there is a conflict which sits at the heart of the notion of hospitality as an ideal, rooted in the conceptual framing of hospitality in language. Hospitality involves care for the guest or other, and Derrida (2000, p.135-137) holds it to be subject to an unconditional ethical imperative whereby the guest is accepted without reserve. Since there may well be combinations of conflicting concerns which may contradict or limit hospitality, ethics inevitably intervenes recursively in this demand to be hospitable. Derrida (2000) was writing about the political ramifications of hospitality in the context of migration instead of the accommodation offered by particular places, but his description of

an ever-present tension is still useful. It is possible to understand this tension as productive, since selectivity and exclusionary dynamics are inherent to care (Puig De La Bellacasa, 2017). Treatments of the political questions surrounding hospitality and care in society have long included exclusions as part of the contradictory nature of hospitality (Derrida, 2000; May et al. 2019) but the approach to hospitality taken here aims to foreground the constitutive, structuring elements of partiality and selectivity.

More specific literatures on care have a particular relevance to the approach to hospitality taken here. Writing about the provision and nature of care in medical settings, Mol (2008) finds that discussing practices of care rather than the ethics of care comes with a less oppositional conception of subjectivity. Addressing care practices involves taking account of the collectives involved in establishing local constructions of desirability (Mol, 2008. p.86-87). This is a foundational question of ethics, which can now be explored through particular situations and contexts rather than through a reliance on universal ideals. Mol (2010) clarifies that the definition of caring practice should remain broad, leading to a maximal, empirically informed definition of care in which each new instance of caring practice contributes to its local definition. Within geographies of care, the topic of care may have been over-specified, as it generally refers to particular discrete interactions between people (e.g. healthcare workers and their patients, or variants thereof). It is also assumed in many cases that these carers have distinct others in mind as recipients (Conradson, 2003; Lawson, 2007). The ideas explored by Mol (2008; 2010) seem to be particularly useful for understanding the limitations and affordances of convivial and hospitable spaces, alongside their material and affective qualities through the notion of accommodation.

This approach to conviviality through attention to accommodation resonates with aspects of the approach to care taken by Puig De La Bellacasa (2017). There is a focus within this approach on the mundane technologies and objects involved in the making and maintaining of the shared worlds we inhabit (Puig

De La Bellacasa, 2017. p.220). This is framed in terms of environmental concerns, or matters of care, and it has a clear connection to notions of hospitality. Mattern (2018) identifies care as currently enjoying a wide resonance as theory, ethos, methodology and even political cause, through its connections to maintenance. This resonance manifests in a number of studies attending to the materiality of the work needed to maintain and repair public and social infrastructure, as Denis and Pontille (2015) establish by referring to the 'care of things' implicated in the infrastructure of navigation. The reparative work that goes into maintaining the affective qualities of urban public spaces, is also identified by Hall and Smith (2015), which is particularly relevant for a consideration of affective atmospheres in marketplaces. Carr (2017) associates repair with care through the identification of a caring ethos permeating and transcending particular work cultures in their ethnography of steelwork employees. This establishes potential new interactions between maintenance work and forms of social care. Repair and maintenance work arguably involves working closely with or in imperfect or incomplete situations and conditions in order to preserve and perpetuate the possibility of accommodation. Since the social value of markets is so often framed in terms of the accommodation and hospitality they provide, it becomes imperative to attend to how this accommodative work is done and how it is maintained over time.

Graziano and Trogal (2019) contribute to broadening the potential resonance between these diverse yet connected areas by approaching repair as a regime of practice, generative of alternative social relations. They also note that repair is specifically included in the definition of care provided by Fisher and Tronto (1990. In: Graziano and Trogal, 2019. p.207). Further connections are apparent between accommodation, maintenance and notions of economic alterity. Specifically relevant here is recent work on alternative and social economies (Leyshon et al. 2003). There have also been attempts to introduce performative approaches to the economy where it is closely meshed with practices usually closely associated with the social, such as care and care work (Roelvink et al. 2017; Gibson-Graham 2014). These connections to alterity are important to

consider and follow through empirically with respect to Market Halls, due to the divergence of methods generally required in order to understand and communicate the full value of marketplaces (Bua et al. 2018). These holistic approaches are often able to include the contradictions, compromises and difficulties that are inherent to alternative economic spaces, and provide a way to discuss economic matters in ways which do not sharply differentiate them from social matters. Throughout these literatures on alternative economies, maintenance and repair there is an orientation to the future, and a shared concern for sustaining and accommodating life and difference (Tsing, 2015). This concern seems to apply well to the current position of Market Halls within the economy and society, and such an approach may generate new modes of speaking and writing about their future.

Research Questions and Approach

As the final section of this review demonstrates, there has been a lack of detailed empirical engagement with how traders practice marketing and how Market Halls in general are operated and organised. Theoretical divides in the history of economic sociology and the sociology and geography of consumption have prevented close empirical attention to the devices that structure and format spaces of exchange and consumption. Omissions and exceptions in both of these separate fields demonstrate these devices to be an ideal point for intervention, as the breadth of consumption geographies may temper the focus of economic sociology on the purchase process. As the complex history of Market Halls and their current marginal position are tied up with the structuring and development of the internal spaces of supermarkets, the structuring of these marginal retail spaces becomes a key question. In particular, the structuring of these environments, and how they shape the agency of the various actants that make up stalls appears to be essential for understanding not only the operation of Market Halls but also their potential futures and capacity for change and adaptation. A set of research questions is required which will focus attention on the marketing work done by traders and objects on the market stall. This approach would provide empirical grounding to discussions about the nature of markets as economic and social spaces. The first three research questions (as detailed below) respond to the aforementioned issues emerging from the literature by focussing on the arrangement of stalls and economic performances, as well as the agencies of objects.

Paying attention to the socio-material arrangements that perform marketing practices in Market Halls also means paying close attention to the other areas of social-life that are structured or formatted by these arrangements. The formation and attachment of products to consumers is not all that markets do. As noted, conviviality commonly emerges throughout works discussing markets.

The approach taken here therefore needs to be framed widely enough to be able to incorporate conviviality and other related practices where they emerge in the empirical material. This concern is accommodated by the fourth research question, which aims to understand how conviviality is achieved in Market Halls, and in what forms accommodation is offered. At the core of this project is an attentiveness to the performances enacted in the space of the Market Hall through human and non-human practices, and the research questions listed below aim to enable this attentiveness.

Research Questions:

1. How is the marketing of produce on Market stalls organised?
2. What does the arrangement of market stalls mean for their performance as economic spaces?
3. What are the agentic capacities of the objects on market stalls?
4. How is conviviality achieved in market spaces? What kind of accommodation is offered?

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The research questions described at the end of the literature review concern the intersection and relations between the social and material worlds inside the market hall. This means that a methodology was needed which could attend to how the physical fabric of the market stalls, the architecture of the surrounding market and the arrangement of products within the stall interact with each other and those inside the hall. This has required the adoption of a broadly ethnographic approach to data collection and the use of visual methods. Conceptual clarity about the research site appeared to be particularly important given the theoretical approach taken, and this has shaped not only the approach to data collection as described, but also how this section is structured. For example, the research design is explored at length, paying particular attention to the analytical unit in question but this section on framing follows a short section outlining the ontological and epistemological positions which Actor Network Theory (ANT) takes. Following these sections, the selection of sites will be examined in theory, with parallel attention to the process as it happened in practice. The penultimate section of this chapter will examine the specific data collection methods used, their origin, and influencing factors which led to their use in this case. Finally, a section will be devoted to the ethical and political issues that arose during the project around my presence as a researcher in the market, and the possible effects of the account in production.

Ontological, Epistemological and Disciplinary concerns

In the literature review, it was necessary to draw upon not only geography, but a range of material from anthropology and sociology. ANT is not a straightforward link between these disciplines but seems to be on a shared path through them with particular insights for market halls. To apply it in methodological terms, its positions on epistemological and ontological matters must be addressed. Originating from Science and Technology Studies (STS), ANT is closely concerned with the role of theory in social science and the nature of knowledge. A number of key concepts help to demonstrate what this means and to communicate the impact of this on research methods, as the relevance of this focus on knowledge is not immediately obvious from starting points within more orthodox social science positions on these matters. Power provides a useful concept to start with, thanks to its close association with the notion of social agency. Müller (2015. p.32-33) explores the differences between ANT and approaches discussed by Deleuze and Guattari, highlighting the use of two slightly different words for power in the French original works in the process. *Puissance*, referring to power in the immanent sense of having the capacity to exert power or power as an attribute, is distinguished from *pouvoir* which describes actualised or exerted power. *Pouvoir* is much closer to the conceptualisation of power and agency in ANT, as it communicates the sense in which power is an achievement or potentiality. In ANT a specific ensemble of actants has to emerge in order to make socio-material power possible, and durable (Müller, 2015. p.33). This distinction is lacking in English but understanding it helps us to attend to the key task of ANT, which is to interrogate the specific and situated arrangement of conditions which make exertions of power possible.

ANT aims to interrogate the specific and situated arrangement of the conditions which make such exertions of power possible, drawing attention to the constant

and ongoing work implicated in the maintenance of social and political distinctions. In applying this logic to the domain of the social, ANT takes into account the discursive and metrological work involved in maintaining knowledge of the world around us, even in mundane settings. This work is often generative of the categories which describe aspects of social life and practice. ANT therefore has the potential to explore situations in which the widely assumed relationship between ontology and epistemology is reversed. Generally, epistemology (ideas about the nature of knowledge) are thought to determine ontology (or the way the world is understood to be). Law and Lien (2012) demonstrate an instance of such a reversal in their empirical study of a salmon fishing farm. In this example, ontological orders are created by the practices in action on the farm which allow a regime of knowledge specific to salmon to emerge. That example may appear mundane, but similar projects in ontological politics have demonstrated the relevance of these orders to questions of life, death and illness (C. Cussins 1996; Mol 1999; Mol 2009). Understanding the production of these ontological orders is critical for this project, since it is key to the version of performativity discussed in more detail in the first section of the literature review and will allow the research questions to be answered empirically.

What an ANT informed approach brings to our understanding of market halls in terms of methodology is the ability to unpack some of the practices underpinning market trading as an activity. This is particularly important in instances where materials and technologies play significant mediating roles. As noted in the previous chapter, there has been a recent move towards using multisensory (Rhys-Taylor, 2013) and multimedia (Lyon, 2016) methods to approach market spaces, which have brought attention to little considered aspects of market halls. There has also been a reconsideration of previously assumed aspects of their role in urban centres as sites of fresh food provision (Smith, Maye and Ilbery, 2014; Machell and Caragher, 2012; Smith 2012). Throughout all of these accounts however, the business practices of traders and the operation of stalls has not been studied thoroughly, in favour of

attention to markets as a whole. Refocussing attention in this way would provide traders and market authorities with a much more detailed picture on the lived realities of the work of market trading but more importantly, an idea of the limitations and unique affordances of market trading.

Questions of Framing

In order to frame the research site correctly, it is crucial to understand what it is in conceptual terms before empirical work commences. Gonzales and Waley (2013) draw attention to the historical and long-established nature of markets by referring to them as traditional retail markets (TRMs). Treating markets as 'traditional' spaces frames them in a way that permits nostalgia and authenticity to emerge (Watson and Wells, 2005). The use of 'traditional markets' is underpinned by socio-cultural discourses concerning history, heritage and authenticity (Zukin, 2008) but engaging fully with this literature is beyond the scope of this project. This label was therefore dropped in favour of the term Market Halls, which draws attention to their architectural form. It is worth noting that there are multiple overlapping classifications of markets, and these can seem unhelpfully inconsistent at times.

Markets are generally categorised on the basis of the kinds of products sold at the stalls within them, or on the basis of their architectural form. The London Assembly (LA) in 2010 commissioned Regeneris Consulting (2010) to produce a report on the state of London's street markets, and in this report a typology (See Figure 2 below) was used which combined these criteria. This separated Street Markets from 'Covered' Markets and separated these from Farmers' Markets in turn. This relates in part to the accreditation services which trade bodies like the National Farmers' and Retail Markets Association (FARMA) provide, but also relates to the wide range of markets under the purview of NABMA and NMTF (ROI Team 2015a; ROI Team 2015b; ROI Team 2015c; ROI Team 2015d; ROI Team 2015e). The authors of the Regeneris (2010)

report acknowledge that in practice, covered markets (and indeed street markets) may be closer to specialist markets, or specialist food markets, depending on the market in question. This raises the issue that classifying markets by stall type alone relies on attending purely to product or service types, which are often maintained by the policies of market management internally, making this an issue specific to each market. It is also worth noting that the amount of information on stall type and market type is patchy and incomplete¹³. If much of this categorisation relies on market management practices, then it seems appropriate to focus on the stall level, where the effects of these practices may be observed.

Figure 2: Definition[s] of Market Types (Regeneris Consulting, 2010. p.11).

Type	Definition	Examples
Street Market	Any regular market taking place outside on a highway (rather than indoor premises, or e.g. a school playground). Around three quarters of these markets in London are regulated by local authorities, with the remainder having private operators. Usually sell a mixture of household goods, clothes & accessories, fruit & vegetables and other food produce.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Queen’s Market. • Petticoat Lane. • East Street.

¹³ There is for example no central database of all the markets currently in operation around the UK, let alone data on their make-up. Smith (2012) located and recorded 1124 markets, but did not collect data about them individually. This was likely because there is no central authority for recording information about markets. NABMA are taking steps towards better information-gathering exercises , with an ongoing drive to encourage market operators and local authorities to undertake benchmarking exercises. Most of the time, information about a market can be gathered by either actually going to a market or to going to stall lists on the website for that market.

Specialist Markets	Other markets specialising in particular goods and not falling into one of the other categories. Goods sold can include arts & crafts, clothes, antiques or second hand goods. Car boot sales have been included in this definition where they are large scale (more than 50 pitches) and regular (i.e. weekly)[.]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bermondsey Square market (antiques) • South Bank 2nd hand books market • Greenwich and Bromley crafts markets • Large scale and regular car boot sales e.g. Queensmead School Ruislip
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Farmers' Market	<p>The term Farmers' market is often used quite broadly to describe markets selling high quality food. There is a good case however for sticking to the strict definition of a farmers' market as one where farmers and other producers sell their produce direct to the consumer.</p> <p>These markets are accredited by FARMA (National Farmers' and Retail Markets Association) which has strict accreditation standards e.g. to ensure that vendors are the actual producers, and on provenance.</p>	Wimbledon, Blackheath, Islington farmers markets.
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Specialist Food [Market]	Markets other than farmers' markets selling speciality food. NB the distinction between specialist food markets and farmers' markets may sometimes not be obvious to customers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occasional French or Italian markets in Ilford, Harrow, Sutton of Camden (Queen's Crescent).
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Covered Market	Any market with a dedicated permanent roof covering. The fact a market is covered does not in itself always reveal much about the type of market. E.g. some covered markets are similar to traditional street markets, others are similar to specialist craft or clothes markets.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Camden Lock (Stables).• Wood Green .• Hampstead Community Market.• Borough Market.
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To remain aligned with the methodologies and philosophy which inform the literature review, case studies would appear to be the most appropriate form of research design, but the question remains open as to what each case consists of. The relatively self-contained nature of Market Halls, (when this label corresponds with the definition of Covered Markets given in Figure 2) points towards adopting the market as the unit of the case study, but this does not attend to the level of detail implied by the theoretical approach, research questions, or the level of internal complexity inherent to markets that is indicated by the relevant literature¹⁴. Markets are, of course, made up of multiple individual stalls and thus it may be more fruitful and internally valid to design this research project around the businesses that these stalls are made up of than around entire markets. This approach seems much more likely to provide meaningful contributions towards the scope of the research questions, which are directly concerned with the socio-material organisation of food stalls. Better yet, would be a focus on particular market devices and other forms of socio-material agencement as the cases in question, since this would mean the empirical material could address the research questions directly. The research design in practice was oriented around particular stalls, but the nature of the methods used meant that the cases took shape as they were examined, occasionally moving beyond stall boundaries, and outside of the market.

Defining the case in question in abstract terms is complex in this situation. Commitments to ideas about the nature of knowledge, as part of the general approach taken to methodology impinge on the framing of the research site and nature of the cases at hand. Symmetrical methodologies as described by Latour (2005, p.63-64) are focussed on observational modes of collection, rather than particular qualitative or quantitative forms of data. The alignment of ANT with

¹⁴ This is of interest as a subject in itself, and may be a feature of the results. Past research conducted by myself in Swansea Market indicated that the general balance of different stall types and relative placement of stalls in the market are topics of intense micro-political interest for traders and market operators.

ethnographic/observational modes of data collection challenges the notion of a research site defined in geographical terms or through architectural forms. It is tempting to fold the framing of the case study into the physical form and social entity of the market stall but this risks contributing to the ontological hierarchy that discursively constructs the market hall as a stable, containing entity, rather than paying attention to the construction of this hierarchy. This may seem like splitting hairs but one of the key aspects of any study seeking to apply ANT inherits a commitment to retain a flat ontology (Latour, 2005. p.27-42). In the case of research design, a flat ontology means rejecting the assumption that markets necessarily contain stalls, instead seeking to look at how that containing is done as part of the rest of the ongoing work in these places. Treating markets as the natural containing entity of stalls omits the relations which constitute both markets and stalls, and contributes to the ontological hierarchy which positions markets as stable containing entities.

The nature of these stalls as businesses which buy and sell, with suppliers and customers located in different places with aspects of the business operations being spread around the market, presents a challenge for conceptions of ethnography influenced by traditional anthropology, as Marcus notes (1995). These conceptions have tended to focus on particular geographical sites with easy to understand borders. As Nadai and Maeder (2013, p.4) highlight, the precise boundaries of the research site very often only emerge as the research process continues, and are largely constructed by the researcher in pursuit of the research questions. This highlights the importance of not relying too heavily on *a priori* definitions of particular framings of the research site. Meyer (2001, p.334) discusses this issue briefly in differentiating between different forms of case study research, providing the 'analytic unit' as an alternative concept. It is important to note that the analytic unit is constructed around the agencement in this case. This concept is discussed at length in the previous chapter of this thesis, and it provides a surrogate for a case, in this project and may be more useful than considering each geographical 'site' as an independent analytical unit. The agencement (or device) serves as a pivot and socio-material locus for

analysis on which the set of concepts described in the previous chapter can be brought to bear, and importantly allows for articulated, multi-site analytic units. Finding, describing, and making sense of these agencements in the market hall are perhaps the principal concerns of the research questions, so it is appropriate to let each case emerge from observation and engagement.

Sampling Decisions

One of the issues most often noted when utilizing ANT for any research project is the problem of bounding cases and setting limits on the data collection process. The analytical unit has a clear, if open-ended definition thanks to the reworking of the core task of the social sciences advocated by Latour (2005), towards the 'tracing of associations'. Since these connections are potentially endless in some circumstances, there has often been the perception that ANT involves limitless tasks of data collection. This would be correct if the assertions made by Latour (2005) about the nature of associations were interpreted as general theoretical statements. Sayes (2014) argues that these misunderstandings mistake the methodological orientation of ANT for attempts to reinvent social theory. ANT can be considered instead as an approach to methodology appropriate to particular empirical situations, rather than a social theory in itself.

An objection to *a priori* sampling frames does not exclude other kinds of limitation to the data collection process which may operate in the same way. Practical, logical and definitional issues surrounding the topic shape the analytic unit as described in the previous section, and these issues may also provide limits to the sampling process. As is noted often in accounts of ethnographic fieldwork elsewhere (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007. p.106-108) acquiring access to participants for the purpose of observation is often practically difficult and fraught with problems. This necessitates the use of sampling strategies oriented more around ameliorating the practical difficulties of observational work

than maintaining standards which are somewhat removed from the demands of 'the field'. Such methods are commonly defined as convenience sampling (Bryman, 2008. p.183-184) but it is worth noting how such strategies are often highly influenced by the intersection of practical and theoretical concerns. In their visual archaeology of street scenes, Cochoy et al. (2015, p.2271) detail how the number of viable sites for data collection became limited thanks to their theoretical commitments and the requirements of their methods. In this case, there also appear to be more than enough limiting factors to the selection process. A viable market hall for this project would need to be close enough to my place of residence for me to be able to travel there quickly enough to be present during market hours. This effectively limited me to South Wales and the South West of England. It would need a good range of food stalls¹⁵, willing participants and operators, and an amenable public. Given the limited number of Market Halls in South Wales, I anticipated that these would be more than enough limiting factors given that each market will have multiple stalls, each with their own access requirements to be negotiated.

In the early stages of the fieldwork, I visited three market halls for substantial amounts of time over a few months, speaking to traders and chatting with them. These were Cardiff Central Market, Pontypridd Market, and Newport Market. Before speaking to traders explicitly about the project, I often spoke to the management of the market, to ask permission and for advice. These conversations ranged from half hour conversations, to extended walking tours of market halls. My initial interest and visits to Cardiff Market were motivated by a number of new stalls which moved into the market in early 2017. I also visited Pontypridd Market, as I had learned from a conversation at the 2017 NABMA regional gathering in Llanelli that it was originally set up as a cooperative

¹⁵ As discussed earlier, food stalls are the particular focus of this project. Food stalls are often the 'anchor' stalls in market halls and consumption spaces (Shields, 1989; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Jewell, 2016; Hallsworth et al, 2015), which regularly attract the largest numbers of customers but also often charge the lowest amount.

venture between local businessmen, but was now privately owned. Newport Market was also visited, but it was difficult to engage with traders and customers there and in Pontypridd Market, and short opening hours presented difficulties in some cases. My relationships with traders at Cardiff Market developed quickly and so I decided to focus on this site, abandoning the more comparative approach which I had initially considered.

Within Cardiff Market, I developed a relationship with the traders at 6 different stalls, that then feature in this research, so between fifteen and twenty traders feature regularly, alongside 6 additional market attendants and staff who were often present in the market. Data has been omitted where observation was not desired or permitted. The number of customers that feature in the data most likely ranges into the hundreds, although 4 or 5 regular customers also feature in the account. As consent was informal, this takes into account the wishes of customers and traders to exclude particular events from my record, and any seemingly personal details or particularly difficult interactions were excluded.. The political and practical issues surrounding informal consent and ethnographic research in public spaces are discussed in the final section of this chapter. In total, around 70 hours were spent in the market, over five months. If specific sessions dedicated to filming, preliminary visits to Cardiff and the other markets, and interviews with market managers (which were not used as data but merely to add to the general background information) are included, around 110 hours were spent on data collection. The concept of theoretical saturation was used, based on initial themes visible in the data, to place an end point on the data collection process.

Data Collection Methods

In order to answer the research questions fully, data collection methods are required which can attend to the analytical unit defined previously. There are also a range of practical issues which need to be explored which relate to the market hall (and Cardiff Market in particular) as a uniquely arranged space. In order to describe and begin to note the significance of various agencements at work in the market, it is necessary to treat material and social actants as symmetrical. In other words, it is necessary to utilise data collection methods which do not impose *a priori*, a conceptual framework which separates causal material relations and intentional human activity (Latour, 2005. p.76). This has broad effects on the methodologies available, since objects tend to recede into the background in contrast to human actants from which data is often readily available (Latour, 2005, p.79-82). As a result, qualitative approaches to data collection which rely specifically on human to human interaction are less useful. Variations upon these methodologies have been produced via experimentation with observational and visual research methods by Cochoy (2008; 2007) and others (Miele 2016; Ossandon, 2013; Czarniawska, 2007). The common objective of these experiments is to assess the interactions between human and non-human worlds in forming agentic collectives. In this section I will set out how each of these kinds of methodologies has been applied in the market hall context in order to answer the research questions, while identifying the limitations and challenges that emerged.

Shadowing and Tracking as Ethnographic Practice

Czarniawska (2007) has proposed Shadowing as a form of ethnography which focusses on and follows the individual across different locations and settings, in a mode similar to the go-alongs used by Miller et al (1998) and others (Cole et al. 2009) in consumption studies. Shadowing originates from organisation studies, and was developed in order to answer questions concerning the

internal dynamics and features of an organisation, initially through contracting work with businesses (Czarniawska, 2008. p.5-8). Much of the research using this method has followed this origin and had been applied at the top of organisational hierarchies. In exploring this method, this project aims to depart from this tendency. The notion of following in this method speaks to the multi-sited and mobile nature of market trader work. Moving around within and outside of the market, the socio-material 'work' of marketing and marketing devices in market halls happens across multiple sites. Being able to take account of and work with this mobility appeared to be important based on my initial visits to the research site, where traders seemed to be constantly on the move within the market.

In order to account for the development of the method in this case, more detail is needed on how the practicalities of that form of data collection in the research site were brought into conversation with the commitments of working with ANT as an approach. Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.274) establish that two related forms of reflexivity are required for qualitative research, to understand how it has been collected and represented, and to understand what ethical practice in the field looks like in practical, situational terms. These different forms of reflexivity can be combined 'in the field', in a number of ways. Latour (2005, p.133-135) suggests keeping multiple notebooks in which to document not just observational material and speculative or exploratory writing, but also the effects of the collection process on the actants concerned, and the impact of the text itself on said actants. Gill, Barbour and Dean (2014, p.79-82) in highlighting the variety of notetaking styles demonstrate a number of devices, such as columns in which to make notes, which enable chronological order and categorisations to be reconstructed later on. Therefore I explored of a method of taking fieldnotes which combined the multiple notebooks described by Latour (ibid.) into a single notebook by encoding or categorizing notes. This did not prove taxing in the field, and this method meant that it was easily to develop the second element of reflexivity (concerning methodological/epistemological reflection on the data collection process and the impact of the text on the

various elements) since they were categorised as distinct interjections amongst the observed details.

This roughly accounts for part of the process which could strictly be called collection, but it is also worth attending to the part of the process in which the fieldnotes were turned into usable data through transcription. The principal task of ANT is description rather than explanation, making the analysis process and thus the sensibilities required in taking notes slightly different to that of traditional ethnography but much of the guidance about the practicalities of field notes is still relevant. In particular, the advice given by Delamont (2002) which describes the process of collecting fieldnote data as writing manuscripts in 'peacock styles', captures the tendency of initial scratch notes, or jottings as described by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011, p.29-34) to turn into much wider, elaborated accounts of a situation when transcribed. Of course, there is some tension implicit here for an ANT influenced ethnography, in that this process of expanding is similar to and may easily become informal theorizing (Latour, 2005. p.133-135). This is also part of the reason for the separation of notes or notebooks. By using this mode of separation, it is possible to maintain the separate purpose of each without leaps of interpretation between them. Transcribing fieldnotes must be considered an element of analysis and treated with a similar degree of rigour, with care being taken to separate out observations and detail from exploratory metaphor and analogy. The issues with this process of decompression or reconstruction make it all the more important to make specific note of methodological issues, as the fieldwork is in progress. This way, 'ethically important moments' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011. p.34) can be identified more clearly.

If this method of data collection is to be truly symmetrical in its treatment of humans and non-humans as an ANT approach necessitates, then clarification is needed to show how shadowing can be adapted to de-centre the individual and human subject. Shadowing is often focussed on a single person in the course of their daily activities (Quinlan, 2008), but it is possible to conceive of

the person differently in order to repurpose this mode of following as tracking. Calvignac and Cochoy (2016) in developing the idea of the vehicular agencement to explore the role of objects in urban mobility challenge the notion that the 'person' is linked to a human-centred individual, instead expanding the concept to include their physical trappings among other things. Following objects regardless of humans has been a common mode of data collection, with researchers following multiple objects over the course of their lifespan, and beyond (See: Evans, 2012; Marcus, 1995. p.106-107). Access at each stage of translation, or movement across time and space puts limits on how far this is possible in this context, since most markets are made up of multiple jurisdictions. This not only creates a problem in terms of negotiating access, but also in terms of maintaining observation.

One aspect of this challenge related to my position within the market. A number of times over the course of the fieldwork, it became difficult to know where to observe or participate in an interaction from. Movement through the aisles is nearly constant, and particular bodily positions initiate particular interactions. Another aspect of the challenge related to the complexity of attempting to track people and things as they were moved around the market. Lines of sight could extend partially across stalls, but it was hard to keep track over time of things emerging and moving back into storage. Interactions seemed to stop and start, disappear around one corner and restart again somewhere else. The gaps in these accounts resulted in fragments of followings, that produced short tracings. The action of tracking was something I could practice more intentionally, providing a way to select certain actants for observation without the need to follow things consistently across contexts. It seemed to combine the sensibility of shadowing with the potential for symmetry indicated by follow-the-thing methods. Relying on purely textual forms of description of these tracked configurations of human and objects may leave both the analysis and account somewhat lacking; video and photographic methods have been noted to augment the material, sensory, and sensual data collected from ethnographic

methods (Simpson, 2011. p.350). The next section of this chapter will deal with video methods in particular, in response to this acknowledgement.

Visual/Video Methods

Following a symmetrical approach to research methods requires paying close attention to interactions involving the material world. Visual methods helped in the development of this attentiveness, but these methods require critical discussion. A symmetrical methodology is one that treats the interactions and effects of the material world in the same way as the interactions and effects that emerge from humans. This means that the material world must not be treated as a backdrop to social life, and forms of testimony exclusive to particular actants must not be prioritised over others (Latour, 2005. p.84). Data collection may be more attuned or susceptible to these kinds of testimony, and selected on this basis. Interviews for example rely on the intervention of the researcher, and elicit data in the form of responses from the human participant. As noted in an earlier section the analytical unit is more diffuse in this case and observing this unit from a particular position is thus the only option, placing it as a methodology on the other side of a divide between approaches to objectivity (Dicks, 2011. p.222-232). This is not to claim that either of these approaches to methodologies is superior, but simply that certain methods of representational data collection are unsuitable for particular forms and arrangements of inquiry (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997. p.319-322).

The desire to stay focussed on the capacity of visual methods to aid observation does not negate the need to pay attention to the representational nature of photographs and video files when used as data. The practices of producing and working with this data are critical to its use in this regard. Just as ethnographic practice which does not actively seek to ground itself in the subjectivity of the participant requires attention to the relative position of observer and participant, the principles which organise the practice of still or video photography require close attention, since they organise this relation in

this case. Concepts like focus, shutter speed and depth of field have a direct relevance to the operation of the camera, but they also play a large part in constructing background and foreground, the composition of a photograph, and these greatly influence the interpretation of the photograph in question. These are particularly relevant to the production of photographic images and video for research, and especially for images intended for analysis.

These operational considerations need to be acknowledged in the same way that the specific practices of taking fieldnotes are discussed in the previous section. Mjaaland (2017, p.14-17) argues that the ethnographic filmmaker or photographer can instead of simply stating the conventions of the medium, can explore and actively use the particular effects of these. While the research site and questions did not allow for such a high degree of flexibility, an iterative and experimental approach was still taken to the practice of still photography and film-making. While inside the market, I often took along a camera and experimented with different settings and compositions, finding it valuable to reflect on the experience of taking photographs while in the market in comparison to the resulting photograph. As the methodological shift towards 'tracking' rather than shadowing became apparent early in the project, I decided to conduct an experiment with still photography in which I would use the 'sport' mode on my camera to imitate the tracking process. This mode captures multiple photos in quick succession, with the high shutter speed that is needed to capture moving elements clearly. This mode allows the user to hold down the shutter release trigger, while the camera produces a series of images in quick succession. This generated a large number of photographs, with different series capturing different sets of associated interactions in chronological order. Interactions were also captured between traders and their stalls, between material objects in transit and between customers and materials present on stalls (Stationary interactions or associations between materials can be depicted as clearly in video as in photography). Instances where traders and customers reacted differently to my presence with a camera were recorded in a different notebook, alongside methodological notes within my fieldnotes.

Similar to the issues of position and micro-mobility that instigated the move towards 'tracking', another issue presented itself with respect to photographic practice. Shooting manually in flights meant that I had to track each interaction as it progressed based on my own justification. Each time I had to adjust magnification, framing and position to each situation, in addition to deciding the rate at which photographs were taken. There were often omissions as a result, and discontinuity when I examined the flights afterwards. Continuous video recording seemed to be appropriate therefore, since details would then be included which may be missed from the production of individual images based on my discretion. With a fixed frame rate of 3 frames per second (fps), I was able to record activity at consenting stalls from appropriate positions, in video files which suffered from comparatively little discontinuity. The camera I used lacked the ability to focus automatically in video mode, and it was difficult to adjust focus while filming, meaning that I had to select a fixed location from which to film in order to keep objects and people in focus, and a portable tripod was used to stabilise the camera while recording, in order to make these tasks easier. Collecting video files rather than still images provided an alternative to the discontinuity of the images, but narrowed the available locations from which to film. The selection of locations is critical to the production of data in this case. Rose (2000, p.58) notes that the composition and arrangement of the subjects in a photograph has a crucial impact on the power relations reproduced by the photograph. The limitation inherent to particular positions in the market had a particular impact on what visible, and what was dismissed as irrelevant. Only certain compositions were possible for each consenting stall. Video recording was useful in this setting, but by no means perfect.

Figure 3: Breakdown of relevant camera specifications.

Make	Canon
Model	EOS 1300D
Effective Pixels	18.0 Megapixels
Automatic focus?	Yes, apart from video mode.
Frame rate	30 Frames per Second (fps)
Max file size per clip	4GB
File output	.MOV

So far, the relevance of producing images to the data collection process has been discussed, but the importance of how this form data can be worked with is also significant. Especially relevant are the affordances of digital photography and film for easy storage, manipulation, repeat viewing and editing. With the specific analytical unit specified by the research questions, repeat viewing becomes beneficial for analysis (Llewellyn and Burrow, 2008; Llewellyn, 2014 and vom Lehn, 2014). Small gestures, the movements of material objects, and specific interactions may easily be omitted or misinterpreted through fieldnotes, and the creation of digital representations enables further viewing and reinterpretation. Cochoy (2007, p.111) details how by subverting the conventions of photography, new perspectives can be gained. Similarly, Cochoy (2008, p.18-19) has elsewhere used extensive editing to contribute to the analysis of data. Piette (2010) similarly demonstrates a variety of methods which utilizing only the relative orientations of various figures, reduced to outlines, can reveal the relevance of previously unnoticed points of attention and bodily orientations and postures. While this extensive set of techniques are not necessarily useful here, this mode of analysis involving the decomposition of various scenes is something I have attempted to utilise and extend to non-human actants, through the production and editing of photos.

This approach to visual data analysis differs from the Observatoire approach to data collection and analysis of ethnographic and visual data described by

Cochoy and others (Calvignac and Cochoy 2016; Cochoy 2008). An Observatoire is essentially an observation grid which works as a questionnaire, asking questions of the materials at hand, which are either video recordings (Calvignac and Cochoy, 2018), archival photographs (Cochoy, 2008), or any collection of visual materials. The observatoire is essentially an exercise in quantitative observation. Besides my epistemological disagreement with the argument that aggregation and comparability is necessary to make qualitative observations meaningful (Cochoy, 2008. p.19) there is another reason why it has not been adopted. Using VRM in tandem with more traditional ethnographic practice both in theory and in practice requires an iterative, experimental approach to data collection/production. Trying to construct an observatoire would be difficult given the challenges of observation already noted, and difficult to apply in practice, especially if photographic or filming practices changed significantly. More flexibility is required for the approach to VRM taken here, which is especially critical due to the interactions between visual data collection methods and more traditional ethnographic practices.

A note on sensory data and ethnography

Much writing on markets has emphasised the connections between markets, riotousness, the carnivalesque and a sense of festivity and conviviality (Sutton 2014; Watson, 2008). This is similar to important works on consumption spaces (Goss, 1993) which position unplanned and 'traditional' forms of retail and urban space against designed and planned spaces, but this tendency may simplify what market spaces do in sensory terms. Markets are complex places with a sensory topography and temporality of their own (Lyon, 2016), and the combination of video recording and ethnographic 'shadowing/tracking', reflects a desire to carry the sensory qualities of this through to the analysis. The relationship between food and the body creates an interesting critical tension for those researching market halls. This is because market halls have both wide cultural associations with socially instituted festivity and sensuality and also present individual, immediate, bodily and sensory experiences alongside

personal experiences and histories etc. Finding an approach which can speak to both of these can be difficult, especially if the goal is to address subjective 'sensory worlds' in an empirical manner. In an attempt to negotiate this difficulty, it may be necessary to return to the discussion of subjectivity and objectivity threaded throughout earlier sections. Latour (2004) approaches the mind-body problem that underpins many questions of sensory experience using the example of perfume manufacturers, who train their sense of smell using kits comprised of various scents, ranging from one extreme 'pure' scent to another. As the trainee progresses through the kits, they become able to detect smaller and smaller contrasts between scents. This draws our attention to how sensory experience is to a degree socio-technically negotiated, appearing superficially similar to the notion of somatic work developed by Waskul and Vannini (2008), and used by Rhys-Taylor (2013).

Latour (2004) argues that the capacity to register difference is deeply implicated in how sense experience is made meaningful, drawing attention to how technologies and artefacts often mediate in this process. With the concept of 'food-sensing' Evans and Miele (2012, p.4) reach a similar position, arguing that sensing the world and making sense of it 'exist in a relationship of mutual pre-supposition'. Through this relationship, our lively bodies, the food itself, and linguistic, socio-cultural and discursive materials actively work to create the multiple (meaningful) realities we inhabit. Particularly due to the close association of markets with food consumption, this relationship appears to be crucial for understanding how customers may experience these markets. Discussions of qualification in economic sociology (Callon et al. 2002) seem rooted in a similar logic of co-construction, and as such, it would be appropriate to consider sensory and bodily data as produced through this kind of relationship. This would mean food-sensing could move from an interpretation of consumption associated solely with the ingestion of food, to the interpretation of consumption more closely allied with the marketing and organisation of the provision of food. Of particular interest is how traders and customers make sense of the food they are surrounded by, and how they respond to it; this will

evidently have a sensory dimension, and the methodological approach outlined here attempts to speak to this aspect of experience through ethnographic writing, and the use of images.

Figure 4: Table articulating specific links between research questions and data collection methods.

Research Question	Collection method
1. How is the marketing of Produce on Market stalls organised?	<p>Ethnographic Observation (Shadowing/Tracking):</p> <p>Close observation of how stall-displays or counters are arranged, to understand relations between the layout and the methods used to produce the layout.</p> <p>Visual methods: Assisted with identification and communication of the effects of sensory devices, especially those using colour. Also assisted with understanding and breaking down instances in packages were interrogated by the customer.</p>
2. What does the arrangement of market stalls mean for their performance as economic spaces?	<p>Ethnographic Observation (Shadowing/Tracking):</p> <p>Following logistical objects through the market, storage devices, and other matters all contribute to an understanding of how the market space becomes an economic ones, and the relationship between different parts of stalls.</p>

Visual methods:

These methods can illuminate and communicate how market stall spaces are physically constructed, so that the relationship between the visual separations and other kinds of separations can be discussed.

3. What are the agentic capacities of the objects on market stalls?

The methods here have a strong complementary effect as together they provide different kinds of description concerning the movement and interactions which objects become involved in as they move around the market. These interlock to produce a single account. Visual methods are critical to communicating the nature of objects and their roles in various situations, but are also critical material for analysis.

4. Is care performed in market spaces? What kind of care is enacted in the work of market stalls?

Ethnographic Observation

(Shadowing/Tracking):

The ability of observational methods to find instances where the ephemeral recurs was critical to addressing this question. The more traditional mode of ethnographic observation was also useful here, in cases where the emotional relations were present

between customers, traders and stalls.

Visual/Video Methods:

A key role was performed by this method in this case because it allowed very close analysis of care-full interactions between humans and non-humans. This was possible because of the easy editing and reviewing of image and film files.

Ethical and Political Issues

Ethical and political issues that arise while conducting the research often overlap with other areas of concern, such as the integrity and validity of the research process, as has been noted previously in this chapter. This section is dedicated to discussing the ethical aspects of these issues, and their interaction with the practical aspects of the research process rather than those relating to the data collected. Most of these relate to ‘ethically important moments’ (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004), but an outline of the procedures relating to consent and anonymity will be outlined in parallel with this. Additionally, the original ethical approval form for this project can be found in Appendix 1, which was approved in October 2017. Material is explored which was originally recorded in both the methodologically-coded notes from the field and from reflections from my separate research diary.

Gatekeeping, Access and Consent as Processes

It is well documented that there is often a disjoint between what is expected at a research site, and the reality (Mandel, 2003). The site in this case was no different, as the early stages of ‘gaining access’ revealed some significant and unexpected intersections between notions of gatekeeping and impression management. I visited a number of market halls around South Wales as part of a survey of potential sites and before each of the visits I contacted the managers of each market¹⁶. I did this partly because of the organisational structure of market halls, in which the stalls are loosely managed by either a private landlord or a local authority in some capacity. I had assumed as a result

¹⁶ These conversations were often long and ranged around a number of related topics. These were not structured or semi-structured interviews and I do not plan to use material from these conversations as data, but I have attempted to keep records of what was said during these conversations to improve my understanding of the market and to build a rapport with market management.

of this that there were two tiers of potential participants, with managers acting as a gatekeeper to the stall owners, who would act as gatekeepers to their staff. This was simply based on my understanding of their respective organisational roles, but instead of this, market managers often refused to speak on behalf of traders. They appreciated that I had informed them about the research and in some cases introduced me to particular traders but were unable to give me access in any meaningful sense. There was less of a hierarchy in their relationship than I had assumed and to them, any relationship between the traders and myself was beyond their responsibilities and they did not want to intervene, which resonates with the experience of Merriam et al (2001. p.409).

This is potentially a problem with the concept of access, when it is conceived of in a mechanistic, hierarchical way, and applied in this market as a research site. As Crowhurst (2013, p.465) notes, access can be a static and mechanistic metaphor referring to a particular aspect of the complex ongoing process of maintaining consent and access. Considering this led me to rethink gatekeeping and access as an appropriate characterisation of this stage of the research process. Gatekeepers are generally considered to be those people that have the power to withhold access to participants from the researcher (Sanghera and Thapar-Björkert, 2008. p.549) but only the stall owners seemed to really control access to their stalls and staff in practice. In this case especially, access was perhaps not best described in terms of binary sets of outcomes (access/denial) as participants (traders) work in public-facing roles which involve the active cultivation of relationships with customers. My relationship with them was no different. The traders as participants in this case seemed to have a high degree of influence over how the research process played out (Bondy, 2012), and developing any kind of rapport with them felt like a precarious process.

For methods such as shadowing and tracking, which rely heavily on single individuals or particular recurring individuals who are willing to be observed by the researcher (Ferguson, 2016. p.21-22) it is crucial to discuss and account for the possible impacts of the relationship between participant and researcher.

Czarniawska (2007, p.28) labels the ways in which participants may actively direct the attention of the researcher as 'impression management' and rather than treating this as a pathological phenomenon, argues that these 'surface' impressions should be of a similar level of interest, at least as much as any 'back-stage' or more genuine, authentic presences. An example of this in the Market Hall was a particular trader that following a dispute between himself and a customer, gestured to me in such a way that required a response sharing his exasperation with the customer who seemed to speak limited English. At the time I wondered if the trader was right to be exasperated, and wondered about the ethics of reciprocating. Crucially however, the fact that the trader had chosen to do something that relied on our relationship and a presumed shared understanding, was as interesting as the gesture and its significance itself.

Issues of anonymity and consent are also particularly important for a method that relies on recurring individuals and interacting businesses. Time was an important factor in this for the participants in this case, as they are often busy with work. Gaining and maintaining access to participants is an ongoing process which is poorly described by the concept of gatekeeping, as discussed. This additionally changes how consent and anonymity are conceptualised, since these become consistent problems to be thought through. Verbal consent was judged to be appropriate in this case, because the negotiation of access and consent did not really stop, and could be withdrawn easily by the traders. These practical issues are in addition to the wider problems with written consent in a number of settings detailed by Beebeejaun et al (2015). I asked traders at the beginning of the process if the project as I had described to them in conversation would be something they would be willing to take part in, but their agreement was always provisional on their ability to continue work. At each point when I wished to ask them a question, I waited until they had time to answer or asked if they had time to talk. Traders are constantly moving around inside the market and their stalls, with only short rest periods. Observation had to be done well out of the way of customers, and often at a remove from the counter of the stall. A number of traders were unwilling to share their day to day

activity with me, or to allow me to observe their stall, and thus it was clear that they would need to be excluded from my account.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Those of the traders who did not have issues with sharing such information often had reservations about sharing some of their longer term plans with me. When asking for their permission to observe them and use this as the basis of my thesis I also told them that I could share summaries of the draft chapters with them. Only a few were interested, and asked where it would be published and who would have access. I told them that I could share summaries of chapters with them to discuss their thoughts about my work, but this seemed to cause more concern, as some traders did not want other traders to know details of our discussion before certain aspects of their longer-term plans had been completed. I offered them confidentiality through the research process, and agreed not to share personal details through the thesis, but also realised that most of the concerns they had were about plans which would be completed long before the chapters were drafted. I mentioned this observation to the traders concerned and this assuaged some of the concerns they had. These concerns were important to take note of in particular because all of the traders who participated when asked did not want me to anonymise any of the information; it was seen as impractical given their public facing role, and knowledge of each other's businesses from experience working in the market. However, pseudonyms have been used throughout to prevent their personal details, and the details of workings of their business from becoming common knowledge. I have also agreed to remove information when this was actively requested by traders. This recalls the issues noted around the high level of control of the participants over the research process, which in particular instances seemed appropriate (Czarniawska, 2007. p.21).

The focus on the individual in the shadowing method described by Czarniawska (2007), and tracking method outlined earlier, makes the impact of the ethical-

political dynamics on the creation of knowledge particularly important. This involves discussing the relative position of the researcher and their reflexivity as part of the knowledge production process. A common assumption among those conducting ethnographic fieldwork is that the researcher, in the process of gaining trust and becoming closer to participants at the research site is accessing and recording data that is more intrinsically meaningful. Such methods are dismissed rather cynically by Czarniawska (2007, p.41) but an admission and respect of differences may also be a reasonable requirement of the researcher anyway. Rose (1997) argues that transparent reflexivity, which holds that the differences between the viewpoint of the researcher and participant can be bridged through truly open reflection is difficult to achieve without highly specialised methods, and may result in a replication of aspects of the 'view from nowhere' position which feminist geographers aim to avoid¹⁷. Accepting and recognizing gaps or differences between the experience of the researcher and participant, especially where this concerns the interpretation of their own practices is one possible alternative (Rose, 1997. p.318-319)¹⁸, and I have attempted to do this throughout the different stages of the research process.

Building a presence in the Market

As part of accepting that the experience of the researcher is by nature partial and limited, I need to account for my position within the market hall as a

¹⁷ The aim of this critique and feminist influenced methods is broadly to: "To produce non-generalizing knowledges that can learn from other forms of knowledges" (Gill, 1997. p.318).

¹⁸ The forms of Distanciation as discussed elsewhere by Czarniawska (2013, p.365) seem to provide a potential structure with which to understand the ideas expressed by Rose (1997) concerning the performativity of identities and the unexpected and unknowable effects of knowledge production, but this is not the place for a more detailed explication of these ideas.

researcher, and reflect on the partiality of my experiences. Despite my identity as a white able-bodied male, I felt a profound sense of uncertainty about my position while I was in the market observing and talking to traders. This was closely related to my purpose in the market in relation to everyone else. Observing and the action of making notes set me apart from the customers who pass through, made me aware of the potential that my identity holds to be seen and understood to be threatening or exploitative. The practical and ethical difficulties of notetaking on-site are commonly noted by ethnographers (Gorman, 2017. p.223-224; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007. p.176-177), but here I found these well-known difficulties to be compounded by the constant movement of traders and customers around the market and the design of the stalls. Very often I had to keep moving, since traders did not want me to stand for too long near their counters. When I moved around the market taking notes, I would stop from time to time against one of few free pillars or walls. Occasional glances and comments from stallholders who were not the focal points for my observation led me to talk to a few of them to reassure them about what I was doing.

My initial presence, and continued engagement with the market (as more than a customer) was mediated by a few traders in particular. This fieldwork began with an attempt to shadow a fruit and vegetable trader, and they facilitated the connections built with other traders. These traders were initially open to in-depth shadowing, and after arranging a date and time by phone, I met the stallholder around 5am on the corner of a major road in Cardiff from where I went with him to pick up new stock from Cardiff's wholesale centre on Bessemer Road. Afterwards, I spent the day with him and the other traders on the stall, assisting where I could. For the rest of the time that day I took extensive notes on the actions of the traders and the movements of the materials they handled (including notes on things tasted). This initial session set the tone and scope of the relationships for the rest of the research. The relationships built up with

these traders licenced my presence as a researcher in the market¹⁹ more widely, and I discussed the move away from the individual shadowing with this group of traders at the time, since the alternative required less active participation from them.

Over time I grew more comfortable with moving between uncertain positions in the market and a few times used the occasional glances and moments of recognition that are inevitable in a market to build up relationships. This was a long process however, presence of my notetaking in addition revealed other elements of the space which added new dimensions to my assumed relationship to the traders. During the initial visit to the wholesalers made at the start of the fieldwork, the notepad containing my initial scratchnotes were snatched out of my hand by one of the workers as he passed me. Wheeling around in front of me, he stood flipping pages and running his hands down them, stating as if reading from my notes: 'this is all a fix'. I wasn't sure if he was referring to my notes, my presence or the market itself²⁰ but it reminded me later of the difficulty of achieving change for a sector dominated by oligopolistic retailers, and the relative futility of this kind of research. I attempted to reassure him about my research at the time, but he laughed it off and walked away, handing the notepad back nonchalantly. I had some similar experiences within Cardiff market, both with my notepad and with my camera. Traders would joke about me 'getting his good side' or ducking in an exaggerated way out of shot. Combined with the banter between traders, the nonchalance seemed like a part of the masculine performance involved in being a trader. Film crews and journalists are often seen in Cardiff Market, and traders are familiar with people asking questions and attempting to interview them; these performances may be

¹⁹ This speaks to later concerns emerging from my data about licenced behaviour in the market, and the right to be in public space.

²⁰ Complaining about the wholesale market was common among the market traders who worked there and those traders who use it. It has suffered declining trade in recent years and continues to do so, with a number of vacant lots. Additionally, the site has recently been under threat from potential residential re-development.

associated with this familiarity. I was not always comfortable with these dismissive performances, and at the time was unsure how to react to them. This did indicate however that I was building some kind of relationship or familiarity with some of the traders, although this was bittersweet.

At times it seemed that unless I was in the market every day, traders would forget my face and what I was doing, which was perhaps due to the high volume of people passing through the market. In a few cases I was treated very differently by non-food traders, who were not the focus of this research. This demonstrated the broader reception of my presence in the market to be not entirely positive, and more complex than I understood at the time. As I was passing a non-food stall in the market, I noted that one of the recurring 'characters', that are well known by the traders for their eccentric presences in the market was talking at length to the trader there. What he was saying was quite disjointed but good natured and she humoured him, gently pointing out that it was nonsense. As he left, moving away and towards the top entrance of the market, I moved over and asked if he came in a lot. She told me jovially that he was not usually a problem as long as he remembered to take his medication, adding that they get all sorts of people in the market. I then explaining what I was doing. As soon as I said this, she replied "Oh I wondered what you were doing, I've been saying to my friend at the florist stall that we've been seeing you around a lot, to be honest we thought you were one of the nutters we get in here" with a nod to the direction in which the 'character' walked off. I was quite taken aback at the time, as it was an unexpected interpretation of my presence as neither customer nor trader. I realised however that since I had been recognised as some kind of regular presence in the market, I had clearly built up some kind of meaningful social presence in the market, even if this was not necessarily positive or good for my research aims. Simply by staying in the complexity of the market environment for extended periods of time, my presence in the market had taken on interpretations beyond my control or ability to follow.

Chapter 4: Sensory Ordering on Market Stalls

Introduction

Supermarkets have long been analysed in a variety of ways to show the workings and intentions behind different aspects of their meticulous designs, but market stalls as the constituent parts of Markets halls are also often arranged in complex ways with little attention. Storage and processing happens on stalls, but these stalls are also the site of display and marketing activity with produce made available to the customer as economic objects through the arrangements produced on stall-fronts. While the arrangement of these objects is not systematic and grounded in formal market research, there are particular tactics which serve to attract and divert the attention of the customer. These tactics very often involve limiting or changing the ability of the customer to engage with produce on a sensory level, either through the relative position of items with different sensory characteristics, through the mediation of objects, or through changes to the environment outside and between stalls. The methods differ between almost unsaleable produce and fresher produce however, as does the deliberative process between traders and customers directly interacting over such arranged stalls also differs significantly from the processes of decision making described in supermarkets. This builds upon and contributes to the conceptual approach to consumption developed by Cochoy (2009) and others (Hawkins 2018; Muniesa et al. 2007) by identifying a number of concepts which could be expanded to new fields, or adjusted while providing more general insight into the micro-geography of Market Halls as unconventional retail spaces.

This chapter begins by outlining the sale of fruit and vegetables at the end of their 'sellability'²¹. A series of disputes surrounding a device marketing produce with undesirable qualities reveal the boundaries and frictions with the rest of the stall, as well as the agency of the customer to challenge the device. This particular section addresses the third research question which is concerned with agency of objects, but the findings also feed into questions one and two. The following section identifies other devices on the stall which are concerned with making the various objects present 'speak' in particular ways. This leads into a discussion of the creation of stall-wide sensory orders and the ordering practices which are required to maintain these, dealing more explicitly with questions one and two. The final section concerns a set of direct trader interventions which interfere with the calculative processes of the customers involved. This addresses the first research question in conceptual terms. Following this, a discussion section will engage with some of the theoretical considerations relevant to the empirical matter detailed throughout, and discuss contributions made towards the research questions.

²¹ This refers to the point at which the produce is no longer considered fit for sale by the traders and is used instead of edibility throughout in order to reiterate the idea that products may still be technically edible after this point. As this is determined through subjective measurement on the stall rather than through a standardised procedure, sales of produce near this point are justified by means of contextual assumptions rather than legal guarantees and there are no strict rules delineating these boundaries, as this chapter goes on to discuss.

Discount Bags and Less-than-Freshness

In the centre of Cardiff Market there is a fruit and vegetable stall heaped with produce of many colours and sizes, which seems to bulge out into the aisle. Bright fluorescent lighting inside the stalls brings out the vibrancy of these colours. This is Jones' Fruit and Veg, a stall run by Chris, and often operated by his two sons, Andrew and Tom, and other traders if they are away. On a rear corner of Chris's stall is an area dedicated to discounted products. This is made up of three tiers. The higher two are part of the stall structure, whereas an additional lower tier is usually formed from upturned boxes stacked on top of one another and covered by the same faux-grass covering seen elsewhere on the stall. These three tiers are loaded with crates of produce, the individual vegetables grouped together in clear plastic bags which are sealed with coloured plastic tape. Above the stall, a handwritten sign says 'Value Bags, All 50p'. The entrance to the stall is directly next to this section, which is a few metres in length. Potatoes, mushrooms, tomatoes, and a mix of fruit such as apples, bananas and oranges are most often found on this section, along with other things depending on the season. Each vegetable has its own particular signals of decay; tomatoes go soft, apples grow wrinkly, potatoes turn green and mushrooms adopt slimy black spots. These are all piled up roughly by product type, several bags deep. Nearly everything that is sold in this section has already been on display; it is the culmination of a process of movement through the stall which all products undergo depending on their rate of decay.

Constrained Agency

Food can express a wide range of qualities between a state of inedibility and one of un-sellability, but which mark it out as undesirable to varying degrees; in this context these qualities mark out the produce as different from the produce on the rest of the stall. Customers at the bargain section of this stall are clearly aware of this enactment, and assess these discount bags accordingly.

A young Asian guy came up to the bargain bag section, and picked up some bags of veg there, one after another, looking closely at them, turning each item inside over in his hands. Many people do this with the normal veg, but it is more common and thorough with the bagged veg’.

[9/1/18, 9:55-10:10]

The excerpt above captures the significant difference in sensory engagement between the bagged produce and non-bagged produce. This appears natural, since this section is full of produce which is more likely to be considered poor quality²², but the nature of the attention paid to the contents of these bags led me to pay more attention to these practices. Figures 5 and 6 (below) show a customer examining a series of different bags of apples. She subjects each bag to a thorough inspection, moving them around in a distinctive way. She does not look at the bag as a whole, but looks at each item within the bags individually, demonstrating an attempt to evade the limitations imposed by the bag without causing irreversible damage to it. While the barrier to touch presented by the bag is insurmountable, the bag still allows handling or movement of the contents. This is a challenge to the restrictions which the bag puts on the ability of the customer to examine the produce, since it means that the customer can examine each one visually, even if the contents cannot be swapped between packages. The discount bag as a market device, effectively constrains the agency of the customer, who is only partially able to escape this. The work of the customer to evade the limitations introduced by the bags shows in an ethno-methodological sense the sensory capacities and situational resources the customer draws upon to challenge the framing of the produce (Teil and Hennion, 2004. p.27). This suggests that the agency of the customer

²² The notion of quality is used here in two senses. In the plural, it is used to refer to the multiple dimensions of characteristics which objects take up when sensed and made sense of by a subject. It is useful however to group consideration of these multiple dimensions under the singular in order to talk in general about the standards and borders which make up ontological conceptions of ‘what is good to eat’.

to conduct interrogatory qualification trials needs to be brought into the discussion of singularization led by Callon et al (2002, p.203)²³.

²³ This is singularization as referred to by Callon et al (2002) rather than as it is used by Karpik (2010) (Or Kopytoff (1986) for that matter). Callon et al (2002) distinguishes their usage from that of Karpik, by widening its range considerably. In considering an economy of qualities, the perspective on judgement practices must be more inclusive and consider all economic practices involving qualification as relevant, rather than the selective focus on artistic/aesthetic objects and services adopted by Karpik (2010, p.10-13).

Figure 5: Inspecting and Selecting Apples Part 1 [25/5/18, 11:20].



1. Raising bag (1), turning it with hand. (01:51)



2. Reaching to replace bag(1) on stall. (01:54)



3. Raising other hand to new bag(2), as other arm retracted, attention moving across. (01:54)

Figure 6: Inspecting and Selecting Apples Part 2 [25/5/18, 11:20].



4. Turning bag(2) over in hands, looking intently at contents. (01:54)



5. Picking up bag(3), using hand with bag(2) to help stabilize, turning head to look. (02:00)



6. Replacing both bags on stall. (02:02)

As previously noted, there are associations between 'value' or 'bargains' and poorer quality in particular (Kelsey, Morris and Crewe, 2018) but this does not also mean that quality is disregarded as a consideration, as is demonstrated by the concern shown by the customer depicted above for finding the produce with the right qualities. At times, this concern also leads to contention on the stall. Just as customers can directly challenge the limitations of the physical arrangements of produce, they can also appeal to the traders over the counter. Disputes in markets often get labelled as bargaining or haggling since this practice is commonly associated with forms of more informal enterprise (Geertz, 1978) but this does not accurately capture the nature of contestations over these bags. In another instance, a customer used the opening of a transaction between herself and Tom to raise an issue with some of the produce.

'The customer was complaining to Tom over the counter about the tomatoes in the discount bag being too soft, holding the bag out to him and demonstrating that they were old by gently squeezing them. He responded: 'no you're squeezing them that's why'.

[4/4/18, 10:35-11:05]

There are multiple ways to interpret the intentions of the customer here. She could be trying to challenge the set price of the bag, to pay less or nothing for it, or she could be taking issue with the sale of the produce itself, since the other tomatoes she noted were blemish-free and the same price. Regardless of how this interaction is interpreted, by holding the bags out to Tom the customer is asking him to share in the tactile experience she has identified to confirm the association she has made between the tomatoes being soft (an intrinsic/primary quality) and being of poor quality/lacking freshness (an extrinsic/secondary quality). This can be understood as a qualification trial as discussed by Callon et al (2002) and demonstrated by Jackson et al (2018), in that it is a bodily, sensory test of the intrinsic qualities which can be attached to the product, and the secondary qualities which can be attached in turn. What makes this interesting is that she is actively seeking support for this trial and its outcomes.

Instead of conceding or responding to the association or judgement made, Tom challenges her mode of sensory engagement with the products in question, arguing that the method of testing/trialling is actively damaging the tomatoes and/or that it is misleading her. He does this because there is little else the customer can challenge him about; to undermine her qualification trial is to undermine her association. This is because of the restrictions placed on the customer by the discount bags in combination with the other elements of the device that fix price, quantity, and the selection of items.

As the period between the start of visible degradation and the end of 'sellability' draws to a close, produce gathers even more blemishes and marks than it already has. The narrowing (closing) of the window in which products appear relatively intact and desirable leads to uncertainty and concern about its edibility, and therefore its 'sellability'. When customers have intact, fresh product to compare this produce to nearby on the stall, this narrowing becomes a problem. As Chris told me (and I observed separately), if there is a particularly large amount of produce which needs to be sold quickly, he and his sons may add another discount section to one of the front corners of the stall. More customers pass this corner than other parts of the stall generally, thanks to its closeness to a junction between aisles but this splitting causes some disputes and tensions between customers and traders. At one point during a busy lunch hour for example [22/4/18, 13:50-14:00], a few people were gathered around the stall and Tom served them one after another. A woman standing by the discount corner shouted at Tom, while holding a bag of tomatoes in her hand. She was saying that these ones were better than the ones she had picked up from the discount section, telling him that she wanted to change them or get her money back. Tom did not engage with her fully, and kept serving other customers. He stated that she should: 'leave it, they're all from the same box', but then she responded by pointing out black marks and blemishes on the ones she had picked up to begin with. Tom ignored her and she walked off with the second bag in her hand".

Realising that the two different lines of products are being served using the same device in different places, the customer identified a visual aspect (or intrinsic quality) of the tomatoes in order to appeal to Tom in much the same way that the customer in the previous example holds out tomatoes for Tom to feel for himself. While this contention (and her surprise and disdain) is familiar because of the intrinsic quality standing in again for the extrinsic qualities of desirability and freshness, it differs in an important way. The exchange takes place after the purchase has happened, and Tom does not challenge her assessment, but instead tries to justify selling the produce in two different places. As noted previously the bags allow only a partial examination, creating risks for both the customer and trader. The customer risks a package with poor qualities if they do not look hard enough and the trader risks customer ire if they do not exclude items and packages that have visibly deteriorated. The workings of market devices like this can be vulnerable to failure and it is worth paying attention to these failings and breakdowns (Butler, 2010; Pakh, 2017). Constructing a discount section is fraught with risks as detailed, and the presence of these risks demonstrate the very direct sense in which traders are accountable to customers. There is no legal or material intermediary assuring the customers that the item is of good quality and safe to eat (such as a best before date). It is the discretion and judgement of the traders which ensure this even within devices like the discount bag section. Customers are implicitly asked to accept this arrangement, which traders often have to justify or deflect attention from, in order to maintain its legitimacy.

Alteration and Repacking

Pak Choi is often stocked on the stall inside plastic bags, inside and outside the discount bag area [9/1/18, 5:45-11:00]. This is popular with East Asian customers, who often buy it in large quantities. These bags do not often hold the cabbages on arrival and the repackaging practices documented in this section demonstrate some of the maintaining work involved in the construction of the discount bag device. On one early morning in early January, I went with

Chris to the wholesale market before he opened the stall. After examining the produce in a few units, I followed Chris into a refrigerated section in one of the wholesaler's units. An attendant from the wholesale market came with him, recording what Chris wanted on a form attached to a clipboard as he moved around. After looking through a few other boxes, Chris came to the Pak Choi and began looking through the loose pile of clear, sealed plastic bags that contained the cabbages in one particular crate. A number of them had yellow outer leaves, and Chris asked if he could have a discount because of this. The attendant said he couldn't, and handling one of the sealed bags, Chris commented that he would have to take a lot of the yellow leaves off before repackaging them, and then quickly walked out of the cold store. Later that day, once the Pak Choi had been delivered and unloaded at the market, Chris again mentioned needing to strip the leaves off, complaining about the wastage. He also mentioned that because it was in the bargain section, people would only buy it to eat that night, so he doesn't worry about things going off for that reason, adding that supermarkets also sell reduced things at the end of the day²⁴.

An hour after returning to the market, Chris's sons, Andrew and Tom, took up the task of re-bagging the pak choi, standing at the rear of the stall near the discount bag section. This involved a number of steps. To begin with, they removed the sealed packaging the pak choi was in and discarded it. The yellow leaves at the base of the cabbage were then snapped off and discarded, and a pair of pak choi heads were put back into an unsealed bag, to be piled on the discount counter later. After watching them do this for a few minutes, I asked them about how well the pak choi sells, and Tom replied "People come in and stock up on this stuff, they buy it in bulk, it might not be as high quality as some

²⁴ This justification contains one that is not mentioned, one that Chris is perhaps not even fully aware of; in taking off the old packaging and using new packaging, Chris is in a sense justifying his decision to create plastic waste in order to stop potential food waste from occurring on the stall. This is relevant for those considering the politics and morality of plastic as a material implicated in many consumer oriented market devices (Hawkins 2018).

other things, but we do go through it all to make sure its ok to eat". Re-bagging the pak choi here significantly improved the appearance of each package that is put on the stall, and yet Chris and Tom still show concern for the customer that buys these pak choi, associating its lower quality with the kind of purchasing strategy used (bulk-buying) in order to justify its discounted sale. To me, Tom stressed the importance of their practice of checking the produce, implying that they are aware of the possible connotations of selling produce with negative qualities. The characteristics of the pak choi at the wholesale market means that the practice of alteration was implicit in the decision to buy it; Chris and Tom demonstrate an anticipatory awareness of customer preferences and expectations even before goods get to the stall and plan accordingly. This implies an awareness of the details which customers expect, but also shows the anticipatory work that goes into maintaining the visibility of these qualities in produce at the wholesale stage. It seems likely that disputes similar to the ones detailed earlier strongly inform the ways in which produce is managed and sold, given how these anticipatory practices of maintenance and justification shape the sale of produce at the end of its 'sellability'.

This section is about a single market device, but it is one with many analogues elsewhere, in and outside market stalls. It has a particular theoretical relevance beyond these other devices to the sale of produce that is no longer fresh enough to sell with other fresh produce, as it contributes to our understanding of the performance of freshness as an ontological category. Three themes emerge. Firstly, the lack of formalised standards of quality exposes these products at the end of their 'sellability', to a high level of examination; customers regularly use their sensory capacities to probe the singularization of products. Since the physicality of the market device closes down areas of dispute and contention, particular qualities become a focus for dispute and contention, making the device seem preoccupied with the restraining of various kinds of agency. Secondly, as a response to these disputes, traders often have to step in to justify their decisions to sell produce with particular qualities. They appear to be accountable directly to the customer on the other side of the stall, and this

accountability extends to the maintenance of particular qualities in the lines of particular vegetables. Traders work on the produce they sell, improving its appearance in order to create a product that will conform to the expectations of the customer. Thirdly, from the interrogation of the product placed there the discount bag appears to fill those shopping there with immediate and pressing sensory concerns centred around the temporalities of the fruit and the rest of its life-span. The market traders account directly to the customers about these concerns and the device itself is iteratively shaped around these. This is only part of the stall, with a very specific material organisation and set of associations, but the engagement with this device demonstrates the value of engaging with accountability and responses to it, within approaches to market device and spaces. A wider engagement with the market devices across the market stall is needed to understand the breadth of market devices at work, and how the sensory registers are put to work throughout the calculative spaces they produce.

Show and Tell: Keeping Objects Talking

Order, Colour and Mixing

Traders seem acutely aware of not just the qualities of their produce, but of the expected secondary qualities that will become attached to the produce as customers examine it. As mentioned briefly in the previous section Tom and Chris on separate occasions (some of these are noted above) told me about their process of checking all of the discount items as they go along. Traders become aware of the produce in much the same way as the customers, and clearly understand this, acting and adjusting the produce on the basis of this anticipated customer. The focal points of this section are the practices of planning, arranging and maintaining which influence the sensory interpretation of the produce and the qualities attached to it. A number of devices emerge from this close focus which rely on the dynamics and interactions between the senses. In the previous section, some of this was outlined with respect to a limited part of Chris's stall due to its illustrative and relatively self-contained nature, but wider examples will be used here featuring other parts of the same fruit and vegetable stall and features of other stalls.

While watching Chris move around his stall as he set up one morning [9/1/18, 7:50-8:35] I noticed him taking fruit and vegetables from crates stored below the counter and putting these into the filled crates on the counter amongst the older ones already on display. He mentioned to me, in a strangely strained voice, that they would sell these for less so that the customer would 'know what they're getting', adding that putting the price down would also mean they could sell them before they became any riper. Chris assumes that the customer understands that there is a relationship between price and particular sets of qualities indicative of freshness. This assumption and his need to justify it also suggests that he is probably aware that his practice could be interpreted as morally dubious. Mixing the fruit makes it harder to assess the general qualities of the box as a whole on the basis of a cursory examination since there is more

variation²⁵ between the items in the box, and this could have the effect of making his produce appear better than it is. Regardless of these implications, this practice draws attention to the crucial link between the perceptions and enactments of freshness, and the collective element to categories of produce within the wider range of product lines.

I asked Chris a few minutes later [9/1/18, 7:40-8:35] if there was a rationale or plan to the arrangement of the fruit on the fruit section of the stall. He told me that he just tried to spread out the colour, to break it up because this would make it look nicer. Looking at the fruit, I could see what he meant about breaking the colours up. Almost every box and crate on this side of the stall was adjacent to another which contained produce of a different colour. These were not always contrasting colours, but there were still significant differences which reinforced the vibrancy of each particular coloured-crate/category. A stall could also possibly be arranged with a contrasting principle to this strategy of producing contrasts, where similar colours were grouped together, producing a colour spectrum or gradient in which it would be easy to pick out variations within particular colour-categories. Latour (2004) argues that sensory skill, or attunement to sensory details involves the development or deployment of the ability to detect progressively smaller differences. Staying with this notion of attunement, the technique of combining old fruit and new fruit of one variety in one crate appears to interact in its effect with the technique of creating distinct contrasts between crates of different varieties. Mixing colours, or creating particular contrasts may therefore have the opposite effect, and thus may cooperate with the mixing of old and new within individual boxes and crates in making it more difficult to detect at a glance any significant differences between individual items within crates. A moral question emerges around this kind of

²⁵ In a supermarket supply chain, the process of shelving is most likely done through a number of information-producing and technical-procedure-generating devices constructed from information systems, materials technology, and logistical techniques (Freidberg, 2009), which are likely associated with legal mechanisms governing the use of packaging and advertising.

sensory organising work, since the customer may not be able to detect differences between produce of varying qualities unless they stop and dedicate time to making sense of an individual category and its contents more thoroughly.

Sacrificial 'Speech' as Displacement

Immediately after cutting a blood orange open and depositing its halves on a pile of oranges, Chris once said 'let's show them what they're buying' [9/1/19, 9:55-10:10]. This sharp citrus tang was easy to detect amongst the other complex scents found in the market. The market is a complex and messy assortment of sensations, but there are associations and ordering practices which go beyond simple proximity-based olfactory cues (It smells like bread around the bakery and fish around the fishmonger, for example). It was not clear whether Chris was referring to the strong smell which came from the blood orange or the stark colour contrast between the outside and inside of a blood orange. It might also have simply referred to the quality or vibrancy of the colours, which would also speak to its ripeness. The sharp intensity of the smell resulting from the sliced orange echoed the colour of the orange, even though it was sensed by different means. The pattern of movement made by the smell through the volumetric space of the stall front, means that it is detectable close to the oranges but its dispersed, trail-like nature draws you to the visual intensity of the fruit it is associated with. Cochoy (2007, p.118-119) draws attention to the different visual axes used by 'supermarket gardeners' to construct indexes drawing the customer through concentric layers of product classification and diversification. These systems of signage interact with cognition (Cochoy, 2007. p.119-120) to create and shape possibilities for the customer as they go along. The particular spatiality and logic of movement unique to smell does something similar, meaning that the effects of this kind of gardening in this case are better described in with reference to volumes, trails and intensities, rather than axes and indexes.

Figures 7 and 8 below shows a storyboard-style reconstruction of video footage, in which Chris can be seen looking at and rubbing the flesh of an opened avocado with his finger in a circular, repetitive motion. Chris appears to decide that this avocado was objectionable, as he cuts open another. This new avocado was then placed on the stall as a sacrificial display item, and the old one is thrown into the centre of the stall. This avocado is selected as a better representative, of the others which cannot be opened yet (in much the same way as the discount bags and other fruit). This is an attempt to influence what I called the 'avocado game', where contestants/customers have to guess whether an avocado is ripe or not by squeezing it. Until they cut it open, they will struggle to know whether it is ripe or not but the prize is a tasty, soft avocado. The act of cutting returns us to the issues surrounding sensory experience of the produce and how it is used in this situation to displace the cognition of the customer in different ways. The practice of cutting, (or splitting/opening) provides associative sensory links here between the displaced temporal positions, enacting a device which attempts to bring the time at which the avocado will be used together with the sacrificial avocado on display in front of the customer. Social and economic convention means that the customer is barred from piercing or tasting the product whilst in the market-space, but as Cochoy (2007, p.120-121) notes there are physical barriers to this in the supermarket whereas here the biological 'packaging', the skin of the fruit is relied upon. In the market the senses are freer to penetrate the conventions which restrict them, and traders actively make use of this where possible.

Figure 7: Slicing Avocados, Part 1 [25/5/19, 11:06].



1. Rubbing avocado in circular motion (00:00).



2. Puts avocado down (00:02).



3. Selects another avocado (00:03).



4. Halving Avocado, twists to open (00:08).

Figure 8: Slicing Avocados, Part 2 [25/5/19, 11:06].



5. Looking at second avocado (00:17).



6. Looks places one half back (00:19).



7. Places other half with it (00:21).



8. Throws first avocado into center of stall.

These tactics of direction, displacement and the use of the customers senses to construct these particular devices could be described as practices of maintenance, since they contribute to maintaining the production of particular effects on the stall.

Practices of Fiddling

Alongside these tactics are more easily recognizable maintaining and corrective practices. This is constantly ongoing and conducted with significant nervous energy, while customers continue their business around the traders. A number of times, I saw Chris and his son Tom walking from around the stall from one end of the stall to the other, or along a single counter. Both arms extended, they rearranged, rotated, and in some cases replaced produce without stopping. The adjustments were often very slight; a vegetable would be nudged upright with the side of the hand or a price pin would be re-inserted. This was often done in passing as the trader walked from one place to another.

Chris left the stall for a few minutes, going around to the other side. He was fiddling with the produce almost nervously, to little apparent effect, just picking it up and replacing it in slightly different positions. There was almost a nervous quality to his movement, slightly frantic.

[25/1/18 , 14:25-14:35]

Very often, these movements seemed to serve little purpose in terms of creating or delineating the various categories of produce, and seem more concerned with a general sense of neatness or presentation. Often but not always, these movements occurred when the trader was on the way somewhere else or was moving around the stall. Similarly, the action was particularly noticeable when something had been knocked out of place, and the remedial action could also take place from the centre of the stall on the raised platform instead of the aisle. It seemed like a particularly habitual practice and one which I saw both Chris and Tom doing, but less often. This action was often particularly focussed on

the pin-clips which hold the price cards for each crate and often fall out or roll away with loose vegetables.

Tom knocked the sign out of an apple as he was rearranging a display of them, straightening them up and bringing ones that had rolled into other sections back. He straightened the apple he had knocked, and put the pin back into the apple without really looking at it directly, moving on from it quickly.

[29/3/18 , 12:20-12:35]

These fiddling, fussy practices have a number of important aspects which need to be outlined, since they are a major part of what the traders do on the stall. The first and clearest of these is role of the fiddling action in repairing crate-categories from unruly and rummaging customers; it is common to see customers spend a few minutes selecting items from a crate, and they do not always put the pin-clip or items back. The second thing to note is the unreliability of the pin-clip as an indexical object (Cochoy, 2018), and its role in naming and pricing the coherent categories formed by crates of produce. Finally, the compulsive nature of the movement and its seamless mixing with other practices is important to note. These maintaining and reparative practices, in being compulsively performed are closely joined and associated with others, and the next section will go on to detail these, revealing new forms of material ordering present on market stalls.

Bulging Crates

As has already been examined at length the sensory characteristics of unpackaged produce spills out beyond stalls both visually and through the olfactory register. Further attention to this and the practice of fiddling draws attention to other unnoticed details of stall arrangement. This was most noticeable with displays of root vegetables. On the counter of Chris's stall in early April, a stack of beetroot was arranged so that the edible deep red/purple taproots were stacked on top of each other, with the leaf stems bundled

together in groups of three or four (depending on the size of taproots) with elastic bands [4/4/18, 11:25-11:55]. The beetroots were covered in a thin layer of earthy dust, and I thought I could smell their rich earthiness. An old man who was selecting from this pile took one bundle, in so doing knocking down the bundle in which the price pin was stuck. Tom tapped the sign back into place on his way around the stall, after rearranging the fruit. He barely broke his stride, simply twisting his upper body to make the adjustment. The beetroot seemed to bulge out of its container, overflowing and burying the edges. The array presented to the consumer was coherent (the taproots and stalks were piled together) and items were grouped into loose packages by elastic bands looped around the stalks, but the sensory impression of abundance was striking. When a customer takes one of these, the simple display is disrupted and in a moment reassembled by Tom's hand as he passes. The convex surface of the beetroot produced by the taproots produces the bulging effect, which is aided by the rich colour and earthy aroma. Tom does not give any thought to correcting the pin within the bulging arrangement of beetroot; it is a tool to cohere the category and provide an indexical marker to the category within the counter as a whole (Cochoy et al, 2018). Elsewhere, other practices are used to purposely maintain this impression of overabundance.

Chris and Tom once got into a debate about a crate full of green beans which were on the front of the vegetable counter [09/01/18, 7:50-8:35]. Tom was arguing that they needed to be taken off the front [and put into bags for the discount section], but Chris was reluctant, saying that they could be sold quickly and therefore that they wouldn't be a problem. To demonstrate how, he upturned the packaging from an apple crate, folded it in half, and stuffed it into the bottom of the box which had contained the beans. After this, he took the whole box from where it was, and repositioned it, so that it slotted between the boxes as before, but was facing outwards at a steeper angle than before. He then put the beans back into the box, and it looked like there were far more of them, almost like they were spilling out, overflowing. In this interaction, Chris contests Tom's opinion about where the beans should be placed on the stall

and decides to bulge this display, showing how this tactic reshapes the different sale-able periods of different vegetables. The overwhelming presence of fruit and vegetable displays are more than a combined product of the assembled items; it is a technical achievement, even if a low-tech, spontaneous one. It also provides evidence for the presence of a general desirable visible state which the fiddling practices described earlier work to achieve or demonstrate.

This section is the second consecutive section to contain fine detail about practices at one stall in particular, and while this is perhaps an excessive level of detail, there are important aspects of work at this stall which when examined, speaks well to other issues (McFall, 2009). The sensory devices and orders constructed at the stall level play a significant role in displacing and reorienting the attention of customers in various ways, and are comparable to techniques deployed in other forms of retail. However, this chapter has not yet detailed how traders attempt to manage and shape the collective formation of the decision-making frameworks of customers.

Unpacking Calculation; Managing Deliberative Spaces

To make a decision about what to purchase, customers undergo a process structured by the surrounding stalls and their own preferences and resources. This process has been downplayed in favour of the tactics and devices used by traders to structure the experience of customers, and their effects and inconsistencies. In this section, the focus is on the framing and organisation of decision-making collectives or at least how traders attempt to interact with these. The collective quality of the decision making entity is the critical quality in this section even though it is not directly explored²⁶. This is relevant to the concepts of Qualculation²⁷ and Calculation²⁸ discussed by Cochoy (2008) among others (Cochoy, 2002; Callon and Law, 2005; McFall, 2009). These concepts brought to bear on stalls other than Jones' Fruit and Veg, will allow the exploration of the connections and contributions between the 'two sides' (Cochoy 2008. p.27-30) of marketing professionals and their customers, who in this case (unlike supermarkets etc) inhabit the same physical space.

Surrogate Agency

Origins is a coffee stall on the opposite side of the market from Jones' Fruit and Veg and Market Central Café. Located in a recess near the side entrance, it is

²⁶ The limitations of the methods used do not allow for detailed explication of the constitution of collectives.

²⁷ Qualculation; Quality based judgements between options arranged in a specific way in a specific framing, made by an entity with specific actions patterns. The arrangement of these items and the space which it creates, can be referred to as the 'calculative space'.

²⁸ Calculation; Many choice behaviours have a collective element, and this is used to refer to situations where 'the consumer'[choice-maker] is non-reducible to a single 'entity'. The collective in these situations often includes objects and is referred to as a cluster.

one of the smaller stalls in Cardiff Market. It has a few stools outside but unlike Market Central Café there is no 'indoor' seating area, and it serves only a limited range of snacks and occasionally one variety of sandwich. Stools are provided for the customers that often linger and chat to the staff, behind a low counter set below a tiled ledge. Inside the stall are fridges, a large espresso machine with pink side panels, two coffee grinders with large hoppers, and a small sink in the back corner. The back wall is completely taken up by a large menu, partially printed onto a board, with spaces left empty for handwriting. Coffee appliances are dotted around the stall such as miniature scales, reusable coffee cups, measuring equipment and various filters and jugs. The focus on coffee rather than food distinguishes Origins from the other cafes in the market and the traders there also put particular effort into finding and rotating between coffee blends. In addition, they offer modes of coffee preparation which do not rely on the espresso machine and milk steamer such as pour-over and drip coffees. Origins have also recently developed their own blend, using a local roastery's equipment. This was a contentious subject of discussion at times, since they were in negotiations to make the new coffee blend for a time.

Moments after discussing this with a member of staff, another exchange took place [4/4/18, 13:10-13:30]. A couple (man and woman) arm in arm approached Origins and asked about the prices of the bags of coffee on display. The woman selected one by pointing at it, asking how much they were. Pete told her that it was £14, and the man with the woman immediately said 'You're not having that' in a jocular tone. The woman then asked a few other questions about the different varieties on sale. She asked if the £14 coffee was better than the one they had bought on a previous visit, and talked to her companion about the coffee they had bought in the past from Origins. She then asked Pete what this £14 coffee was like in comparison to that one, and he told her the various ways in which it tasted different.

It is important to note what Pete does in this situation. The two customers appear to be trying to adjust their preferences to each other, with the added knowledge that they have purchased coffee from this stall before. Initially, the woman appears to be interested in the relative quality of the coffee, but quickly includes more dimensions of comparison, bringing multiple qualities of the coffee into the discussion. The customer describes the missing elements in their calculation process, and orient themselves within the possible qualities of the coffee on display by using their knowledge of past purchases, inviting a specific contribution. Pete, and the rest of the Origins traders are all able to talk extensively about the flavours in the coffee, and compare these various aspects with customers and here he makes the contribution that the customer was expecting. Inserting himself into their cluster, Pete adds to their calculation. This indicates that the collective deliberation of this pair of customers has spread beyond itself to include others, expanding and changing its shape. It may be the case that the customers could have smelled it themselves through the partial seals common to many ground coffee bags, but it is part of a stacked display on top of the barrier out of easy reach. This appears different from the use Cochoy (2008) made of the tracing metaphor to describe how customers adjust their preferences to those of others in their cluster, since the trader is entering fairly directly into the calculative adjustments²⁹ rather than interacting via a material mediation and is responding to a specific gap in their shared

²⁹ The position occupied by the equivalent of the trader is left indistinct in the accounts given by Cochoy (2007; 2008; 2009) of various consumption settings. This is perhaps partly in favour of highlighting the role of the material work involved in structuring and maintaining the consumption environment but it is also likely to be a result of the focus of his account on supermarkets and other small stores, which have standardised and routinised management and operation procedures. In these places the figure and roles that the trader performs is dispersed and spread between the supermarket shelf-stacker and numerous marketing professionals; the former do the physical work of organisation, but control over this is maintained further up the organisational hierarchy by the latter.

knowledge. Rather than treating the traders interaction with the customer as fundamentally different to the possible actions of packaging with partial seals, it is possible to view the significant affordances of the material form of direct marketing (Kirwan, 2006) as enabling mutual complicity in the formation of calculative activity. Instances when this complicity can be and is performed can therefore be identified and described.

Missing Mediators

An attempt to establish this complicity can further be demonstrated through a case of a missing mediator, but this requires shifting between types of qualities. Most of the qualities addressed in this chapter so far can be accessed through the senses. This is a product of the focus thus far on stalls selling only vegetable matter directly to the customer. The arrangement of these stalls prioritise engagement with primary qualities of vegetable produce, but arrangements for the storage and display of other types of goods preclude engagement with primary qualities. In these cases, possible engagement is organised by the resource (space, electricity, plumbed-in water etc) requirements of particular appliances, which are in turn required to store and display produce like meat and animal products. These appliances, where necessary are involved in managing the biological tendencies and characteristics of different products (Freidberg, 2007; 2009). For example, in many of the cases involving vegetable produce detailed in this chapter so far, customers and traders handle the produce, thoroughly handling it and looking at it from all directions, which in contrast is not possible with animal matter. At Butchers' stalls, there is a consistent and strong physical separation between the produce for sale and the hands of the customers. Refrigerated display counters separate the produce for sale on butchers stalls from the public, by means of panes of glass topped with lighting bars (which are commonly used as counters, resting places for money, bags and purchased goods) all angled towards the traders, standing behind them.

These counters work to cool and present the goods on offer while also preventing customers from touching or manipulating items. This prevents customers from assessing the non-visual qualities of any items until they have purchased them, meaning that the interaction between customer and trader becomes critical. In most situations at these stalls the customer depends on the traders senses and must trust their judgement. This allows for deliberative frames to be rooted in some sensory judgements, but there are other kinds of qualities attached to products which cannot be established by means of sensory engagement. Credence qualities are not often referred to on market stalls, and are only seen in any significant number on these butchers stalls, where flags and branded promotional material signal the adherence of particular products to third party certification schemes³⁰. As the following interaction demonstrates, these standards refer to the conditions of production, and as such cannot refer to detectable differences in the products, but this does not mean they are free from controversy and dispute (Bonne and Verbeke 2008, p.36).

I was leaning on the fridge counter opposite one of Chris's counters after speaking to him and watching customers there for a while [28/3/18, 12:55-13:20]. John, who is the owner and manager of the butchery stall AF Williams (it is named after his father), came out from a walk in fridge with a large black plastic tub of chicken breasts (sealed with plastic film). A customer had been waiting for him by the entrance to this part of the stall. They seemed familiar with each other, and as he emerged he explained to the customer that the meat was halal. The customer seemed to note this with a nod, but didn't say anything else about it, giving John with a £20 note and leaving with his chicken. I was confused as to why John brought up that it was Halal when the customer hadn't said anything about it in advance and asked him about this. John told me that

³⁰ In this case the most prominent example is Hybu Cig Cymru / Meat Promotion Wales, a body which promotes Protected Geographical Indication products produced in Wales, and supports and certifies farms and slaughterhouses providing red meat (Lamb, Beef and Pork) products produced in Wales. Welsh flags, branded bunting and leaflets can all be found on certain butchers stalls from time to time.

he didn't really support Halal, but that a lot of the meat he sells is halal because it comes from slaughterhouses where a lot of workers are from Eastern Europe or are Muslim. His assumption was that to handle the meat, they would require it to be halal. He followed this up by saying that it didn't really bother him too much personally, but that he makes people aware of it beforehand, as otherwise people can get funny with him. He didn't want any religious or cultural issues to come up, but also noted that it was a thin line to walk, referring to the contentious quality of public discourse over halal meats.

The 'Halal' status of meat can also be described as a credence quality (Bonne and Verbeke 2008) and it is worth outlining briefly some of the controversies surrounding halal meat before considering this passage in more depth with respect to calculation. Halal meat, or meat that is deemed acceptable to eat by Muslims through practices of ritual slaughter can be a controversial topic in Western and European countries (Lever and Miele 2012; Bonne and Verbeke 2008; Lever 2018). This debate is in part driven by contestation over welfare issues relating to the lack of stunning required by Muslim religious bodies; this is required by the EU, and although religious exemptions have been granted, a number of countries have banned the practice (Miele 2016a). Muslim religious advisory bodies have responded in certain places by permitting reversible methods of stunning before slaughter but in recent years this debate has become exaggerated thanks to the increased provision, availability and labelling of halal products and agitated Islamophobic media coverage of these changes to labelling (Ekman 2015).

In the example given above [28/3/18, 12:55-13:20] John makes no overt mention of the details which appear to generate these concerns. His actions are instead preoccupied by the potential association of the concerns with his stall and his navigation among these issues, to the point that he does not state a personal position on Halal meat, claiming indifference. What motivates him to tell the customer and attempt to gauge complicity with his choices is that he felt that the customer ought to know, implying that this customer and others would

otherwise be unaware. This is supported by the lack of signs indicating the Halal status of meats. John also suggests, without making it fully clear, that he does not label the meat consistently on the stall in order to avoid any contention about it. The comment that it was a fine line to walk was an interesting expression in this case, as the metaphor of the line indicates an ideal, less contentious path avoiding two unpleasant scenarios. One scenario corresponds to the concern for providing meat that meets the needs of Islamic customers and advertising as such, as well as accurately making non-Muslim customers aware of what they are buying, while the other may correspond to the concern that Halal meat is problematic in welfare terms.

By portraying himself as having to navigate between these, John implies that public concern about this issue presents him with a problem, which is solved or avoided by limiting who is told about the halal status of some of his meat. In this situation, a halal sign on this stall would perform the role of informing anyone who looks, that halal meat is sold on his stall. This particular topic and the various concerns involved are judged as too fraught with contention for John to allow a sign to perform this informing task without discretion. In the realm of credence qualities, the connection of these concerns surrounding halal meat to boundary-crossing religious and ethical issues threatens to spill over into calculative frames. John here attempts to do qualculating work for this particular customer as he makes a choice, but the lack of halal labelling on the stall means that this appears as a kind of last-chance involvement, a break from the stall-wide exclusion or omission of this information, which ultimately contributes towards reducing the possibility of contestation. The trader is anticipating an expected concern of the customer, rather than responding to a displayed or stated concern. It is an adjustment to a potential, projected state of another.

Sensory Overflow and Control

At other times, managing the deliberative spaces of customers was firmly rooted in the sensory rather than the political domain. While some traders use the capacity of scent to travel, disperse and lead, others find this problematic and contestation over this volumetric aspect of space occurs. Walking around the aisles in late April, I said hello to Ian as I passed AF Williams. The rest of the staff were busy, and John was on the phone, looking away. As I passed Jones' Fruit and Veg, someone shouted up to Tom 'How's your dad?'. On the way through to the other side of the market, I saw Lynn (the trader at a the butchers' stall next to V Market) walking towards me, swinging a can of air freshener back and forth as she sprayed its contents in front of V Market. She leaned in and looked pointedly towards V Market as she passed me, before continuing on to her stall. I could smell spices and the chilli scent of Kimchi, as well as an earthy smell of cooking vegetables underneath the air freshener, which was not very effective.

This action clearly communicated that Lynn had a problem with the smell coming from the next-door stall, but also could have bothered the traders at this stall. Her stall is fairly simple, with a fridge counter along the front, and a low canopy hanging over it. The interior of the stall is spartan; A range of slicing equipment sits on stainless steel counters below white plastic wall panels, illuminated by slightly pink-shaded fluorescent tubes. A subtle but noticeable bloody metallic scent often emanates from the stall. V Market is a new stall to the market (having moved in months before my study began), but was set up by a business with a restaurant and bar elsewhere in Cardiff, similar to Origins. They sell exclusively vegan food and snacks, and prepare it all on site before lunchtime, which takes a significant amount of cooking equipment. The juxtaposition of a butchery stall and a vegan stall seems to be somewhat cliched as the grounds for contention, but it is easy to understand the spraying of air freshener here as a simple act of ostentatious rejection or conflict.

A day later, I was speaking to Pete, the staff member at Origins mentioned previously, and he happened to mention this spraying [28/3/18, 11:02-11:45]. I

had been sitting talking to Pete and Dan passed the stall, greeting Pete in passing. We chatted about Dan briefly, mentioning his habits of coming into the market on his days off and dressing up in fancy outfits and as fantasy characters on special occasions. Pete then told me that trader at the bacon stall, on the other side of the fortune teller from Origins, had been spraying air freshener outside the vegan food stall V Market, as she thought the stall smelled too strong. She had been working in the market for a long time, around 40 years, and Pete said that she was nicknamed the 'Queen of the Market' on this basis, and due to the fact that she had an intimidating presence. I had noticed this smell myself and had seen her spraying, especially in the morning when V Market are doing food prep. I asked him about the smell, and Pete said that he thought it was more to do with them being surrounded by two stalls which serve mostly vegan food.

While Pete focussed on the possible reasons for the conflict, I found it more interesting that the conflict happened not over the contrasting aims of the two neighbour stalls, but rather over the intrusion of smells into the space of the aisles. Traders cannot put any solid structures into the aisles, but scents and sounds travel through it without control. In fact, the effect of the spraying appears as more of a corrective to the over-spilling and pungent scents, rather than an act of overt confrontation or conflict. Lynn appears to be attempting to hold the conditions outside her stall steady, perhaps to prevent new and potentially unwanted olfactory influences from disturbing her customers in their decisions. In Cardiff Market the structuring of customer experience happens across all of the senses, as documented in the previous section but not all of this structuring may be desired or intentional; produce overflows, scents escape, and may mislead or disgust the customer. Teenagers can often be seen holding their noses as they pass the fishmonger, or even as seen at one point, performing disgust by dry-heaving and joking about the smell.

The trader in each of these situations is responding to the concerns of the customer, even if the customer is projected or the concern anticipated. In the

first case, this is on the basis of an invitation, and in doing so, the trader makes himself part of the customer's calculative process, becoming complicit in their decision-making process in the same way that objects mediate on behalf of supermarket managers. In the following example, the trader is anticipating a possible concern while the stall withholds information relevant to this concern from them. The final example details a trader attempting to limit the potential influence of an unexpected sensory stimulus, overflowing from a neighbouring stall. These conversational devices, attempts at anticipation and physical practices can be described as active and reactive in the shaping of the calculative/deliberative space alongside the less mobile aspects of the physical structuring of the market/stall environment. Referring to deliberative spaces and their creation is perhaps more appropriate in these settings than the term calculation, since adjustments are more often made directly between people on either side of the stall.

These vignettes also consistently demonstrate anticipatory interference with the often potential work performed by objects. Often this means restraining or restricting the possible agency of objects. Unlike the supermarket and self-service shopping, Market Halls lack a closely designed and managed environment, tailored towards the incorporation of product packaging and management. This means that the intervening and anticipatory role of the trader is much more significant and their presence in the deliberative space of the customer is much more immediate and direct. The task of understanding the outlines of these differences can begin with empirical attention to the configuration of trader, customer and stall.

Discussion

Within the anthropologies of markets and consumption spaces and devices there is an emergent critique which addresses the preoccupation of such accounts with performative success to the exclusion of performative failure (Butler 2010; Pakh 2017)³¹. The principle aim of this chapter has been to document structuring of the sensory experience of the customer, achieved by the traders using various material arrangements in as much detail as possible. This approach may lead to moments of extreme empirical banality, but the virtue of this fixation on the mundane is the potential to comment on the distributed and material character of market attachments in this particular setting (McFall, 2009). Many of these are uncertain in this setting or require constant maintenance or justification, and there are devices oriented specifically towards forms of justification or risk control. The uncertainty inherent to much of this activity means that market-space has significant differences from conventional retail spaces which have been addressed in more detail in the literature review. Crucially, traders seek direct complicity in many of the customers choices, often intervening in an inter-personal, conversational fashion where the agencies of mediating bags, crates, pin-clips, colour patterns, display fridges, and the products themselves fail or are not present. The version of the consumer enacted in Cardiff Market is not more well equipped (than in supermarkets) to make 'better' choices however, and agency is still distributed between the customer, trader and stall, but this distribution is more actively manipulated and intervened in by the trader.

Moving Accountability through Plastic

One such interplay surrounds the discount bags device. As a market device, the discount bags bring goods to market are of poor quality, or that have

³¹ Not an exhaustive list of those who discuss performative failure.

accumulations of qualities which enact contrasts with the culturally enacted ontologies of freshness discussed by Jackson et al (2018). By containing the produce and holding individual items together with others, the bags perform the key actions which bind this account together. They enact a stage before disposal, but after the produce has perceptibly degraded. Proximity to the point at which the food becomes visibly understood as inedible, and therefore unsellable, puts the produce moving through this device close to a border, making the lack of qualitative cohesion between and within these packages critical. This advances discussions of the associations between already existing 'value' or 'bargain' markings and poorer quality (negative qualities) (Kelsey, Morris and Crewe, 2018), because it deals with the outcome of associations in a non-standardised marginal retail format. Standardisation in retail has long been a means by which consumer demands are connected to industrial quality control practices, as Cochoy (2005) details. These have been widely held up as a bulwark against tainted and sub-standard food, but have also been recognised as serving particular interests within large retailer supply-chains (Freidberg, 2007). These devalue and exclude particular knowledges which appear to be critical for the performance of this unsteady device (Muniesa, Millo and Callon, 2007). In this case, justification for the sale of such sub-standard goods is done explicitly and directly between customer and trader, meaning that in each interaction the objects have to be immediately enacted as fresh, or at least sellable (Jackson et al, 2018). This is a different form of justification that is perhaps more amenable to challenge from the customer, that captures a significant difference in the power relations evident between Market Hall trading and other forms of conventional retail.

The attachment of primary qualities to secondary qualities can be considered a kind of work which is critical for exploring the different power dynamics inherent to direct marketing, and the different forms of market devices used. The distinction between these, is related in this case to the association between the notion of freshness and the physical properties of the food. Intrinsic properties refer to those things which can be known through physical interaction with the

food item itself, whereas a secondary quality would be freshness, which is attached to aspects of the food item but not reducible to any of them. These notions are engaged with reference to a distinction made by Callon et al (2002, p.199) between the different kinds of things that can be learned through qualification trials, or engagement with products/goods. Qualification trials (Callon et al, 2002. p.198) describes the process by which primary and secondary qualities are attached and located within a 'system of differences and similarities, of distinct and yet connected categories'. Customers engage their senses and bodies in order to subject fruit and vegetables to these trials in many other contexts, as Jackson et al (2008) document, but the focus is very often on the attachment of positive qualities like freshness rather than negative equivalents. These negative qualities become crucial for understanding the device in question. The fixing of the selection of items by the bags successfully frames the amount, price, and possible selections of produce out of the calculative space (Callon et al, 2002. p.202-205; Cochoy, 2007. p.110). This effectively drives any contention onto the grounds of quality, assessed here through texture, or the consistency of the produce. In a study of bazaar marketing in Morocco, Geertz (1978, p.31) noted that very little is pre-set in bargaining 'confrontation[s]', with quantity, credit, and price all up for discussion. Geertz (1978) called this multidimensionality, and to borrow this term, it could be argued that this device closes off dimensions of possible contestation. The bags create an opportunity for marketing produce with dubious freshness by constraining the agency of the customer to conduct full qualification trials, and by holding aspects of the package stable.

By constraining the agency of customers, certain goods can be brought to market which would otherwise be disposed of. This action of the device can be described as a narrowing, as it speaks to the similarity between the constraints imposed on edibility and desirability by the biological processes of vegetable matter, and the effect of the discount bag device on the agency of the customer. This connects the spatial constraint on the amount of space for the storage of stock in the stall to the temporal constraint related to the 'sellability' of the

produce³². Alongside budgetary constraints, market traders are faced with significant constraints on space, time, and aesthetics when dealing with this kind of produce. The construction of this device therefore displaces these constraints to some extent by controlling the risk that the traders expose themselves to when selling non-fresh produce. The discount bag section is therefore not simply constraining agency, but also accountability, contributing an additional element to the possible governing roles of plastic outlined by Hawkins (2019). This also contributes a development on the figure of the discount customer (Kelsey et al. 2018) who is revealed to be not only actively limited to poorer quality through spending constraints, but also limited to particular grounds of contention through the way in which discounted items are presented and selected.

Sensory Devices and Sacrificial Objects

Outside of this particular device in situations where the produce is more fresh, the senses are used more intentionally by the traders at the same stall. The sensory experience of the marketplace (or at least Cardiff Market) is complicated in spatial terms, with noises and scents moving around, swelling and fading with much the same complexity as the visual landscape. In stalls where the sensory qualities of produce are particularly intense or vivid, devices are constructed around these intensities in order to physically move the customer or to displace their attention, working across and between the senses. As described earlier (p.87), Chris's stall has a particularly colourful display. To understand how customers may make sense of these colourful and vibrant displays of produce it is crucial to consider the multiple meanings of indexicality as discussed by Cochoy (2018).

³² This seems similar to the displacement of budgetary concerns in favour of volumetric concerns as documented by Cochoy (2008), albeit configured differently and constructed to different ends.

Indexicality was first coined to refer to the irreducible reliance of any given social accomplishment on the local context. Cochoy (2018, p.5) has elaborated on various possible meanings and variations of this term, and the identification of 'indexical objects' is particularly relevant. This term relates to numerical values, quantities, lists or directories containing information relating to the locations of particular objects. Callon (2002) uses location elsewhere as a metaphor to describe the relative positioning of qualities, but it can be broadened within the formulation of indexicality provided by Cochoy et al (2018) to accept a dual meaning inclusive of micro-geographic location. This means that a wider qualitative index or sensory order within a local sensory/semiotic field can be conceived of³³. To give an example, the production of colour contrasts on the stall, and the use of scent to relate to particular colour contrasts in fruit among other things can be conceived of as a qualitative index or an example of sensory ordering. This is because there is a coherent juxtaposition of sensory elements, contrasting or cohering in relative terms which work to produce a particular reference. Heuts and Mol (2013, p.14) treat sensory details as if they were within one register and discuss how clashing qualities may disrupt valuation, but they do not address how different senses may work in concert or disrupt one another to affect the valuation process. The exploration of the contrasts and indexical links, or sensory ordering, provides an attempt to remedy this.

The concept of a sensory order originates from Vannini and Waskul (2008) and elsewhere Rhys-Taylor (2013a) has used the related term 'somatic work' to refer to the bodily-sensory work of making sense of different cultural sensory orders. These orders are considered on wider social and cultural levels and concern the work an individual must do to navigate sensory orders within

³³ The price tags stuck into produce also allow second-order indexical reference to prices for particular categories, and third-order indexical reference (comparison between categories); with these two, a customer can assemble a quantitative index of prices aside from the attached qualities. See Cochoy (2018, p.5) for more details on his four-fold reworking of indexicality.

particular cultural regimes. Sensory ordering is therefore posited as a finer-grained alternative focussed on the constitution of arrangements which effect more local sensory orders in practice. Considering these orderings as devices may speak more closely to the literatures on the structuring and constitution of consumption spaces (Muniesa et al. 2007) and may also communicate the teleology of these arrangements more accurately. Thinking with sensory ordering and devices provides a way to understand how the nervous, compulsive practices of reordering practiced on the market stall contribute towards the maintenance of devices that redirect attention through combinations of sensory effects working between different registers. To demonstrate how these devices work between registers, it is important first to recognise the differences in their spatiality. In the examples provided earlier in this chapter, the eye follows the nose, responding to its immediate, gripping intensities, in the same manner as demonstrated by Rhys-Taylor (2013a). Scent has a significantly different spatiality and logic of movement to vision, which is better described with reference to volume, trails, and urgency/intensity than the axes of the visual described by Cochoy (2008). The spatial dynamics of scent enable it to have an effect in drawing customers towards the associated visual presences of particular items.

The practice of cutting as the way in which scent is released and these sensory devices are created, draws attention to the physicality of the produce. The barrier that the fruit and vegetable skins (pith, peel, or rind), creates in its intact state means that those qualities emanating from the interior, are only accessibly if the vegetable is cut, sliced or prepared somehow. This seems similar to the idea of 'practice-specific alterities' discussed by Van de Port and Mol (2015, p.167). This refers to the idea that different versions of objects may be enacted based on the practices used in relation to them. This has significance for our understanding of the possibilities of various objects and what they mean in particular contexts. In this case, the halving or sacrifice of an avocado, means that a version of that avocado is enacted which speaks on behalf of the others in the crate. In doing so, this version of the avocado also attempts to close off

other potential avocado states. The purpose of its 'speech', is to resolve the uncertainty about the possible other versions of each individual avocado within the group. Since each avocado before sale is inviolable under the conventions of the market stall, the sacrificial avocado offers associative potential with the nexus of meanings around freshness and ripeness, but it also critically connects in its cut state, to the cooking/preparation stage. The consistency, texture, and colour may combine to produce a version of an avocado perfect for eating or cooking, connecting the customer to an unrealised version of a future avocado displaced backwards in time, and extended beyond the sacrificial individual item.

From Calculation to Deliberative Space

The collective organisation of consumption behaviours is arguably as important as the sensory ordering conducted on market stalls. In a number of cases, the trader has been shown to anticipate expected concerns of the customer in addition to responding directly to stated concerns. Cochoy (2009) describes the action of adjustment of one person to the preferences of another in these contexts as Calculation (calculative tracing and adjustment), but there are more tactics at work in this instance. Conversational devices, attempts to anticipate potential preferences, and physical practices of sensory management, all participate in shaping calculative/deliberative spaces. The trader, separated from the customer by the stall, becomes directly involved in the calculation of the customer. This raises the question of what is created when this calculation is done. Since the trader is adjusting the information/resources provided to fit a directly present or anticipated customer, a space is being created between these points which crosses the theoretical division between customer and vendor. Instead of conceiving of the customer and trader as in opposition, it is possible to consider that which is created between them as a space which creates the possibility of a decision. It may be possible to refer to these as

deliberative spaces³⁴ and they appear to have significant effects beyond enabling a decision-making process.

The interventions made by traders to alter these spaces have a tendency towards blocking or subverting the agency of particular objects in order to maintain or induce particular sets of relations on the stall, or to control accountability. Usually organised around helping a customer locate an object within constellations of qualities, these spaces are also concerned with managing the environment in which these qualities are apprehended. Deliberative space describes the spread of such interventions across a number of intersubjective points on the same plane as the actions of the physical elements of the stall³⁵. These spaces are: “spatially or topologically multiple, inhabiting both Euclidean and Network spaces” (Law, 2002. p.95). Considering calculative activity as generative of such hybrid spaces is useful because it provides a way to think about this and other consumption spaces, that may have different levels of overlap between Euclidean and network coordinates. Other spaces of conventional retail where managers are not directly present, may rely on highly indirect relationships in order to perceive and react to customers, and the Euclidian movement of the relevant information is likely to be as circuitous as the network relationships if not more so. In contrast, this case demonstrates close links between the Euclidean presence and network presences of the trader and customer as they stand on either side of the stall. The intervening, anticipatory role of the trader is often required because of the risky, unpredictable or unselective nature of particular devices as they function on market stalls and this makes market trading a significantly different form of retail from the dominant forms of conventional retail.

³⁴ It may also be significantly less awkward for first-language English speakers to pronounce.

³⁵ They cannot be considered as discontinuous purely because of the different interests of trader and customer, since they shift and adjust in relation to one another extensively, and create this shared space in order to effect purchasing decisions.

The outlines of these differences can be described by the deliberative space concept, generated by means of empirical attention to the configuration of trader, customer and stall. The particular patterns of Euclidean and relational presences which describe the deliberative spaces formed at market halls, also contribute to the 'direct' label attached to this form of marketing. The examples and theoretical discussion here additionally demonstrate the fluidity of this kind of marketing practice alongside the problems and affordances of this flexibility, developing upon limited theorisations of direct marketing (Kirwan, 2006). The strength of this approach in this case is that it can access the qualitative economic logic of the practices involved in direct marketing. In other words, it makes it possible to discuss what can be changed, manipulated, and signposted within this style of marketing. The particular flexibility of 'direct' marketing can be framed as a strength in this context, but it is in part a response to the challenges of marketing in a restricted, shared space, with limitations on the resources available for display and supply chain management. As seen in the final vignette of the final section of this chapter, the efforts of each stall to provide their offering may conflict with the preferences of the customers as anticipated by traders at another stall. This demonstrates the unstable foundation for material mediators and structuring arrangements that Market Halls provide. This is critical for comprehending the performance of storage and display in the Market Hall, which is intricately linked to the practicalities of direct marketing, and for understanding the accommodation offered in the market.

Conclusion

Three major themes emerge from the theoretical consideration of the empirical matter presented here which address the research questions in different ways. Firstly, the sale of degraded produce on some stalls presents a challenge of accountability for the traders which is overcome by making use of the agencies of sealed plastic bags, as part of a discounted section. These govern the collectives of produce that can be formed by the customer and as such manage the extent to which the traders are accountable to their customers for the poor standard of the produce. The action of these bags contributes to the figure of the 'discount' shopper', contributing to the complex picture already presented in consumption studies (Kelsey, Morris and Crewe, 2018). This directly contributes to the third research question by addressing the ability of the bags to change the relationships between customer and trader. As the discount bag device is a part of the overall stall display and shapes the product that is enacted, the first and second research questions are also addressed indirectly.

Secondly, sensory devices are created by traders on their stalls to direct and displace customer attention. These local orderings can consist of the produce itself, and are considered to be local and particular to each stall, in a conceptualisation which builds on a number of different ideas (Waskul and Vannini 2008; Rhys-Taylor 2013b; Cochoy et al. 2018). These require a constant and compulsive maintenance, but also have the power to connect the primary and secondary qualities of fruits and vegetables which are present in different stages of their lives. As such, exploring what these devices do goes a long way to addressing the lack of research into market operations, and additionally applies a relatively novel approach to consumption spaces (Cochoy, 2008) in a new and underexamined context. These findings also contribute directly to the first research question, by demonstrating the local organising practices used in the marketing arrangements of market stalls. The development of Sensory Ordering also made it possible to adequately describe

the organisation of this kind of locally specific practices. Being able to understand the ordering practices inherent to these displays reveals much about how the stall is performed as economic as it demonstrates the kinds of qualities attached to produce, and how these attachments are made.

Thirdly, between the customer, trader and environment of the stall, deliberative spaces are created in which traders intervene. Attending to these spaces demonstrates a core part of market trading that differentiates them from other spaces of consumption. The concept also provides a way to think about how traders and their materials both intervene in the decision-making process of the customers. Fundamentally, this concept helps to demonstrate how the physical constraints of market trading and the need to share space create issues to which direct involvement in the customers decision-making process is often the solution. Direct marketing as practiced on market stalls, means closer accountability between traders and customers, but this also enables personalisation and the anticipation of customer preferences. As seen in the function of the discount bag device, it also means that the creation of devices that displace accountability in particular ways are also possible. This addresses the first research question by offering a new way to understand the organisation of market stalls, which incorporates aspects of trader intervention and how this may interact with aspects of display.

These three points are primarily concerned with the problems that traders face that arise from the particular form of market trading, and the particular situation in Cardiff Market; how to sell products that have degraded beyond others; how to get customers to notice products in a (literally) crowded market; how to make sure customers know what they are buying if they can't touch it, taste it, or smell it. These are classic issues of marketing but the discussion emerging from this particular context has generated ideas which if transposed to other geographical contexts could be useful for addressing the sensory impact of consumption-oriented spaces on urban space. The role of particular materials (plastic especially) for example in structuring experience and practices of

consumption and spaces of consumption could be explored further within geography, and would complement waste-focussed approaches (Evans 2017). The use of sensory devices to manage display, and the importance of relative appearance and spatiality in structuring and understanding such devices would also appear to be relevant in other contexts (Jackson et al. 2018; Heuts and Mol 2013). This is especially the case where work practices are not structured or highly managed, since there is already prominent work on the role of particularly specialised and 'concrete' advertising technologies and techniques in urban spaces (Dekeyser 2018) along with significant work on particular consumption/retail spaces (Cochoy, 2007; 2008; 2009). The notion of deliberative space may also provide another way to understand processes of political and economic decision-making, and provides geographies of consumption with additional concepts to bridge the gap between itself and anthropologies of markets (Cochoy 2018).

This chapter has been preoccupied with the devices used to sell produce and the particular arrangements used to present and inform the customer about the metabolising objects with immediate sensory presences that move through stalls. What has emerged is that the strengths and weaknesses of market trading appear to be co-dependent, in that much of what markets are celebrated for (in terms of their economic and social benefits) can also be presented as responses to the difficulties of working with these objects in these spaces. The perception of markets as more familiar, direct and personal may be based on the responses of traders to the internal challenges of operating and marketing in a busy, noisy, and shared space.

Chapter 5: Managing Matter in Market-Spaces

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the movement of matter through market stalls, and the management of the various states that produce moves through. The focus of the previous chapter on the arrangement of market stall displays, provided a focus on the transaction, whether achieved or not. Market stalls clearly organise towards successful transactions. However, there are other outcomes and states which are influential in their organisation. The transactional nature of some interactions on market stalls directs attention away from the movement of matter through market stalls and towards the interactions between trader, customer and product. It is possible to understand and describe this movement by attending to the tensions and relations that affect the organisation of matter in the stall. Different objects can be enacted in different ontological states as they move through the stall, and at times these states can be superimposed or kept separate through techniques of concealment. A focus on these states can be defined under the broad label of logistics in order to provide distance from the transaction. Logistical devices contribute to the performance of market stalls as particular kinds of economic entities and therefore the performance of market halls as particular economic spaces, even if this contribution is often intentionally removed or held apart from the subjectivity of the customer.

Market Halls receive attention to their economic and social contributions to the urban areas that surround them (Hallsworth et al. 2015; Bua et al. 2018), but the logistical challenges inherent to running stalls inside markets located within urban areas are often not discussed in any detail within this literature. Even

though such matters may be considered mundane or treated as givens, economic spaces must be performed and maintained, and empirical attention reveals the importance of attending to the situated nature of interactions between demand and supply (Callon, 1998). The conditions in which things become economic, shapes their economic qualities, making each specific instance of economic performance critical (Callon, 1998. p.4-6). Flows and streams of matter into, around, and out of the market space provide some of the conditions in this context and this chapter aims to attend to how these are managed, and what kind of performances they contribute towards. This reveals a key connection between logistical choreographies and economic performances, which contributes significantly towards the second research question concerned with the performance of market stalls as economic spaces. Understanding these performances requires looking closely at the possible versions of objects that can be enacted and how trader and non-human practices affect and are affected by these enactments. This contributes directly to the third research question, as it engages directly with the agencies of particular objects. This kind of account may involve moments of 'supreme empirical banality', as noted by McFall (2009, p.275) notes, but these are critically important for understanding the effects of specific economic and material processes on the qualities of the space that is produced.

This chapter will therefore begin with a close interrogation of the activity of carts in the market. These objects are used to carry goods into the market and waste out of it but this section details how these objects structure the work of traders setting up the stalls. This action of these carts is portal-like, but their agencies interact with others beyond this object, demonstrating a clear contribution towards the third research question. The account of the cart leads into the following section, which examines how the different versions of objects are enacted by traders and how these become part of stalls in different ways. Particular stalls appear to show forms of interaction between these versions, and this has ramifications for how stalls can be differentiated from each other. The final section of this chapter is an account of a stall renovation following a

change in ownership within the same stall type. This develops upon another dimension of constraint experienced by market traders, but also outlines how the traders are collectively involved in negotiating and mitigating these constraints, sources of uncertainty, and competitive pressures. These together inform the discussion section which follows, and in turn this section deals with what this empirical material means for the wider theoretical discussion around market devices, and how these findings contribute to the research questions.

Market Carts as Portal Objects

One of the more unique, yet easily ignored features of Cardiff Market, are the carts which traders use to bring in new stock. These have relatively large wheels with a flat surface onto which things can be loaded. This surface sits around knee height and are generally rectangular in shape. They are generally constructed from welded steel tubes, with wooden planks making up the surface of the flatbed. A handle is often connected to the chassis underneath the flatbed and works in the same way as the handles seen on pallet loaders; the wheels attached to the front axle turn underneath the flatbed with the handle, while the rear wheels are fixed. Signs are often attached to them and they look well used, with scrapes in the paintwork and clearly damaged and repaired sections as seen below. They are consummately utilitarian objects and are helpfully mobile while remaining durable. These carts are essential to the operation of the market (as are a number of other kinds of pallet-truck and box-loader), but they also structure the activity of certain stalls in ways that will be outlined as follows. Carts like this are rather mundane objects but this is taken in the spirit of the challenge noted by Cochoy (2008. p.17), in which the goal is to show how these mundane objects are implicated and active in the ongoing economic and logistical performances of market stalls.

Figure 9: An example of an empty cart in use [17/11/17].



Structuring Market Work

One morning, before customers had arrived [7:30, 9/1/18], the Fruit and Vegetable stall was being arranged for the day ahead. After a few minutes, Chris's sons brought in the purchases from their truck stacked up on one of the carts described above, which they left in the middle of a junction between aisles. It had been loaded up in much the same way as the one pictured in Figure 10 and struck me as a particularly important object. The carts are not directly involved with any consumer-facing activity/interactions on the stall but are directly involved with the constitution of the market as a space for consumption. An account of their activity therefore differs from the account of consumer-facing activity provided by Cochoy (2007) in one case but appear more similar to an account of the active reconstitution of supermarkets as consumption spaces (Cochoy, 2008). This involves continuing the story of these carts from this initial noticing, documenting the various actions that they perform in the market and how these change with time and context.

Figure 10: An example of a Cart being unloaded in the morning [17/11/17].



After pulling the cart into the market and positioning it at a junction between aisles, loaded up with boxes and crates, Chris stopped and began to unpack the raspberries and blueberries. These were in plastic punnets, within larger cardboard crates which were in turn stacked on top of each other. Taking crates from the cart, he stacked them up again at the corner of the stall, outside of the overhanging counter which runs around the stall, and which was visible because the green faux-grass covers had been removed. As Chris suggested, I helped him by picking up fruit which had been knocked to the ground, discarded boxes, paper and damaged fruit and put them into the cart which was sitting idle near to the stall. Tom and Andrew were making quick repeat trips between the cart, stowing various boxes and crates of produce away underneath the overhanging counter. A number of boxes were piled up outside the blue line (which denotes the stall boundary), and the cart was taking up a lot of the aisle.

It was also piled high with empty boxes and discarded plastic wrap, with discarded fruit in a few of these boxes [9/1/18, 7:50-8:35].

Figure 10 demonstrates how the cart described above is stacked up with boxes and crates. The stacks of stackable crates are grouped closely together on the carts, and each box and crate contain punnets of fruit or loose vegetables. In this arrangement, the stacks collectively provide structure and physical stability while also stopping the various vegetables and fruits from compressing each other. The stacks also perform a collectivising action, allowing the punnets to be part of a bigger collective entity. While providing stability, the ability of the crates to be stacked makes moving large amounts of produce much more straightforward since they can be carried and moved in multiples. This stacking ability, to the extent it is displayed in Figure 10 and the excerpt above is ultimately dependent upon the flatbed of the cart. From the wholesale market to the street outside the market, the produce was loaded on to a pallet in stacks and stored in the back of a lorry which transported the goods through the streets of Cardiff in the early morning. In the street outside the market, the stacks are moved by hand from the truck, where the carts receive the stacks, lifted up to the rear of the lorries (or parked at the rear of vans). They provide their flatbed as a surface for stacking so that the stacking ability of the crates used can be translated across space, providing a linking or connecting action between the outside of the market and the inside. This means that because the stacks do not need to be disassembled fully or taken in armloads, their arrangement with the cart has a direct impact on the work of the traders.

Chris and his sons are described unpacking these crates, moving several at a time from the stacks onto the counter or into the spaces underneath. A conduit, portal or doorway is created between the unloading of the stacks of crates onto the cart, and their unpacking from the cart, organising work on the stall around the cart. These metaphors are used because of the suggestions of fixed exit and entrances that the cart provides; it has a relatively limited set of positions, either near the stall, the trucks, or stored in the storage area. The cart as

conduit-arrangement holds and moves the stacks together temporarily, and it also provides a fixed exit for other items, limiting the area traders have to work within and enabling fewer and shorter trips to complete the restocking. The work done around and involving this object also appeared to be faster and more continuous than is seen at other times, suggesting that the cart is structuring the work practices of the trader. Cochoy (2008, p.20-21) discusses the supermarket trolley as a tool which creates a temporal stage deferring economic calculation to the checkout. In a similar way, the cart creates an extension to the physical storage stage and a deferment to the economic treatment of the items as products, which comes before the stall is arranged and ordered, and the goods are priced. This represents a condensing of the space and time over which traders need to complete the restocking work.

It is important to note here that the cart provides a particular material framing and structuring action, but it is also a response to external frames for certain kinds of activity outside the market. Posing the cart as purely an adjustment to the demands of external temporal frames for particular kinds of activity is tempting, because deliveries need to be completed by 10:00am when the street outside the market is restricted to pedestrians only. This could be associated with wider ideas about neoliberal urbanism, but it is possible to relate the connection of this object to these regulations differently. The cart is an object which mediates the labour of the traders, allowing them to avoid the problems caused by this restriction. The value of the cart as a collective-carrying portal object able to navigate this temporal narrowing thus becomes apparent.

Once the vegetables and fruit had been replenished, Chris asked Tom to pass over the covers. Tom swung them over the counter, and Chris took the green mass and tossed it against the corner of Morgan's. Picking each cover up piece by piece, Chris began wedging it between the boxes at the front of the stall and the edge of the counter with the blade of a green handled kitchen knife. I helped him again by passing some of them up to him and clearing some of the rubbish away that had accumulated from his reordering, piling it all up on the cart with

the rest of the empty boxes [9/1/18, 8:55-9:20]. If the cart can be described as a portal object since objects can move through it in two directions the cart, as a door, would be closed when put into storage. The earlier excerpt discusses the use of the cart as a place to stack and pile waste before disposal, and this is reinforced by the excerpt above. When helping with the stall, it seemed the natural place to put rubbish, and items of all kinds ended up on the flatbed of the cart. As noted in the previous chapter, the qualification trials which underpin the selection and layout of produce on the stall also generate waste, and this period also sees waste being generated in a similar way. Food, cardboard and plastic waste are all marked as waste by their placement in the cart, and the cart provides the ideal local grouping and marking place for this, offering itself as conduit for the removal of waste. The cart as waste disposal route is not made to work as hard as it does when stacked with fresh produce, as boxes and crates, now empty or filled with loose plastic and bits of damaged fruit slip around and do not stack easily. The weight of the produce is an essential maintaining element in a stack of crates, as it keeps stacks together. However, despite this delimited, portal-like action, the market cart occasionally overflows the uses to which it is put and occasionally even obstructs its own action.

Stubborn, Opportunistic Carts

One afternoon in March one of the butchers at AF Williams was moving two carcasses at a time into the walk-in fridge opposite Chris's stall with a cart (which had previously been left in the aisle), through the gap between the fridge counter and dividing wall. Once they had all been moved from the cart into the fridge, Ben had to do a slow three point turn with the cart in order to get it facing the right way, so that he could pull it back towards the entrance to their stall. He left it there and went back inside the stall [28/3/18, 14:15-14:55].

The ubiquity of these carts means that they often go unnoticed in the market, but as demonstrated, they can also take up a lot of space while moving and cause obstructions to the flow of people around the market. There were in fact a

number of instances in which I had to physically move out of their way to allow them to pass. They also seem to only be used with any regularity outside of market opening hours, apart from a few important exceptions. As indicated in the example above, this is perhaps because of the likely difficulty in negotiating passage through the aisles with a cart when customers are present. AF Williams often use the carts during opening hours, since they often need to move carcasses between the walk-in fridge and the counter. As can be seen from Figures 9 and 10, these carts are bulky, and the passage above demonstrates how difficult and awkward they can be to manoeuvre in practice. Their steering mechanism is rudimentary, being only a handle attached to two wheels on a turning joint, by which they are also pulled around. There is likely no practical improvement to this arrangement, but along with the carts battered condition and evident ad hoc repairs³⁶ it appears that these carts have had a long life involving heavy use. As a result, they are stubborn, difficult to turn and seem ready to obstruct the aisles, but reliably perform their tasks and clearly submit to ad hoc repair and unexpected uses easily. These qualities make their presence at particular times particularly important, especially in light of the exceptions mentioned earlier. When objects are paid close attention and considered rigourously, the information about them can overflow their framing as functional and mundane objects, intended to complete limited and simple tasks.

Similarly, the carts can display considerable opportunism. Acting beyond the tasks that traders undertake to prepare the stalls and make produce marketable, the carts sometimes do this marketing work on their own. The act of looking as a customer in a Market Hall means that at times, the simple lifting and carrying action of the carts brings them to the awareness of the customer. This is demonstrated well by a particular instance in which my attention was brought to a heap of sacks loaded onto a cart at the side of Market Central

³⁶ Look at excerpt 1. Note the thin ropes attaching various bits of the cart together, including the hinged 'door' which is hanging at an angle to the rest of the cart.

Coffee. A customer, a man in his late 30s, was looking at them intently. He then moved to the fruit and vegetable stall and mentioned them to Tom, gesturing towards them. He asked about their prices first; Tom responded by saying that they made the best chips, that they were restaurant quality and reserved for someone else. The customer then asked again how much it was for a sack, and if they could save him a sack for the next day, when he would be prepared to carry a sack away [28/3/18, 12:55-13:40].

Here the two sacks represent a display of sorts, but a much more unclear one than is found on a well labelled stall. This uncertainty most likely originates from a number of things unique to the case; the sacks were not labelled with a price, were not associated with Chris's stall by proximity (since Market Central Coffee is across the aisle) and were positioned partially underneath the Market Central Coffee counter, which sticks out into the aisle. The similarity between the products on the stall and in the sacks provides the crucial link here, a thematic association that the customer can easily understand. This thematic association allows the customer in excerpt 4 to ask Tom the question about their price, to attempt to fill in that missing element. The cart is raising these items up about half a metre off the ground, and this changes what the sacks are interpreted as by the customer. If they were resting on the floor, it is not clear they would have been identified as being available for sale at all, and this is why the cart and its positioning may be responsible for the suggestion that they are for sale, not the sacks themselves. Supported by the cart, the sacks are more easily within the eye-line of a general customer and they are not piled against a corner, which may evoke associations of waste or dirt.

The cart works as an unintended arrangement of storage, acting to create stable temporary collectives and local categories of various kinds. This arrangement is also intelligible in the right conditions as displaying products for sale. The cart appears able to superimpose two versions of an object. This indeterminacy is a key part of the unique character of markets that is usually described with reference to their unplanned and un-designed character. The

following section of this chapter explores this indeterminacy or capacity for the superimposition or overlapping of realities (versions), and its significance for how market stalls become economic spaces differently.

Figure 11: An empty cart, resting at the top of the stairs on the trinity street side of the market [17/11/17].



Storage/Display

One of the most important distinctions between market trading and the operation of supermarkets and other forms of retail, is that there are often no storage areas or stock rooms provided in markets, and what storage space traders can create is hard won and fragile. Storage spaces within stalls are generally as physically secure as the rest of the stall, but their position and character as storage space is fragile. Markets in general are associated with and lauded for the vibrancy of their displays but these displays have a tendency to spread and claim space where the conditions are right as demonstrated by the opportunistic market carts displaying sacks of potatoes. These displays consist of agencements which construct produce as economic objects, as detailed in the previous chapter. Storage also constructs produce as economic, but there is a significant distance from 'the market' in many cases and these distances/displacements are important even if they take place on an extremely small scale. This is because conflict can be observed when particular kinds of practices enact storage and display in superposition; these conflicts then draw attention to smoother, more harmonious forms of interaction.

Considering the boundaries between the two ontological states of display and storage becomes yet more interesting when the range of concerns at play on market stalls are taken into account. Ontology is considered in empirical terms here, which involves paying attention to its local achievement, in a mode similar to Mol et al (2010; de Laet and Mol 2000) and Law and Lien (2012). The following vignettes attempt to provide an account of the various interactions between ontological states that occur within the market, as each of these interacts in particular ways with the work practices involved in the stall. Exploring these interactions demonstrates some of the difficulties experienced at market stalls, along with some of the finer differences between stalls and the general nature of market operations.

Conflicting Realms

A man in traditional Muslim clothing (A Shalwar Kameez and a Pashtun hat) stopped to look at the strawberries as he was passing Jones' Fruit and Veg. They were labelled with a sign saying £2.99 a punnet, and the punnets were arranged inside stacked cardboard crates. He moved one of the punnets aside, before signalling to Tom with his hand. By pointing, he told Tom he wanted one, but pointed at the crate rather than an individual punnet. He paid Tom without passing anything else up to him. He moved a crate forwards and Tom made an exasperated noise and facial expression, saying 'Ahh, why you doing that?' while leaning forwards over the counter towards the man. The customer then began to lift the crate that held the punnets. Tom immediately began saying 'No, no, you can't do that it's £2.99 a punnet, not for all those'. The man had a confused expression, and Tom turned to his brother Andrew to ask for the money back from the till, before leaving the stall to talk to the confused customer. He demonstrated with his hands and the label, how the pricing worked and the customer understood, gesturing negatively with a repeated back-and-forth sweeping of the hand. Tom handed him the money and as the customer walked on, he spent some time rearranging the stack of strawberries. As he returned to the stall, he smiled at me while shaking his head, joking that 'he wanted all those for £2.99?' [24/4/18 10:33-11:43].

Without assuming whether this misunderstanding was a result of a poor grasp of English³⁷, the above vignette clearly represents a failure of the stall arrangement to properly perform the product clearly. The customer incorrectly understood that the price referred to the crate which housed the punnets. Perhaps the association between the price label pin clip and the crates, was stronger for him than the association between the association between the label and the individual punnets. It is worth noting here that there is no 'true price' for

³⁷ It could have been because of illegible writing on the sign, or a misunderstanding of punnet, or the customer may simply have looked at price and the strawberries, rather than the text.

any product, as price at this level is a material-semiotic achievement of the various actants involved in establishing the association between the relevant elements (Cochoy et al. 2018). These nested containers store produce, but also display it by virtue of their position. The storage role which the crate performs in containing the punnets, here becomes one of display, by virtue of its being at the top of a stack, and attached to the pin-clip; Tom has to verbally specify the correct association. This demonstrates a part of the uniqueness of market trading. In the market, traders often only have objects to assist with their marketing that they can make or adapt themselves; buying 'off the peg' seems to be rare and no industry exists to specifically serve the marketing needs of traders. This means they can be flexible in their work practices and the arrangement of stalls but given the lack of specialisation to the objects which market various goods, storage objects are often used in various combinations as described to achieve desired results. This lack of pre-designed or specialised objects, offers some flexibility to the work practices of traders, but it also leads to the items being performed as indeterminate, and this becomes apparent in situations where multiple versions of the objects overlap and become contested. This is a particular problem for the traders described here, since the fruit and vegetable stall as described previously has very little specialised equipment.

This is also a potential problem in situations where space is shared between traders, and the objects and materials used for storage can also make items visible. A convenient space for storage is created by a few unused fridge counters in the entrance to one of the walk-in fridges used by AF Williams, opposite the vegetable stall. The butchers allow the fruit and veg sellers to use one of these counters for storage³⁸, but this is not always a stable arrangement.

³⁸ A year later, when fieldwork had ended I still occasionally visited the market for lunch or to buy vegetables. On one visit, I noticed that the glass panel in the fridge counter had been removed and that it was being used to display and market produce, rather than store it. This represents an adaptation which takes advantage of the display function of the fridge counter, but also implies further cooperation between stalls, since AF Williams own this particular space.

During the lunchtime rush, two young men moved to the entrance of the stall for a while until Tom looked over at them. They were too far away for me to overhear what they were saying but Tom took one of the crates of mushrooms which were stacked up behind the discount bags section and poured them all into one of three large reusable shopping bags which they had brought with them and placed on the floor. They did this a few more times with crates taken from behind the stall until the three bags were full. Both of them were also taking more bags of mushrooms from the discount section as well, which made me realise they must have the equivalent of around 30 discount bags of mushrooms in their bags by now (this would normally come to £15). Tom eventually announced that the price was getting on for £19. Tom picked up 5 or 6 more bags of mushrooms from the discount area and handed them over, saying that these would make them £20. Soon after handing over a £20 note they left, and Tom said to Andrew that it was good to get rid of those. I asked him what he meant, and he pointed out the crates full of fresher, less blemished mushrooms stored in the fridge counter behind me, adding that he was glad they didn't see them [29/3/18, 11:55-12:20].

Despite being switched off, the fridge counter still performs its displaying tasks when used as storage. This destabilises but does not disrupt the ad hoc attempt Tom makes to take advantage of the priority these customers put on quantity. This focus on quantity means that Tom can clear most of the older stock of mushrooms from the discount bag section. He is relieved to do this, and his relief potentially highlights potential concerns with avoiding waste and the build-up of stock. As discussed in the previous chapter on the arrangement of produce on the stall, a major concern for traders is the movement of produce through the stall as it ages and as detailed there are numerous devices which regulate this flow. The flow of produce through this stall is not related solely to waste since the obstruction of space inside the stall is also significant in logistical terms and often more pressing in the short term. Tom was giving the two young men mushrooms from a large stack behind the discount area, which seemed to work as an overflow for produce which did not fit on that counter.

Tom recognises that this might not have been possible had the fridge counter been understood to be displaying the produce, rather than storing it and in expressing his relief, he acknowledges the flimsiness of the ontological distinction drawn between the mushrooms displayed on the discount bag section and those stored in the counter across the aisle. The source of the tension here lies in the visibility of the stored produce. Visibility is a key condition for the ontological state of display. In contrast, much of the other stored stock is hidden from view behind the counter or behind faux grass covers. Chris is depicted in a previous vignette, removing the stacks of boxes kept underneath the counter, hidden from view by the faux-grass covers wedged in place (9/1/18, 8:55-9:20). This is done as the market opens, signifying that the potential presence of the customer creates the possibility of display as an ontological state (which is oriented to the potential customer, and includes their subjectivity as a key element).

This presence induces the drive of the traders to cover stored produce. Where the configuration of the stall is ad hoc, or unplanned, such as in the case of the fridge counter, the customer has access to areas where storage and display may overlap. If the customer acted upon these realities, this would disrupt the intentions of the trader, and would mean that they would have to justify selling one set of mushrooms before another and justify price differences between them. Hiding and covering stock, and other aspects of storage enact separations in order to prevent conflicts, and let the trader control the movement of produce through the various parts of the stall. The inability of the fridge counter to act against its own agency is the relevant failure of performance in this case but dwelling on the use of the fridge counter as storage is crucial for isolating a theme which runs throughout this chapter (and others). The market is not designed in the same way that many retail environments are planned out in advance, and thus the architectural and environmental separations that are achieved through object practices are more difficult to achieve and maintain here. While the fake grass coverings and the

shape of the fruit and vegetable stalls work relatively reliably to hide stored items, it becomes clear that the constraints on time are matched by constraints on space when items being stored consistently outside the stall become visible and problematic in the context of the market. Therefore the following section explores arrangements on market stalls in which these ontological states are superimposed or integrated.

Storage on Display

On other stalls, the states of storage and display work together more harmoniously. Morgan's is a stall in the centre of the market which sells a wide variety of dried spices and herbs, as well as some vegetarian food and snacks. The stall has a very small footprint, and as a result, the spices are kept in jars, and displayed on high shelves on three sides. Staff work in the area between these three sides and serve and talk to the customer over a hip-level counter at the front of the stall. There is a particular order to the jars. When seen from the front, the right-hand shelves are filled with spices like cumin, coriander, aromatic seeds and spice blends for curries, along with dried products. On the back wall, herbs and herb blends are laid out, grouped by colour and function. The left hand set of shelves is dedicated to jars of chillies and chilli powders. Along the front counter a few more jars containing tea blends are displayed on raised platforms, and the rest of the space is taken up by discounted items, snacks and a fridge counter displaying other snacks. Behind and underneath the counter are cupboards which contain multiple plastic bags and other containers, from which the jars are re-stocked [08/11/17 11:21-12:00].

Figure 12: Shelving and jars along the right-hand side of Morgan's [13/04/2018].



The jars which Morgan's use to store their spices are either glass "Kilner" jars with flip-top lids (which work to maintain an airtight and watertight seal using a set of metal levers and clasps in tandem with the plastic gasket around the lip of the jar) or clear plastic screw-top jars. These help to preserve food by limiting its exposure to air and other contaminants, but the transparency of the jars means that the vibrant and often contrasting colours of these spices are displayed to the customer in an attractive display reaching from the counter to the top of the stall. This is also enabled by the specific design of the shelf-racks the jars are placed upon. As can be seen in Figure 12, there are barriers on the customer side of the stall on the end of each shelf, which means each jar is prevented from easy movement in that direction by a barrier at the top and bottom. This is most likely to stop jars falling off, but it also means that when ordering from the stall, the customer must ask the staff to handle the spices and weigh them out before packaging them.

These practices enact the spices as unsafe, volatile and in need of careful treatment, which relates to the physicality of products offered since they are powders rather than larger grouped collections of solid objects. Their powdery nature also means that pricing practices at Morgan's involve weighing, which because of the barriers on the shelf, and the position of the scales inside the stall, is not physically trusted to the customer. This draws attention to the relationship at this stall between the interior and exterior, or at least the barrier that is created by the work of the jars, shelves, and layout of the stall. By limiting the forms of display which the contents of the jars are open to, the general arrangement of this stall creates a very different kind of space from the fruit and vegetable stall detailed previously. Morgan's does not enact self-service as a result of the specific combination of storage and display that the jars work to combine in this arrangement. Much more control is allocated to the traders by this arrangement, which depends upon the successful delegation of control over the contents to the jars. In this arrangement, the jars can be trusted to produce a relatively stable enactment of the goods they contain.

Other examples of objects sitting at the intersection between ontological states/versions include the fridge counters at butchers' stalls within the market. The regimes of risk which surround animal derived food products necessitate control by refrigerating action for storage, and fridge counters provide this while also providing display through glass panels. Similarly, these objects also turn inwards toward the trader, demonstrating again the performance of these items as at risk from contamination. At the butcher's stalls, there is also significant amounts of space for storage, and butchers spend much time moving items back and forth in complex patterns attending to the different biological temporalities of meat products. While a jar may work to keep its contents relatively fresh simply by providing a seal, the processes which do the same work at butcher's stalls spill out over various bits of equipment, each relating to specific processes which produce the final product as package-able and relatively inert. Carcasses are pulled back and forth on carts or shoulders, and tubs of chicken parts are filled and taken to freezers or fridges. A significant

proportion of this activity is related to processing for storage reasons, as I witnessed one day at AF Williams. A trader climbed onto a work surface in order to use his weight and strength to hold the lid of a vacuum packer closed which was filled to capacity with individual items wrapped in plastic [8/3/18]. The fridge counter only provides a selection of the items sold at butcher's stalls for display and are beyond the reach of the customer as discussed.

This highlights the complexity of these states, and their relation to the separations and barriers which define them. An example of a stall arrangement which differs in this respect while demonstrating complementary interactions between storage and display is the fabric stall in the market. Rolls of fabric here provide a site for ontological interaction in the same manner as the jars on Morgan's stall, but the stall is oriented outwards, and the rolls allow handling. Storage is accessible to the public, as it is possible to handle and pull down rolls from their racks and display thus expands across the sense of touch. Fabric is enacted as inert, tactile, less valuable, and stored on full display; the key difference here is that it is not food and does not degrade on the same timescale as many food products. Many of these interactions are structured by the scarcity and shared nature of space in Market stalls, but it is the format of the stall and the products they sell which determines what kind of interaction is desirable or achieved. Traders must operate in ways which either allow for interaction in controlled ways or must separate the versions/states entirely. This is grounded in the agency of particular objects or arrangements and shapes the resulting format of the stall enormously. The constraint of limited space in the market is not necessarily a problem for traders, as it is a key part of the nature of stall operation. This is demonstrated in a wider sense in the following section. Constraints are instrumental for understanding the processes in market stalls which prefigure and enable certain kinds of marketing arrangement, and thus the kind of economic spaces performed, as the following section demonstrates.

Stall Renovation: Negotiating Futures

Several significant changes took place in the market during this project. Not to the general character and nature of the market, but in the ownership and design of individual stalls, and the process of renovation in particular as a series of connected physical changes, which demonstrate how space is managed within the market at times and in spaces where the performances are unclear or mixed. One process of stall change was particularly prolonged and interesting, as it included a stall renovation which involved a significant period in which nothing much seemed to happen. At least, it was an 'empty' or relatively unused space in the market from November 2017 until May 2018, when the renovations were complete. From previous visits to the market before fieldwork began, this had been a butcher's stall, and the following section documents the halting process of renovation carried out by the neighbouring butchers stall.

Identifying Futures and Passive Assent

This narrative begins in November when I noticed that a butcher's stall stood empty on the opposite side of the aisle from the fruit and vegetable stall. There was nothing in the fridge counters, and nothing on any of the counters inside. No one went into the stall while I was watching, and I wondered why the fridge counters and other furniture had been left intact. Since these counters are expensive and quite specialist, it seemed strange that the previous owner would not have sold them or taken them to new premises if the business had stopped trading or moved [29/11/17 10:20-10:40]. The stall stuck out as a gap in the stalls at this point. It still appeared to be a butchers' stall, but its emptiness seemed to be an interruption in the continuous heterogeneity of displays in the market. Over time, I continued to notice small changes here and there, and eventually noticed someone from AF Williams working in the disused stall.

Keith, one of the traders at AF Williams, the adjacent butchers' stall was cleaning parts of the stall and moving some large metal pans around, unstacking them from one countertop and stacking them back up on another. This was to get access to the freezer underneath. I started a conversation with him and asked what was happening with the stall since it had been empty for several months. He told me about his plans to strip all the biggest bits of furniture and equipment out, reposition the items still in good working condition as they were too expensive to replace and 'plastic up all the walls to standard' before they started selling there. I asked what the intention was for this addition to the stall, how it would be different from the other part and he replied by stating that they wanted to have a section selling discounted meat and semi-prepared meats aimed towards the student market. He specifically mentioned targeting the student market in this new stall, indicating a separation between the two parts with his hand: "yeah so there's going to be the high class stuff, and here's going to be the bargain stuff". It was interesting to note the assumption or conflation that students were also discount customers [25/1/18 13:10-13:40].

Changes in stall ownership do not happen often and expansions like this would appear to be rarer. In this case, the significant material continuity involved makes the process of transition much smoother, since the cost of refurbishment and replacement of furniture and equipment would be too expensive. This continuity is characteristic of processes of material change in this market space, as I will go on to detail. Following up on Keith's work was the start of my involvement with this stall, and I followed the process of refurbishment iteratively over the next few months as the butchers gradually fitted the panels, replaced select equipment and lighting, and sorted out contractual issues. Firstly though, some context about AF Williams as a stall is needed. Most of the general information I learned about AF Williams came from a conversation I had with John a short while after the previous vignette, but it had an unexpected relevance to the issue of stall changes.

It was a cold morning in early February [8/2/19, 10:35-11:50] and we had talked about having a longer chat about the stall on this particular morning the week before. When I got to AF Williams, he was on the phone and Keith recommended that I come back in half an hour when he had finished the delivery orders. When I got back to the stall, he had finished with the orders, and John recommended that I move inside the stall to talk. Standing in the narrow stall, he gave me a potted history of the business, while chopping meat and piling it inside plastic bags, which he then lined up in the vacuum packer. The stall has been in Cardiff Market since 1866 and has been in the family since then. It was his great-great-grandfather who set up the stall originally, but his father took it over ten years ago, and John took the stall over from him, when he became unable to work two years ago. John finished packing the meat into the packer and stopped working, leaning on the counter behind him. I asked about how business had changed over time and he brought up the issues that traders often complain about when asked; the redevelopment of the St David's Centre and the pedestrianisation of St Mary's street. I asked him more explicitly about how things might change in the future and he said 'I've got a gut feeling that things are getting better, we're getting a much more varied range of customers than before' but added that this feeling was in spite of the poor business they were experiencing at the moment. He put this down to people still being 'skint after Christmas' and the bad weather we were having at the time.

I then asked about the expansion which Keith had mentioned, of AF Williams into the stall next door. John stressed that he had to do this slowly and carefully, because of the lack of sales after Christmas. He also told me that the previous tenants had abandoned the lease after going out of business. Reiterating the importance of managing relationships between traders in the market, he said that he was part of a small group of traders and business owners in the city centre that meet regularly in a local pub, which they call 'the office', or 'collection point G'. There are around fifteen of them, and they have an informal agreement not to step on each other's toes and to help each other

out where possible. For a while he seemed to talk freely across topics, talking about the general conditions that make it harder for people to come into town regularly but eventually moved on to discussing how they make money when sales in the market are low. Apart from market sales a major source of sales revenue is from deliveries to caterers, but processing work on the meat only happens in the stall rather than anywhere else. John joked about supplying the big acts performing at the Principality stadium such as Justin Bieber, which the other traders laughed about. At a lull in the conversation, I asked John if these were their only premises. He confirmed this, adding that they had some storage at the Bessemer road markets, but 'nothing much goes on up there now'. He clarified that it was a refrigerated storage area, and one of the other workers chimed in that it was full of unused equipment. I asked a few more questions, but soon felt that they wanted to get on with their work and departed.

There are a number of themes emerging from this account of a conversation, which suggest that there is a relationship between the limited space that traders have in their stalls, and the amount of products that are sold outside of the market. This becomes more relevant when market footfall is low, but the existence of the relationship itself means that the stall has to be understood as far more than a space of display. Along with storage, processing and packaging are also significant operations on the market stall and these practices are only incidentally visible to the customer because of the size and layout of the stall. It may not be possible for the butchers to work at the Bessemer road site in the same way, but the conduct of work in the visible space of the stall seems to present the market stall as the hinge upon which the rest of the business turns, including the deliveries and catering. The informal group of business owners and traders becomes relevant to the renovation and expansion of the stall here as John connected this group to the method and process of renovation directly. The presence of the group seemed to mean that he would already have considered whose businesses he may have impacted upon by expanding and avoided these impacts or consulted them about it. The decision to use this stall to sell cheaper produce or offer quantity discounts appears more significant in

light of this, as it may have represented an unoccupied niche in the competitive ecology of the market. In the physically constrained environment of the stall, different options (or versions of the future) may be constructed and explored through this cooperative social institution of passive assent, even if it is vaguely defined, informal and selective in who it includes.

Enacting Empty Space and Time-Framing

A month later, the renovation had progressed, having become significantly more involved. The stall was also playing host to a number of other temporary functions, and by early-March it was possible to see evidence of this [8/3/18, 14:11-14:27]. Sheets of plastic were leaning in stacks against the back wall, and black plastic shelving units stood at the rear of the shop with a few potted plants placed on them. Parts of the stall looked different, and some areas looked significantly cleaner and brighter thanks to new panelling and fluorescent tube lighting positioned over the refurbished fridge counters. One afternoon, the staff of AF Williams along with one of the market attendants emerged from the Trinity street side of the market, wheeling a large upright display fridge towards the empty butchers' stall on a cart. They spent a moment discussing how to move it into the stall between them. Chris shouted over, sarcastically asking if it was new. Keith replied, 'yes you dumb prick', shaking his head and laughing with the others. It was visibly rusted in places, and the metal plating at the rear moved around, making a resonant banging as they manoeuvred it between them, into a space between the raised section where the stall's floor met the aisle, and the side of the walk in refrigerator behind. This took a while as the fridge seemed heavy and difficult to move. As they continued to position it, customers passed them without stopping. The few traders gathered around who were not assisting apologised to these customers, and eventually it was eased into place. Everyone seemed to stop and take stock of it in its new position for a moment, before moving away [8/3/18, 14:11-14:27].

Other items were placed in this empty stall. One of the butchers put his bicycle in there a few times throughout March, but this stopped after a while. Eventually, a sign was placed on the pillar near the entrance telling people not to put things in the stall. In the course of the renovation, the gradual removal and replacement of furniture and equipment would produce a functioning butchers stall, but for the duration of the intervening period, it seemed to invite other uses and objects to dwell there. The specialised equipment in a butchers' stall enables the multitude of material processes which butchers subject animal products to but before these items are fully assembled and arranged, interpretations as to the appropriate use of the space appear to be broad. Given this breadth and lack of definition, which would otherwise be imparted by equipment associated with specific tasks, the space seemed to be enacted as empty and thus a potential space of storage. This part of the renovation process seemed to draw in the other traders in a positive way, suggesting some form of extension to the idea of passive assent. Clearly, the lack of other uses seemed to qualify it as a storage space for traders, and if the previous issue of storage is taken into account, this particular performance of the space as storage makes sense. By filling in some of this empty space, the fridge drew a line under some of this storage activity in terms of the wider renovation process, ending this uncertain performance.

At the end of March, I asked one of the butchers about the empty stall after chatting to him for a while. Not much had happened recently, but he told me that they had been in the market working on it over a few 'open Sundays'. I asked what 'open Sundays' were and he explained that they were days when the market opened for traders to come in and do maintenance and repair work without customers. He noted that everything was in place except the plastic panelling which had to be attached to the walls and added that he thought it would be done that weekend, so they would be ready to open the stall soon after (28/3/18, 12:55-13:20). Multiple traders had complained to me about opening times in previous conversations, and the market management had

elsewhere discussed the problems of late opening over a few interviews³⁹. Since the noise and possible dust from renovation work would likely discourage customers or prevent the rest of the stall from operating, periods of market access with no customers present would be required in order for the renovation to progress.

As outlined in the Market Carts section, the mismatch between the spatial needs of traders and the form of the surrounding urban environment can be worked around with various material interventions which structure work practices in ways which ameliorate the problem. The opening times of the market seem to present a similar problem, to which the open Sundays are a similarly straightforward answer. Like the market carts, these opening times influence work practices related to renovation, repair and maintenance, but the iterative, weekly timing has consequences. The renovation is drawn out and made intermittent. The traders in this case did not represent this prolonging as a problem and they appear as a kind of ready-made framing for work on the renovation. This kind of temporal framing occurs elsewhere and is especially significant when remnants from the past strongly influence action in the present.

Difficult Remnants

Early in April [4/4/18 13:45-13:55] I came across John as he came out of the walk-in fridge. I chatted to him, asking him when the stall would be finished. He told me that he had someone coming in to look at the cladding on Thursday, and that the only thing left to do was to sort out the electricity supply. This had been a problem since they took the stall on. The previous trader had

³⁹ Traders often want to remain in the market after closing time, but have to leave around the same time that the market gates close, which is at 5pm. Some stalls close before this time, but a fair number stay open until closing time. The cost of providing security after this time is likely a restricting factor on opening times, but the market manager also mentioned that market traders without shutters also raise the issue of security.

abandoned the contract with a different supplier from the one that his stall has, meaning that he would have to take up this contract for 12 months before being able to switch the supplier at this new stall, as Andrew was already the leaseholder. He said that he would treat this as a trial period, that if it didn't work out he was happy to abandon this extra part of the stall.

Once the issue with the contract had been sorted out, the stall was able to operate properly, and within a few months the additional part was fully open. At this late stage, John chose to introduce me to a final new aspect of this renovation, by making a connection between this contract and the economic success of the stall. The contract in effect created a probationary period for this additional stall, enacting it as a provisional, conditional enterprise. On visiting the market a year after finishing the fieldwork, this addition was still operating, so you could conclude that the venture was successful. This hangover from a previous business was not a problem to be overcome directly but was incorporated into the running of the business, as John allowed it to change the terms on which this extension would operate. The legal form of rent-paying leases in this case directly influences not just what happens on a market stall and who operates it, but also the longer-term temporalities within which market stalls and their traders operate through intermediaries like energy suppliers.

Between the closing of the stall and its re-opening as part of AF Williams, the stall became an interstitial space, involving numerous others in an intermittent, uncertain venture. It drew in objects in need of storage from diverse stalls, objects traders had carried with them, jokes and socialising were oriented around it alongside the materials and practices that were involved in the renovation work itself. Commitments from the past were carried forwards, and these came to shape how the renovation took place. This account informs our understanding of the collective operation of market stalls in situations where change is in progress, by focussing on how the options within a given change are constructed, while also paying attention to how unintentional performances may emerge. This is perhaps best understood in the context of the wider market

in which space is often highly valued and inventively used, yet not particularly contested or in conflict.

Discussion

Performing a Fragmented Place

A description of the personality of the Market Carts provided an opportune way to begin this chapter, but they are closely related to the core theme of this chapter since they provide a way to understand how the space is performed in economic terms (Callon, 1998). This understanding can be reached by paying close attention to the nature of the separation enacted between time periods by the presence of the trolley, and the work that the trolleys organise around themselves. In the previous chapter, significant space was dedicated to the ordering of particular devices which enacts items as saleable. The attention given here to periods of logistical setting up and waste removal, compressed and structured around the cart, is a needed counterpart to the enactment of items as saleable, since this is part of the conditions that make enacting items as economic possible. This structuring action of market carts at the market stall demonstrates something that may have been overlooked or under-emphasised in the account provided by Cochoy (2007) of 'supermarket gardening'⁴⁰. In that account, the action of supermarket trolleys is not closely examined, but it demonstrates how the laissez-faire qualities of the supermarket as an economic space is performed. The carts in this case provide a similar comment on the nature of the economic regime of the Market Hall.

Before stall displays are activated or made to operate by the presence of the customer, a stage exists which is similar to the 'night' cycle described by Cochoy (2007) in that newer produce is brought into the display space and older produce is rearranged or disposed of, with the carts playing a pivotal role in these iterative flows. The differences between the pre-opening phase of operations at market stalls and the night-cycle at supermarkets, and thus the

⁴⁰ Paraphrasing of the title and subject of the referenced article.

economic regimes enacted, are both spatial and temporal. They are also potentially of such a different character as to require a different term. In this case, the word cycle appears to be far too close to representing a hermetic whole, which would be inappropriate since a lot of the reorganising work done on market stalls also takes place during opening hours as described in the previous chapter. This replaces a simple day/night cycle of separate but related activities, with interlocking and sometimes overlapping phases; the market stall and to some extent the broader market hall is always performed as visibly under construction as a result.

The pre-opening phase is much more limited and uncertain, since the same traders who do the work of arranging and marketing to the customer also must visit the wholesale market and make purchases. In spatial terms the phase is similarly restricted, since the only available storage space is located within the same structure that houses display (below the display or adjacent to it). Continuing the comparison, the inevitability of overlaps in the compressed, shared world of the market, demonstrates the extent of the reliance of the day/night cycle in supermarkets on strongly enacted divisions between spaces for storage and spaces for display. Supermarkets commonly have dedicated delivery/storage areas and are part of organisations with significant logistical capacity. This capacity⁴¹ and the spaces formed by it enable the enactment of free internal space, where calculations are deferred until purchase. The question then emerges as to what kind of spaces are formed by the less reliable, less extensive separations (and integrations) made by the market stall. Each stall has a different set of practices which either enact separations between these worlds or find a way to exclude (separate) the customer from a particular space.

⁴¹ Since this capacity is an agency comprised of a multitude of IT systems, vehicles, packaging and regulatory systems, as well as human actants performing particular roles, it makes sense to refer to the spaces it creates, rather than referring to these capacities as relying on spaces.

Taking the heterogeneity of market halls into account in this way develops our understanding of market halls as economic spaces. The customer does not enter a free space like a supermarket but enters a divided space in which the parts are differentiated from one another along multiple lines. This means that any deferment of calculative agency could only be achieved in the deliberative spaces formed between specific arranged displays, traders and the customer. In some cases, this may not be possible at particular stalls since they require the active involvement of the trader to function. Market spaces thus appear as particularly fragmented places. This fragmentation also allows for some of the key qualities which allow persistence through adaptation and flexibility, but it does not mean that the devices within stalls are diminished in importance. It does however foreground the relationship found at each stall between storage and display spaces, since the interactions among these states are what leads to the creation of such different kinds of space.

Empirical Ontology and Categorising stalls

It is possible to consider ontology, or questions about what is real to be products of specific local circumstances or practices. Ontological politics as proposed by Mol (1999) provide a way to examine how the possibilities of the real are shaped. In this approach, practices determine the conditions of reality, or the various ways in which things can be. Law and Lien (2012, p.368) argue that a performance, or particular ontological possibility can only be maintained if the set of practices (or choreography) which sustain it are held stable. The notion of 'thing' here can be particularly wide, since specific practices define and delineate the object. In this case, the materials involved in the arrangement of the stall are in question. This may appear much more mundane than the cases examined by Law and Lien (2012) and Mol (1999; 2011) who focus on the enactment of various interacting versions of living things. The argument made by McFall (2009) about the validity of considering mundane relations and arrangements is applicable here again, as without focussing on mundane instances of material indeterminacy it is difficult to describe some of the

interactions between customers and traders. It is necessary to assume therefore that different versions of an object may exist and interact, and that these interacting versions may not exist reliably or without conflict.

Products on the stalls are often enacted as both on display and in storage, but these different states relate to each other in a number of ways as detailed. These two versions can be enacted in conflictual positions or can be made to sit comfortably together as part of the stall. As Mol (1999, p.86) notes, alternate versions may be nested or depend upon one another, instead of existing in parallel. This appears to be the case for these different versions of objects in markets as far as display and storage is concerned. Displays often depend on the concealment of stored items (and vice versa). The failure of storage or the relevant separating or concealing work is the principal reason why these two come into conflict. Only in certain situations are objects/produce able to occupy the two positions and this is often only enabled by the work of particular objects that can combine these tasks. These objects enact display and storage simultaneously and are often required as preconditions related to the physicality of the produce (e.g. fridge counters). This is suggestive of a potential new typology of market stalls, which is constructed on the basis of the desired form of interaction between ontological versions of products. A typology organised around the interactions between the ontological versions of products relates more closely to the logistical side of the economic life of market trading and may be useful in exploring the spatial and temporal constraints and problems faced by particular markets. In addition it clarifies a key aspect of how markets are performed as economic differently from other conventional forms of retail, and the lines along which they are fragmented. This is significantly different from current typologies of stalls which are constructed based on product type or traditional professions (e.g. butcher, cheesemonger, fishmonger).

Market Stalls as Plastic

Many decisions that traders make about their businesses (including tactical decisions about stall arrangement and devices) are not planned in the rational, managerial sense that we may be familiar with. A plan is not drawn up, and discussed, then implemented, and it is not done to arbitrary timescales or with particular divisions of responsibility in mind. Attending to the multiple others that become involved in the process of renovating the stall can speak to how processes of change and the future are managed by traders and this demonstrates key aspects of working in the shared space of the market hall. Speaking in the language of ontological politics (Mol, 1999), there are multiple possible futures which exist at once while the renovation is conducted but it is not possible for the trader to choose between these futures, at least not independently. The various actants that become involved in the changing stall play a significant role in shaping what it can become in the future, and how it is enacted in the present. The stall is moved towards or away from different future states, as different elements come into and out of play. For example, the past commitments of absent traders to pay electricity bills shape the security of the future stall by preventing it from opening sooner and by providing a probation period, while constraints on access make the renovation process slower. The collection of objects put in the stall in the meantime enact the stall as storage space, invoking incoherent combinations of futures. An informal and somewhat mysterious collective of traders also structure what the stall eventually becomes through the necessity of their passive assent for the items sold there. This draws attention to the range of actors involved in the process of renovating the stall. It took a relatively long time to conduct the stall renovation, but the process was remarkably open and sensitive to influence; this seems like a key part of what was necessary for it to eventually succeed. The end point towards which the traders push seems less like a clear vision, than a vague idea about what can be enacted as possible under current constraints. The potential for forward planning, stall redesign, and logistical innovation are limited by constraining factors in the market, but these are an essential characteristics of market stalls rather than limitations.

It would be possible to criticise aspects of the way that the renovation was carried out. The process could have been faster or there could have been more engagement with other traders not included in the informal group. Other aspects of the process, including the apparent permissiveness with which the space became enacted as a temporary storage space, accommodating multiple uses and possibilities, convey a particular kind of ontological openness to the future which is not usually associated with Market Halls. Attending to the ideas explored by de Laet and Mol (2000), it seems that this account of the stall renovation is taking shape in descriptive terms in the same way that the bush pump came to be recognised as a fluid object. It could be tempting to argue that a market stall is fluid, as many parts of it are changeable and adaptable, but there is a firmness or rigidity in their operation. As the section on Storage and Display outlines, this stems from the relationship between the bio-temporality of the products sold and the physical structures of the market stall. This quality of flexibility in response to constraints can be described as plastic. A stall is pliable enough to fit into or to around situations of constraint, but this consistency may not mean persistent flexibility; as noted, the butchers stall became less and less of an open, flexible space for storage as time progressed and more equipment arrived. This bears a similarity to the work of Dekeyser (2018, p.1429-1430) on 'concreteness' in particular specialised technologies. Considering stalls as plastic communicates how the flexibility of operation demonstrated by stalls may be a response to already existing constraints while also reinforcing their limits and fixity. More empirical research is needed to confirm and explore this notion further. If market stalls can be considered as 'objects' of inquiry, then plasticity may be a useful way to describe them.

Conclusion

The management of matter as it moves around within the market hall is inseparable from the performance of market halls as economic spaces. Understanding this has required attending to the versions of objects enacted which structure the work taking place at stalls, and issues surrounding processes of change. Often these topics appear to relate to the constraints which market traders face and how they overcome them. Instead of posing these constraints as dilemmas or problems with particular solutions, it is possible to view them as describing different characteristics of the operation of market halls. These characteristics and their associated constraints indicate areas of tension in the operation of market stalls. Three main tensions emerge which become significant according to the material presented and discussed throughout this chapter.

Firstly, the portal-work of the market carts reveals it to be a replacement for the separations between display and storage spaces common to other forms of retail, and following the cart takes us directly to this initial area of tension. Any forms of temporal and spatial separation between customer and logistical space are difficult to achieve in the market hall, and the cart only provides a partial yet indispensable way to navigate these difficulties. The impossibility of more concrete (Dekeyser, 2018) spatial separations to underpin ontological separations between products in different stages (Cochoy, 2007) means that indistinctness between different versions of objects is common. As Mol (1999) notes, a version of an object is only stable as long as the practices that sustain it remain stable within their choreography. The instability of the surrounding logistical choreography means the versions of objects enacted as display versions can appear as flimsy or indeterminate. This is why much more of the organisational work that goes towards performing the practices necessary to maintain the relevant ontological status of products is performed by humans rather than mediators and intermediaries. Objects often cannot be relied upon

in the heterogenous and complex space of the Market. This demonstrates that markets are in no way unstructured, since the management is simply of a different order, within a highly heterogenous and fragmented environment. By focussing on the agencies of market carts in line with the third research question this finding opens up space for a significant contribution to be made to the second research question.

Secondly, describing how these positions are maintained requires language that positions objects as products of the practices that maintain their ontological status. This chapter has utilised concepts surrounding ontological politics (Mol, 1999; Law and Lien, 2012) in order to describe how traders manage the tensions between the worlds of display and storage, either keeping them separate or maintaining their cooperation, depending on the circumstance. The ontological interactions appear to differ by stall, and these represent a novel way in which to categorise stalls, which is relevant not only to those involved in the management of markets, but also to those attempting to understand consumption spaces in empirical terms. As a classification system product type is useful for thinking about competition, but it does not address the differing requirements placed on logistics and the various ways in which this may structure the range of possibilities present at market stalls. This is a significant contribution to the second research question, as it demonstrates an important connection between the choreographies of practices related to logistics, and the economic performances which depend on these. This provides an empirical basis from which to understand how traders work may be affected and constrained by the space of the Market Hall.

Thirdly, as stalls change, or are renovated, particular tensions emerge which then structure what the stall becomes, and how it takes shape. This develops on the notion of constraint which is explored through the connections between economic and logistical performances. This should not be considered as the end of the account and the basis for critique and recommendations however, as the openness of the renovation process to these constraints and the agendas

motivating them is perhaps indicative of a wider collectivistic style of practice demonstrated by Cardiff Market traders. The incremental approach to the future and change demonstrated is not inherently positive but represents a very different form of organisation to that demonstrated by mainstream and conventional retail. This account is less focussed on the arrangement and marketing practices of stalls, but it does clarify aspects of the economic performances offered by market stalls, which again relates to the second research question. It is also focussed more directly on how the agencies of objects have to be accommodated within a limited space and limited timeframes and thus contributes to the third research question. On its own this finding means little, but the seemingly plastic approach to change appears to resonate with the description of not-quite alternative economies discussed by Tsing (2015) which thrive in the margins, making unexpected connections to the practices of market traders.

This chapter has focussed on the intersection between logistical issues within the market and the performance of the market as an economic space. This develops themes which emerged in the previous chapter surrounding the various constraints experienced by market traders in their attempts to conduct marketing practices and construct market devices. Combined with this chapter, a fuller picture can be presented of the practical operation and management of market stalls, especially in terms of the entwined front and back stages of market trading. Ontological politics has offered a meaningful way to conceptualise the economic and logistical structuring of the space of the market hall and the performance of separations between front and back stages. Examining the practical process of making physical changes in stalls over time has also illuminated differences between these spaces and conventional retail, and these differences seem to revolve around the methods employed to manage and live within the heterogeneity of the market hall. The interplay of constraints and trader attempts to work around them therefore provide the groundwork for a depiction of the performance of market halls as economic spaces.

Constraints to the operation of market halls, even when reconsidered as characteristic elements, appear to portray the market hall as a space of constricted flows. This illustrates the ontological indeterminacy that may emerge in such settings and positions responses to it well, but it does not capture what may exceed or overflow such performances. The ad hoc approach to managing and maintaining the performance of the market as economic space resonates with literatures attempting to draw connections between accommodation, maintenance and repair as domains of practice. Hospitable interventions in the material world of the market stalls, not only speak to an aspect of that style of labour, but also points towards another set of performances, which contribute towards the production of the market hall as a convivial and accommodating, yet asymmetrical and limited space.

Chapter 6: Conviviality and Accommodation in the Market Hall

Introduction

Particular forms of hospitality and conviviality are easily visible in Market Halls but aside from the more obvious instances in which well-known, regular customers are welcomed jovially by traders, there are many instances which prove more difficult to describe as convivial. Nostalgia often dominates in approaches to Market Halls in the UK perhaps because of their historical legacy and this appears to colour our understanding of the convivial relations that take place inside (Watson and Wells, 2005). The gregariousness of traders, enabled by their long term presence in the market through the family ownership of stalls is portrayed as a positive and foundational feature of market life that enables the inclusive conviviality that markets provide (Watson, 2008. p.1583-1585). This familial conviviality and friendliness is easily evident in many of the interactions in Cardiff Market, as described throughout this thesis. Many customers who enter the market with a walking stick or frame, are given particular help from the traders, and these and many others often stand talking to the traders for a considerable amount of time. It is often clear that many customers are well known by the traders and even if not, traders are ready to talk and chat with them.

While this kind of casual conviviality and friendliness is common in Cardiff Market these kinds of exchanges have already been well conceptualised by Watson (2008) and others (Wise 2012; Oldenburg and Brissett 1982) and are therefore not the focus of this chapter. While the quotidian and unforced nature

of these interactions contributes to an understanding of market places as sites of sociality for otherwise marginalised groups such as the elderly and disabled, such a reading does little to describe the difficulties and problems inherent to the social life of markets and even hides some aspects of how conviviality takes shape. As Aptekar (2019) establishes, there is no guarantee that conviviality in the marketplace means respite from issues stemming from structural oppressions which affect life outside, since marketplaces themselves may reproduce and reinforce these. This chapter therefore aims to address the fourth research question in particular, which is concerned with the conviviality and accommodation offered by Cardiff Market, by examining what forms of accommodation the market provides and how it makes space for people. The concept of hospitality provides a critical link between notions of conviviality and accommodation for this chapter as discussed in the literature review. This is possible because conviviality and hospitality share a common concern for what it means to make space for the other (Derrida, 2000). Accommodation is understood here to be an extension or descendant of hospitality, and thus is compatible with conviviality as it is used by Anderson (2011). This approach therefore engages with the physicality of accommodative work, the eccentric and ephemeral practices which contribute to the convivial atmosphere of the market, and the methods of exclusion and intervention which enable the maintenance of conviviality alongside market exchange. This means that the contribution to the fourth research question is particularly focussed on more difficult aspects of conviviality and accommodation in Market Halls.

This chapter is organised around three sections, which each identify different threads that run through the practices of market traders and customers. Each of these elaborate different aspects of accommodation as provided by the market. The first section gives extended attention to the physical accommodation that the market offers. This contains three distinct parts, concerning different aspects how the market and the objects within it do accommodative work. This section is especially concerned with the fleeting and ephemeral arrangements which provide momentary shelter or relief, where transitions between

agencements become especially significant. The second section attempts to explore the atmosphere of conviviality in the market through a number of vignettes focussing on some of the more immediate and affectively gripping presences common to the market. The asymmetrical contribution of trader and customer to these affective presences are explored and commented upon. The third section explores the management of market space, and the creation and maintenance of particular affective scaffolds (Colombetti and Krueger 2015). In the process of accommodating the needs of particular customers, they also interrupt, intervene in, and exclude certain customers and others in the market. These actions are demonstrated to be continuous with the accommodation offered by the market, since such work is necessary to maintain the market as a convivial space. These sections explore various aspects of the kind of conviviality and hospitality that the market provides through the notion of accommodation as an act that is concerned with making space for others. Following these sections, wider context is provided on the issues raised in a discussion section. The depiction of the market that emerges is convivial and friendly, but also has limitations and barriers which should not be neglected by those attending to markets as valuable social or economic spaces.

Accommodating Bodies

At stalls across the market, traders take account of the bodily presences of customers, adjusting their practices and the material elements of their stalls accordingly. In the process, they often do work that eases the experience of disabled and elderly shoppers, but also those simply laden with bags, as the market often presents them with inhospitable surfaces, and inconvenient layouts. Customers try to find spaces to accommodate themselves within this space, and as such accounting for all of the accommodation offered or made possible by the market is a difficult task. It necessitates close attention to the contributions of objects and aspects of stall arrangement, alongside the intentional practices of traders and customers to accommodate themselves and others. These practices also provide a starting point for a less sentimental narrative about the kind of hospitality that the market offers and the conviviality that it produces. Small and mundane arrangements of objects and people become the focus of investigation when accounting for the accommodating work done in markets to include and assist those inside it in physical, bodily terms. Much of the language for discussing this is influenced by the vehicular agencement concept used by Calvignac and Cochoy (2016) but here this mode of investigation is used to show how these agencements function in the specific conditions of the Market Hall, to offer physical, bodily accommodation.

Calvignac and Cochoy (2016) focus mainly on the transitions that happen within vehicular agencements and the role of particular objects in these transitions, but the question of how these agencements may align or interface with others is not addressed. These interfaces are demonstrated to be vital for understanding how accommodation in the Market Hall functions smoothly alongside the process of exchange, and how conviviality is made possible, contributing towards the fourth research question. Bringing these agencements into alignment takes a particular kind of accommodating, adjusting work for different bodies which is often performed by material features of market stall layout.

Particular objects that customers bring with them are also critically important,

and these will be outlined in turn, providing more minor contributions to the third research question.

Objects that Accommodate

Similar sets of physical practices can be seen again and again over stall counters and this is closely related to the nature of the stall arrangement. The counters of Jones' Fruit and Veg stall as seen in the figures below for example are set at an angle to the customer to allow the customers a greater range of vision and to maximise storage space. It presents a banked array of fruit and vegetables, with the trader positioned above and behind this display on a raised platform inside the stall. As Chris told me himself, this allows the traders to reach over the counter from the inside with ease and it is possible to see this in the various photos provided throughout this thesis below where traders reach out to customers. Baskets are provided for customers but lifting a filled basket and holding it away from your centre of gravity takes an amount of strength and balance which is potentially prohibitive for some people, especially when they are already carrying bags. Focussing on the bodily physicality of the transition is useful for highlighting a point of difficulty which traders often help with, but it can also obscure the work performed by objects in this situation. In the example below, Chris cares for the elderly customers by accommodating their different needs. By following him in this situation however, the work of the objects fades into the background. By focussing on the brief interaction of particular objects with others rather than the work done by the human actant, the involvement of a range of objects is brought forwards.

An old couple were comparing cabbages, which were stacked on the corner of Chris's stall. The man would hold up a cabbage for the woman standing next to him to look at before putting it in a basket. A few moments later I noticed Chris leave the raised section and go around the counter with two shopping bags full to help this same elderly couple to fit the cabbages into a personal shopping

trolley. He did this by holding the bag open with one hand inside the trolley and lowering the bag in with the other hand.

[4/4/18, 11:05-11:25]

Three key objects are featured in the excerpt above. All three of them accumulate goods in different ways and possess different capacities for movement; these are the personal shopping trolley, the plastic shopping bag, and the nesting shopping basket. The trolleys are brought with customers (usually, but not always by the elderly) to the market, and the baskets are stacked on top of a crate or two in the aisle between Market Central Coffee and Chris's stall for customers to use to gather their intended purchases. The plastic bags have a more flexible and fluid role. As Cochoy (2009, p.37-49) notes, the nesting wire basket was a direct predecessor as well as a kind of parental form to the nesting wire trolleys (or shopping carts) used in supermarkets today. The trolleys discussed here are a rather different being from the supermarket trolley and are not limited to the market since they are dedicated to private use and roam much farther alongside the customer. They are vertically arranged in the same manner as a sack truck or suitcase in that the wheels are below the handle of the trolley and will stand upright without human assistance. The market customer highlighted with the red oval in figure 13 below can be seen pulling such a trolley behind him. As an empty volumetric space to be filled, they are similar to supermarket trolleys, but the key reshaping of the calculative space of the customer, from budgetary to volumetric is displaced (Cochoy, 2008. p.21) since these objects are oriented towards mobility rather than accumulation at a particular part of the purchase process (Cochoy, 2009. p.43-36). The volumetric calculation that shopping carts create space for here happens after purchase, making the volumetric organisation of the space created by these trolleys a logistical matter, rather than an economic matter. These trolleys appear to be accommodating the mobility of the customer in a direct physical sense, since they accept loads otherwise burdensome to the body. It is worth noting here that the mobility that this trolley enables is specifically related to the location of the market within an urban centre, with no

dedicated parking spaces. Participation in the market requires the ability to walk, use public transport, or travel to car parking, in contrast with the provision of on-site parking at out of town supermarkets. This positions the personal trolley as a way of accommodating the needs of the body within and outside the less accommodating environment of the market.



Figure 13: Man using Basket and Trolley at the same time [13/4/18, 11:46-11:51].

If there is an object which fulfils the same role as the supermarket trolley in moving budgetary constraints to volumetric constraints, this is most likely the nesting basket since it is this item that allows customers to gather items before making a selection. To understand what trolleys and baskets are doing together in this network however, it is necessary to look at the points of transfer between market agencements and vehicular agencements. Vehicular agencement refers to a mobile human actant and any attached objects and garments as a specific instance of a micro-scale actor-network oriented towards mobility (Calvignac and Cochoy, 2017. p.136). This concept can also be explained with reference to one possible usage of the word ‘person’ in which it can also be used to acknowledge all objects and materials attached to a human body or individual.

Calvignac and Cochoy (ibid. p.140-142) however focus on the ‘vertical’ interactions between different objects as part of particular vehicular agencies. These vertical interactions become a critical issue to those involved when the consistency of the objects being contained and carried is of such concern (See Chapter One). In figure 13 above, the basket is temporarily incorporated into the array of devices which forms part of the agencement moving around the stall, while the selection is assembled. The basket is kept back when the purchase is complete and replaced with the plastic bag, continuing to contain the selection as it is passed to the customer, and packed away into the trolley, as depicted in Figure 14 below. The combination of the personal trolley, plastic carrier bag and nesting wire basket represent a response to the difficulties posed by the nature of the market Hall as a fragmented, heterogeneous space, and the resulting limitations to the accommodation offered to the customers in physical terms.

Figure 14: Man receives bagged produce over counter [13/4/18, 11:46-11:51].



As Mol (2008) notes, caring styles of practice are often organised around incremental improvement. Following the link between care and hospitality, these

mundane achievements demonstrate how the physical presences of customers and their clusters are accommodated and made marginally more bearable in the Market Hall alongside processes of market exchange. Without the fluid device described here, the customer and trader at each stage would have to be aware of and maintain each selection of items as it is lifted back and forth, from selection to weighing, and from weighing to packing. Without the personal trolley and basket, a lighter and less bulky selection would probably be chosen, and the purchase process would be different. The lack of spaces and structures dedicated to organising selections of products (spare countertops, checkouts etc.) and the lack of facilities to accommodate a range of mobility and logistical needs (car parking etc.) draws attention to inhospitable aspects of the physical layout of Market Halls and the stalls that they contain. The objects in this consumption space work to replace the accommodative work done by these facilities in other settings (See: Cochoy, 2008) in order to make the various situations marginally more bearable.

Accommodating Difficult Objects

Following the line of inquiry begun in the previous section through bags and trolleys leads to an examination of their contents, and the problems these pose for customers who must accommodate them within the bags and trolleys they carry with them. The consistency of these objects is of great concern to traders and customers, as this is critical to their desirability (Heuts and Mol, 2013). Cochoy (2008, p.21-23) also details how concerns about and responses to disorganised arrangements of objects within vehicular agencements emerge, further detailing the planning behaviour of customers aiming to avoid such disorganisation. Customers must actively rearrange and attend to their agencements however and considering the multitude of combinations of different kinds of bags, baskets, and trolleys which can be seen in use in the market, it is likely that there is a similarly wide range of decisions to be made about arrangement that may be flavoured by this specific setting. An extended description of a single interaction follows, which demonstrates a mundane, yet unexpectedly complex form of accommodative work. What is of particular

interest is the specific way in which this logic and the purchase process relates to the unique environment and spatial arrangement of the market.

This extended description has been produced from a series of still photographs which were captured from a short video clip captured in late May (28/5/18), which were then selected and annotated to produce Figure 15. In this clip, the woman in the striped t-shirt moves along the stall, assembling a selection of items and rearranging them. A particular series of movements, highlighted in the red ovals through photo 1 and photo 2. These movements enable to customer to rearrange the products in her basket. Until photo 1, she had been edging along the counter, using her thigh to support the basket, as if it was slightly too heavy for her to handle easily. In photo 1, she attempts to place the cabbage into the basket, but to allow the savoy cabbage to take space in the basket without squashing other produce, a turn and lift of the basket are required, which is indicated by the arrows in photos 1 and 2. In photo 2, other objects have been moved, and her arm is now extended downwards, so that the savoy cabbage can be safely placed. The lower red ovals in both photos indicate the involvement of the foot and communicate the coordination of effort required to support the wider series of reorganising movements. The support that the coordinated and difficult movements require, could easily have been replaced by an empty counter surface or ledge, drawing attention to the lack of available empty space for such ubiquitous rearranging activity in the Market Hall.

Figure 15: Making space for cabbage [25/5/18, 12:29].



1. Lettuce moved to make space, thigh supporting basket more actively.



2. Customer turns basket to put cabbage in, leans over it.

Drawing out this series of connected actions is intended to demonstrate how market customers accommodate difficult objects within their vehicular agencements, in the challenging and often awkward environment of the market. There are few dedicated spaces for customers to do this accommodative work in the complex and busy environment of the market aisles and this makes the physical and object-oriented accommodative work they do more difficult and time-consuming. Human actants identify objects as potentially damaging to others, or resistant to damage and change their arrangements accordingly, and these practices become particularly relevant at the interface between market and vehicular agencements. Significant effort and extended physical manipulation is required to arrange these various containing attachments in way which transmits qualities of the produce successfully as it moves from being a

collection of economic objects to a stored and stable part of a vehicular agencement. This effort may not be needed in consumption spaces with more specialised and stable arrangements which could accommodate the body of the customer more thoroughly. This connects contributions relevant to the third research question with matters more directly relevant to the fourth research question.

Accommodating Different Needs

In literatures concerned with Market Halls, there is often a focus on the vulnerable groups that benefit more than most from the provision of space inside the Market Hall. Aside from notions of cosmopolitan conviviality focussing on racial integration, there is often a focus particularly on the elderly and those with disabilities. Elderly people and people with disabilities are especially visible in Market Halls often because of their mobility aids and specific ways of moving and this is also the case in Cardiff Market. People with different needs require different forms of accommodation in order to participate in the Market as a customer, and it is worth attending to the diverse ways in which this accommodation is achieved. It is the specific ways in which the accommodating work is done in this space, and how the accommodation is offered that is of interest, rather than the motivations or sentiment of the traders in performing the accommodative work, and as such the details of what the accommodative work does in each case is detailed. This is at times as simple as modifications to the routine of the purchase process, and a few of these instances have already been outlined previously in this chapter, notably in the excerpt given in the introduction. At other times, this accommodation is more intricately arranged and difficult to accomplish.

One afternoon in late March, an older man pushed a visibly younger man around the front of the Jones' Fruit and Veg stall in a wheelchair. He was moving the wheelchair flush with the edge of the counter, and the younger man was looking at the veg as they moved. Turning the corners was quite an involved movement, as the older man had to walk in a wide arc around the

wheelchair to turn it so that it stayed close to the edge of the stall. When he reached the entrance of the stall, he picked up a few things that were close to the wheelchair and handed them up to Andrew. Tom noticed and came out of the stall. He picked up products for the pair, showing them items before putting them in a basket. He took payment, made change and helped them with their bags, returning to the entrance where they waited each time.

[28/3/18, 14:15-14:55]

This more complex instance of adjustment for different needs reveals some of the difficulties the market poses for those that need assistance with mobility, and the difficulties involved in attending to someone with disabilities. The younger man is unable to shop himself without assistance, but this is also true for the older man. As it was not the type of wheelchair that can be pushed by the user, the older man would not be able to select produce without leaving the wheelchair. Still, the older man seemed to be giving the younger man chance to look at what was on display closely before getting the attention of the traders. Tom temporarily slotted into their 'calculative' process (see p.126), becoming part of their collective by selecting items of produce for them, and seeking their approval before gathering them for purchase in a basket. In doing this, he is doing selective work, but still tracing this work against their preferences. The vehicular agencement, or the arrangement of the cluster that these two constitute is poorly suited to engage with the specific market devices which allow people to purchase goods and interact in economic terms with the market stall, however effective it is for traversing the city. This mode of assisting customers with complex mobility needs demonstrates that the heterogenous layout of the market may make it a difficult space to navigate. It also shows how easily the standard practices and processes of purchasing in this Market Hall may be altered to accommodate more complex mobility needs, and these adjustments often seem to be similarly linked to unique aspects of market stalls. These accommodating interventions may be located elsewhere than around the objects and agencements concerned with customer mobility. In other situations,

this kind of accommodation is more closely concerned with the materials that make up the stall.

Early in the research process, in November 2017, A family with a child in a motorised wheelchair came past Market Central. One of them stopped hesitantly to ask if they could come into the seating area. Laura and Emma reassured them, encouraging them to come and sit down. While the family waited at the entrance, Laura rearranged the chairs in the seating area, moving a customer who was sitting close to the counter and urging the rest of the customers and myself to make room, so the child could take that space with their family around them. It took a bit of pushing to get the wheelchair up the small step into the stall, but everything was eventually arranged successfully [9/11/17, 10:21-10:40]. The traders seemed especially keen for that family to stay and for them to feel welcome, even though it meant a significant rearrangement of the café. Later I would learn that Abbey's son (and Laura's grandson) was autistic, and that they had particular sympathy for people with disabilities and learning difficulties as a result. In this case, the difficulty for the family lay in finding space for the bulky and difficult to maneuver wheelchair inside a crowded market. The bulky stools inside the café are difficult to move and there are people to relocate, but the staff still put effort into making space for the child and their family inside their stall. Café spaces like this inside Market Halls accommodate those with different mobility needs in physical terms, but this is at times based on the ability of traders to engage with the materials that make up features of their stall. Details of the environment of the Market Hall enable this flexibility, but also pose the problems which the traders contend with in doing accommodative work. It is therefore their attunement to and capacity to engage with these diverse needs that stands out in these situations.

While the specific material structure of the Market Hall is responsible for the accommodation that is offered, what is described in this section is still a conditional and contingent form of material and bodily hospitality that can just as easily result in uncaring or harmful surfaces and spaces. This relates directly

to the fourth research question, as it demonstrates the physical accommodation offered by the market and suggests that the conviviality produced may be a result of the difficulty inherent to being in the market environment. The physical accommodation offered by the market to the customer can fail and is shown to often be inadequate. In fact, the difficulties noted throughout this section provides a consistent indication of who and what is made welcome in bodily terms by the Market Hall. In the same way that the previous chapters engage with the second research question and performances of economic matters, this section engages with performances of physical accommodation and how these can fail or become unstable. The question of how customers are made welcome and how conviviality is produced on an affective level is engaged with in the following section. This precedes a section exploring attempts to alter the behaviour of customers or to exclude them entirely, as the affective presences of customers and traders are at times complex and asymmetrical. This asymmetry needs to be addressed before engaging with attempts to directly intervene in and manage the affective presences of customers, as it demonstrates how conviviality can be constituted in the Market Hall.

Convivial Atmospheres and Asymmetrical Relations

Customer Contributions

While examples of the bodily accommodation that the market offers may describe how customers and their belongings are included physically in the market, there is also the question of how the market accommodates what customers bring to the market in affective terms. This is often most notable when the contribution is rooted in a practice which is particularly distinct in sensory terms. Apart from the usual scraping, rustling, banging and chatter that makes up the soundscape of Cardiff Market, music often catches your attention unexpectedly. This comes from a number of sources. Traders often have small radios or Bluetooth speakers stashed away within their stalls which provide tinny musical accompaniment to ongoing business and conversations. This has been noted as a prominent feature in markets elsewhere (Lyon, 2016) but in this market, music often carries from the record shop on the balcony level. More arresting is the music which is brought into the market by customers. Being in the market can often be a disorienting and distracting experience. The senses are engaged across multiple registers, in multiple ways at once, and much of this has an immediate effect, demanding attention. When music is brought into the market by customers however, it can test some of the social conventions common to urban life, but these instances also provide collective focal points for attention. The practices examined in this section seem to extend to the streets outside the market, but how they are included into the social and sensory life of the market provides insight into how customers can contribute to the conviviality of the space and how the market accommodates these contributions.

On a foggy morning in April, around half past 10, I walked into the market from the entrance which opens onto the street surrounding St John's church at the top of the Hayes (4/4/18, 10:35). It was a cold and misty morning and the warm

lighting of the entrance hall enveloped me as I caught the eye of the trader working at Sutton's (the Greengrocers) and moved past Carter's the Fishmongers opposite. As I got closer to the second set of doors which lead into the main market hall, I could hear jungle music being played loudly. This faster, bass-driven variant of breakbeat immediately caught my attention, and it lent an unusual emotional feel to the market perhaps because of the acoustics in the cavernous internal structure of Cardiff Market but also because of the contrast this vital sonic presence created against the weather. I was intrigued and followed the sound towards an old man moving away from me, down the central aisle to the left of the entrance. He was on a mobility scooter, and the sound was coming from his scooter. A trader he passed at the cheese stall on the corner was smiling and laughing, as the man pumped his hand along to the music. Others joined in as he passed. I walked around the cheese stall to AF Williams and had a brief conversation with Ben, the youngest of the butchers working there about business over Easter and how the business was going more generally. As I moved on and walked around the seating area of Market Central Coffee, where a shorter aisle cuts perpendicularly across longer aisles, I noticed the music again, but this time as part of the general melange of sounds in the market, as if the man on the mobility scooter had just passed me. Karl, one of the market attendants was standing chatting to the traders at Morgan's, the vegetarian snack and spice stall. He was telling them at length about how he loved the music the passing wheelchair user had been playing, joking about it as he told them about raves and parties he used to go to.

The reception that the customer gets as he moves through the aisles is joyful. People dance and engage with the scooter user physically and socially; his interruption of the market soundscape and activity is welcome and somewhat celebrated. There is a temporally varied soundscape in the market which speaks of concurrent activities (Lyon, 2016. p.6-8) and this contains ripping and colliding cardboard, laughter, the noise of machinery working, and the screech of milk steamers, for example. All of these sounds relate to the processing of products, but this music is oriented towards the traders and other customers,

creating hyper-local effects that alter our affective experience of the surrounding space. It contributes to a change in the atmosphere of the market, working to create resonances through the connections and associations created between the customer and trader (Anderson, 2008), and those listening to the music together.

This customer had brought music into the market before. A few weeks earlier, he had come in playing Bob Marley. The response from the traders had been similar, with visible appreciation and enjoyment. The traders working at a café stall also commented on the absence of a customer called Leanne who often talked about Bob Marley and sometimes wears a fleece with his face printed on the front. The connections generated here made her absence relevant, (Anderson, 2009. p.80) actively shaping the local meaning of the music. The combination of layered noise in markets has been identified as a sensory element of the elusive and celebrated 'buzz' used to characterise the welcoming sensory atmosphere of many urban or communal places but attending to the features of this buzz demonstrates how it takes shape. Laurier (2008b, p.130) notes that 'buzz' frames particular interactions and serves different purposes in different contexts but here the music cuts through the soundscape of the market, and adds another layer of connections, evoking the absent presences of regular customers, alongside the curiosity, amusement, and enjoyment created. By contributing to and changing the soundscape of the market this customer comes creates a resonance that relates to a wider community while affecting the general atmosphere of the space, as the connections it creates spread and persist beyond the simple contextual presence of the music.

Narratives of rhythm and repetition are common to discussions of public spaces and spaces for consumption, and markets are no exception (Simpson, 2012; Lyon, 2016). There is a sense though that as much as this is outside of the usually experienced soundscape of the Market, that it is something familiar and welcome. In my time there, it happened twice but may have occurred more

often based on the reception it received from the traders. The recurrence of this phenomenon enables such a familiarity, which combined with its eccentricity and friendliness to spread beyond those directly affected by the action itself, actively making connections to the wider community of regular customers at the Market. This highlights how the actions of eccentric customers can contribute towards the convivial atmosphere that markets are lauded for. This raises the crucial issue of the contribution of the consumer or public to the space of consumption and its affective and social qualities (Cochoy, Dubuisson-Quellier, 2013) which is often neglected in discussions of markets if not in broader discussions of consumption sites. These contributions are enabled at least in part by the spatial form of the market and its consequences. It is eminently permeable and nearly continuous with the streets outside, the close and heterogenous assortment of stalls enabling a density of interaction which creates the conditions for a wide range of interactions. As Knox (2005) argues, these attributes are crucial for spaces which sustain a shared structure of feeling and which communities form in. There is an openness to these repetitive contributions or interruptions of the affective environment which build the local features of the convivial atmosphere present in Cardiff Market, but which is not always the product of symmetrical relations (Anderson, 2011. p.33) as the following section will explore in more detail.

‘Happy Days’

Large numbers of people pass through the market without buying anything, since it is a shelter from the elements, and provides a covered route from the Hayes and St Mary’s street, two major pedestrian avenues. One such person has become particularly notable thanks to their unusual form of irreverent yet convivial self-expression. Shouting at shoppers and workers around Cardiff, the ‘Happy Days’ man has become a minor folk figure. The first time he passed me in the market, it was an afternoon in March. I was sitting in the covered seating area at Market Central Coffee (a café at the centre of the market which serves some simple meals) [28/3/18, 14:55-15:20] when a middle-aged man in a santa

hat approached from the St Mary's street entrance. I only noticed him when he began to shout 'ho ho, happy days', since both his mantra and choice of headwear was incongruous considering the time of year. He was grinning, and walking quickly with a peculiar gait, leaning forwards and shuffling his feet. His shout was also forced out, as if it was an urgent mantra of some kind, with emphasis on the 'D' in 'Days'. Gesturing to those he shouted at, he eventually called out to Laura, who was preparing vegetables; Laura is one of the handful of women who work at this café. Looking up as he neared the takeaway counter, she responded by repeating 'happy days' back to him, but more quietly and softly. He gave a thumbs up and kept on walking at the same speed.

As noted with the previous example in which customers played music to the market indiscriminately without invitation, the unexpected nature of this friendly if eccentric mantra was accepted by the traders, perhaps because of the positivity of the content. It does not require significant time to engage with, and it would be difficult to ascribe any negative aspect to it apart from the minor nuisance and distraction it could represent. It is difficult to make sense of and alongside the choice of a santa hat three months after Christmas, it takes on an absurd tone. The 'Happy Days' guy never seems to stop to talk to anyone or buy anything, so any direct interaction with him is fleeting. Few people know much about him, but those who spend significant amounts of time in the market or city centre are aware of him since his mantra is distinctive and often quite loud. This creates and attaches a kind of mystique to the practice which helps it to be recognised and incorporated into new uses and contexts. While the practice bears some resemblance to the use of music by a customer to interrupt the soundscape of the market, the critical difference lies in the ease with which this mantra is reproduced and repurposed.

Over time, the traders gradually made it part of their own conversations, repurposing it for their own purposes. It is used as a response to complaints of bodily pain and inconvenience, to lighten the mood or simply as a joke between themselves, which each time connect back to the original eccentric practice.

Traders passing each other's stalls on errands often shouted it to each other in a similar call and response format. Chris and Tom, who work at Jones Fruit and Veg often shouted it jokingly to Paul (from the Market Deli stall) a number of times as he passed on his way in and out of the market. The content and meaning of the practice may be difficult to understand, but as an affective entity, it is easily apprehended as a kind of general, open-ended benediction. For these reasons it is easily accommodated within the affective atmosphere of the market, but this is not without friction or reserve from those who adopt and repurpose the mantra.

Later in April, I was chatting to Abbey and Laura in Market Central Coffee around lunchtime, when the conversation turned to the 'Happy Days' man. I asked a few questions about him and found out that he had only been doing it for a few months before I began spending time in the market, and that they considered him to be a harmless and even positive presence. Laura told me that she thought that he began to come through the market regularly on his way to a preferred café because the traders responded so well to him [24/4/18, 12:15-12:45]. This repetition seems to represent an instance of the daily rhythms and routines which contribute to the shared structures of feeling necessary to build convivial atmospheres (Knox, 2005). Eccentric, unconventional behaviour, and the potential for novelty and the unexpected is widely recognised part of the celebrated liveliness of urban spaces, but such behaviours can also be the effect of certain mental health issues. As documented by Parr (1997; 2000) these behaviours can also be stigmatised and lead to exclusion from public spaces. With its noise, bustle, and receptive traders, the market potentially provides a more welcoming atmosphere for such behaviour. This invokes ideas surrounding the transformative potential of urban encounter to reduce or challenge prejudice (Wilson, 2018) but in fact, its acceptance and repurposing may represent attempts to create a coherent meaning and shared understanding around the mantra. Wessendorf (2014) argues that conviviality can operate on a surface level, easing tense or difficult relations without changing attitudes or fostering meaningful exchange and it

would appear that something similar is happening here with the affective contribution made by the 'Happy Days' man and his mantra.

The celebration and engagement with the music, the participation in the call and response mantra of the 'Happy Days' man, and the incorporation of the mantra into everyday conversation and jokes, appear to demonstrate elements of how customer contributions to the convivial atmosphere in the market are incorporated into the market. In each instance however, a measure of difference is performed, and something is held back. The mantra of the 'Happy Days' man extends the reach of his affective presence, but it is only used to make jokes from which he is excluded, ironic comments on bodily pains, or it simply becomes the subject of derision and knowing smiles. While accommodative work is done by the traders when they give him a positive reception and repurpose the mantra, creating space for this contribution in the affective life of the market, the inclusion is limited, much like the demand on hospitality referred to by Derrida (2000). Describing the practice as asymmetrical therefore seems to be appropriate, within the market as a space of licence (Parr, 1997). This wider designation seems appropriate as certain behaviour is tolerated and accommodated in lieu of full acceptance or inclusion.

Attending to these disruptions of different kinds and the reactions to them has two important outcomes. Firstly, it foregrounds the ways in which market participants come to contribute to the convivial atmospheres through repetitive and rhythmic interactions. It is these interactions which provide the unique shape for the 'buzz', bustle, and festivity which market halls are known for, but these interactions also consist of fleeting practices which are only remarkable because of their persistence and repetition. This addresses the first part of the fourth research question, concerned with how conviviality is produced in the Market Halls. In this case, this section addresses how a convivial atmosphere may be formed from the build-up of ephemeral and fleeting asymmetrical interactions. Secondly, these disruptions demonstrate how the limited forms of accommodation made for these practices leads to their asymmetry. The second

part of the fourth research question concerns the kind of accommodation offered, and this section reveals it to be limited, but also that this limit is key to the inclusion of these practices in the convivial atmosphere of the Market Hall. Building on this sense of inherent limitations to accommodation the following section includes close attention to the instances where such limits lead to attempts to change customer behaviour, and to exclude customers from the market.

Affecting Others

The accommodation of certain practices in the market is limited as described and similarly there are limits and boundaries to the accommodation which the market offers. These manifest through a number of subtle interventions and informal methods of exclusion. Understanding the ways in which these denials of accommodation are incorporated into the picture of the market as a convivial space allows those excluded from the space to be identified. The relationships formed and the contributions from the customers to the atmosphere in the are never strictly of the traders choosing, but still often have to react or interact with unwanted practices and presences inside the market. The need for accommodation from customers often conflicts with the actual or perceived demands of organising a stall and serving customers, and there appears to be two main ways in which traders deal with this conflict or ongoing tensions. Firstly, traders often engage with customers on a personal level to a significant degree, in order to minimise disruption and to alter practices which are causing problems. This often appears to be a kind of work towards accommodation, since it responds to already known patterns of behaviour and is intended to maintain the accommodation that a stall provides. This often involves accommodative work in the affective register, to scaffold the experiences of the customers that require it (Colombetti and Krueger 2015). Secondly, for other kinds of behaviour which are more difficult to engage with, traders demonstrate strategies for exclusion. These exclusionary tactics demonstrate the partiality of accommodation in the marketplace and the specific kind of partiality practiced in Cardiff Market, raising questions about the lack of accommodating spaces in urban areas more widely.

Intervention and Adjustment

Continuing from the previous section, it is worth giving an example where the presence of a regular customer led to aversion and avoidance rather than

limited or reserved celebration or welcome. Towards the end of March, not long after I had entered the Market I noticed an old woman passing the fruit and vegetable stall, peering closely at and touching some of the produce without picking anything up. She shouted something indistinct up to Tom, which I couldn't hear. He replied quickly, and looked away at his phone, almost laughing it off. She hesitated, as if waiting for another response from him, and then continued ambling towards the St Mary's street entrance. Emma, who had been watching the whole exchange, shouted across to Luke "Once she starts, you can't get rid of her'. He nodded and grimaced, before looking at his phone. Emma laughed and I asked who the old woman was, and why Luke tried to avoid her attention; she told me that the old woman comes in all the time and causes trouble [22/3/18, 10:25 -12:20]. Regardless of what the old woman had said, or what she usually did that led Luke to avoid talking to her, it was clear that her presence was unwelcome. While his response was passive, aiming to prevent her from continuing a conversation, it had the desired effect of denying her a convivial (or even meaningful) conversation. This contrasts with the tone of the examples given in the previous section and the introduction to this chapter, in that it appears to be a way of masking intolerance or annoyance in an environment where it is hard to avoid people; there are no visual barriers to the stall, and he was not working on anything at the time. Difficult situations arise in Cardiff Market all the time, and they are generally resolved easily, if not quietly.

The first example of outright and active intervention in a problematic situation involves a visibly upset customer who was moving around the area close to Market Central Coffee. Leanne, a regular customer at the market was arguing with one of the butchers in AF Williams, telling them to leave her alone. Another trader approached, and seemed to calm her down, although I was too far away to hear what was said. Leanne eventually walked over to Market Central Coffee and sat down talking to Abbey and Laura (the traders working that day) with her shopping bags on the chair next to her. A middle aged man went into the stall soon after her singing an Elvis song loudly and he shouted greetings to the staff

loudly as he sat down. He started teasing Leanne who seemed to be trying to avoid eye contact. I heard her tell him once or twice to stop looking at her, or to stop singing, and Laura responded to this eventually by saying “ah, she’s told you she doesn’t like Elvis”, while smiling and laughing, while turning and looking across the customers demonstratively. The man got quieter, and stopped teasing Leanne [11/4/18, 10:45-12:10].

The crucial element of this exchange is Laura’s intervention, but framing this as an intervention between Leanne and Laura would be misleading. More accurately, this intervention was made into the conversational space of the café (Laurier, 2008a; Laurier and Philo, 2006). No moral issue with the behaviour of the singing customer is taken overtly and the intervention is not made directly between Leanne and the new customer but is addressed to the entire café; Laura positioned her entire body towards the seating area while speaking. The intervention is not attempting to right any particular wrong, but to improve the overall situation, to ease tension by ending the conversation from outside. Conviviality can be thought of as an achievement (Laurier and Philo, 2006) and this form of general address seen multiple times in different situations is arguably an important practice contributing towards the maintenance of the space as neutral, comfortable, and friendly. The work that Laura does to maintain the space as peaceful and able to support convivial relations is accommodating, even though it is difficult and oriented towards the café patrons as a collective. This demonstrates the accommodative work that goes towards maintaining the affective space of the café for all customers, rather than attending to the particular problems of individual customers.

As noted previously, the ‘Happy Days’ Guy passes through the market on a route through to other places, rather than treating it as an end-point destination in itself. This is the same for a number of other customers, including Leanne, an older man called Ron who often comes in as soon as the stall opens at 10am, and Kevin, who has a speech impediment. This is a very common, and very easily identifiable way of using the market, that suggests that particular market

stalls are doing something for certain groups of people beyond the goods and services they provide. There are a wide range of customers who frequently visit Market Central Café but there are significant numbers of regular customer that have physical mobility issues, or that have learning difficulties or mental health issues. In addition to the care and friendly reception that these customers receive at this café there are very few barriers to entry with very low prices and very plain, simple décor; the walls are plain white, and the chairs and surfaces either laminated wood or Formica. There are few signs, and the interior of the space is free of signage and visual clutter which makes it more accessible for those with disabilities or cognitive and sensory impairments (Poldma et al., 2014). Elsewhere in the market, the Jack Russell Café has similar décor with the addition of large potted plants, wooden panelling and grey-white walls accompanied by large mirrors along one wall. Warner, Talbot and Bennison (2013, p.309-310) distinguish spaces decorated in this from anti-social corporate franchise cafes by use of the 'third places', term as used by Oldenburg and Brissett (1982). Spaces like Market Central Coffee and the Jack Russell Café arguably represent an instance of a third place, since so many regular customers visit and use the space for informal, loose socialising. The simplicity of the space contributes towards a familiar, comforting atmosphere for its regular patrons, where ease of access and understanding are prioritised.

The materials and objects of the café do important affective work to maintain the space as convivial, friendly and welcoming, alongside the interpersonal and conversational work that Laura has to do to maintain the space as convivial, friendly and welcoming. The design and features of the space contributes towards an atmosphere which can support convivial relations, demonstrating a smaller scale version of the environments described by Knox (2005). Rather than being a pre-determined quality or attribute of the space, these elements interact with the customers and traders to enable this hospitable atmosphere. Preserving and maintaining these atmospheres while operating the stall can lead to tension however, as the following passage describes.

Coming into the café most days for a jacket potato or baguette, Kevin is well known by the café staff, who joke with him and listen to his problems. Kevin also seems to have learning difficulties or mental health issues which means that he struggles to speak clearly, repeating particular words and talking more loudly than those around him. The vignette presented below depicts an interaction in late January between him and a staff member at Market Central Coffee. A key aspect of this interaction to note is the dependence of this form of interaction on the specific arrangement of the stall [25/1/17; 13:50-14:10]. While sitting in Market Central Coffee, a conversation between Kevin and Laura caught my attention. I listened to the conversation intently, but it was hard to follow. Laura was responding attentively to his story of a phone call with a relative while chopping vegetables and serving other customers. Kevin was sitting on a chair adjacent to the preparation area of the kitchen and was leaning on the counter towards Laura, who he affectionately refers to as 'Mama'. As the conversation progressed her answers became more strained, and Kevin moved on to talking about a relative going into hospital, fixating on the possibility she was going to be ill and die. Mama commiserated, but after a few minutes she asked him if they could change the subject: 'Let's change the subject eh, Kev? I know what you're like, you get fixated on things and go round and round'. He said ok, and stopped talking until Keith from AF Williams's passed the stall and Nige called out to him by name. Keith responded with a friendly greeting but kept going. Mama then asked Kevin if he wanted his chocolate biscuit, which they keep in a fridge for him. He'd just finished eating his lunch, and when he assented, she started looking for it. She found it in the fridge, remarking that Abbey must have put it in the fridge the day before.

Affective scaffolding (Colombetti and Krueger, 2015)⁴² presents a useful way to understand this interaction. It can be argued that Kevin, and people who use

⁴² As an variation on the extended mind thesis (Clark and Chalmers, 2002) this concept unfurls affectivity to the same extent as cognition, and is used within psychology to describe the involvement of the environment in cognitive processes. It has been used to suggest that the environment can play a meaningful role in helping to constitute and stabilize the construction of

the market stall in similar ways as regular customers, can occupy and participate in shaping affective niches for themselves where particular predictable sensations and emotions can be performed and experienced. As previously described, the café this exchange takes place in is simple and has plain décor which changes little over time, providing a familiar space for him to engage with. The format of the café is also important to describe, since it enables direct conversations between Kevin and the café staff even when they are working and as such allows them to attempt to alter his behaviour. This will have an impact on affective qualities of this café, as particular kinds of interaction can be cultivated (Anderson, 2008. p.80). Unlike a lot of the other café spaces in this market, there is no dividing wall or other visual separation between the kitchen area and the seating area. This is also what allows the demonstrative speech described earlier. Additionally, the space in the centre of the café means that it is possible when sat at any side to orient the chairs towards whoever is working behind the counter. Without a barrier between the kitchen area and the seating area, a space is created in which the staff and customers become more easily aware of each other. This is a prerequisite for the extended conversation detailed above, and it is notably not present in other market cafes. It was clear that Kevin benefits from the presence of the stall and the correction to his tendency to fixate on morbid subjects. This depends on Laura's presence, her understanding of his tendency and the fact she is able to work to correct it. The café represents a physical and social crutch or supportive scaffold which may help Kevin to structure his emotions and experience of his problems. Based on my knowledge of his past and current attendance at the café, this scaffold has been built up over time. The scaffolding work here appears as if it is in conflict with the demands of operating the café, but it could also be argued that it is the conflicting needs which lead to Laura's intervention.

the self in or those experiencing cognitive difficulties or personality related mental health issues (Krueger, 2018).

Exclusions and Limits

As described in the previous section, parts of the market can physically accommodate people in particular situations, if only in a limited fashion. This is most noticeable when mobility aids are used, as they draw attention to cases the potential opportunities for accommodation afforded by the structures in question. As detailed here however, these spaces can become problematic.

Following the noise of hammering, I decided to leave the Jack Russell café and go downstairs, to see if I could find it. As I went down the stairs closest to Trinity Street, I saw the guy with crutches sitting on the steps in a heated argument with someone who was leaning over the banister to him, and who also had a single crutch.

[4/5/18, 11:40-12:24]

The man with crutches often sits here, amidst stacks, crates and passing customers on their way in and out of the market. A few women once asked him for directions to the nearest antique shop in the city centre, and he helped them willingly. There never seems to be any tension between him and the stallholder who stores crates close to the stairs, and they even exchange greetings occasionally. Similarly, other people often sit on the stairs to eat their lunches bought from market stalls, although they are sometimes moved on. In this particular instance, there is little conviviality being made possible by the accommodation offered by the stairs. The stairs, which this man often uses as a place to rest come to look like an invaded place of refuge in which the man with crutches is being hassled. Outside of any particular stall, the management of the aisles is done on a different basis, more closely concerned with maintaining borders between stalls and avoiding obstruction than offering accommodation. For those like Leanne and Kevin, who benefit from the management of the stall-spaces in affective terms, other spaces outside the market may easily become unwelcoming as discussed. Others who use such spaces may also become subject to hostility and objections from traders in certain circumstances and may

despite their best intentions be denied accommodation in the market. An example of similar behaviour on the stairs demonstrates how actions taking advantage of these empty spaces can also come to be labelled and dealt with as aberrant. This draws attention to the boundaries of the accommodation offered by Cardiff Market, and also demonstrates the kind of actions available to market traders and attendants for exclusion.

As I was making some notes by the side entrance to the market in late January, two men passed me on their way out of the market. A few minutes later, they came back into the market and had a conversation hunched over a mobile phone, reading out some numbers. Their clothes looked dirty and worn, and they spoke in strong, slurred Cardiff accents a little bit too loudly, making them conspicuous. I wondered if they had been sleeping rough. I left the market by the Trinity street entrance they were sitting close to and after a short time came back in the same way, as I could hear shouting through the open doors. Moving past the stairs, I saw a young man going up, away from the pair I had seen earlier who were now both sitting on the stairs. They were again repeating numbers loudly to the phone and I waited a while to see what was happening. A trader at the sweets stall kept looking over at the two men as if concerned, eventually going over to speak to them, not angry but indignant, telling them that they couldn't sit on the stairs before returning to her stall. I moved around so as not to become an obvious obstruction in the entrance, and the woman called out to another trader from the cheese stall, telling them that the two men 'had a go' at her son. The trader from the cheese stall confronted the two men, telling them they were blocking the stairs. One of the guys stood up and shouted back at her, while the other sat continuing the phone call. I became uncomfortable watching this unfold and moved on. Reaching a junction between the aisles, I looked back and could see that they were still there and could hear the traders mocking them by repeating the numbers. I noted that they were now joined by two market attendants standing near the stairs with serious expressions. It seemed as they were waiting for the two men to leave or trying to make them leave by their presence. A few minutes later, when I

realised the two men had left, I passed a few of the market attendants joking about the two men with a small group of traders [24/1/18, 11:20-12:00].

Contrasting this situation with previous vignettes involving the stairs highlights that they perform accommodative action that is unchanging between the situations, as the stairs cannot be mobilised as direct physical tools of exclusion. Instead, they have to be realised as an inappropriate place, for particular people and actions. The two men are not physically ejected from the market but are mocked/mimicked by the traders and the attendants stand close to them rather threateningly. The intentions of the various traders and attendants involved could be discussed here, but it is worth staying with the affectual dimension of these tactics. They are not violent and seemed more concerned with communicating disapproval and threat of removal than directly forcing removal. The market, and the stairs in particular are being defined as not for this, and not for them. Parr (2000, p.231-232) deploys the concept of spaces of licence, to describe semi-institutional settings in which certain erratic behaviours are tolerated. It is possible to see a similarity here in that the behaviour is deemed beyond what is licenced and thus is challenged; the market may allow and celebrate a wider range of behaviours by virtue of its configuration than elsewhere, but this is limited to particular forms of behaviour and space-taking. The two men are seen to be violating the conditions that come with being in the market, and the response is to reject and exclude them.

The accommodation offered by the market is necessarily partial and as such selections and exclusions of some kind become necessary as described above. As discussed by Derrida (2000) this kind of partiality may be a key feature of hospitality of any kind, since it always exists in tension with other ethical and practical imperatives. The two men may have been homeless or experiencing insecure housing or may have substance abuse problems. They may also have simply been trying to negotiate the complexity of the current social welfare services. Ethical questions arise from their treatment by the market attendants, about the inclusion and exclusion of particular 'others' from the market, and the

asymmetrical nature of the relationships between particular customers and traders. These are important questions for those who are working with or for market traders or market authorities and they lead towards wider political questions concerning the current inadequate state provision of mental health care, housing, social care, and disability support. These questions are not within the remit of this thesis. More importantly these questions do not seem to reasonably be within the responsibilities of market authorities or traders. Questions therefore emerge as to the reliance of vulnerable people on the Market Hall, and the appropriate ethical, political and practical responses in a context where accommodating particularly difficult forms of behaviour produces tensions and conflict that result in exclusionary action.

Discussion

Agencement Interfaces and Access

When thinking about how the market accommodates different kinds of bodies, certain objects like the personal use shopping trolley emerge as particularly relevant for overcoming the challenges posed by the unique spatial form of Market Halls. These objects increase greatly the vehicular agencements which include larger and heavier loads, by supporting the weight on behalf of the customer, or human actant at the centre of these temporary networks. Paying attention to the roles of the objects associated with the trolley, such as the plastic bag and basket used either side of the purchase moment, demonstrates the presence of an interface between agencies. Calvignac and Cochoy (2016) describe the behavioural logics of how the customer moves in urban space, to show how aspects of urban transportation structure shopping practices. This argument is legitimate, but questions remain as to how these vehicular agencements align with the environment of consumption spaces. Instead of using the words interact or intersect which imply direct contact and change between one side and the other, interface is used to convey the parallel alignment between the different agencies at work. In relational terms, the agencements run in parallel, while demonstrating a more direct interaction in Euclidean terms (Law, 2002. p.95). Complex, distributed work is done to align these different agencies and by attending to the details of the interfaces between market agencies and vehicular agencies, it is possible to describe how objects can structure participation in Market Halls, and thus the accommodation of the customer in bodily terms.

Structuring activity of this kind becomes especially important to understand when the difficulty of managing the interactions between objects in vehicular agencements at this interface are revealed. Significant physical capacity and skill is required to manage these vertical interactions (Calvignac and Cochoy,

2016. p.40-41) during and after the purchase process as the physical structures and layout of the market stalls do not offer many spaces to rest or reorganise bags. Despite this difficulty and relative inaccessibility of the market, people with widely varying physical abilities often regularly use Cardiff Market, making use of the particular style of accommodation provided by the market traders alongside the mobility-enhancing agencies of their wheelchairs and walking sticks. Certain physical elements of the market devices involved in market trading may be inaccessible for customers with differing abilities, but the market traders often step in to provide surrogate access by rearranging stalls temporarily or fulfilling particular roles on behalf of the customer. This draws attention to the difficulties that the market poses for mobility, but also demonstrates where and how adjustments have to be made to the interface between vehicular and market agencies to allow these difficulties to be overcome. The concept of interfaces between agencements explored here contributes to the wide body of work on Market devices and 'agencing' (Cochoy et al. 2016) as it provides a way to ask socio-political questions of the physical barriers to participation in social and economic life, and the possibility of techniques for adjustment and accommodation. This continues the work of Pahk (2017) regarding the forms of performativity described by Butler (2010) by attending to mis-aligned agencies and those bodies failed by the devices and arrangements present.

Asymmetrical Relations, Encounter, and Convivial Atmospheres

The inseparability of the material form of the market from the nature of the accommodation offered does not mean that there is symmetry in the relations between those that use the market. Over time and with repetition, particular interruptions of the soundscape of the market become accepted and expected parts of market life. The reception to these interruptions appears to be a form of limited tolerance and acceptance, which contributes to the production of a

convivial, welcoming atmosphere. As this atmosphere emerges from particular eccentric practices potentially attributable to mental health issues and responses to them, geographical work on the encounter in public space becomes deeply relevant. Valentine (2008) critiques some of the work on convivial encounters in urban spaces for romanticising encounter and failing to attend closely to what encounters actually achieve and how they achieve it. Wilson (2018) argues against such an instrumental framing of the concept, invoking temporality as a necessary consideration for those exploring the potential of encounter to overcome or resolve differences. The conceptualisation of affective atmospheres developed by Anderson (2014) and outlined in the literature review presents a useful way to engage with some of the lasting and general effects of the repeated, barely convivial, and fleeting interactions discussed in this chapter. By using this approach to atmosphere, this chapter has contributed to geographies of encounter by foregrounding the practices and presences which co-constitute convivial atmospheres. Rather than framing such encounters through a static lens, I have examined the importance of repetition and temporality, as well as the asymmetrical relations between different bodies in the production and negotiation of convivial atmospheres.

Similar to the encounter literature, much of the literature on conviviality emerges from literature on multicultural society and cultural diversity (Wise and Noble, 2016), and this is also the case for some of the literatures that explore conviviality in marketplaces (Watson and Wells 2005; Anderson 2011; Rhys-Taylor, 2013). The vignettes demonstrate that there may be a significant difference between apparent tolerance, and more meaningful changes in prejudices and attitudes, as is suggested by Valentine (2008). It may also be the case that the conviviality produced through these interactions provides a way of smoothing or masking cultural difference or difficulty (Wessendorf, 2014) or alternatively, that it is a way of maintaining asymmetrical or structurally imbalanced relations (Aptekar, 2019, p.83). The documented contributions to the affective life of the market are similarly asymmetrical but the different

reasons for marginalisation in these cases are important to recognise. People experiencing mental ill-health often struggle to find accommodating spaces in the city as their behaviour can be marked as aberrant or transgressive, and thus may risk exclusion (Parr, 1997). People with physical disabilities or impairments may similarly struggle to navigate and traverse commercial spaces in the city due to the design elements of these spaces and thus may be excluded from effective participation in social life (Poldma et al. 2014). Even as the participation of people living with this kind of marginalisation in Market Halls can be asymmetrical and difficult, the partial welcome given to these contributions contributes towards the convivial atmosphere present in this Market Hall. This frames them as active participants in the production of conviviality inside the Market Hall, if not equal or symmetrical in their relations with traders. This demonstrates how diverse subjectivities may inhabit and establish their presences as part of market life. As Duff (2017) argues, it is possible to make a claim of a right to exist, simply by being present and visible in a space. By being present despite the inhospitable nature of public spaces, homeless people make a claim on those spaces, asserting their right to exist in the city. It seems that otherwise marginalised customers may also make a similar bodily, affective claim of a right to the Market Hall, if not the city, simply by their presence.

More than conviviality; accommodation and exclusion

The accommodation offered by much of the market on an affective level, is at least partly based on the simplicity and directness of the market stall format. Market stalls are generally simple and need little prior knowledge to be intelligible and navigable⁴³, removing many barriers to participation. This is

⁴³ The first empirically focussed chapter of this thesis outlines the way in which market devices operate with the aid of sensory qualities in order to create 'sensory orders', which customers can use to understand the stall. This is significant here, as these are what enable the navigability and legibility of stalls, and are stall specific. Each stall will have a different set of

again partly why the café stalls inside markets seem to represent ‘third spaces’ (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982). This space for low-intensity socialising may be more important for some, but particular aspects of the work done by traders may be more valuable to particular customers. Much of the work that goes into maintaining the environment in affective terms is interpersonal and centred around providing a particular consistency of feeling. This involves the leveraging of relationships with particular customers, interrupting particular social interactions, and avoiding some interactions in particular. These breaks and corrections, are carried out in order to maintain and perform the affective scaffolding (Colombetti and Krueger 2015) that provides much of the accommodation taken advantage of by the people who inhabit and use such spaces.

Affective scaffolding provides an important extension to the spaces of licence concept (Parr, 2000). The spaces of licence concept is useful because it describes a space in which the relations between people inside the space allow for certain forms of aberrant or disruptive behaviour, but not others (Parr 2000. p.231-232). Considering wider connections to the broader literatures on maintenance and repair (Mattern 2018) may help to conceptually develop accounts of accommodating spaces of licence. A particular kind of work in the marketplace is oriented towards repairing and maintaining particular affective atmospheres. Much of what the traders offer customers is an affective familiarity which affords licence for particular behaviours and support for others, but which also involves intervention, often oriented towards altering patterns of behaviour. The acts of exclusion which accompany these intervening and altering practices should be considered as continuous with more overt efforts to include, as they both contribute towards maintaining the of the affective atmosphere of the marketplace. In the process, they indicate the limits to accommodation in the Market Hall. These developments do not contradict the body of work on

devices, leading to the highly fragmented, heterogenous environment described in the following chapter.

conviviality and welcome, but they do add another dimension to the achievement of convivial, welcoming spaces by opening out and exploring the management of the frictions and tensions involved in instances of convivial 'rubbing along' (Watson, 2008. p.1589).

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter an attempt has been made to gently twist away from romanticised portrayals of Market Halls as places which are convivial and caring on the basis of the generosity and social networks of the market traders (Watson, 2008. p.1583-1584). This shifts understandings of the familiarity and sociality in market halls away from a reading of the relationships developed over time or by family by customers and traders. Instead, more detailed attention is paid how conviviality and accommodation are achieved despite and because of difference and difficulty, and the inconsistencies and asymmetries present in this accommodation. For example, while much of the conviviality provided by traders in the form of conversation during and alongside transactions is interpersonal, the bodily or physical accommodation offered by the market and traders often appears to be structured by the objects which customers bring with them. Focussing on these sets of objects which facilitate the transfer of products from trader to customer in physical terms highlights this situation as a form of interface between vehicular and market agencies. The approach to urban mobility developed by Calvignac and Cochoy (2016) makes questions of accessibility compatible with questions surrounding participation in the social and economic life of the market. This ultimately provides a novel way to approach intersections between physical accessibility and other concerns. It also demonstrates the physical difficulty involved in navigating and participating in Market Halls, as it grounds description of the accommodation they offer in the capacity of traders and customers to flexibly ameliorate, anticipate and avoid the challenges posed by the format of market trading. This account of physical accommodation therefore goes further in addressing the fourth research question than simply naming what accommodation is offered, as it also speaks to how this accommodation is offered, and what it means for those involved, an approach which may be relevant in other situations.

The affective contributions made to the general atmosphere of hospitality and conviviality in the market also need to be included when considered when considering the different kinds of accommodation offered. Contributions of this kind come from many sources, most often the traders as they go about their business and chat to customers informally, but there are also fleeting and difficult to understand affective practices in the market which contribute to the overall atmosphere (Anderson, 2014). New insight is provided into some novel aspects of the constitution of conviviality, by approaching the formation of convivial atmospheres as a product of potentially asymmetrical interactions. Work on conviviality often appears to uncritically argue that convivial spaces can challenge aspects of structural oppressions (Aptekar, 2019), but this approach offers a way around this issue, while retaining the vitality made possible by convivial interactions. This represents a significant contribution towards the fourth research question, in particular the first part dealing with the production of conviviality.

Considering the asymmetry of certain convivial practices in the market leads to other kinds of practices associated with maintaining the viability of accommodation. Part of the welcome that the market offers is the potential of affective scaffolding (Colombetti and Krueger 2015). This concept describes how regular customers to the market make use of the relatively unchanging, reassuring environments of particular market stalls, in which traders are able to engage directly with the customers. At times this involves attempts to intervene in and adjust the behaviours of customers, to maintain the space as welcoming and convivial in affective terms while also to maintaining the viability of exchange and commerce. This spectrum of similarly oriented practices resembles the conceptualisation of caring practices as difficult, incremental and experimental provided by Mol (2008), but these practices also extend out to the exclusion of particular others. The denial of certain forms of accommodation in order to prioritise other forms of accommodation speak to the difficulty of providing convivial atmospheres, and reinforces the necessarily partial nature of all acts of accommodation, hospitality and conviviality (Derrida, 2000). These

findings represent a significant contribution towards the fourth research question, as they address the constitution of conviviality and kinds of accommodation offered in the Market Hall in a novel way, while including instances of difficulty and conflict. These contributions also provide an account of Cardiff Market as a site that is perhaps more ambivalent, and less friendly than accounts of Market Halls presented thus far. Instead a representation is provided which depicts markets as perhaps more practical, concerned with the smooth operation of market exchange and the provision of basic sustenance and hospitality than ideals of communitarian healing through conviviality.

Chapter 7: Contributions and Connections

By providing space for market exchange and convivial hospitality, the Market Hall does much more than would be expected. To access this it is necessary to remove the subjectivities of the customer and trader from the centre of analysis as has been attempted throughout this thesis. Focusing on the actions of the objects and arrangements of matter that make up the market leads to new insights into market spaces and their operation, which may be useful for those working with market traders and their customers, while also contributing to a richer empirical understanding of these spaces. Attending to these objects in market spaces also provides new insight into theoretical and methodological matters which have informed this approach to Market Halls. Developing upon certain aspects of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and taking these forwards as an approach to these objects and spaces has provided insight into specific issues surrounding how the actions of the stall affect both the marketing practices of traders and the work of the consumer. This intersection is critical to address gaps within consumption geographies and economic sociology. These insights would not have been possible if another approach had been adopted due to the distinct conceptualisation of material and distributed agency within ANT. The nature of Market Halls as spaces where demand and supply interact through the mediation of skilled marketers along with their objects and devices brings literatures concerned with how economic markets are constructed into conversation with literatures on spaces of consumption. As the empirical material detailed in the previous chapters demonstrates, this interaction can tell us much not only about these spaces, but about the nature of consumption spaces. As detailed in the literature review, market halls can be thought of as sites where demand and supply meet through the mediation of skilled marketers and market devices, and where parts of the process of consumption take place

(Cochoy et al. 2016. p.5). The subjects and spaces (geographical, virtual and figurative) which the worlds of marketing and consumption studies deal with are closely aligned, and spaces where these interests overlap in practical terms is a key part of the rationale for this thesis.

As discussed in the introduction, the previous three chapters were closely focussed on the empirical material collected from fieldwork, and do not neatly align with the research questions. Each chapter had a minor discussion section in order to make the theoretical and empirical contributions of the findings clear, and these sections also demonstrated the specific contributions of each chapter to the research questions. This chapter aims to pull these contributions to the research questions together and clearly demonstrate the links between these findings. It will also comment on how these contributions relate to the general aims of this thesis (p.19) and the questions which emerge as a result. This section will achieve this by dealing with each of the research questions in turn, but there are also themes which link these questions and run through each question. Firstly, matters connected to the arrangement of produce on market stalls will be outlined, with respect to the research question: *How is the marketing of Produce on Market stalls organised?* In this case, 'how' refers not only to the description of the arrangement, but also the methods by which these arrangements are reached. The literature on Market devices is developed upon in this section, and the relevance of this in a wider context is considered. Secondly, the performance of the market hall as an economic space will be examined with respect to the research question: *What does the arrangement of market stalls mean for their performance as economic spaces?* Answering this question brings together insights from anthropologies of economic markets with recent literature on ontological politics in order to reveal a novel form of failure or difficulty in the performance of economic action. Thirdly, the wider importance of the involvement and agency of objects in the market hall is considered, in order to demonstrate answers to the third research question: *What are the agentic capacities of the objects on market stalls?* Other kinds of performances take place alongside economic performances in the Market Hall, such as those

relating to accommodation and conviviality, or logistics. Finally, it is argued that one of the effects of this accommodation is the production of convivial atmospheres, which provides a connection to the final research question: *How is conviviality achieved in market spaces? What kind of accommodation is offered?* By adapting new approaches to hospitality, conviviality, and accommodation in this setting, new insight is provided into the performance of accommodation and conviviality alongside economic performances.

Sensory ordering and deliberative spaces; How is the marketing of Produce on Market stalls organised?

Building a more detailed empirical account of how marketing practices are organised at the stall level does much to demonstrate the complexity of marketing practices at Market Halls. This can be considered an end in itself, since such an account contributes towards refuting simplistic understandings of market organisation without relying on reductive methodological approaches, and takes into account how wider economic, social and cultural pressures are incorporated into the operation of the market (Smith et al. 2014). Similarly, examining the market device surrounding the discount bag at one stall provided a more complex understanding of the impact of direct marketing at consumption sites given thus far within geography (Kirwan 2006). This device shifts accountability for the quality of the produce from the trader to the customer and provides a new perspective on the character of market trading. This understanding of this device contributes to the apparent complexity and significance of the figure of the discount consumer, as well as drawing further attention to the materialities through which this figure is constructed (Kelsey et al. 2018). These kinds of arranging devices, play an intervening and constructive role in the market in a number of ways, very often through the particular dynamics of the senses.

Drawing on the work of Waskul and Vannini (2008) along with the work of Rhys-Taylor (2013), the sensory ordering concept provides a way to describe how meaningful and displays that have specific effects can be created in the absence of the formalised and pre-determined designs and layouts that are common for much mainstream retail. The sensory devices concept (p.114-116) aims to describe how the juxtaposition of sensory elements can create meaning, and lead to market action. From these juxtapositions it is possible to refer to the order that results, since they are clearly maintained along these lines. In turn, these orders can be conceived of as an active practice (ordering) (Law, 2011) that blurs across market devices. This concept is able to incorporate and describe the devices which make up stall displays in performative terms, while answering the calls from Schatzki et al (2001) and Warde (2014) to prioritise practice over any assumed teleological orientations for action. Ordering also works by displacement, connecting the customer to temporally displaced versions of an item. These practices of ordering resonate with the practice-specific alterities discussed by Van de Port and Mol, (2015), indicating how products can come to be enacted in multiple ways, in order to connect customers with their multiple possible futures while at the stall, through their sensory knowledge of freshness (Jackson et al. 2018; Heuts and Mol, 2013). Recognising the multiple (ontological) enactments of products realises a new conceptualisation of the market stall as conduit, or space through which vegetable and edible matter flows. This offers an alternative way to understand how apparently less structured or formalised spaces of consumption may be structured without significant design or planning activities, contributing to the first research question concerned with the organisation of marketing on market stalls.

This represents a significant contribution to the overall aims of the project with respect to the goal of bridging theoretical approaches within consumption geographies and approaches developed from anthropologies of economic markets. Another outcome of attending to the sensory ordering practiced on

market stalls, is the notion of deliberative space. The sketch of the deliberative spaces concept provided in an earlier chapter (p.117-118) proposes an alteration to Calquation, as defined by Cochoy (2008). This alteration combines a consideration for the collective and qualitative aspects of calculation as discussed by Callon et al (1998) with an explicitly spatial framing. Calquation (Cochoy, 2008) is a way of describing how multiple actants may cooperate and anticipate the other in the decision making process (as part of consuming activity), and is often discussed with respect to how the non-human structures and intervenes this kind of collective activity. The French root of the neologism⁴⁴ communicates the tracing action that consumers make in adjustment to each other, but it does not quite capture how these mutual adjustments may be influenced by the non-human environment, as is seen often at the market stall. Deliberative spaces as a proposed alteration focusses on how the decision can be understood as a space, in order to highlight how these forms of activity are constituted by relations between human and non-human actants across space, in both Euclidean and Network-Relational terms (Law, 2002). This foregrounds the geographical element of these mutual adjustments and goes some way to providing a concept which avoids possible criticisms. Fine (2003) critiques the work of Callon (2002) for placing an undue focus on the purchase as the most important end point of a consumption process. This criticism could be extended to the works of Cochoy (2008), but by conceptualising the consumption process as open-ended rather than as a uni-directional process, the deliberative space avoids this potential criticism. Conceiving of the elements of this kind of distributed decision-making as constituting a space removes the notion of process altogether, while retaining the capacity to describe the features, functions and interactions between the actants which constitute the space.

This relates strongly to discussions of how Market Halls are different from other spaces of consumption. Approaching the purchase process, and whatever calquative elements are present as constitutive parts of deliberative space, has

44 'Calquer' means to trace.

another benefit. In the empirical material used to elaborate this concept, collective deliberation involving the trader resulted from the 'failure' of incomplete or unfortunate market devices. Part of the reason for adopting and advocating the notion of deliberative space, is to avoid labelling an aspect of the qualitative economic logic of market trading as a response to failure. A key aspect of the direct marketing practiced by traders and thus the arrangement of stalls can be accessed in the widest sense through these descriptions of various interventions made by traders in the arrangement of the spaces formed between themselves, their stalls and their customers.

Instead of viewing trader interventions as the result of flaws, inconsistencies, or the result of unreliable mediators, the active role that traders play in the decision making spaces of their customers is a characteristic feature of this kind of direct marketing, which is better captured by the deliberative spaces concept than by calculation. This is a re-evaluation of direct marketing as the characteristic element of market trading. In this case, features which this practice is composed of and the local specificities are elaborated in detail, which provides a contribution to the first research question, as it demonstrates how marketing on market stalls works. As McFall (2009) notes, the value of the insights developed from this approach to consumer activity lies in the insight provided into the specific (rather than general) situated character of particular kinds of market transactions, and marketing practices. While it is reasonable to suggest that market trading, and in particular the displays of market stalls may be considered as 'arranged' only if the situation-specific mediation from the trader is included, questions still remain as to the origin and nature of the conditions which necessitate these interventions. These questions may only be answered in each case by engaging with the kinds of separations and integrations maintained by ontological enactment that perform products on display as economic objects.

The Market Hall as (performed) Economic Space; What does the arrangement of market stalls mean for their performance as economic spaces?

The stall displays discussed here rely on the management of the different possible versions of objects. These versions are enacted through particular sets of practices which in turn perform products as fully marketable. Storage for example, forms a pre-market phase that enacts objects as economic but not for sale, and this allows display to be performed, as a coherent stage of market trading and a version of objects. In other cases, there is an active or desirable overlap between these versions, a conflation that comes with conditions based in the material arrangement of the stall. Both situations, require a certain choreography of practices, unique to each stall, which manages how products are enacted in ontological terms. This builds on the work of Law and Lien (2012), on the dependence of ontological classifications on arrays of practices. While the application of these ideas may seem mundane considering that ontological politics is usually reserved for understanding issues surrounding healthcare, medicine and the body (Cussins 1996; Mol 2009), the different possible states of produce underpin how the market functions, and the particular performance of economic action that is unique to this market. The failure of concealing practices at the Fruit and Vegetable stall demonstrates the instability of the performance of produce as on display. These practices are joined by the array of material capacities in the form of the stall and relate to the final enactment of particular items of produce as economic objects. In comparison, the combining action of these versions of objects depends on a different choreography of practices. Ontological politics are critical to understanding how 'front-stage' performances of display relate to the 'back-stage' practices of storage and movement, or logistics in the market, and thus

the format of stalls. Exploring these issues reveals how economic performances come together, and or in certain cases can become problematic or fail to work. This demonstrates how contributions to the first and second questions may be intimately related.

Considering the material achievements of the supermarket (Cochoy, 2007; 2008; 2009) as a contrast to the Market Hall demonstrates what ontological politics (Mol, 1999) can contribute to the ideas developed by anthropologies of economic markets and market spaces. Supermarkets create a 'free' space internally, based on various devices within and without, but this is also dependent on significant logistical capacity and storage space, which make clean ontological separations. As demonstrated throughout the empirical chapters, the spaces and resources which market traders have access to is limited and thus the devices which perform produce as economic differ considerably. On the Fruit and Vegetable stall among others, restocking and storage practices intersect smoothly with those relating to arranging produce. Many of these practices take place during opening hours while consumers are present, making it appear that practices oriented towards enacting objects in different ontological states are dovetailed in spatial and temporal terms, since these do not overlap, but closely relate and respond to one another. Tidying and fiddling practices for example, and even bulging practices, are continuous with practices of removal and restocking. The practices are fragmented insofar as they contribute towards maintaining a space riven by separations, a fragmented space. An alternative to this is of course to combine display and storage states through the capacities of certain objects but this is limited to choreographies of practice which exclude the consumer, where the materiality of certain kinds of produce make it possible. Even these objects conduct certain kinds of separation, since the customer is denied the opportunity to select produce manually. This contrast highlights part of the performance of Market Halls as economic spaces. In comparison to the 'free', unified space of the supermarket underpinned by hidden labour and management, much of the same work happens, but in a fragmented and often unstable manner. This

fragmentation and instability is arguably caused by the heterogeneity of Market Halls. This reinforces the importance of paying attention to the failure and instability of calculations and decisions (Butler 2010; Pakh 2017) in spaces dominated by less conventional forms of retail.

A sole focus on the ramifications of ontological indeterminacy for the functioning of market devices limits the scope and scale of the account however, as the wider purpose of this approach is to be able to describe the performance of the market stall as an economic space, as stated in the second research question. The market stall was tentatively identified as plastic, wherein the adjective plastic is used to coalesce a complex set of socio-material properties into a descriptor for an object. Using plastic in this way is similar to the description of the Zimbabwe bush pump as a fluid object (de Laet and Mol, 2000). Fluidity is intended to capture how market stalls may be flexible, adapting to various situations and demand, a quality which market stalls share to an extent. The designation of plastic was offered here to show that in many cases, the stalls were already shaped by particular constraints and moulding forces. Adaptations to current conditions mean that the flexibility often touted as a characteristic of market trading and smaller businesses more broadly, is limited, and not particularly radical or evident in the everyday practices of traders. From the account of market renovation offered, it becomes clear that in the process of making changes to the stalls which would have economic repercussions, the traders were obtaining passive assent from informal groupings of potential competitors, dealing with contractual legacies from past stallholders, and shepherding the stall through possible futures without a formal plan. Describing market stalls as plastic resonates with the mundane and overlooked ways in which traders have organised their work practices in response to external and internal constraints on their operation. Changing current patterns of operations therefore may not be easy, if the original constraints do not change.

Materials and Objects in Market-Spaces; What are the agentic capacities of the objects on market stalls?

In order to be consistent in the symmetrical treatment of the human and non-human, paying close attention to what can be learned from the agencies of particular objects in this setting helps to maintain balance. Within this Market Hall, a number of particular objects were particularly influential in the formation of this account and it is worth revisiting these to draw out the contribution of objects as tools for thinking with, and to create a grounding for the following section. These objects are the plastic bag (already detailed in a previous section within this chapter), the market cart and the spice jar. Descriptions of the agencies of these specific objects, and their relevance to thinking through market activity overlap with the topics discussed previously, but the performance of particular kinds of accommodative work enabled through the instability of market arrangements and devices are also discussed.

Previous discussion within this chapter on the role of the discount bag focusses on the wider device, more so than the specific functions of the plastic bag which holds the multiple items of fruit and vegetables. Returning to this particular object, just as the selection of items is performed as single product through the cohering action of the bag, it also coheres the entire device, by cooperating with the sign and its placement apart from the rest of the display. Paying attention to customer and trader interactions with the materiality of these bags point helps to illuminate the importance of thinking with such mundane objects. Over time, customers subjected the capacities of the bags to contain and organise the selection within to rigorous testing. Bags were compared internally, with interrogative manipulation, and externally, as the contents of the bags was compared to the fresher produce held apart from them. Using this object as a focal point revealed how it functioned in relation to the rest of the stall to

constrain the agency of the customer to assemble their own packages and assess the quality of the goods for themselves. In the context of market trading, where trust is critical, and the sensory experience and interaction with produce is a defining characteristic, this existence of this device which limits these qualities in particular circumstances contributes to our understanding of their direct marketing practices and thus their economic functioning (Eden et al. 2008; Kirwan 2006). More significantly, attending to this device reveals the mutability of the product, and its nature as an always local achievement (Çalışkan and Callon 2009). This is partly addressed elsewhere in the sections dealing with the mundane ontological multiplicities of market trading but thinking about objects in this way demonstrates how market devices can be implicated in practices oriented towards logistics and the qualities of items, rather than oriented simply towards their sale.

Market Carts are crucial to the arrangement and organisation of the displays but are at a slight remove from them since they take part through the act of arranging rather than as an element of the finished arrangement. The market cart works as a portal, between the delivery truck, the stall and the waste disposal area. The flatbed of the cart, offering a mobile surface which can accommodate and support multiple stacks of crates, works to translate goods into the market and gathers the work of the traders around itself. It also offers a space for waste disposal. These actions mean that traders can enact the separations at the relevant stalls, in the short window they have to restock without the presence of customers. The cumbersome nature of carts keeps them somewhat apart from the finished display seen by the customer, and as such they are more directly involved in storage-oriented tasks around stalls. It took attention to these objects, their agencies, and their connection to the practices that perform the interacting ontologies evident at market stalls, to understand and recognise the wider separations and confluences of display and storage states seen at market stalls. This realisation through attention to the specific agency of the object in this case suggests that the empirical work done by Cochoy (2018) and others (Kelsey et al. 2018) on particular distinctive

objects associated with consumption needs to be extended to focus on the spaces and objects of logistics. The logistical realm, separated from the consumer, is often studied as part of political economy (Friedland 1994) but it also appears to prefigure the existence of these consumption spaces to some extent. As noted, the Market Cart is a response in object form to a problem of logistics in which there are many things to be moved in a short space of time, and waste to be disposed of. While the logistical extremes of the entities which organise other consumption sites and retail environments spaces are attended to widely in terms of political economy (Freidberg 2007; Freidberg 2009), this relationship is neglected in other account perhaps because of their ascendant economic and political power or the success and stability of the separations they perform (Cochoy 2007).

This mode of thinking through objects also leads to some unlikely comparisons and unexpected conclusions. The Kilner jar and other kinds of clear jars, allow storage and display versions of their contents to be enacted at the same time, within the context of the stalls where they are used. While counter-intuitive, an illustrative comparison can be drawn between the work that butchers do to preserve their stock, and the work of jars to achieve the same end. Jars work to store the object with an airtight seal, while displaying their contents through glass sides, and placement on high shelves. Butchers stalls have specialised equipment for preparing meat for storage, and storage work is spread between the dispersed freezers and fridges. This comparison draws attention to a difference about stalls, in order to illuminate a wider point. Dekeyser (2018) uses the notion of concretisation to describe advertising objects which are designed to affect and be affected by their surrounding environment. Concrete objects are usually complex, with multiple interacting elements and this seems similar to the butchers stalls, if these can be considered to be singular performed entities, produced through the interactions of this range of specialised equipment. The key difference between butchers stalls and other stalls lies in the fact that the display of storage practices is incidental to the design of the stall, rather than designed in (or complementary). This touches on

the constraints of market trading as discussed, but also reinforces the notion that the agency and effects of certain kinds of practices exceed and overflow the framing of the stall.

From these three objects, three points can be made relating to the agency of objects and their effects on the market more generally. The first point relates to the local manner in which the product is established and maintained. Callon (1998) treats the notion that prices are always established locally as a general statement about the nature of prices, but in this case coherent associations between product and price seem to be particularly unstable, limited to the space created between trader, customer, produce, stall, and the wider market. The second point relates to the dependence of the economic realm on the preconditions established by matters of logistics. Thanks to the separation often achieved between these two realms in other consumption sites, the connections between them would be easy to omit, but logistical matters closely shape what traders can do, and how they do it. The third and final point, is that display practices are not always planned or intended, or usefully complementary to storage. Despite their constraints that market stalls experience through spatial limitations, displays still exceed the frame of the stall. This presents an extension and alteration to the account of markets as less organised and haphazard presented by Watson (2008, p.1590) rather than a rejection. The attention paid to object agency acknowledges the heterogeneity of markets and the logistical issues they struggle with, even though many objects and practices are at work. These three findings represent a significant contribution to the third research question, and as noted throughout the first two empirical chapters, these findings often help to establish contributions to the first and second research questions. A depiction of the market stall emerges, as uniquely limited and unstable in its performance of economic matters.

Accommodation and Conviviality in the Market Hall; How is conviviality achieved in market spaces? What kind of accommodation is offered?

Market Halls are often considered to be different to the urban spaces that surround them on the grounds that they provide space for conviviality and forms of social interaction and care. The theoretical issues with this kind of framing are noted in the literature review but it has been possible to establish what kind of space they perform in empirical terms, in a way similar to recent work in urban geography which has made connections between conviviality in public spaces and care (Koch and Latham 2012). Affective contributions to the market, the mundane physical interactions within it and the physical structure of market stalls ultimately demonstrate the kind of ongoing accommodative work that creates conviviality in the marketplace, which is necessarily partial and limited. This departs from more conventional accounts of the social and community life of Market Halls, but valuable insights are generated about the nature of the accommodation and hospitality offered by these spaces.

By focusing on the practice of conviviality and hospitable relations in the market hall, a meaningful contribution is made to our understanding of these spaces but also the theoretical discourses surrounding market (Cochoy et al. 2016) and vehicular agencies (Calvignac and Cochoy, 2018). In empirical terms, the Market Hall in this instance is described as a difficult, awkward space at times, challenging depictions of the conviviality produced by 'rubbing along' (Watson, 2008. p.1581-1584). Instead conviviality comes from the work actively undertaken by traders and customers to accommodate others despite the difficulty. This develops upon arguments concerning difficulty in convivial places (Aptekar 2019; Wessendorf 2014) by indicating that conviviality and convivial

atmospheres may develop as a product of the negotiation of difficulty and difference. Attention to this difficulty leads towards the physical objects and features of market stalls, which often pose obstacles that require considerable physical effort on the part of customers and traders. Manipulating particularly awkward items of produce for example, requires physical abilities that some customers do not have access to, and the accommodation of their bodies and mobility aids reveals an interface between agencements. Many of the more easily-sentimentalised instances of traders helping with bags or adjusting the usual style of interaction to accommodate particular customers, demonstrates the point at which market agencements and vehicular agencements align in the Market Hall. The effort involved in achieving this alignment draws attention to the difficulty of the market format, while also highlighting a novel concept that could be explored within consumption geographies that has relevance for disability studies, economic geography and approaches to mobility and it is influenced by recent ethnographies of economic and urban life (Normark et al. 2017; Calvignac and Cochoy 2016). By addressing how accommodation is offered in physical terms, the second part of the research question noted above is addressed, but the overcoming of difficulty as generative of conviviality adds a new perspective on the production of conviviality.

Considering the affective contributions to the market is also crucial for two reasons. Firstly, these contributions seem to demonstrate an important asymmetry between customers and traders in that they both make contributions, but not to the same degree or even in the same directions. Energetic, yet difficult to understand and ephemeral contributions from customers are taken up haphazardly by traders who use them to interact with other traders, often with a degree of reserved appreciation. Significant contributions to the affective experience of the marketplace, are not wholeheartedly welcomed however, as there is often a level of reserve or ridicule involved. Secondly, the temporality of these contributions seems to be an important component of how traders and customers come to welcome the unexpected. Familiarity is built up through repetition, but it is the

unexpectedness and spontaneity of these contributions that lends an element of festivity, and an atmosphere of conviviality to this market space. This builds upon ideas around the connection between conviviality in affective terms (Koch and Latham 2012), and associated literatures on the value of urban spaces and encounter (Wilson 2017; Valentine 2008). The kind of asymmetrical, repetitive and yet unexpected practices discussed here do not contribute to or demonstrate the presence of accommodative work practices directly, but instead establish an affective presence that receives a limited welcome from traders. These connections advance attempts to establish the social value of these spaces (Watson and Studdert 2006; Bua et al. 2018) by demonstrating how difficult to understand and ephemeral interactions can contribute to the convivial affective atmosphere (Anderson, 2014. p.138-169) of a Market Hall. The reserve that appears to be inherent to the welcome that these contributions receive not only indicates typical Derridean tensions in hospitable relations (2000), but also demonstrates a critical asymmetry within convivial relations, in contrast to the work of Anderson (2011). This is a significant contribution to the research question stated above, as it contributes to the theoretical discussions on the constitution of conviviality, by providing focused empirical attention to these matters as they play out in Cardiff market, through the associated notion of accommodation and accommodative work.

The convivial atmosphere and accommodation offered by Cardiff Market run alongside market exchange, but these different aspects of market life demand different levels of effort at different times. Limits to conviviality and outright exclusions result from these tensions, which arguably defines the style of accommodation offered in this marketplace (Mol 2008). As noted previously, eccentric and unusual behavior can play a significant role in the convivial atmosphere present in market spaces. The accommodation of this kind of behavior takes work, and this work is often on an affective, interpersonal level, as much as it is also made possible by the arrangement of stalls. This work often contributes towards affective scaffolding for particular customers, which consists of adjustments and interventions in their behaviour (Colombetti and

Krueger, 2015). This develops upon the spaces of licence concept (Parr, 2000. p.231-232), which describes how particular forms of generally stigmatised behaviour may be tolerated in certain settings while other forms may still be excluded. In particular, it provides a way to describe in more detail how customers may make use of the accommodation made available to them to create niches for themselves over time. It also provides a way to remain focused on the work involved in maintaining accommodating spaces, invoking the literature on maintenance and care discussed by Mattern (2018), while dealing with primarily affective and interpersonal methods. This contributes towards the fourth research question by connecting notions of maintenance and repair to the logics of accommodation, providing an affective counterpart to a consideration of the difficult and careful physical work necessary to sustain and manage hospitable spaces in urban areas.

Overall Contributions

The main aim of this thesis has been to explore the meeting point between geographies of consumption and anthropologies of markets. By selecting an unconventional, yet well-established and mundane retail site which has been relatively neglected in conceptual and empirical terms within geography, it has been possible to address some of the shortcomings of both fields, by finding points of interaction between them. In doing so, a number of questions have been addressed in ways which are relevant to those working with Market Halls and the traders that work within them.

One such concept is the notion of deliberative space, an extension of the concepts developed by Cochoy (2008) to describe and differentiate between the forms of decision-making activity that emerge in consumption spaces. This concept demonstrates the usefulness of the original concepts while extending this utility. The notion of deliberative space does this as it provides a similar

attentiveness to the collective nature of decision-making, in a form less attached to the assumptions and conceptual frameworks of marketers and those researching marketing. As a result this concept is more likely to be inclusive of failures, non-decisions, and external concerns. Another aspect of this interface can be accessed by engaging with the ontological choreographies that underpin the performance of economic action. Through this engagement, the Market Hall can be depicted as a fractured place of indeterminacy and economic uncertainty, in which 'plastic' stalls find ways to accommodate and work around change, obstruction and different needs. This account demonstrates what produces the spaces of consumption that the customer engages with and contributes to, providing an alternative to consumption geographies focused on the figure of the individual consumer or the structuring of retail spaces.

By depicting the Market Hall as a space where specific forms of accommodation are offered and conviviality is produced, the performance of economic matters becomes unexpectedly relevant. If the aspects of constraint included in this account are closely associated with the material features and organisation of the market, then it seems that these are critical for understanding how the market accommodates difference and produces conviviality alongside its economic life. This poses interesting empirical questions for those investigating the functioning of alternative (Amin, Cameron, and Hudson 2003) and marginal economies (Tsing 2015). This account has shown that by tracing human and non-human actants through the Market Hall, an ANT-influenced methodology can address some of the economic and social concerns associated with them. By reframing, rather than challenging previous attempts to conceptualise the activity inside market halls, this account provides an account of a Market Hall which includes attention to the structuring influence of the material and affective world without nostalgia or over-simplification while retaining a clear sense of their limitations and exclusions.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Future Directions

The main aim of this thesis has been to produce an empirical account of a Market Hall which is grounded in an analysis of the interactions which take place inside them. This aim was derived in opposition to a general instrumentalism towards markets and led to the development of a conceptual approach which aimed to follow interactions through the Market Hall as an empirical starting point. Much of the literature concerning Market Halls draws on particular branches of sociological theory or bodies of policy literature (see: Watson and Wells 2005; Rhys-Taylor 2013; Machell and Caraher 2012) which focus on particular goals or aspects of market trading. This focus on particular topics and areas of policy interest has had the effect of drawing attention away from the activity inside, which ultimately constitutes and produces the Market Hall (Smith et al. 2014). This constitutive activity must include exchange and transactions as part of economic activity, as much it includes non-economic social interactions. Contributions and findings related to research questions one and two are explored together. This is because these research questions are focussed on the marketing practices of traders and how these contribute towards the performance of the Market Hall as an economic space and as such, findings very often apply to both questions. Insights applicable to the third research question are then explored. This third question is concerned with the agency of particular objects and materials in the market. As such material from throughout the thesis is relevant to this question, but following particular objects also leads back to the previous research questions concerning the performance of the market as an economic space. The fourth research question deals with what runs alongside market exchange and economic interactions in the market and is focussed on particular forms of accommodation and conviviality.

Following these sections, the wider contributions of this thesis are discussed, and recommendations for future research directions are considered.

Core Findings

From observing and describing the arrangement and organisation of Market stalls, two novel concepts were developed, which help to capture the marketing practices of traders and go some way to addressing the first two research questions. These are Sensory Ordering and Deliberative Spaces. Sensory Ordering refers to a number of devices, or locally specific methods involving the work of materials and produce, that shape how produce comes to be performed as economic. The devices are constructed from juxtapositions of contrasting colours, waste materials from the stall, or sacrificial fruits or vegetables, and they work to highlight or downplay particular qualities in the process. These devices often work with temporally-displaced qualities or they work to maintain collective arrangements and qualifications of produce. Accountability is also often managed by these devices, since qualities with negative associations create risk for traders. Sensory ordering as a concept emerges from the theorisation of sensory work discussed by Waskul and Vannini (2008) but it is developed further with the conceptual toolbox offered by Muniesa et al. (2007) in Chapter 4. Insights on indexicality provided by Cochoy et al. (2018) are additionally critical to the development of the sensory ordering concept. This concept is especially useful as a novel conceptualisation of direct marketing (Kirwan 2006; Eden et al. 2008) because it provides a way to describe and group together the economic logics underpinning the arrangement of market stalls, rather than being limited to the particular sensory-aesthetic methods of individual stalls.

The second concept which describes the management of interactions between customer and trader is deliberative space. This describes another aspect of marketing in Market Halls which is linked to the arrangement of produce and

products, but also concerns the interactions between trader and customer. The arrangement of the stall structures this interpersonal interaction and often supplants it, but this is not always successful or desirable. Deliberative space accounts for these instances where direct interactions between the customer and the trader become significant. Deliberative space refers to the space or field created between the customer, trader and stall, in which decisions to purchase can be made. It provides an alternative to calculation, as coined by Cochoy (2008). In other words, it provides another way to think about calculation conducted across collectives. The collectives described in Market Halls (p.105-112) often seem more complex than the examples provided by Cochoy (2008). This is because traders so often become directly involved in the decision-making processes of their customers. This kind of intervention happens when sensory ordering fails, or when there is not enough information for customers to understand and qualify produce. Deliberative space as a concept moves the attention from the process of decision-making to the space in which the process takes place, and the effects of this space on the process. The space referred to spaces can be thought of as spatially multiple, in that they display Euclidean and relational geometries (Law 2002). Additionally the notion of a space carries with it no inherent end point or outcome, making the concept more inclusive of the notion of performative failure as discussed by Pahk (2017) and Butler (2010). This inclusion of the possibility of the performative failure makes the deliberative space concept relevant for other sites of consumption, especially where interest in these sites lies in the disciplinary gap between geographies of consumption and anthropologies of markets.

In this thesis, following the agencies of a few key objects has been highly insightful for understanding the performance of the Market Hall as an economic space. The focus of the third research question is on the agencies of objects and materials (p.59) but attending to objects in this way has also provided insight into the previous research questions. The carts used in the market to overcome particular logistical bottlenecks were particularly interesting objects on this basis, but their opportunistic ability to market produce led to a rethinking

of the spatiality of the market environment. If items could be performed as economic objects, marketed to the passing customer simply because of a position on the cart, the relationship between economic and logistical realms or states becomes unclear. The distinctions between the enacted states of storage and display appear to be extremely fine, and where overlaps or separations between these states exist, specialised objects or stall arrangements facilitate and maintain these performances. It became clear that the versions of objects performed were closely linked to the constraints and limitations of the market environment and the resources that market traders have access to. When the separations and integrations are considered in the context of the heterogeneity of the market environment, Market Halls appear to be highly fragmented spaces. From within this fragmented space, long-standing and complex businesses with highly specialised equipment operate, demonstrating a particularly plastic economic form. The notion of plasticity speaks as much to the current potential for change and flexibility as it does to the already present adaptations and work-arounds inherent to market life. It was necessary to repurpose aspects of ontological politics to comprehend the logistical choreographies which organise economic performances in the Market Hall (Mol 1999; Law and Lien 2012). This attention to ontological choreographies made it possible to identify analogues of the day/night stages seen in supermarkets (Cochoy, 2007) where they are present in the Market Hall. The intersection of ontological politics and micro-geographical approaches to consumption and retail explored here also demonstrate a new way to approach the interactions between marketing and logistical practices.

Alongside these economic and logistical performances run performances of conviviality and accommodation. The fourth and final research question is solely concerned with how conviviality takes place in the market and what kinds of accommodation are offered. Despite the constraint and difficulty inherent to participating in the market, traders often attempt to accommodate customers with different needs who would otherwise find the awkward and crowded environment inhospitable. This accommodation includes adjustments to the

layout of the stall and the purchase process for customers with physical disabilities. It also includes a kind of limited tolerance for and engagement with regular and eccentric practices conducted by customers. These practices and the response to them contribute significantly to the convivial atmosphere present in the Market Hall, demonstrating the affective presence of convivial relations borne out of asymmetrical relations. More extensive accommodative work is also done by traders to incorporate particular regular customers into the affective space of particular stalls while attempting to also minimise their disruptive influence on the affective atmosphere. Outright exclusions are also made, which demonstrate limits to the hospitality of the market and the accommodative work that is possible. The concept of affective scaffolding, as outlined by Colombetti and Krueger (2015), offers a productive way to describe of these forms of accommodative work. As an extension to the spaces of licence concept developed by Parr (2000), the notion of scaffolding can provide a depiction of these caring practices as at once supportive and corrective, yet limited in what they offer. The concept also recognises the agency of particular customers and market users in shaping affective niches for themselves. This approach to conviviality offers an alternative to previous approaches to conviviality in Market Halls and similar spaces (Anderson, 2011), by working with a different conceptual framework (Anderson, 2014), and by focussing on more difficult, challenging, and ephemeral interactions involved in conviviality and accommodation. While accommodation and conviviality move alongside market exchange in the Market Hall, this is not always without friction, and this approach offers tools for understanding this conflict in the context of portraying Market Halls as complex, constrained places.

Wider Contributions

To understand the wider theoretical developments achieved in this thesis, it is necessary to consider the relation of some of the ideas expressed in the previous section to performativity. The notion of constraint is particularly linked

to performativity, and it emerges through each of the empirical chapters. Constraint appears to structure various performances, bringing various aspects of market trading to light which are not generally acknowledged or discussed. The difficulties and tensions surrounding accommodation noted in Chapter 6 for example, raise the question of the difficulties inherent in maintaining hospitable and convivial atmospheres in the market. Constraint in this situation is not an attempt to identify problems to be overcome necessarily, although this is an understandable response. It is instead meant to be a clarification or an exploration of what is possible in the Market Hall in each particular situation, based on its physical structure and internal and external regulations. It demonstrates an engagement with conditions of possibility in this particular setting by accessing the performances underpinning different realities or versions of the Market Hall, and these performances may align, be connected or exist in tension (Mol, 1999).

Returning to the distinction made between illocutionary and perlocutionary performativity (Butler, 2010. p.147), it is possible to conceive of the latter form as similar to the 'conditions of felicity' discussed elsewhere (Cochoy, p.136). This form of performativity expresses a positive variation on the notion of constraint in that it articulates what is necessary for certain things to happen, or to continue happening. Constraint appears to describe performative action negatively, which allows instability to be addressed more directly. As a negative variation on felicity conditions, the notion of constraint addresses obstacles to possible performances and destabilizing factors, rather than the conditions that make them stable. Exploring performative failure may be critical for exploring moments of change in previously stable situations (Pahk, 2017), but the notion of constraint explored throughout this thesis represents a significant attempt to engage with the way in which performances may be kept the same and how change may be obstructed. Market Halls and the stalls that constitute them have been remarkably stable and discussing their constraints offers insight into this stability, but it also indicates where the limits and potential for future change lies. Crucially, this allows questions to be posed concerning the possible

choices, options and futures available to Market Halls, inevitably drawing attention to the particular constraints that may prevent these. It also raises the issue of the decision-maker between these different options, and how they may be configured and enacted in each situation (Mol, 1999. p.86-87).

Future Directions

Producing insight into the specific character of Market Hall transactions, the difficulty of accommodative work at market stalls, and the interactions between logistic and economic performances throughout these spaces required a micro-level focus. At times this required the use of video recording and photography alongside traditional ethnographic practice, as repeat viewing aided the analysis of particular situations. This was necessary in order to properly address the intervention of materiality in these interactions, since this can so often be supremely mundane (McFall, 2009) and easily discounted or omitted. The account provided therefore provides a starting point for future engagements with Market Halls by providing a detailed account of how market stalls operate in material terms. The marketing strategies of traders and customer understandings of these strategies could be explored through forms of group interviewing, for example. Customer mobility and the management of vehicular agencies could also be further explored with more concerted forms of shadowing or go-alongs (Kusenbach 2003). The deliberative space concept in particular also requires greater exploration in order to establish its value for understanding direct marketing in different contexts and to understand if it can be applied to other forms of marketing, or even non-market decision-making settings. It is also conceivable that participatory methodologies in research relating to markets could focus on drawing out the tensions and constraints established throughout this thesis. This focus would be particularly appropriate for exploring in more detail the range of possibilities available to Market Halls in the future, with respect to preserving and enhancing their social value (Bua et al. 2018).

Based on the empirical material presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6, diverse links across several disciplines seem to exist outside of the connections and contributions highlighted throughout this thesis. A number of these appear to provide fertile ground for new questions to emerge. The empirical material concerning accommodation and conviviality in particular leads towards a consideration of the maintaining and reparative work that goes into supporting the affective life of a space. The practices which sustain the sensory ordering structures of market stall displays also clearly connect to notions of maintenance and repair as a deeply bodily and sensory practice (Dant, 2010). Both of these threads demonstrate natural connections to the growing literatures and interest in practices of maintenance and repair (Mattern 2018; Hall and Smith 2015; Graziano and Trogal 2017). Much of this literature is concerned with the speculative practices involved in living with a deeply damaged and conflicted world (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017). Exploring the conditions of constraint which market stalls exist within therefore seems to position Market Halls appropriately within such a world, as fundamentally limited, but still providing forms of accommodation and exchange that are lacking from surrounding urban areas and consumption spaces. The disinvestment and physical decline that Traditional Retail Markets have experienced, (Gonzales and Waley, 2013) in particular contrasts with the continued vibrancy and limited accommodation they offer, which supports the affective right of diverse others to exist in increasingly inhospitable cities (Duff, 2017). This continuation is undoubtedly partially due to the campaigning efforts of those involved in articulating the importance of Market Halls for local economies and communities (Bua et al, 2018), but it also creates urgent connections with other academic work on the generative capacities of public spaces (Rishbeth and Rogaly 2018; Koch and Latham 2012), while reminding us of the limits of such spaces. This thesis offers a detailed understanding of the operation of market stalls in material, practical and affective terms, and creates space for future questions surrounding the work of maintaining such spaces.

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Appendix 1: Ethical Approval Form

Cardiff School of Planning and Geography

SUBMISSION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL FORMS

Staff and MPhil/PhD Projects

**ALL FORMS FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL MUST BE
SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SCHOOL
ETHICS COMMITTEE IN GOOD TIME (PREFERABLY 2
WEEKS) BEFORE THE NEXT SCHEDULED SREC
MEETING**

*An electronic version must to emailed to **Ruth Leo**, Secretary of
Ethics Committee LeoR@cardiff.ac.uk / Tel Ext: 74601/ Room 2.54
Glamorgan Building as a work attachment, bearing relevant staff
and/or PGR Student signatures.*

Title of Project:

Managing change in Markets and Market Halls in South Wales: The everyday work of Market-ing.

Name of researcher(s):

Jack Pickering

Date: 4/09/17

researcher:

Signature of lead

Jack Pickering

↑

) **Student project** *(delete as appropriate)*

Anticipated Start Date of Fieldwork:

September/October 2017

Recruitment Procedures:		Yes	No	N/A
1	Does your project include children under 16 years of age?		X	
2	Have you read the Child Protection Procedures below?		x	

3	Does your project include people with learning or communication difficulties?		X	
4	Does your project include people in custody?		X	
5	Is your project likely to include people involved in illegal activities?		X	
6	Does your project involve people belonging to a vulnerable group, other than those listed above?		X	
7	Does your project include people who are, or are likely to become your clients or clients of the department in which you work?		X	
8	Does your project include people for whom English / Welsh is not their first language?		X	

*** Cardiff**

University's Child Protection Procedures:

<http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/govrn/cocom/resources/2010%20November%20Safeguarding%20Children%20&%20VA's.doc>

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above questions please outline (in an attached ethics statement) how you intend to deal with the ethical issues involved

Data Protection:		Yes	No	N/A
9	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	X		
10	Will you obtain written consent for participation? If "No" please explain how you will be getting informed consent.		x	
11	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	x		

12	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reasons?	x		
13	Will you give potential participants a significant period of time to consider participation?	x		

If you have answered 'no' to any of these questions please explain (in your ethics statement) the reasons for your decision and how you intend to deal with any ethical decisions involved

Possible Harm to Participants:		Yes	No	N/A
14	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?		x	
15	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing a detriment to their interests as a result of participation?	x		

Research Governance:		Yes	No	N/A
16	Does your study include the use of a drug? You will need to contact Research Governance before submission (resgov@cf.ac.uk)		x	
17	Does the study involve the collection or use of human tissue? You will need to contact the Human Tissue Act team before submission (hta@cf.ac.uk)		x	

If there are any risks to the participants you must explain in your ethics statement how you intend to minimise these risks

Data Protection:		Yes	No	N/A
18	Will any non-anonymised and/or personalised data be generated and/or stored?	x		
19	Will you have access to documents containing sensitive ⁴⁵ data about living individuals?		x	
	If "Yes" will you gain the consent of the individuals concerned?			

Data protection Act Guidelines

<http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/research/researchethics/>

If there are any other potential ethical issues that you think the Committee should consider please explain them in an ethics statement. It is your obligation to bring to the attention of the Committee any ethical issues not covered on this form.

<u>Health and Safety:</u>	Yes
Does the research meet the requirements of the University's Health & Safety policies?	x

<p>http://www.cf.ac.uk/osheu/index.html</p> <p>Does the study involve the collection or use of human tissue (including, but not limited to, blood, saliva and bodily waste fluids)?</p> <p>If yes, a copy of the submitted application form and any supporting documentation must be emailed to the Human Tissue Act Compliance Team (HTA@cf.ac.uk). A decision will only be made once these documents have been received.</p>	
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Please provide following information for the committee:

<p>Funding Source</p> <p>ESRC</p>
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<p>What are the main objectives of this research?</p> <p>The core objective of this project is to understand through description, in socio-material terms how marketing works in traditional market halls, in order to better conceptualize the day to day operation of market-stalls within the halls they form part of and constitute. The purpose of this to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To contribute theoretically to the body of work concerned with the performance and materiality of markets and marketplaces/consumption sites. 2. To contribute empirically to work attempting to understand marginalised sites of economic activity through a focus on food.
--

3. To contribute towards research efforts by trade bodies which aim to assist 'traditional' markets by providing relevant and original information and knowledge concerning the state and nature of the retail market sector in a thus far neglected geographical region of the UK.

These aims break down to four subsidiary objectives or research questions (framed differently):

- 1. To understand and describe the socio-material arrangements at work in Market Halls, the focal site of this project.**
- 2. To understand the effects of these arrangements.**
- 3. To offer some explanation/description of how traders come to understand/produce knowledge about their customers and competitors, and act on this knowledge.**
- 4. To describe how products and product lines at market stalls come to be qualified in response to the various concerns of traders and customers**

Who are the research participants?

The research participants are market traders, market authorities/operators, and the public (on the basis to their interaction with traders) at sites across South Wales and the South West of England.

What methodologies will you be using?

I will be using predominantly observational methodologies, more precisely Actor- Network Theory influenced ethnography, in particular the technique of shadowing as discussed by Czarniawska (within organization studies). This will include the use of photographic and potentially video analysis. Introductory interviews will also be used to gain an initial understanding of the businesses to be studied.

Ethics Statement

If your answers to questions 1-19 raise any ethical issues, please explain here how you will deal with them.

10.

Written consent when conducting an ethnography has been documented to be problematic in certain situations, and given that this ethnography will involve close cooperation and involvement in day-to-day activities, I plan to make discussion of anonymity and consent in the research process key to the initial engagement with the participants. I will obtain verbal consent and record this at the start of the initial interviews with participants/traders.

11.

I have selected yes here because of the role of the public in this research project. The public do not feature as direct participants in this project, as it is not their decisions and actions which are the main target of the observations, and it is generally not considered necessary or practical to ask each member of the public for consent in the course of conducting ethnographic or photographic research. However, these interactions will still be recorded as they may be of interest.

15.

There is a risk from this research that participating traders in the same market would be able, as a result of this research to gain competitive advantages over one another based on information gathered by myself. I am highly aware of these issues and will be consciously aware of this in my practice at these sites. One possible solution would be to publish the research as two separate versions, public and academic, with differing standards of anonymization and detail. It is hoped that after several weeks/months of exposure to my presence in the market, some degree of integration with the social milieu, and the need of traders to carry on their day to day business, that these issues will be minimised. I am also aware that my presence alone in the research site may influence interactions in the market to the detriment to the interests of the traders. As such it will be necessary for me to be flexible with the specific arrangement reached between myself and traders in order to minimise the impact of my presence.

18.

In the process of writing ethnographic fieldnotes, personalised data will inevitably be collected. As noted previously, this may be sensitive given the competition existing between traders, and as such will be monitored/managed closely. Electronic transcripts of introductory interviews, copies of fieldnotes, and photographs, will be stored in encrypted folders. It would also be possible to use pseudonyms at the point of data collection to avoid risks from the data being misused or taken. This would also add to the response to question 15 given above, as it would make drawing information about business practices and competition from the fieldnotes notes more difficult to identify without prior knowledge.

Any changes to the nature of the project that result in the project being significantly different to that originally approved by the committee must be communicated to the Ethics Committee immediately.

