UNIVERSITY OF FORWARD THINKING WESTMINSTER#

Spatial characteristics that create & sustain functional encounters: a new three-layered model for unpacking how street markets support urbanity

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SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS THAT CREATE & SUSTAIN FUNCTIONAL ENCOUNTERS

A NEW THREE-LAYERED MODEL FOR UNPACKING HOW

STREET MARKETS SUPPORT URBANITY

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the role of street markets in supporting urbanity as defined by Sennett (1974) to mean the ability for people to 'act together without the compulsion to be the same'. The study draws together and builds on three strands of literature – public space, difference and social encounters – to propose a new model of urbanity that provides a conceptual link between the physical characteristics of space, its ability to support differences, and the encounters that take place within it. Previous writings on urbanity have explored a variety of urban spaces but this study is the first to focus on street markets. Using qualitative semi-structured interviews, informal participant observations and a quantitative structured survey, the study explores the attitudes of market traders and customers towards difference and diversity within two 'ordinary' case-study London street markets in ethnically diverse and comparatively deprived urban areas.

The core finding is that there are seven characteristics of street markets, presented over a three-layered model, that make them highly effective in creating and sustaining functional encounters that support urbanity. Layer I consists of three spatial characteristics – (1) micro-borders, (2) precarity and (3) proximity – that generate moments of mutual solidarity through functional encounters based on cooperation and trust. Layer II identifies two characteristics of functional encounters – (4) adaptable content and (5) familiar form – that seed 'sociabililties of emplacement' through mundane rituals of civility that can satisfy both established residents and newcomers. Layer III extends the conventional definition of functional encounters to include sustaining contact between people: this generates two types of conviviality – (6) 'inconsequential' and (7) consequential intimacy – supporting deeper-rooted sociabilities of emplacement that are more resistant to challenge. There are additional findings for conflict and competition that cut across the above and are presented separately.

The seven characteristics found in the study combine to replace third-hand stereotypes of what someone will be like based on appearances alone with first-hand knowledge of what someone is like based on shared experience. The compulsion to be the same is thus reduced and urbanity is supported.

Preface

I consider myself fortunate enough to have grown up and now continue to live in Camden Town, one of the most diverse areas of London that in turn is one of the most diverse cities in the world. I am no stranger to being around difference and diversity. Yet, it was not until I started working at Camden Lock Market about fifteen years ago that I realised just how little I interacted with people who were different from me. Working in the market brought me into active regular daily contact with a much more diverse array of people. These people did not become close friends, but the experiences I shared with them left an indelible mark – they are why I chose to embark on this doctoral research study.

The primary aim of the research was to investigate whether the experiences I had witnessed first-hand at Camden Lock – encapsulated by a high frequency and diversity of social interactions among people looking and sounding very different from each other – would also be found in other types of markets. In other words, was Camden Lock Market unique, or was this social phenomenon a universal trait among London's street markets.

Camden Lock is certainly not a typical London street market. It attracts over 27 million visitors a year and is known worldwide for its music and fashion heritage. Its sense of diversity is heightened not only by the array of different nationalities represented – with more than one hundred languages spoken just among the attending market traders – but also by the large number of niche cultural and religious factions – the mods, goths, cyber punks, new romantics, hippies, metal heads; the Sikhs, Jews, Christians, Atheists, Muslims, Rastafarians and so on, many of whom wear the symbols of their cultures with pride through the adornments of music, clothing, hairstyles, tattoos and piercings.

The vast majority of street markets in London sit at the opposite end of this spectrum. These are 'ordinary' day-to-day markets run by their respective local authorities. They are mostly located in poorer neighbourhoods, supplying local residents with daily produce and household goods. Many of these residents will visit their local street

market at least once a week, whereas at Camden Lock Market, many will visit only once in their lifetimes.

Despite having very different attributes along the street market spectrum, Camden Lock Market shares fundamental similarities with its council-run cousins. Both would be recognisable in the definition of street markets first introduced at the beginning of section 3.2.1 as a collective of constituent parts that include:

> …vendors or merchants who meet regularly at the same location; a sponsoring entity that holds legal and financial responsibility and that oversees operations; and, in some cases the structures or facilities in which the market activity is housed. (Spitzer & Baum, 1995, p. 2)

However, whilst London's privately-run markets are thriving, many 'ordinary' local authority-run markets have lacked investment and been in decline for some time. These markets have been under siege on multiple fronts that include changing consumer habits and increased competition from discount retailers. But one of their greatest threats, as section 1.1.2 will show, emanates from the legislation that governs them, and in many cases, the attitude of the local authorities running them.

These attitudes are, I believe, symptomatic of a 'corrosive dualism' that Sennett (1990, p. 18) identified first in the emerging spaces of medieval cities, and have appeared repeatedly in different forms through the ages. Sennett's concept of corrosive dualism encapsulates contrasting perceptions of desirable space – clean and efficient – and undesirable space – twisted and inefficient. Certainly, street markets are often viewed by local authorities as outdated, and can be intensive and costly to operate. Market traders are also often viewed with suspicion, and the sites they occupy as potential sites for tax evasion, money laundering, illegal immigrant workers, counterfeit goods, and many other types of undesirable behaviour.

That said, attitudes vary widely. At earlier periods (as will be shown in section 1.1.1) local street markets had an important and valued role in feeding the nation. With the loss of this role, local authorities have treated their street markets variously as, a) cash

cows milked to supplement funding for other departments, b) unnecessary luxuries, taking away funding from other more worthy causes, c) an outdated form of retail that is difficult to control and that supports an undesirable informal economy, d) a barrier to regeneration in a spiralling London property market, and a blot on a more modern, idealised urban fabric, within which street markets do not fit.

These attitudes have been compounded in the last few years by an even greater strain on local authorities through a series of enforced and high-profile budget cuts. In addition, many of the greatest contributions street markets can make to the urban fabric are difficult to identify, quantify and measure. Being thus, they are difficult for politicians to talk about, and therefore all too easily dismissed for more robust metrics, such as employment. Even here, street markets lose out, as although they can have very high employment density metrics, being a market trader is still regarded by many in positions of authority not to be a 'proper job'.

Despite this rather depressing scene, London still has a strong market culture, with, depending which figures one chooses to believe, somewhere between 70 and 180 'retail' markets spread across its 32 boroughs. Given the right investment and support, there is no reason why London cannot follow the examples of New York and Barcelona, for example, in revisiting their markets as essential public spaces within the hierarchy of a modern city. But in order to do so, we need to decide whether they are worthy of such time and investment. There is a tacit acknowledgement among today's policy-makers that street markets are important for a range of socioeconomic reasons, but no real understanding as to *how* important, and certainly no comprehension as to *why*. My hope is that the work described in this thesis will help to inform the *how* and the *why* of street markets and thus contribute to their revival as an essential component of contemporary city life, revealing the extraordinary way that 'ordinary' street markets can support urbanity.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Nick Bailey and Judith Allen, who have supported and guided me throughout my PhD with their knowledge, advice and encouragement. Without both their initial and continued strong support, this thesis would not have been written.

This work would also not have been possible without the people I met at the two street markets in this study. I want to express my gratitude to the market traders and others, especially those who gave freely of their time and talked candidly about their views and experiences, including the market manager at West Market.

I also thank FSP Retail for their support and advice on collecting the quantitative data at both street markets.

Finally, I thank my family for supporting and encouraging me throughout my studies.

Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work. No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree qualification of this university or any other institutions.

Initial findings from the data collected for this thesis were presented by invitation at the *International Public Markets* conference in Barcelona, March 2015.

1.   Introduction

This research investigates the relationship between street markets and urbanity. The introductory chapter is divided into two sections. 1.1 introduces the phenomenon of street markets by charting their history from ancient times to the current day, including noting the rise of other forms of retail, such as the department store and supermarket. The latter stages of this history of markets focuses on London, where both case study street markets are located. 1.2 establishes the need for more research, before setting out the research focus and research hypothesis. The chapter closes by detailing the structure for the remainder of this dissertation.

1.1.   A brief history of street markets and the rise of new forms of retail

Street markets have been ever-present throughout our history (McMillan, 2002, p. 4). Their origins can be traced back seven thousand years to the Sumerian age of the Fertile Crescent (Koolhaas, 2001, p. 30; Weiss & Westermann, 1994). These early markets, together with the infrastructures that grew to support them, were fundamental in forging new ideas and innovations that helped form the foundations of civilisation itself. The oldest archaeological evidence for written language, mathematics and money, for example, have all emerged from activities directly associated with historic market sites (Weiss & Westermann, 1994, p. 25; Mumford, 1961, p. 71).   Furthermore, the trade routes that linked these markets were often the first point of contact between different cultures, and thus determined the flow and spread of new ideas and philosophies throughout much of the ancient world (Frankopan, 2015, p. 2).

These early street markets soon expanded over time to meet the demands of the world's emerging cities (Mumford, 1961, p. 255). With few alternatives to buying daily produce, street markets became natural meeting places, providing a focal point for both the social and economic lives of their inhabitants (Felton, 1998, p. 174).

London's street markets would continue to play a leading role in shaping the economic and social lives of their citizens up to the end of the Victorian age (Schmiechen & Karls, 1999, p. x). Considering their important historic role, it is perhaps surprising that so little has been written about them (Smith, 2002, p. 31). This is the case both historically, except for a handful of sources, but even more so in terms of contemporary debates about the place of street markets within the hierarchy of public spaces and amenities that make up contemporary modern cities. This is certainly true of London, the city on which this research is focused.

1.1.1.   From ancient times to the nineteenth century

Street markets were founding institutions of our cities and towns (Mumford, 1961, p. 72). As dynamic centres of commerce, they stimulated economic growth and entrepreneurship. But these early markets were as much about sociability and the exchange of ideas as they were about commerce, their regularity making them a natural focus for the social life of a city (Braudel, 1979, p. 30).

Echoing this social function, the agora, which literally translated means 'the gathering place' was the focal point of both political and communal life in the Greek city state with a market at its centre (Thompson, 1954, p. 9). It was the Romans who introduced a comprehensive system of markets, which they called forums, and public squares to Europe (Myres, 1943, p. 15). In Britain, the Anglo-Saxon kings consolidated their authority through standardising proper conduct in trade and granting rights to hold markets. These would have been considerable privileges at the time (Watson, 2009, p. 1577). In many cases, the presence of these markets determined the very shape and development of the cities they inhabited, and by the Middle Ages, markets dominated European metropolises (Rubin, et al., 2006, p. 5). This market culture was so ubiquitous by the eleventh century that every 'open and closed cranny of space' outside the church was effectively – whether officially designated so or not – a marketplace (Sennett, 1990, p. 16).

The first market hall did not appear in the UK until circa 1829 at about the same time the distinction between wholesale and retail markets started to become more

commonplace (Smith, 2002, p. 41). By the end of the nineteenth-century – London apart, where the culture of open street markets endured – they were commonplace in Britain's urban centres, often acting as the centrepiece for late Victorian urban renewal. This market-driven renewal would maintain the public market at the heart of the city's commercial and social life up until the end of the nineteenth-century (Schmiechen & Karls, 1999, p. x). But things were about to change.

By the beginning of the twentieth-century, the dominance of street markets in cities was already in decline and shops were now the mainstay of the retail system (Horn, 2006, p. 17). The industrial revolution not only transformed independent workshops into factories, it also transformed small shops into 'magnificent department stores', that were 'factories' of consumption, characterised by an 'anaesthetisation' of the selling process. Shopping had become a leisure pursuit (Nixon, 1996, p. 62).

> The period was one of increased buying and selling generally, and more particularly an increase in the quantity and quality of shops. The expansion of these new stores was frequently driven by entrepreneurs, who generated previously unimaginable ways to stock them with new goods, new ways of displaying goods – plate-glass windows, gas lighting – and new ways of selling goods – money-back guarantees, advertising, discounts. (Flanders, 2006, pp. xv-xvi)

These shops not only provided a more secure food supply – previously the preserve of street markets – but they also provided greater variety. Furthermore, this explosion of small shops was fuelled by the mass purchasing power of 'lesser folk' rather than by a small handful of the fashionable elite. This 'permanent revolution' in shopping habits came to fruition in the Victorian era, but had its roots in the eighteenth century and the new technologies of the industrial revolution (Flanders, 2006, p. 42), which sparked 'a 'consumer revolution' in the unprecedented marketing and consumption of 'decencies' and 'luxuries' (Smith, 2002, p. 31). Alongside these new technologies was a growing aversion to architectural historicism. This was an age where 'expectations and attitudes were shifting, and the world was in the grip of a massive drive to modernise'

(RIBA, n.d.). The mark of modernity was the belief that we can re-make ourselves, as opposed to living out the roles of a traditional society. To break with the past, as Le Corbusier believed, was to take control of oneself (Sennett, 1990, p. 184).

As a result, many historic market halls became neglected, run down and were eventually destroyed (Watson, 2009, p. 1157), cleared to make way for more modern interpretations of what a city centre should be (Schmiechen & Karls, 1999, p. x). Central to this new vision was the supermarket. Originating from America in 1916 through the launch of the first self-service shop called Piggly Wiggly (Simms, 2007, p. 51), similar self-service stores would not arrive in Britain for another three decades, with as few as ten registered in 1947. But their rise was rapid. Three years later in 1950 there were an estimated five hundred supermarkets. By 1960 the number had risen to six thousand three hundred, and by the end of that decade, more than twenty-eight thousand supermarkets were in operation (Alexander, et al., 2009, p. 536); the age of the street market appeared to be coming to an end.

But towards the end of the twentieth-century a number of new markets had begun springing up in London, and ailing historic markets – Spitalfields, Greenwich, Borough and Brick Lane – began to experience a resurgence in popularity. Over the same period, a similar pattern was occurring in cities in other parts of the globe. In Barcelona in the 1970s, for example, the city government decided 'at the flip of a coin' to invest significantly in its public markets which were 'on their knees' at the time[1]. In New York over the same decade, Union Square, once considered a no-go area and known to locals as the 'drug infested needle park', was slowly being transformed by the presence of a regular farmers' market. This would be the first of New York City's 'Greenmarkets', which now include over eighty-five regular markets across the city, many in areas too poor to sustain regular shops (Greenmarkets, n.d.).

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[1] These comments were made during a meeting between the researcher and the Barcelona City markets department in April 2014. 'Flip of a coin' indicated that there was no real rationale for deciding to invest in their markets, and that the decision to do so was 50:50. It is an interesting comment because today Barcelona is considered one the world's leading market cities, and the presumption by many who do not know the history, is that this has always been the case.

Today, Barcelona is considered one of the most successful market cities in the world, and was host in 2015 to the first ever *International Public Markets Conference* to be held outside of North America. Access to a good local market is now considered by the city government to be of equal importance to its citizens as access to libraries, schools and hospitals. In New York, Union Square is now regarded as one of its most desirable business locations, with the market recognised as the catalyst to this transformation (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, p. 213).

This ability for markets to transform run-down neighbourhoods had not gone unnoticed by a handful of urban practitioners, particularly in the United States, who began referencing their ability to create the kind of vibrant street activity they considered absent from the emerging legacy of post-World War 2 modernist public spaces: 'markets activate every place they occur', say Gratz & Mintz (1998, p. 211). 'They provide a generic road map to the regeneration of downtowns and reactivation of public places. Markets are the antithesis of Project Plans'. But whilst there have been undoubted examples of street market-led successful regeneration, in London at least, the overall picture, although highly complex (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 12), is of zero to negligible growth in the number of local authority street markets, decline in the number of pitches being occupied, customers using markets to shop, and an ageing market trader population (Rhodes, 2005; Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 6). This London context is set out in more detail below.

1.1.2.   The context in London for street markets today

In 2005, a London Development Agency commissioned report by the New Economics Foundation estimated there were 'at least 70 street markets in London and several other small clusters of markets' (London Development Agency, 2005, p. 7). In 2008 the London Assembly published the report *London's Street Markets*. The report found there to be 180 'retail' markets in London, 'at least 63 more than ten years ago, and more than twice as many as had previously been thought' (Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 6). Despite being published within three years of each other, there were stark differences in the reported number of London street markets in the two reports. This

disparity is not addressed in the 2008 report, but naturally raises concerns about the consistency of reporting methodology.

As the Greater London Assembly (2008) report states, 'markets have existed across London for hundreds of years' and are a 'key part of London's economy'. It is surprising, therefore, that it has taken until 2008 for the Greater London Assembly, and previous incarnations thereof, to conduct what it considers to be 'the first comprehensive survey of its kind in London' (p. 6). This would appear to be clear evidence that street markets have historically been a low priority for local and regional government. This conclusion is reinforced by the findings from a number of recent reports and academic studies focusing on street markets in London. These are summarised in the sections that follow.

London's street markets in numbers – a complex picture

The most current and comprehensive analysis of London's street markets is the 2014 European-funded *Sustainable Urban Markets – An action plan for London* (Cross River Partnership, 2014)[2], which used the Greater London Assembly (2008) report as a baseline to compare the current state of London's street markets, and in doing so revealed a number of practical difficulties inherent in the process of measuring street market performance that posed 'issues of reliability' (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 12). For example, there is no standard definition for how many market stalls constitute a 'market', or for that matter what constitutes a single market stall, as sizes of market pitches vary considerably and it is not always easy to discern where one market stall ends and another begins.

The Cross River Partnership (2014) report acknowledges these issues, and cautions 'sensitive interpretation' of data reported on street markets. Nevertheless, even allowing for these sensitivities, both reports agree that overall the numbers of markets in London are on the rise – the Cross River Partnership (2014) report estimating 20% in central and inner London and a comparable rise in turnover for Greater London's

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[2] This report was co-chaired by the researcher alongside Helen Santer, who at the time, was the Chief Executive of the Waterloo Quarter Business Improvement District, which had recently taken on the operation of Lower Marsh street market.

street markets from £430m in 2008 to £615m in 2014. However, both reports concur that this growth is primarily being driven by the private sector, with 'negligible or flat growth in the public sector' (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 12; Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 6).

The decline in public local authority-run street markets had already been noted by the London Development Agency (2005, p. 7) report. However, responding directly to this report, the Greater London Assembly (2008) report suggests the picture is more 'complex', with some local authority street markets doing well and others of comparable age and history failing for a number of different reasons dependent on local circumstances (Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 7).

Political support for street markets remains weak and uncoordinated

Another area of consensus across the reports is that government support for markets – at both local and regional levels – remains weak, uncoordinated and inconsistent (London Development Agency, 2010, p. 2). Writing in 2006, Watson and Studdert (2006, p. 1) noted there was little to no mention of markets in policy documents, town planning briefs, or other long-term strategic contexts. More recently, however, there have been moves to correct this. The Greater London Assembly's (2008) report, for example, highlights a number of policies across several departments that recognise the importance of what it calls 'retail markets' (p. 6). These primarily concern planning policy and policies to support agricultural and livestock wholesale markets. There are also policies relating to health and quality food provision (Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 14).

At the London level, the Mayor acknowledges the 'cumulatively strategic importance' of street markets in The London Plan (Greater London Authority, 2011, p. 131). The Mayor has also historically provided support for markets through planning policies in the London Plan, specifically noting the importance of local authority street markets and their ability to support wider policy goals (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005, p. 13). Further, the 2006 alterations to the London Plan added the requirement that 'boroughs should work with retailers and others to prevent the loss of retail

facilities, including street and farmers' markets that provide essential convenience and specialist shopping…' and the Mayor's Food Strategy (London Development Agency, 2006) included a total of over one hundred actions covering eight stages of the food chain. Three of these actions related to markets (Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 14).

Over the last ten years or so, a number of committees and reports have acknowledged the role of street markets in modern society (Allinson, et al., 2008, p. 3) and have put forward recommendations to increase support for street markets where they are considered to 'remain a vital part of London life' that 'contribute to wider social, economic and environmental strategic goals' (London Assembly, 2009, p. 5 and 11). These include the *All Party Parliamentary Group* report (House of Commons, 2010), and the Mayor's *Action for High Streets* strategy document (Greater London Authority, 2014). However, such 'recommendations' have failed to elicit a cohesive or sustained local or strategic response, and the landscape remains highly atomised and uncoordinated (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 5). One reason for this atomisation specific to London is its complex governance structures, with a range of authorities and interest groups, each with its own set of priorities and responsibilities. This results in a 'piece-meal' strategy, with no overarching national or even city-wide approach – London being divided into thirty-two boroughs, each individually responsible for its own street markets – within which to 'consider markets holistically' (Greater London Assembly, 2008, p. 14).

Legislation governing local authority street markets is punitive
A further reason specific to London is the commercial and managerial limitations of the London Local Authorities Act 1990, which regulates 88% of street markets within inner London. In fact, neither the 1990 nor 1999 Acts 'formally recognise markets as such, but instead set out provisions for regulation of street trading. This means that although street trading pitches are generally collected as markets (or 'licenced streets', in the terminology of the 1990 Act), the boroughs in effect have to manage these as collections of individual pitches rather than as an overall single entity' (London Development Agency, 2010, p. 17).

Increasingly, therefore, authorities are seeking alternative frameworks, such as the London Food Act (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 20). But these also have their limitations, as they were not designed specifically to legislate for the effective management of street markets. A key proposal from the Cross River Partnership (2014) report is that London Councils, supported by Department for Communities and Local Government and the All Party Parliamentary Group on Markets, collaborate to coordinate a review of the London Local Authorities Act and bring forward proposals for legislative change that promotes investment and entrepreneurialism (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 14). The political appetite for such change, however, remains weak.

As well as the long-standing concerns of the London Local Authorities Act, which is specific to governing London's street markets, there are also more recent concerns, as outlined by the National Market Traders' Federation and the National Association of British Market Authorities, about the impact of national and European legislation (Savage, 2015, p. 28). So harmful is the current legislation governing local authority street markets that although there have been other significant contributory factors, such as changing retail habits and competition from other forms of retail, the regulatory context is considered by many to be one of *the* key contributory factors to their general decline over the last thirty years or so (Watson & Studdert, 2006, pp. 1-2; London Development Agency, 2010, p. 2). Specifically, the 1990 London Local Authorities Act hinders councils' abilities to manage their markets on a commercial basis' (London Development Agency, 2010, p. 2). In 2009, The Retail Markets Alliance, an umbrella organisation created in 2008 that brings together the four major organisations involved in the markets sector[3] predicted twenty-five per cent of street markets would close in the next decade (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009a, p. 10).

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[3] These are the National Association of British Market Authorities, the National Market Traders' Federation, the Association of Town Centre Management, and the National Farmers' Retail and Markets Association (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009a, p. 48).

<u>Street markets are a low priority for local authorities</u>

Another area of concern for the future of local authority street markets is the local authorities themselves. Typically, street markets have suffered from a distinct lack of investment, with local authorities prioritising other services, such as education and housing, and choosing to close down markets or relocate them outside of urban areas, largely as a result of growing competition from superstores and out-of-town shopping malls (Dines, 2009, p. 257). Many street markets look tired and uncared for, with poor facilities and servicing (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009b, p. 6) and suffer from a lack of knowledge and expertise within local authorities about how to effectively manage their own street markets (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009b, p. 11). It is perhaps not surprising that the Greater London Assembly reports (2008, p. 68; 2007, p. 1) found that, at the local level, street markets were considered a low priority for most councils, and although changes in consumer behaviour and increased competition from other forms of retail have played a major role in their decline, a House of Commons report noted that other factors, such as poor-quality environment, lack of services and support for traders, have also played their part (House of Commons, 2009, p. 9).

In contrast, over the same period that has seen a sharp fall in local authority-run street markets, privately-run markets have experienced sharp and consistent growth (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 34). The growth of private sector markets, in contrast to the general flat/negligible growth in the public sector, is important because their popularity indicates that markets, as an urban form, remain relevant to London in the twenty-first century (Watson & Studdert, 2006, pp. 14-15; Mikola, 2015, p. 28). Certainly, the number of community action groups (see for example Friends of Queen's Market[4] and Friends of Brixton Market) is another indicator of the strength of local feeling around some markets that have come under threat, either by private developers or from their governing local authorities, often in the name of introducing more modern forms of retailing as part of the process of regenerating a town centre.

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[4] Find out more information about Friends of Queen's Market at www.friendsofqueensmarket.org.uk

One reason for these negative attitudes is that street markets can be difficult and intensive to manage, and thus do not correspond with well-established paradigms of economic value established by western perspectives (Hall, et al., 2016, p. 19) compared to, for example, a supermarket or a shopping mall. As such, if poorly managed, they can become sites of criminality, from the peddling of counterfeit and illegal goods, to tax evasion and money laundering, and there are cases where street markets have been shut down for high levels of illegal activity (see for example Paddy's Market in Glasgow). But such cases are rare, and one could argue merely a reflection of society rather than a characteristic of street markets per se. Certainly, other more conventional institutions such as banks (PPI and Libor) and supermarkets (horsemeat and dairy price fixing), for example, have had far higher profile scandals in recent times. Nonetheless, today, street markets exemplify:

> …the tension between the neo-liberal commitment to erode the regulatory capacity of the state versus the desire to control migration and also the desire on the part of local authorities to maintain order in urban space. (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 14).

Part of the challenge of street markets is that the difficulties of management they present are also their strengths. Thus, one reason markets are difficult to manage is because they are multi-layered, intense and complex spaces. Conversely, it is this combination of factors that has made them so effective at revitalising urban spaces, bringing life and activity to deserted urban areas (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, p. 211). Yet, this complexity can make street markets appear impenetrable, and even sometimes daunting to an outsider or to someone visiting for the first time; in a busy marketplace, there are very few clear lines of site, and it is not always easy to discern, for example, who owns which market stall, or how to get from one end to the other. They are often spaces of disorder too, the market stalls hidden behind mountains of produce and clothing, the debris of multiple and numerous people clamouring for attention for different reasons at the same time. They are the very antithesis to the orderly and

controlled environments of more modern retail spaces, and their social value can remain hidden from those that legislate from the periphery (Dines, 2009, p. 270).

Could one reason for the general lack of interest in street markets, despite their historic importance as founding institutions of our cities and as key contributors to the pillars of our civilisation, be because they are often perceived by decision-makers as undesirable, twisted and inefficient, city spaces? The 'historic lack of information and research' (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009a, p. 12), which has left a damaging 'lacuna' (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 27) in the street market sector means we do not have an answer to this, and many other questions, about street markets.

1.2.   Introducing the research

Section 1.2 of this introductory chapter begins by establishing 1.2.1 the need for more research into street markets as one of the 'ordinary' sites of the city (Hall, 2015). Although there has been a renewed research interest recently in various aspects of street markets, the potential for them to support urbanity has never been tested. It follows by introducing 1.2.2 the research focus and 1.2.3 research hypothesis, before finally 1.2.4 setting out the structure for the remainder of this dissertation.

1.2.1.   The need for more research

The above section has highlighted the limitations of policy research into street markets, as well as the dearth of academic and historic sources that make any detailed reference to street markets. More specifically, it showed that the role of street markets as public spaces has also been largely ignored (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 3). This is surprising on two levels. Firstly, street markets have played a fundamental role in our economic and social lives right up until the end of the nineteenth century. Secondly, the little evidence that does exist about street markets suggests they are an urban form capable of supporting the kinds of places aspired to within government policy (Portas, 2011; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012).

The relatively recent spate of reports (London Development Agency, 2005; Rhodes, 2005; Greater London Assembly, 2008; London Development Agency, 2010; Office of

the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005) over the past ten years or so have made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the state of London's street markets. But they were starting from an almost non-existent knowledge base. Furthermore, as the Cross River Partnership (2014, p. 12) report identified, a lack of consistency in, or at least knowledge of, the methodologies employed makes it difficult to compare datasets across reports from different years.

Allied to the lack of clear statistical data on London's street markets is the fact that remarkably little is known about how different people live together in the different public spaces of the city (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 2), how urban places are made and transformed by the people who migrate and settle with longer term residents (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5) and the potential role of immigrant businesses in this process (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 6).

Not surprisingly, therefore, the social aspect of street markets has been almost entirely neglected, save for a small number of important studies spread over the past thirty years from the US (Spitzer & Baum, 1995; Gratz & Mintz, 1998; Ford Report, 2003), and from the UK (Watson & Wells, 2005; Watson & Studdert, 2006; Rubin, et al., 2006; Hiebert, et al., 2015). There is an assumption in some quarters that markets can be social spaces within the city (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 27). But exactly how successful they are as sites of social interaction remains largely unexplored (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 3).

This is important because although the picture is complex, the trend across the various reports appears clear – London's public-sector markets are experiencing negligible or flat growth (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 12). Certainly, the consensus is that traditional street markets face challenges on multiple fronts, from changing retail trends and lack of investment to damaging legislation as 1.1.2 above outlined. This has resulted in a decline in the number of market pitches and market days trading. Furthermore, the average age of market traders is increasing, as younger generations are choosing alternative career paths (House of Commons, 2009, p. 106), often for the first time away from family-owned market businesses that have existed for

generations (see page 134 of the analysis below). In addition, the average age of consumers shopping in local authority street markets is also on the increase, with young people choosing other modes of retailing (House of Commons, 2009, p. 96).

Does it matter that many of London's street markets have disappeared and many more remain under threat of closure or redevelopment? The answer depends on what is demanded from our cities and public spaces. As the Cross River Partnership report states under Proposal 6 of their report titled 'Measuring Value – knowing the unknowns':

> Few refute the intrinsic value of London's markets. They provide low cost
> self-employment, generate footfall for retail, provide access to cheap,
> healthy fresh produce, support cohesion and imbue places with identity. The
> Mayor considers them 'a wonderful part of London life. [Bringing] great
> benefits to local communities and people on low pay.' DCLG, Nabma, the
> New Economics Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Trust, London Development
> Agency and others have all ascribed the economic, social, health,
> environmental and placed based value of markets. Still, harder more
> resonant metrics are required. (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 27)

As the above passage suggests, there is growing recognition among some urban policy-makers that street markets can provide value across a number of different areas involved in creating successful city spaces. However, there is a lack of understanding as to why this is the case. As such, markets tend to get forgotten about when it comes to garnering political will to make important legislative changes, particularly in the face of challenges for increasingly scarce public resources (Cross River Partnership, 2014, p. 27). Yet, other cities – New York and Barcelona being two recent examples – have shown that, given the right support and investment, a revitalised system of public markets can make them an integral part of a modern cityscape, providing support for a whole array of economic and social policies. The successful growth of London's privately-run markets, over the same period that public markets have declined, together with the rejuvenation of public markets in other cities around the world,

indicate that markets as an urban form remain relevant in the landscape of twenty-first century cities.

However, few private markets are run with wider public goals in mind. London's local authority-run public markets are mostly used by the surrounding community, with price and convenience being motivating factors. They also often sit in London neighbourhoods characterised by low average wages, high unemployment and rapidly changing populations driven by successive waves of immigration. Little is known about the role these street markets play in such communities and therefore it is not possible to anticipate what we might gain or lose from their apparent demise. What little evidence there is, however, suggests that street markets are capable of supporting urbanity, and there is an emerging line of research which gives some insight as to how.

More recently, there has been increased sociological focus on what Hall (2015) calls 'ordinary cities', 'the commonplace local urban high street within ethnically diverse and comparatively deprived urban localities' (Hall, 2015, p. 855). Although very little of this research directly targets street markets, the urban places studied – a London 'Caff' and multi-ethnic high streets, for example – share many of the characteristics of the two case study street markets featured in this study. These are areas that have experienced high levels of immigration that are frequently considered problematic or challenging, and that are made up of inhabitants who do not register high on the political agenda (Hall, 2015, p. 855). As such, these locations, and the social and economic transactions that underpin them have historically received very little interest (Hall, 2015, p. 857). But this emerging area of research is revealing daily practices between members of ethnically diverse communities that run counter to a dominant political narrative that frames migration as a problematic contaminant to a fixed national culture. These places are being made and transformed by the people who migrate, settle and form 'domains of commonality' with longer term residents (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5). Only a few researchers have noted the role immigrant businesses play in this process (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5), which is very relevant to the study of street markets, and the researchers have called for more studies to build on emerging concepts such as 'domains of commonality', 'sociabilities

of emplacement' and 'sociologies of reconfiguration' between established residents and newcomers (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 30). This study into street markets and urbanity attempts to do just this. But why do so through the concept of urbanity?

1.2.2. The research focus – 'ordinary' street markets & urbanity

This dissertation focuses on 'ordinary' local authority-run street markets selling food, clothing and small household items. It seeks to investigate whether street markets can support urbanity in neighbourhoods typified by low average wages, high unemployment, and high levels of diversity fed through successive waves of immigration.

This study builds on the work of researchers such as Richard Sennett, Suzanne Hall, Martha Radice and Nina Glick Schiller that focus on everyday moments of civility and conviviality in 'ordinary' sites of the city between people outside of 'predefined categories of group relations' such as ethnicity, culture and race (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24). Such moments run counter to an increasingly dominant political narrative that projects immigrants as a problematic and disruptive contaminant to a previously unblemished and fixed national culture.

Urbanity, as will be explored in detail in 2.1, is defined as the ability for people to live and work together 'without the compulsion to be the same' (Sennett, 1974, p. 255). The focus on urbanity, rather than concepts such as civility, conviviality and congeniality, which as this research will show are essential factors in supporting urbanity, brings together three overlapping strands of literature that are the focus of the bulk of chapter 2 of this thesis. Broadly speaking, these strands follow a conceptual path that stretches from a focus on the spatial characteristics that bring a diverse range of people and functions together, to contemporary debates about social encounters in public space, which then leads to debates about difference and diversity in cities.

This research proposes a three-layered model for unpacking seven characteristics of street markets – three spatial and four social – that support urbanity (see page 205 in

4.5.4 below). These seven characteristics combine to engender communities of shared action that challenge third-hand stereotypes of what someone will be like based on appearances alone with first-hand knowledge of what someone is like based on shared experience. Central to this process are functional encounters.

1.2.3. Research hypothesis – functional encounters are key

The research hypothesises that the processes of exchange in street markets, how we buy and sell goods, are key to how they can support urbanity. Central to this hypothesis is the frequency and range of 'functional' encounters that accompany exchanges in street markets. The hypothesis being tested here, therefore, is that street markets support urbanity through facilitating a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters. In testing this hypothesis, the research seeks to investigate the role of street markets in supporting urbanity in two of London's most 'ordinary' urban localities, as defined by Hall (2015, p. 855) as 'comparatively deprived and ethnically diverse'. In doing so, it will explore key debates in defining urbanity and investigate the nature of exchange in street markets and how these exchanges affect the way people relate to each other outside of predefined categories of identity such as race, culture and ethnicity.

1.2.4. Structure of this dissertation

1.1 above introduced the phenomenon of street markets, their historic role as founding city institutions, and the emergence of other competing forms of retail. It also set the context for street markets in today's cities, with a particular focus on London, and the general decline of its local authority-run street markets. This contextual background established the need for more research, revealing a highly complex picture where remarkably little is known about London's street markets and their potential socioeconomic contributions to the city. Furthermore, the potential for street markets to support urbanity, as defined here, has not been investigated. 1.2.2 introduced the research focus, setting the scene for 1.2.3 the research hypothesis being tested.

The remainder of this dissertation is set out over four further chapters numbered 2-5. Chapter 2 describes the key concepts – urbanity, exchange and street markets – that will guide the research. It is divided into four sections. 2.1 focuses on building a working definition of urbanity, a major part of which involves understanding the parameters around which difference is defined in this study. In 2.2 the key characteristics of spaces that supports urbanity are then extrapolated. 2.3 is focused on exchange – how we get to know people 'outside of predefined categories of group relations' such as culture, ethnicity and race. This includes a detailed discussion on different forms of social exchange with a focus on civility and conviviality. And finally, 2.4 sets out the existing evidence for the characteristics of street markets, one of the oldest sites of exchange, that support urbanity.

Chapter 3 begins with 3.1 a description of the research approach and methodology employed to test the research hypothesis, which was introduced above in 1.2.3. This includes demonstrating how 3.1.1 the literature helped shape the research hypothesis, aims and objectives. 3.1.2 sets out the rationale for choosing an ethnographic grounded theory approach to collecting the kind of data required to achieve the research aim and objectives, whilst 3.1.3 introduces early sensitising concepts and findings from the pilot study that helped to 3.1.4 finalise the approach to data collection and formulate the interview and survey questions. 3.2 describes the criteria and process for selecting the two case study markets, which included 3.2.1 creating a descriptive classification of London's markets and 3.2.2 a framework for whom to study within them. Finally, 3.3 closes the chapter by introducing the two case study street markets in detail.

Detailed analysis of the data collected is then set out in chapter 4. The results are presented in five sections that split into four key findings (4.1-4.4) and a final summary section that draws these key findings together (4.5). 4.1 focuses on the unique way street markets alter the spatial configuration of large public spaces by their sub-division into physical, legal and symbolic micro-borders. 4.2 centres on the nature of exchange, which is dominated by functional encounters that occur across these micro-borders. 4.3 explores the role of functional encounters in how people get to know

each other in street markets, and in doing so, how they learn about themselves in the process. 4.4 sets out the forces of conflict and competition in street markets that can both undermine and support urbanity, including some of the challenges of selling to a very diverse clientele and the tactics market traders adopt to mediate the potential for conflict, and the role of the market manager as a backstop should conflict threaten to spiral out of control. 4.5 draws these key findings together to propose a new three-layered model of urbanity that unpacks seven characteristics of street markets that support urbanity.

Finally, chapter 5 sets out the overall conclusions for this research study. It concludes that 5.1 the findings of this research study broadly validate the research hypothesis, and sets out three reasons as to how, before looking at ways street markets can also work to undermine urbanity. 5.2 summarises the new model for urbanity and details other ways in which the research has contributed to knowledge. 5.3 sets out the limitations of the research, which in part sets up 5.4 future lines of research. Finally, 5.5 recommends that London's street markets should be revisited as vital public spaces that support urbanity.

2.   Urbanity, Exchange & Street markets

1.1 introduced a history of street markets alongside the emergence of other competing forms of retail, with a particular focus on the London context, together with 1.2 an introduction of the research focus and research hypothesis. The hypothesis set out in 1.2.3 was that street markets support urbanity through facilitating a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters.

This chapter lays the groundwork for testing this hypothesis by setting out the conceptual framework that has guided this research. It is divided into four parts. 2.1 begins by 2.1.1 building a working definition of urbanity for the empirical study of street markets. A key element of this working definition revolves around accepting people different from ourselves. 2.1.2 therefore sets out the core debates about difference and diversity in cities. This working definition of urbanity lays the foundations for a discussion in 2.2 of three key characteristics of spaces – 2.2.1 physical and symbolic occupation of public space, 2.2.2 high densities, and 2.2.3 high levels of diversity – that support urbanity. 2.3 introduces the concept of borders – active and opposed to inert urban edges – in 2.3.1 before setting out in 2.3.2 key debates about the nature of exchange in cities, with a particularly focus on notions of civility, the role of functional encounters, and conviviality. Finally, 2.4 sets out the evidence to-date for street markets, one of the oldest sites of exchange in cities, supporting the three key characteristics of space featured in 2.2.

2.1.   Urbanity: accepting people different from ourselves

Over the past thirty years or so, Professor Hillier and his colleagues at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London have been developing a mathematical model to determine a 'universal relation between urban form and urban life'. Hillier's theory maintains that 'the built form, with its particular spatial configurations, determines the natural movement of people, which in turn plays a fundamental part in the social process we call urbanity' (Westin, 2011, pp. 227-228).

Westin's summation of Hillier's theory is relevant to the empirical study of street markets and urbanity for two reasons. Firstly, it directly links spatial configuration, i.e. the built form, with influence over the way people move about city spaces during their normal everyday lives. Secondly, it establishes urbanity as, above all else, a 'social process' directly affected by the built form. The built form of interest for this research is the street market.

This is a useful starting point. Urbanity – accepting people different from ourselves – is, if nothing else, about social process. But to build a working definition of urbanity appropriate to the empirical study of street markets, aspects of this social process require further investigation. There are several challenges to doing so. But by identifying and rising to these challenges the seeds of a potential solution may also be found.

2.1.1.   Building a working definition of urbanity

This research recognises three primary challenges to building a working definition of urbanity that have emerged from a systematic search of literature considered relevant to urbanity. Challenge one, is that the word is often used without definition, leaving the reader to discern its meaning. This is true even within urban discourses, where the need to define urbanity's meaning is perhaps most critical.

This would not be so problematic, however, if urbanity was not such an elastic term – this is challenge number two. Urbanity is a word that has been used to capture a highly complex and broad ranging set of economic, cultural and social ideas, some of which have tenuous links at best with the city. These include, for example, anything from the 'mechanised urbanity' of Edwardian children's fiction (Boone, 2007, p. 80), to the impact of 'gay male urbanity' on normalising print styles of nineteen-seventies glossy magazines (Herring, 2007, p. 346). This elasticity, or lack of 'precision' as Durkheim (1982, p. 50) called it, is nothing new in the study of social phenomena. But it does present us with our third challenge – and potentially too the beginnings of a solution – towards building a working definition of urbanity for the empirical study of street markets.

Challenge number three is that urbanity is laden with ambiguities. Being a social process, a social 'phenomenon' of the city (Zijderveld, 2009, p. 84), urbanity deals with perceptions, and peoples' perceptions about the same phenomena will differ depending on their own individual experiences and perspectives: 'we inhabit different cities even from those inhabited by our most immediate neighbours' (Jacobs & Fincher, 1998, p. 1). Urbanity cannot be given a score out of ten, for example, that would carry any meaningful comparability with other cities and public spaces. And yet, people compare their experience of places all the time, often citing somewhere as energetic, friendly and atmospheric, for example, in relation to somewhere else that might feel insipid, anonymous and dull.

As a social phenomenon, urbanity is both invisible, often working at a subconscious level, and at other times intense, tangible and very much a conscious experience. Westin (2011, p. 229), inspired she says by Lefebvre (1991, p. 402), encapsulates these ambiguities by describing urbanity as a 'thing/not-thing'. Similarly, to some extent, Zijderveld's definition of urbanity is equally intangible, centring on urbanity as a city's culture, which he describes as 'the invisible reality of mutually related meanings, values, and norms' (Zijderveld, 2009, p. 22). Westin (2011, p. 229) questions whether indeed there are tangible effects of urbanity that can be studied and measured using 'neo-positivistic' techniques, and also whether it is possible to 'create urbanity' through the manipulation of physical form. Zijderveld is less ambivalent, calling on the next generation to 'revitalize urbanity into an invigorating and electrifying city culture' (Zijderveld, 2009, p. 8).

Durkheim defined the social as 'a category of facts which present very special characteristics: they consist of manners of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by which they exercise control over him' (Durkheim, 1982, p. 52). It is these characteristics, suggests Zijderveld, that make abstract notions such as culture visible and therefore empirical.

> Culture – that is, the sum of invisible and in that sense non-empirical
> meanings, values, and norms – becomes empirically visible and researchable
> in the traditional patterns of behaviour which mould the acting, thinking, and
> feeling of actors. Culture is empirically "real", because it "exists" in
> behaviour, in actions and interactions. (Zijderveld, 2009, pp. 22-23)

It is the thinking and feeling of actors – Durkheim's 'very special characteristics' – that are useful to us in relation to the empirical study of street markets and urbanity. In the present case, it is the thoughts and feelings of the market traders and customers that are of principle interest. But this is still a large and varied field within which to begin the study.

In his book *The Fall of Public Man*, Sennett (1974) explores the nature of how collective personalities are defined among social groups in urban societies. Key is the process of engaging in collective, or shared, activity.

> The simplest way in which a communal identity is formed is when a group is
> threatened in its very survival, such as a war or other catastrophe. While
> taking collective action to meet this threat, people feel close to one another
> and search for images that bind them together. Collective action nourishing
> a collective shared-image…In general, we can say that the "sense of
> community", of a society with a strong public life, is born from this union of
> shared action and a shared sense of collective self. (Sennett, 1974, p. 222)

Sennett's concern, as the title of his book suggests, is with the general erosion of public life in the West[5]. As public life erodes, there is a corresponding breakdown between shared action and collective identity. 'If people are not speaking to each other on the street' questions Sennett (1974, p. 222) 'how are they to know who they are as a group?'. 'Collective identity' is thus replaced by the search for a 'common personality' based on 'fantasy and projection'. This then becomes a vicious cycle: 'the

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[5] Some, including Arneil (2006, pp. 41-42), have disputed this idea of 'an overarching narrative of decline', focusing primarily on the difference in levels of civic participation between men (falling) and women (rising) over the course of the twentieth-century.

more a fantasised common personality dominates the life of a group, the less can that group act to advance its collective interests' (Sennett, 1974, p. 223). A community of *action* thus transforms into a community of *being*.

> Community has become a phenomenon of collective being rather than collective action, save in one way. The only transaction for the group to engage in is that of purification, of rejection and chastisement of those who are not "like" the others. Since the symbolic materials usable in forming collective personality are unstable, communal purification is unending, a continual quest for the loyal American, the authentic Aryan, the "genuine" revolutionary. (Sennett, 1974, p. 223)

These passages from Sennett begin to reveal particular qualities of the social process of urbanity that can be empirically tested in street market environments. Are street markets collectives of being or collectives of shared action? And what evidence would determine whether it is the former or the latter? The 'essence of urbanity', continues Sennett (1974, p. 255), is that people 'can act together, without the compulsion to be the same'. This is a useful start for determining collectable empirical evidence in a study of street markets and urbanity. If street markets lean more towards collectives of shared action, there should be evidence of people accepting others who are different from themselves.

Over forty years later and researchers such as Hall, Radice and Glick Schiller, mentioned briefly in 1.2.2 above, and whose writings will feature regularly throughout much of this thesis, are beginning to reveal how collectives of shared action are being forged every day in 'ordinary' spaces of the city, but that being ordinary spaces, often go unnoticed (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 9). Their research reveals finer-grained processes by which communities of shared action are formed, particularly in relation to subjective differences – the way we look and sound.

Glick Schiller collects these subjective differences under the term 'predefined categories of group relations' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24), examples of which

include culture, ethnicity and race. Evidence of communities of shared action lies in the ability for space to be reconfigured by its members, particularly in relation to the ability of relative newcomers to partake equally in this process. Hall (2015, p. 854) calls this process a 'sociology of reconfiguration' where urban places and ideas of citizenship are made anew between established residents and newcomers. Social and political reconfiguration emerges 'within and across connected societies', rather than being perceived as 'an assault on national integrity' that 'problematises migration as an external imposition being done to us from the outside' (p. 854). In making anew in this way, 'domains of commonality' (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5) are revealed outside of 'predefined categories of group relations' and 'sociabilities of emplacement' create a sense of mutual security in our surroundings (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24). For Radice (2016, p. 434), the ideal sites of these types of exchanges are the 'microplaces' of the city, which she defines as places that 'offer resources for convivial social relations when they are accessible, heterogeneous and flexible' meaning that 'different kinds of people can use the place in different ways, enabling social interactions of variable purpose, intensity and duration'.

Building on the work of Sennett, Glick Schiller, Hall, Radice and others, this study defines urbanity as: spatial characteristics that create and sustain functional encounters through which the public expression of 'domains of commonality' outside of 'predefined categories of group relations' fosters a 'sociology of reconfiguration' that is satisfying to both established residents and newcomers. The process of supporting urbanity depends on a) being around people who are different from each other, and b) a nuanced understanding of difference and an ability for reflexive thought and perspective. The next section therefore sets out the parameters around which difference is defined in this study. It shows how, from the first emerging protourban settlements, people have always had to think about and deal with differences in cities. It explores how today's central focus on ethnicity as the most challenging aspect of managing difference in cities is a legacy of methodological nationalism (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 185) that presents ethnic groups as fixed homogenous entities. This ethno-centric approach has contributed to a polarisation of either fearing or celebrating migration-driven diversity (Sandercock, 2003, p. 1) which

in the process masks other equally important kinds of difference, including the complexity inherent in all of us as individuals, and obscures ways in which diverse forms of belonging are being enacted every day (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 495).

2.1.2.   Key debates around difference and diversity in cities

Since the end of the nineteenth century when sociology first emerged as a recognised scientific discipline, living with difference has pervaded Western theories of how we coexist together in cities. More than a century later and the 'primacy of difference' remains a preoccupation of contemporary theorists of urban social encounters (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 18).

Much of this early preoccupation with difference centred on contrasting traditional rural or 'folk' communities founded on a predominance of primary bonds of kinship and ritualism with the rapidly emerging societies of the growing industrialising cities, founded on secondary bonds of association linked with occupation, law and politics (Nisbet, 1967, p. 53). This contrast was most famously conceptualised by Ferdinand Tönnies' in *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. First published in the late nineteenth century, the concept of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* has since frequently been criticised for making assumptions about opposing traits based on a romantic and nostalgic view of a golden age of community that preceded the advent of modern society (Delanty, 2003, p. 8). Viewed in such simplistic binary terms, community and modernity will always be irreconcilable because the opposition rests only upon 'ascribing stipulatively to community those features of social life which are supposed, by definition, to be lacking from modernity!' (Cohen, 2001, p. 11).

In defence of Tönnies, Cohen (2001, p. 11) has blamed the 'misinterpretation, or highly selective reading' of the original source material that has obfuscated its application in the field. *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were meant by Tönnies to represent two 'ideal types', polar-opposites on a spectrum along which any social grouping could be charted, and which would likely contain a mixture of *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*-type characteristics (2001, p. 24). Nonetheless, the two absolutes became adopted into public and political discourse to examine the types of societies being created in cities, the subtleties and nuances of the original concept, as is so often the case with

complex social phenomena (Noble, 2013, p. 32), too easily forgotten. Today, with international terror and religious militancy on the rise, simplistic notions of community as a total critique of the state have re-emerged (Delanty, 2003, p. 10).

> Such simplistic explanations give people the fabricated feeling that (a) they understand what is going on, and (b) they are able to control the matters at hand (including even the possibility of reversing them). "Fake news" and "alternative facts" fit well with simplistic explanations; rarely has "fake news" suggested anything complex. Complex explanations are often unwelcome because they inherently entail a measure of uncertainty: that is, there are so many factors in play in certain processes that we cannot really predict what will happen. (Vertovec, 2017, p. 1579)

Migration is one of these areas of complexity that are often talked about in highly simplistic terms: the threat of migration rendered as crisis (Hall, 2017, p. 1563). Politically, concerns about unsustainable migration levels have been major factors increasingly played out publicly in the national press, leveraging off the 'fear and loathing of outsiders in order to achieve self-serving goals' (Massey, 2015, p. 287). In research of the urban condition, increasingly complex migratory patterns, framed through concepts such as super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) and hyper-diversity (Noble, 2011, p. 830), have led to claims we are living in new territory when it comes to living with difference in cities.

Some researchers are countering this polemic, specifically questioning: a) the validity of migration-driven diversity as a *new* phenomenon or just more of what has happened in the past, b) the resultant focus on ethnicity and country of origin as the primary agencies of difference between native and migrant populations, differences which require new and specific tools that need to be bridged. These are dealt with in more detail below.

Migration-driven diversity – a new urban condition?
The world is becoming increasingly diverse, fuelling debates about relations between ethnic and religious groups (Christ, et al., 2014, p. 3996) to the extent that much of the

Western world is now considered to be living in what Sandercock (2003, p. 1) terms 'a new urban condition', where 'difference, otherness, fragmentation, splintering, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity, plurality prevail'. This new urban condition emerged in the late twentieth century and the resulting experiences have polarised views about living with difference and diversity into two distinct camps.

> For some [diversity] is to be feared, signifying the decline of civilisation as we know it in the West. For others…it is to be celebrated as a great possibility: the possibility of living alongside others who are different, learning from them, creating new worlds with them, instead of fearing them. (Sandercock, 2003, p. 1)

Vertovec (2007) encapsulated this new urban condition in the concept of 'super-diversity' to describe 'a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country [Britain] has previously experienced' (p. 1024). Post-World War 2 immigration was characterised by mass movement of people from a relatively small number of ethnicities and countries of origin. These immigrants were given the same basic legal status and human rights, and public policies were introduced to promote tolerance and respect for collective group identities under the banner of multiculturalism (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1027). Twenty-first century immigration, in contrast, is characterised by 'more people now migrating from more places' who are subject to a more complex range of immigration statuses and resultant human rights, such as the right to work. This 'diversification of diversity' is compounded by the extent and degree of transnational engagement that has intensified due to emergent technologies and reduced telecommunication and travel costs (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025/1043).

It would be difficult to argue against the consensus that there has been an increase in the level, speed and complexity of migratory-driven change over recent decades, change which is forecast to grow even further in large cities such as London (Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 425). In many respects, the numbers and statistics speak for themselves. However, the emergence of concepts such as super-diversity, and the resultant ways in which public and political debates have been framed around its

causes and effects, even though these may not be true to the original intentions of the authors (Vertovec, 2017, p. 1575), has brought renewed focus on the nature of diversity and living with difference in cities. But how *new* is this urban condition?

Migration has been a common experience throughout human history (Berger, 1977, p. 153). In fact, such has been the dominance of movement of people over stasis that 'taking the long view', suggest Glick Schiller & Salazar (2013), it is the mobility of our species that is the norm and it is stasis that should be queried (p. 185). It is the city, argues Sennett (2012, p. 13), that has always obliged people to think about and deal with their differences.

Çatalhöyük, one the oldest known cities founded nine thousand years ago in what is now Turkey is evidence of such mobility. Çatalhöyük had an estimated ten thousand permanent inhabitants but its reach extended thousands of square miles (Soja, 2003, p. 29) through well-established trade routes that were its main source of income (Braudel, 2001, p. 55). These trade routes were the primary drivers of Çatalhöyük's distinctly 'urban culture' (Braudel, 2001, p. 58) providing the seasonal 'fission and fusion of population change' that would have transformed the 'protourban' city at certain times of the year (Roberts & Rosen, 2009, pp. 399-400). It is impossible to imagine such a city without envisioning enormous diversity among its seasonally expanding and contracting population. These people had different gods, customs and beliefs driven by their varying environmental conditions, raw materials (Hodder, 2014, p. 4/14) and foods and goods with which to trade (Twiss, 2012). For Çatalhöyük, these seasonal migrations and accompanying influxes of diversity were essential to its 'social cohesion and economic well-being' (Roberts & Rosen, 2009, p. 399). Yet historically, settlements like Çatalhöyük have been portrayed as simple homogenous settlements unblemished by migratory movement of 'other' peoples (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 185).

Similarly, in contemporary debates about living with differences related to population movement, more recent periods of mass movement are also often conveniently overlooked. Industrial London required a steady stream of incoming migrants just to

maintain even population levels due to 'high mortality rates and low birth rates' (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, pp. 249-250). Post-World War 2 immigration echoed this need for labour, as did discussions around Brexit, where immigration took centre-stage – the need for workers contrasted against the problems of assimilation, the terrorist threat from outside and lack of resources (Vertovec, 2017, p. 1578). These more contemporary examples highlight the 'deep discrepancy of how Western societies both require and refute migration'.

> The state of contradiction is between a sustained economic demand for migrant labour from elsewhere, and a political commitment to national authenticity in which hierarchical notions of "race" and ethnicity are core. Within the European continent including the U.K., there are enduring histories of a voracious appetite for labour and resources from outside the limited confines of the nation. Institutionalised projects of slavery, colonization and migrant labour have been sustained through the enduring sentiment of nativism. This is a highly contradictory politics, expansive in its entitlement to extend national borders to incorporate people from elsewhere in order to build and serve society, and simultaneously fortressed against the claims of migrant citizens. (Hall, 2017, pp. 1562-1563)

The focus on mobility as a *new* condition is a legacy of what Glick Schiller & Salazar (2013, p. 191) term 'methodological nationalism', which binds the concept of society to nation-states, within which it is assumed there is a shared set of norms, values and social customs in contrast to other nation-states. One of the legacies of methodological nationalism is that it changed the focus of research into human movement from one place to another to movement across borders where 'the territorial fixity of cultures' becomes an assumed norm (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 185).

> The academic disciplines of geography and demography began by focusing on human movement from one place to another rather than movement across borders. However, as various fields of research became differentiated

and consolidated within the twentieth century, they not only ceased to look at the world as a whole but also fostered the growth of national scholarships and a legitimisation of methodological nationalism. Methodological nationalism is an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states. In a parallel development in the anthropological imagination, where diffusion studies initially had been important, the territorial fixity of cultures became a common-place. Some contemporary anthropology and much of ethnic studies have continued to approach cultures as discrete webs of signification. From such a perspective, transnational processes are novel and transgressive, occurring in response to dramatic changes in communication technology and global capitalism. As they frame outcomes of transnational processes as hybridity, scholars of such 'mixity' have often implied that previous stages of cultural production were unblemished by diffusion. (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 185)

A criticism of recent research into migration, cities and living with difference is that it remains shackled by the constraints of methodological nationalism. It fixes migrant identities and establishes 'the ethnic group as the primary exclusive unit of study and analysis' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013, p. 494). One consequence is that it ignores other forms of potential difference inherent in any population – class, politics, gender, sexuality; or simply different tastes in music, fashion, and food. It also ignores internal migration of people who are not crossing borders and dismisses the potential differences inherent in ourselves as complex beings who respond differently to different people in different situations (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 17). It is only in rejecting the ethnic lens that diverse forms of belonging become visible (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 495).

Studies of difference in cities – rejecting the ethnic lens
The original intention of Vertovec's concept of super-diversity was to 'recognise the multidimensional shifts in migration patterns'. But many, he remises, have used the term simply to refer to 'more ethnicities' and calls for the need to 're-tool our theories and methods, not least in order to move beyond what some call the 'ethno-focal lens'

of most approaches within conventional migration studies' (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, pp. 541-542).

Vertovec's position is a quandary with which many researchers with an interest in diversity can probably empathise: how to identify that differences in ethnicity, culture and race are not barriers to meaningful social encounters without a) bringing additional emphasis to these differences, and b) ignoring the fact people are often judged based on categories of difference – ethnic, racial, class and so on – that are always implicated in unequal relations of power that can stigmatise and exclude. Therefore, believes Radice (2016, p. 435), the picture of relations between such categories is significant and worthy of investigation.

> 'Culture' and 'ethnicity' are partially overlapping terms. While 'culture' is not always constructed through ethnicity (for example, class-based cultures), assertions of ethnic belonging usually invoke shared cultural forms like cuisine, dress, arts or ideal kinship patterns, as well as language, religion, geographical or cosmological origins, collective memory or imagined futures, which can also be understood as components of 'culture', and, to varying degrees, phenotype. Such ethnic symbols are used by insiders or outsiders to mark intergroup boundaries, which are more salient in some situations than in others. (Radice, 2016, p. 433)

Despite calls by many researchers of transnational migration to move beyond the ethnic lens, they often end up referring to people of migrant background as belonging to distinctive ethno-religious communities with distinctive shared norms and values (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 17). Ethnic groups become treated as fixed homogenous masses rather than complex entities (Noble, 2011, p. 832), making it easy to apply gross stereotypes that would be unrecognisable to the individuals concerned (Cohen, 2001, p. 74), the false assumption being that ethnic identities, beliefs, networks or practices are the central defining characteristics of their lives (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013, p. 495). Noble's (2009, p. 876) work, for example, on gender, young men and ethnicity, suggests that the emphasis given to ethnicity and

masculinity – as central as these categories were for these groups – was often at the expense of more complex, multiple and fluid facets of identity.

With its focus on increased migration being the cause of increasing complexity – 'more ethnicities and more countries of origin', which poses 'significant challenges for both policy and research' in Britain (Vertovec, 2007, pp. 1024-1025) – Vertovec and others stand accused by some of unintentionally reinforcing damaging binaries of difference, even though this was not their intention.

> When researchers speak of inter-ethnic relations, interculturality or 'contact' situations, even if their concern is the sociability of everyday urban life, they reinforce ethno-religious boundaries as a determinant of social interaction, as well as the idea that there exists an urban and national mainstream culture that is both homogeneous and not marked by histories of mobility (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 2).

In focusing on ethnicity and country of origin as primary modes of difference, transnational migration research has contributed to the assumption that the migrant/native divide is *the* fundamental challenge to social cohesion and the stability and welfare of the states in which migrants settle (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109). Discussions of sociability thus become framed in terms of the need to bridge communal differences in everyday life between native and migrant, bridges that would not be required between people born in the same country and from the same cultural background. In reinforcing native/migrant binaries and conceptualisations of 'the other' (Glick Schiller, 2012, p. 526), concepts such as Vertovec's super-diversity have been criticised for unintentionally contributing to the exclusion of certain peoples from 'consideration as city-makers and agents of restructuring and rearticulating a city' (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 7) by reinforcing a pervading narrative that historic flows are 'novel and exceptional, disrupting previous fixed relationships between culture, territory and identity' (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 186).

But flows of capital, people and ideas have been a constant throughout human history (Hannerz, 1997, p. 4). Creating binaries of fixity and mobility obscures important processes in the way social lives are constructed.

> When binaries of difference…are constructed between fixity and motion,
> social life cannot be seen as processes in which both fixity and motion are
> relative and interrelated. Unless grounded in a broad historical perspective
> that moves beyond binary logics, including that of then and now, the study
> of mobility can obliterate the understanding that movement and
> interconnection are fundamental to the human condition – past, present and
> future. (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 186)

Such binaries are a further legacy of methodological nationalism, in which state borders are considered to also be boundaries to society. Such logic makes immigrants the fundamental threat to social solidarity, their norms and values in direct contrast to those of the host nation.

> Because methodological nationalists project each state as not only
> historically discrete sovereign states but also separate societies, they portray
> migrants as arriving with particular distinctive national norms. Much of
> migration theory consistently disregards both the social and cultural
> divisions within each nation-state, as well as the experiences, norms and
> values migrants and natives share, because they are embedded in social,
> economic and political processes, networks, movements and institutions that
> exist both within and across state borders. (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 111)

Retaining national, ethnic or ethno-religious background as the unit of analysis in transnational research reinforces the sense that these communities share norms and values distinct from the host population (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109). Hence discussions centred on social encounters between migrant and native populations often talk of needing specific tools to bridge their mutual differences. The migrant/native divide becomes entrenched as the fundamental challenge to social cohesion (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109).

This is not to dismiss the powerful pull and appeal of 'the tribe'. Debates about diversity and living with difference, whether perceived as positive or negative, could not currently be any more at the forefront in much of the western world; a 'savage nativism currently abounds across Europe' as Hall (2017, p. 1563) put it, accompanied by a 'new politics of fear' (Massey, 2015, p. 287) and paranoia, 'simultaneously dependent on and closed to diversity (Hall, 2013, p. 49) fuelled by nostalgic notions for a golden era when society was unburdened by the challenge of dealing with difference and diversity.

Such political rhetoric is extremely powerful. Singling out and demonising one section of society – usually the most vulnerable – makes other sections feel more together and united. Sennett believed this appeal for tribal unity has deep evolutionary roots.

> Tribalism couples solidarity with others like yourself to aggression against those who differ. This is a natural impulse, since most social animals are tribal; they hunt together in packs, they lay out territories to defend; the tribe is necessary for their survival. (Sennett, 2012, p. 12)

But a tribe that is based on appearances alone has its limitations. A tribe left in complete isolation would eventually die out through genetic abnormalities caused by interbreeding. Furthermore, being a member of a tribe does not guarantee the certainty of protection. Even today, we are more likely to be murdered by a family member or someone we know than by a stranger (Dubner, 2009). A key driver of violence in families can be difference. Violence can be committed 'in the name of family honour…typically perpetrated by men against female relatives' who have challenged them by 'seeking to make independent lifestyle decisions' (Clooney, 2014, p. 87). And tribal protection can be hierarchical. A child may be protected by classmates when threatened by attendees of a rival school, and then bullied mercilessly once that threat has passed: protectors can turn tormentors.

Twiss (2012, p. 358) coined the phrase 'intrasocietal diversity' to reflect how society has always had to deal with difference, even within cultural groups that might appear from the outside as visually homogenous. In a tribe based on appearances, those who are most likely to be singled out are the ones that stand out in some way as being different. The best way to avoid being ostracised from the tribe is therefore to act and be the same as its most powerful members. This is called 'repressive unity'.

> Obviously mutual aggression cannot hold a city together, but Aristotle made this precept more subtle. Tribalism, he said, involves thinking you know what other people are like without knowing them; lacking direct experience of others, you fall back on fearful fantasies. Brought up to date, this is the idea of the stereotype. (Sennett, 2012, p. 13)

The above has shown that sharing a background based on appearances does not guarantee the protection of the tribe. More importantly, an illusion of unity based on the appearance of homogeneity from the outside can lead to forces of repression, and to break from this appearance of unity can lead to sudden explosive and violent consequences.

It is against this background, together with an increasingly divisive and growing politics, that researchers are cautioning against ethnicity as the focal point of social encounters across difference in cities. In its place, Glick Schiller & Schmidt (2016) call for a 're-engagement with the notion of 'the social' so that diversity, variation, mobility and conflict are seen as aspects of all urban social life, and not exclusively an attribute of 'the other'' (p. 1). This is not to dismiss the complexity inherent in diverse societies, but this diversity 'is only one degree of complexity' (Noble, 2011, p. 830). Only an emphasis on social relationships rather than cultural differences, claim Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2016, p. 30), can unmask the possibilities and circumstances within which commonalities frequently emerge.

This sentiment lies at the root of this study of street markets and urbanity. The next section will outline some of the key elements of space that are more likely reveal than mask people's commonalities.

2.2. Requirements for spaces that support urbanity

In the discussion of urbanity in 2.1.1 the importance of Sennett's (Sennett, 1974, p. 222) communities of shared action over communities of being was established. Communities of shared action echo Glick Schiller's (2016, p. 24) 'domains of commonality' outside of 'predefined categories of group relations' to foster Hall's (2015, p. 854) 'sociology of reconfiguration' that remake city spaces anew in a way that is satisfying to established residents and newcomers. The other element in this working definition was the role of spatial characteristics in supporting this process and creating a public platform in which it can be performed, which are conceptualised by Radice's (2016, p. 434) 'microplaces'.

There are a number of characteristics of public spaces which can engender sociologies of reconfiguration. The first of these is 2.2.1 the occupation of public space by its inhabitants. The second is the importance of 2.2.2 high densities, not to be confused with overcrowding, and third, for this density to have built within it 2.2.3 high levels of diversity.

2.2.1. Physical and symbolic occupation of public space

The roots of contemporary public spaces are to be found in the contest for the physical and symbolic occupation of the secular spaces of the medieval city. Previously the sole preserve of the church and nobility, secular groups began to contest the use and ownership of these city spaces. Through these contestations, amplified by their confined nature – a medieval city only has one true centre – the ability of spaces within the city to take on new representations of both physical and symbolic power was enhanced.

> The relations among social and political groups, and the political culture of
> the various civic regimes, played itself out in public and, as a consequence,
> shaped space. Urban space offered urban factions concrete sites for

consolidating power relations among themselves and staging, often theatrically, conflicts between the city and its princely rivals...much of what animated change and conflict is the remarkable jockeying for power that centred on specific places rich in symbols of economic, cultural, and political prestige (Boone, 2002, p. 623)

Ritual played an important part in the physical and symbolic occupation of these early medieval spaces. Its citizens were quick to realise and act on the importance ritual could have on other occupants of the same space – a pedagogic quality to space that will also feature in the conviviality discussion in 2.3.2 below. Furthermore, they recognised that rituals acquired additional power when performed in important spaces (Arnade, et al., 2002, p. 525). Therefore, performances of public ritual were not simply 'representations of power; they constituted power'. This was key to the development of late medieval urban life (Arnade, et al., 2002, p. 526).

> Throughout the late medieval period, the spaces of cities were revolutionary agents of change. They were the specific places – not realms or spheres – that made urban society and culture possible and gave cities and their citizens their power. (Arnade, et al., 2002, p. 548).

Street markets were one of these important spaces of the city. They were where the 'acts of economic production and exchange, of sociability, and of the politics that defined urbanity were given life' (Ennen in Arnade et al 2002, p. 531).

> The great merchants of the day, whose networks stretched throughout the known world and whose mercantilist policies would become models for the governments of emerging territorial sovereigns, were synonymous in the cultural imagination with urbanity itself. The heart of this economy was the market, which not only regulated exchange in the city but also facilitated the city's penetration into, and influence over, the countryside...this market was the generator of urbanity, the essential warp of a socio-political and cultural fabric that would clothe all of European society. (Arnade, et al., 2002, p. 531)

There are many examples of the continuing power struggle for the right to occupy important spaces within the city. Even the word 'Occupy' has become a global movement, which in turn claims to have been inspired by the uprisings of the Arab Spring, where occupation of important public spaces played a crucial part[6]. Similarly, Gay Pride events occupied symbolically important urban spaces in order to show solidarity and togetherness (Ammaturo, 2016, p. 19), but also, to demonstrate that homosexuality was not, counter to popular opinion at the time, at the extremes of society.

> Some have proposed that the original intent of gay pride events were designed to create neither a positive nor a negative impact, they were merely there as proof. Before "gay pride", most Americans held largely to the notion that homosexuality was extremely fringe: *an illness, a condition to be stamped out and oppressed at all cost…*Like a lot of traditions, they served a more serious purpose in early years, but now are kept around for social value, fun and diversion. (Holliday, 2012)

The Occupy and Gay Pride movements began decades apart and set out with very different goals in mind. But they both used the ritualised occupation of important public spaces to strengthen their symbolic acts of defiance against the status quo. The ritual power of space stems from the fact we are, as Richardson describes, 'situated "beings"'.

> …a large part of whatever meanings we establish for ourselves has to do with our "being in the world", and objects and entities – including the living beings that we are – do not exist "in space" but, *qua* Heidegger, constitute space itself and are inconceivable without space; furthermore, we are aware of this facet of our existence and are often self-conscious about it. Thus, no account of our capacity to express ourselves symbolically can avoid

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[6] See www.occupywallst.org for further information

addressing the multiple ways in which spatiality informs our relationships with others. (Richardson, 2015, p. 2)

For space to be considered public, a precondition, suggests Watson (2006, p. 234) is engagement across difference and a mutual respect for those who are different from each other. This requires the disruption of dominant norms, and the inclusion of 'the symbolic worlds of minority cultures,' even though this will be uncomfortable and destabilising for some (Watson, 2006, p. 75). This creates spaces of cultural destabilisation that place people from different backgrounds in new settings where:

…engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments. They are moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction' (Amin, 2002, p. 970).

Hall & Datta (2010, p. 69) researched the 'translocal geographies' of migrant entrepreneurs through the visual signscapes and choreographed arrangements of urban surfaces by shopkeepers along a south London street. Their research found that this form of symbolic occupation provided a medium for individuals to negotiate differences in a way that neither determined fixed identities nor inhibited individual choice in the references they chose (Hall & Datta, 2010, pp. 69-71). These sorts of translocal geographies combined to create a simultaneous situatedness and connectedness that facilitates transnational mobility without reducing the importance of locales.

It was the lack of situated beings in pluralistic and diverse public spaces, as will be shown over the next two sections (2.2.2 and 2.2.3) that was a key criticism of a new wave of public spaces being developed in the second half of the twentieth-century. A handful of urban practitioners (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p. 3) had noticed that many of them seemed to lack a vital ingredient – people.

2.2.2.   People density good, overcrowding bad

In 1957, Whyte published a collection of essays in a book titled *The Exploding*

Metropolis. The contributors to this collection were part of a growing movement

concerned with the effects of a new suburban style of low-density development being

planned for dense urban areas as part of the massive drive to modernise western cities

post-World War Two. Their concern was that these projects were physically, but not

spiritually, in the city (Whyte, 1957, p. 7).

Designed in part to counteract the desperate problems of overcrowding in the slums of

the Victorian city (Hall, 1988, p. 21), the designers of these new spaces were accused

of failing to grasp the important distinction between high densities and overcrowding.

Jacobs, one of the contributors to the book, would go onto dedicate a large part of her

most seminal publication *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* to correcting this

misunderstanding.

> High densities mean large numbers of dwellings per acre of land.
> Overcrowding means too many people in a dwelling for the number of
> rooms it contains. The census definition of overcrowding is 1.5 persons per
> room or more. It has nothing to do with the number of dwellings on the
> land, just as in real life high densities have nothing to do with overcrowding.
> This confusion between high densities and overcrowding, which I will go into
> briefly because it so much interferes with understanding the role of
> densities, is another of the obfuscations we have inherited from Garden City
> planning. The Garden City planners and their disciples looked at slums which
> had both many dwelling units on the land (high densities) and too many
> people within individual dwellings (overcrowding), and failed to make a
> distinction between the fact of overcrowded rooms and the entirely
> different fact of densely built up land. They hated both equally, in any case,
> and coupled them like ham and eggs, so that to this day housers and
> planners pop out the phrase as if it were one word,
> "highdensityandovercrowding". (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 267-268)

Overcrowding continued to be a high-profile concern, however, even though cities were in general experiencing negative migration. Whyte believed one reason for this was because although the number of choke points due to overcrowding in the city were relatively few – such as rush hour on the tube, for example – 'the number of people using them are so high, the experience so abysmal, that it colours our perception of the city' (Whyte, 1980, p. 12). A consequence was that planners spent much of their time seeking ways of reducing people densities even at a time when the real threat to the future of cities was too much space and too few people (Whyte, 1980, p. 4; Whyte, 1988, p. 6).

Such was the spectre of overcrowding that a series of experiments reported how being around other people was an uncomfortable and unnatural experience. Whyte noticed that these experiments rarely studied people in their everyday environment (Whyte, 1988, p. 5). He set out to do just this, revisiting over twenty acres of new public spaces – a project he had originally been involved in as a member of the New York City Planning Commission – that had been built due to developer incentives across New York over the previous decade. Through a series of observational experiments, Whyte found that most of the public spaces were largely empty and principally being used to get from A to B (Whyte, 1988, pp. 14-15). Furthermore, elements he had assumed vital to attracting people to use and dwell in space, such as sunlight, although desirable, were not the defining factors he thought they would be in attracting large numbers of users to a public space (Whyte, 1980, p. 40); the best way to attract people to use and dwell in public space was the presence of other people (Whyte, 1980, p. 19).

The architect Jan Gehl, (2001, p. 25), who was conducting similar observational research to Whyte's, but in Copenhagen, Denmark, also found that 'people and human activities attract other people'. He illustrated this by suggesting that if given a choice of walking across a deserted street or a lively one, most people in most situations would choose the lively street (Gehl, 2001, p. 27).

These observational research studies were important because they provided empirical evidence that counteracted the mainstream opinion that people do not like to be around other people. They showed that in most areas of high density in public places, people are choosing to congregate, such as a sunny day at the park. These are areas of 'co-presence' (Hillier & Netto, 2002, p. 187), called by Whyte 'self-congestion' (1988, p. 2) or 'amiable congestion' (1988, p. 101). The capacity of such spaces is generally self-determining, thought Whyte, because people choose to either go there or not. If there is a long queue at a restaurant, for example, you might decide to try the one next door. Conversely, if the next-door restaurant is totally empty, you might decide it is safer to queue. The same is true for public spaces where raising densities to concentrate and tighten up the fabric and help get the pedestrian back on the street was the most effective way to make places feel safe (Whyte, 1988, p. 7).

In Radice's (2016) research of multi-ethnic streets in Quebec she found the density of buildings squeezed the 'microplaces' of the street closer together in a way that 'people cannot help but share space and interact with each other, whether that interaction is warm, minimal, or standoffish' (p. 440). Here, proximity affords the capacity at least to turn proximity into conviviality (Radice, 2016, p. 440) or indeed hostility (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 25).

Lefebvre also believed in high densities and particularly the concentration of the city centre: 'there is no urbanity without a centre', he said (1996, p. 208). Lefebvre, however, was more concerned with the nature of activity in the centre rather than just the number of people in any one place. As one of the few remaining residents in his block, the others having been converted to offices, he complained about city centres becoming 'museumified' and 'managerial'. This gave them a lively appearance, but, perhaps feeling rather isolated sitting in an empty apartment building in the evenings, he questioned whether they were lively in 'urbanistic terms' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 209). Central to creating a living city, in Jacobs' view, was that density was also accompanied by diversity, the third characteristics of public spaces required to engender communities of shared action rather than communities of being.

2.2.3. 'Disordered' diversity – mixing different people and their functions

'No concentration of residents, however high it may be', says Jacobs (1961, p. 267), is "sufficient" if diversity is supressed or thwarted'. Density, in Jacobs' view, has therefore failed in urban terms if not accompanied by diversity.

> …we need all kinds of diversity, intricately mingled in mutual support. We
> need this so city life can work decently and constructively, and so the people
> of cities can sustain (and further develop) their society and civilisation.
> (Jacobs, 1961, p. 315)

2.1.2 above highlighted the importance of moving beyond the ethnic lens to reveal ways in which all people deploy 'multiple frames of action and forms of belonging' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013, p. 495). This does not mean ethnicity should be ignored as a potential point of difference between people – as discussed above, such social categories are often invoked through interpersonal relations that are imbued in power relations (2016, p. 435) – but rather that it should not be a taken for granted fixture of migrant identity (Fox & Jones, 2013, p. 386) and thus a potential barrier to social encounters that require bridging between different ethnic groups. A comprehensive discussion on exchange and social encounters forms the bulk of 2.3 below. This section focuses on difference defined using Glick Schiller's (2016, p. 24) 'predefined categories of group relations' to include anything that could be encapsulated as contributing to a sense of otherness – gender, age, sexuality, income, physical ability, language, the clothes we wear and the music we listen to – as well as factors such as culture, ethnicity and race. In terms of characteristics of spaces capable of supporting urbanity, the literature identifies two equally important and mutually supporting types of diversity. The first is the need for urban spaces that support a diversity of functions, which in turn attracts the second, a diversity of people.

Jacobs (1961, p. 267) used the term 'a mixture of primary uses' to describe what is called here a diversity of functions. In a similar vein, the organisation *Project for Public Spaces* – founded by a protégé of Whyte's – developed the concept 'The Power of Ten' to convey the importance of layering different functions that provide 'variety and choice' as an essential ingredient of effective urban spaces: 'If your goal is to build a

great city, it's not enough to have a single use dominate a particular place — you need an array of activities for people' (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.).

What these concepts share is a reaction against urban plans that encourage the zoning of single uses that dominate the functioning of a particular space. Zoning had become a common response to many of the problems posed to the health and safety of its citizens. It made sense during the industrial revolution, for example, to locate factories belching out toxic smoke as far from residential areas as possible – the wealthy ones at least – but not so far that people could not get to these areas for work. From the perspective of urbanity, however, single-use dominated urban spaces are undesirable because they are only ever likely to appeal to a narrow band of people. Jacobs (1961), describes how such spaces can spark a cycle of urban decay.

> …by oversimplifying the use of the city at one place, on a large scale, they tend to simplify the use which people give to the adjoining territory too, and this simplification of use – meaning fewer users, with fewer different purposes and destinations at hand – feeds itself. The more infertile the simplified territory becomes for economic enterprises, the still fewer the users, and the still more infertile the territory. A kind of unbuilding, or running-down process is set in motion. This is serious, because literal and continuous mingling of people, present because of different purposes, is the only device that keeps streets safe. It is the only device that cultivates secondary diversity. It is the only device that encourages districts to form in place of fragmented, self-isolated neighbourhoods or backwaters. (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 338-339)

In such isolated neighbourhoods, 'sociospatial divisions' and differences are emphasised through segregation (Christ, et al., 2014, p. 4000). Two examples of such spaces include the ubiquitous central business district, with its gleaming glass towers, or the rundown ghetto (Bridge & Watson, 2002, p. 237). If, on the other hand, a diversity of functions can be nurtured in the same space, the potential increases for an area to attract a greater mix and diversity of people, thus reducing sociospatial

distances between people who may consider themselves, based on appearances alone, to have little in common.

There is a direct link, therefore, between the number and diversity of functions supported by a place and the diversity and accompanying density of people it is likely to attract. A drawback of such places are that they can feel chaotic and appear illegible to outsiders. This sometimes includes the administrators responsible for them, illegibility proving a reliable resource for political autonomy (Scott, 1998, p. 54), which is one reason perhaps why spaces of order historically have a greater value than places of disorder.

For Sennett (1990, p. 18), the 'production' or emergence of the first medieval urban spaces from the constraints of a feudal-based society have within them the seeds of a 'corrosive dualism' that has influenced successive historic attempts at reimagining the city that impacts how we plan, design and experience the contemporary spaces of today's cities. At the heart of this corrosive dualism, Sennett (1990) believed, are street markets, or variants thereof, and the disordered sense of diversity they represent.

Feudal city spaces were characterised by a contrast between sacred and secular space. The latter, were places of symmetrical clarity, the former, places of disordered diversity (Sennett, 1990, p. 13).

> The medieval builders were masons and carpenters, not philosophers. As Christians, they knew only that secular space had to look unlike sacred space. This happened as the secular buildings of these cities grew jumbled together, the streets twisted and inefficient, while the churches were carefully sited, their construction precise, their design elaborately calculated (Sennett, 1990, p. 12).

By the eleventh century the fabric of the city was becoming increasingly congested, the expanding sacred city pushing against the expanding secular city. The secular

medieval city outside the church was, according to Sennett, now essentially one big street market.

> People bought and sold everywhere, on the street, in houses, as well as in open squares. These market squares were not, moreover, secular centres in the city – that would have accorded to secular space a kind of balanced parity to the sacred centre. Market squares were seldom designed; they were simply more of the same receiving, bargaining, and shipping that buzzed in every open and closed cranny of space (Sennett, 1990, p. 16).

As competition for space increased, a vigorous attempt was made to define sacred space within which profane activity had no claim. A natural point of definition was around the notion of sanctuary. The place of sanctuary was inside the church. But being inside, it 'necessarily established where charity and regard for others was absent: charity does not exist on the street' (Sennett, 1990, p. 18). It was an age where:

> Medieval merchants were peculiarly vulnerable to attack, because the climate of opinion, in the Middle Ages, was not favourable to those who made profits or accumulated wealth from trade. The acquisitive appetites, however, continued to be active enough, in those centuries, to earn their rating as a popular theme of pulpit communication…merchants found themselves in a dilemma in the Middle Ages which was none of their making. What they did was useful and even necessary; and sooner or later everyone in the community discovered for himself this was. But their occupation was suspect and its rewards disreputable. (Bridbury, 1986, p. 85)

In his study of *Medieval Market Morality*, Davis (2012) suggests that the Church was not as opposed to contemporary economic practice as some historians and literary critics have previously stated. The Church was an important landowner and its clergy and 'servitors' were regularly involved in commercial matters that would have involved

buying and selling in markets (Pirenne, 1925, p. 77). However, they did regularly use market traders to 'pinpoint areas of contemporary concern'.

> Commercial developments from the twelfth to the fifteen centuries were a vibrant context. The petty trader was also a strong presence in society throughout these centuries and presented challenges to theological thought and conventions. Such traders were a class apart from the gentrified aspirations of the provincial and city merchants, and much more relevant to the majority of the population. (Davis, 2012, p. 39)

Davis (2012) makes a distinction between the attitude of the Church towards official and unofficial public marketplaces in medieval cities. The former 'inferred honesty, witnesses and social cooperation,' whereas the latter, trade being conducted in secret, 'implied fraud, price-raising and other crimes because such transactions occurred outside the remit of official sanction' (Davis, 2012, p. 177). Thus, in the early twelfth century, twisted and inefficient secular spaces, at least those outside of official marketplaces, were 'regarded with suspicion, and even despised, by monks'. They were 'the sites of usury, insurrection, and concupiscence,' which were 'intolerable infractions of the monastic virtues of humility, obedience, and chastity' (Milis, 2002, p. 671).

> Christianity originated and grew in a distinctively urban setting—the polis and civitas of the late antique age. Its values and outlook on life, however, were often hostile to urbanity, exacerbated by the accommodations made to the aristocratic world of the early Middle Ages and the triumph of monasticism. (Arnade, et al., 2002, p. 528)

It was through this contrast that cities in their existing form were obliterated from the canons of history, diminished to an idealised sacred form of clarity and virtue. Such cities were represented as 'completely symmetrical – symmetry denoting perfection – centred by a church (or churches), bordered by walls with towers and gates, and surrounded by a ditch (or rivers)' (Milis, 2002, p. 668).

The obliteration of cities in their real form is not unique to the religious order of medieval historians and archivists. Prints and maps of Georgian London promoted images of 'smiling fields and lowing herds', for example, ignoring the 'ubiquitous brickfields, tips and shanties' (Porter, 1994, p. 30). And who can blame them? These parts of cities were dangerous and unsightly places, characterised by 'high mortality rates and low birth rates', which required a steady stream of incoming migrants just to maintain even population levels (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, pp. 249-250).

This historic search for an idealised urban form that provided some sense of symmetrical clarity must be considered against the backdrop of a disordered city life that claimed so many inhabitants' lives through the lack of basic infrastructure and overcrowding. The search for a cleaner, safer city really took hold in the Enlightenment period, which saw Western European cities invest heavily in the basic infrastructures of the city – fostering a 'strong aesthetic that looked with enthusiasm on straight lines and visible order' (Scott, 1998, p. 55) – for the very first time. They did so, 'according to an enlightened taste for order and cleanliness, leading to changes in drainage systems, street lighting, pavements and pedestrian walkways, installing uniform street names, and silencing rattling shops signs' (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, p. 243).

More interesting, perhaps, is the wave of utopian visualisations of future cities that emerged from the mid nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. An extreme example is the Octagon City (see Figure 1 below), which was commissioned and built by the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company. It was intended to be for vegetarians only, but had to broaden its scope due to lack of interest. Even so, most of its original settlers abandoned the project after just a few months (Zhang, 2014).

> City designer Henry Clubb, a vegetarian activist, imagined that eight roads would lead away from a central octagonal town square. From there, the city would be made up of four octagon villages, complete with octagon farmhouses, town squares, and public buildings (Newitz & Stamm, 2014).

The octagon was chosen as inspiration because it allowed the most amount of light to enter. But it was also symbolic of a broader social reform movement in the mid nineteenth-century that believed 'the morals and values of a society could be reflected in a city's layout' (Zhang, 2014).
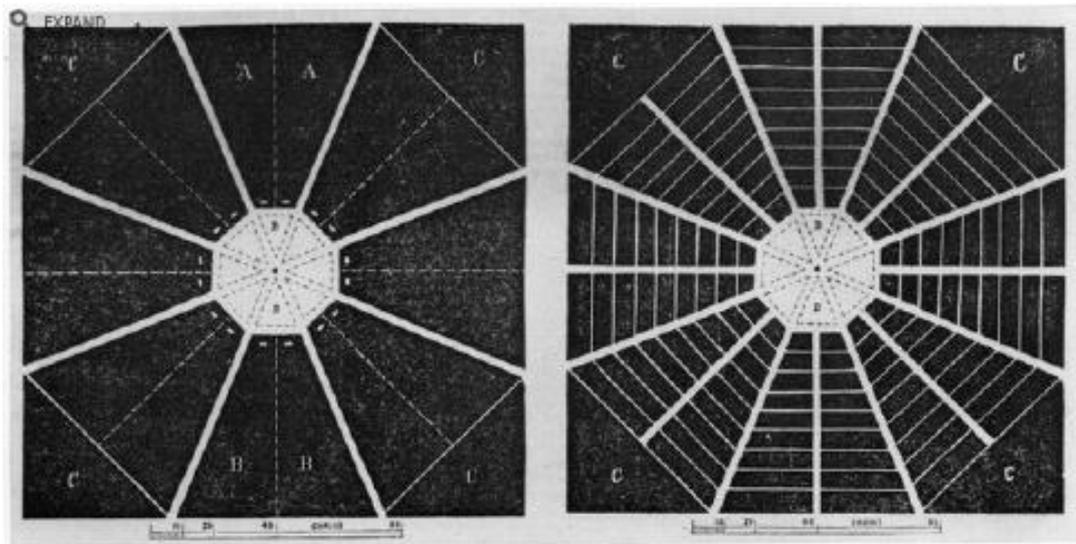
Figure 1 – there is no room for disordered diversity in this early concept design for the Octagon City built by the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company – the project lasted just a few months (Newitz & Stamm, 2014)

As with so many idealised city movements, their starting point is to alleviate genuine suffering. Howard's Garden City movement a few decades towards the end of the nineteenth-century in Britain sought the mass movement of people away from the ghastly conditions of the Victorian slums into smaller self-sustainable enclaves that would engender the best of both country and city life (Clark, 2003, p. 88). Howard (1902, pp. 10-11) claimed the problem of people streaming into 'already over-crowded cities' and thus 'further depleting the country districts' was the sole problem that found consensus across political parties 'not only in England, but all over Europe and America and our colonies'. Howard quotes Lord Roseberry, then Chairman of the London County Council:

> ...there is no thought of pride associated in my mind with the idea of London.
> I am always haunted by the awfulness of London: by the great appalling fact
> of these millions cast down, as it would appear by hazard, on the banks of
> this noble stream, working each in their own groove and their own cell,

without regard or knowledge of each other, without heeding each other, without having the slightest idea how the other lives – heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men. (Howard, 1902, p. 11)

Howard's Garden Cities were concentric in form, rather than octagonal, and were founded with Quaker principles and money, with a ban on alcohol in the first Garden city, Letchworth, that was not repealed until 1958. Markets were a part of Howard's plan, although they were to be situated on the outer ring with the factories, warehouses, dairies and timber yards (Clark, 2003, p. 92).

Garden cities are one of the more successful implementations of a utopian-inspired city vision, having world-wide influence. And their inhabitants seem to enjoy living in them, if Letchworth, the first Garden City, is anything to go by: in a 2015 residents' survey carried out by the Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation, '87% of people said that they were very happy or happy to be living in Letchworth' (Anon, 2015). But with its quiet city centre night life and restricted numbers of residents, it could be argued there is very little 'urban' in a Garden City. As the forbearers of suburban sprawl, they were less a substitute for urban living, but more a return to Georgian attempts to overlay the countryside, which was considered a superior way of life closer to God, over the city, in order to tame some of its worst vices. An example of new Garden City housing taken from the movement's website can be seen in Figure 2 below. Although cars can be seen in the driveways, people are completely absent.

The legacy of Garden Cities lives on in the UK, with the announcement by the government in January 2016 of fourteen 'Garden Villages' and three 'Garden Towns' ranging from 1,500 to 10,000 homes each. The Town and Country Planning Association, a charity founded by Howard in 1899, has played a significant role in campaigning for the expansion in the number of Garden Cities. It is not clear whether street markets will play a significant role in these new Garden Towns and Villages, but they do not feature prominently, if at all, in the accompanying strategic guidance (see www.tcpa.org.uk).

Figure 2 – a picture of an unnamed Garden Village on the Town and Country Planning Authority website. But where are the people? www.tcpa.org.uk

The monumental city movement that followed Garden Cities, shares little with the social vision that underpinned Howard's plans for combining the best of town and country (Hall, 1998, p. 9).   But what it does share is an equal commitment to geometrical forms. Popular with, among others, Hitler and Stalin (see Figure 3 below), the movement oversaw the destruction of large swathes of twisted and inefficient city spaces to be replaced with grand boulevards, huge public squares and impressive municipal buildings with classical influences harking back to the roman emperors and Greek gods of antiquity.

Post-World War 2 modernism was a movement driven by the establishment, which resorted to the processes that had been successful in the wars; functionality and the standardised process of the factory, in the urgent need to rebuild. In architecture and planning, this meant 'eschewing of ornament and personalised design', and an obsession for massive spaces and perspectives, for 'uniformity and the power of the straight line (always superior to the curve, pronounced Le Corbusier)' (Harvey, 1990, p. 36). Lefebvre was not impressed by such spaces, saying of his compatriot:

> Le Corbusier was a good architect but a catastrophic urbanist, who
> prevented us from thinking about the city as a place where different groups
> can meet, where they may be in conflict but also form alliances, and where
> they participate in a collective *oeuvre* (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 206).

Figure 3 – Stalin was a proponent of the Monumental City Movement (Tambo, n.d.)

Here, once again, there is an acceptance from Lefebvre of the potential for conflict when people are given a place to congregate and meet. But he also acknowledges the possibility for alliances. One cannot exist without the other (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 25). But the architects post-World War Two had larger matters to deal with than the intricacies of human interaction at ground level. They were busy planning the new estates that would house veteran soldiers and their families, with hot water, central heating and indoor toilets: facilities many could only dream of previously. The resulting scale and speed of build was remarkable, even if the urban legacy it left us is less so. The word used so easily today to describe modern architecture, says Sennett (1990, p. 114), is 'cold'.

In Jacobs' essay, *Downtown is for people,* part of *The Exploding Metropolis* collection mentioned earlier, Jacobs gives a stinging critique of the public spaces emerging from post-World War Two America. She describes how they will be:

> …spacious, parklike, and uncrowded. They will feature long green vistas.
> They will be stable and symmetrical and orderly. They will be clean,
> impressive, and monumental. They will have all the attributes of a well-kept,
> dignified cemetery (Jacobs, 1957, p. 157).

What these successive urban forms share – the Octagonal City, Garden City, Monumental City and Modern City – is the belief that symmetrical order can create a world of harmony and predetermined order (Sennett, 1970, p. 102). Successive notions of city planning have taken on this tone because of what planners feel about the complexity possible in city life. Their impulse has been to give way to that tendency to control the unknown and eliminate the possibility for surprise (Sennett, 1970, p. 96). This makes for highly rigid and prescriptive urban forms, with few opportunities for inhabitants to express their own personalities through the physical and symbolic adornment and occupation of space. In the hands of urban planners and designers, the public domain is all too easily reduced to improvements to the aesthetics of public spaces (Amin, 2002, p. 968), with modest achievements in terms of creating 'spaces of interdependence and habitual engagement' (Amin, 2002, p. 969). The element of human complexity, or disordered diversity, personified by the presence of social interaction in all its guises, is missing: 'designing a dream city is easy; rebuilding a living one takes imagination' signs off Jacobs (1957, p. 184).

2.3.   Exchange: how we get to know other people

So far, the requirements for urban space to support urbanity – the ability for people to act together without the compulsion to be the same – have largely centred on encouraging people, preferably different kinds of people, to use the same space at the same time, preferably for different reasons. Cities, Amin & Thrift (2002, p. 81) maintain, only 'exist as means of movement, as means to engineer *encounters* through collection, transport and collation'. But simply being around each other is not enough to ensure a collective of shared action. This is the role of exchange.

Sennett identifies five segments in the spectrum of exchange, from 1) altruistic self-sacrifice at one end, to 4) zero-sum exchange, in which one partner prevails, and 5) winner-takes-all at the other. The middle of this spectrum – 2) win-win exchange, in which both parties benefit, and 3) differentiating exchange, in which the partners become aware of their differences – is where the majority of social encounters sit, and is where the forces of competition and cooperation are most finely balanced (Sennett,

2012, p. 72). But getting to know each other requires a platform around which these exchanges can take place. These platforms are sometimes called borders.

2.3.1.   Borders – where strangers meet

Sennett (2012, pp. 82-83) makes a distinction between two very different forms of urban edge; boundaries and borders. A boundary is defined as a relatively inert edge, where population thins out and there is little exchange. An example of a boundary would be a motorway. A border, by contrast, is a more active edge, such as a mixed-use street, that encourages exchange by drawing different people and their functions into the same space.

When strangers meet, our natural processes of compare and contrast are engaged (Radice, 2016, p. 435). Our superficial differences and similarities are often the first things we notice about each other; we have nothing else to work from, which is why, at crucial times in our lives where we will be judged quickly, such as a job interview, we are taught that 'first impressions last'. But the inadequacy of this mantra for life in general, is why we are also taught to 'never judge a book by its cover'. The former is driven by our preconceptions of what a person will be like based on appearances alone, the latter, by direct shared experience that may, depending on the nature of the experience, reinforce or weaken our subjective preconceptions ahead of the next encounter.

Cities, constituted by an increasingly diverse array of competing cultures shaping and occupying limited urban space (Hall, 2008, p. 10), have always been at the forefront of experience in dealing with difference (Watson, 2006, p. 16). This sense of difference is compounded by the ubiquitous presence of the stranger; the alien, the intruder, the unknown (Sennett, 1974, p. 48). Whether strangers are more likely to meet or not, and on what terms, depends largely on whether the environment they share has boundary- or border-like characteristics.

> A boundary is a relatively inert edge; population thins out at this sort of edge
> and there's little exchange among creatures. A border is a more active edge,

as at the shoreline dividing ocean and land...In human ecology, the eight-lane highway isolating parts of the city from each other is a boundary, whereas a mixed-use street at the edge between two communities can be more of a border. (Sennett, 2012, pp. 82-83)

Borders are important in urban areas that support urbanity because it is not enough for people just to share the same space. People need active edges around which they then have the opportunity to interact and get to know each other. These borders do not represent the point where differentiation occurs, rather, they incorporate and enclose our respective differences (Cohen, 2001, p. 74). They are the sites around which people contrive small gestures and daily routines of civility that allow them to get on with each other (Sennett, 1970, p. xiii). These contrived daily moments of civility present a mask to the outside world that becomes symbolic of 'the community's public face'.

> ...the conceptualization and symbolization of the border[7] from within is much more complex. To put this another way, the border as the community's public face is symbolically simple; but, as the object of internal discourse it is symbolically complex. Thus, we can all attribute gross stereotypical features to whole groups: but, for the members of those groups such stereotypes applied to themselves as individuals would almost invariably be regarded as gross distortions, superficial, unfair, ridiculous. In the public face, internal variety disappears or coalesces into a simple statement. In its private mode, differentiation, variety and complexity proliferate. (Cohen, 2001, p. 74)

When people meet outside of predefined group relations they experience what Sennett (2012, p. 83) called 'a more personal kind of border-condition' where differences are exposed, but where contact also stimulated self-understanding. Many

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[7] Cohen uses the word boundary instead of border in this passage. The terms boundary and border have been used interchangeably by different writers to mean the same thing, an active edge around which social interaction occurs. To avoid confusion, the researcher has altered the quote to match the use of borders throughout the rest of this dissertation.

such encounters are fleeting in nature, but have a long-lasting value attributed to them.

2.3.2. Civility & conviviality – fleeting and more sustained encounters of belonging

Fleeting encounters have become central to different theories of how people relate to each other in cities. This section begins with an overview of the importance of fleeting encounters before looking deeper into the sorts of social encounters encapsulated in theories of civility and more contemporary debates centred on concepts of conviviality.

Gehl (2001, p. 16) recognised the importance of 'the entire spectrum of activities, which combine to make communal spaces in cities and residential areas meaningful and attractive' and identified a scale of social intensity for this spectrum of activities with high intensity, such as a conversation between close friends or family at one end, and low-level intensity 'seeing and hearing' and observing other people at the other. The majority of social encounters in public spaces sit at the lower end of this intensity spectrum.

> In city streets and city centres, social activities will generally be more
> superficial, with the majority being passive contacts – seeing and hearing a
> great number of unknown people. But even this limited activity can be very
> appealing…To see and hear each other, to meet, is in itself a form of contact,
> a social activity. (Gehl, 2001, p. 15)

Low intensity forms of social contact are important for two reasons. Firstly, they can be a starting point for other types of encounter to develop higher up the intensity spectrum. Secondly, when they are not present, the differences between isolation and contact become more pronounced.

> Being among others, seeing and hearing others, receiving impulses from
> others, imply positive experiences, alternatives to being alone. One is not

necessarily with a specific person, but one is, nevertheless, with others. As opposed to being a passive observer of other people's experiences on television or video or film, in public spaces the individual himself is present, participating in a modest way, but most definitely participating. (Gehl, 2001, p. 17)

Just by being present in public space and observing, seeing and hearing other people is thus making a contribution of sorts to shared action. Glick Schiller, et al (2011) see fleeting encounters as capable of engendering 'cosmopolitan sociability', which they describe as 'an ability to find aspects of the shared human experience including aspirations for a better world within or despite what would seem to be divides of culture and belief' (pp. 402-403).

Simply being in the same space is also the first step in the potential for low intensity fleeting encounters to move up the scale. Goffman (1963, p. 124) described an unspoken social contract where 'acquainted persons in a social situation require a reason not to enter into a face engagement with each other, while unacquainted persons require a reason to do so'. For the latter, Whyte (1980, p. 94) termed the phrase 'triangulation' to mean the 'process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as though they were not'. These types of spontaneous fleeting encounters can lead to more personal forms of social exchange.

Contacts that develop spontaneously in connection with merely being where there are others are usually very fleeting – a short exchange of words, a brief discussion with the next man on the bench, chatting with a child on a bus, watching somebody working and asking a few questions, and so forth. From this simple level, contacts can grow to other levels, as the participants wish. Meeting, being present in the same space, is in each of these circumstances the prime prerequisite. (Gehl, 2001, p. 21)

Using the same spaces as part of the ritual of daily lives can lead to another type of fleeting encounter; the chance encounter. Frequent chance encounters with friends or neighbours, for example, allow contact networks to be maintained 'in a far simpler and less demanding way than if friendship must be kept up by telephone and invitation. If this is the case, it is often rather difficult to maintain contact, because more is always demanded of the participants when meetings must be arranged in advance' (Gehl, 2001, p. 21).

<u>Civility, trade and the functional encounter – fleeting encounters of belonging</u>
'A city', says Sennett (1974, p. 48), 'is a milieu in which strangers are likely to meet'. Dealing with strangers is often challenging because it requires an unwritten code of expected behaviour. In areas experiencing rapid population change – such as the two in which the street markets at the centre of this research study are set – understanding this code can be even more difficult.

> For an outsider to arouse belief, he must penetrate a barrier, marking himself as credible on the terms familiar to and used by those inside. But strangers in a more amorphous milieu have a more complex problem, one of arousing belief by how they behave in a situation where no one is really sure what appropriate standards of behaviour for a given sort of person are. In this second case, one solution is for people to create, borrow, or imitate behaviour which all agree to treat arbitrarily as "proper" and "believable" in their encounters. The behaviour is at a distance from everyone's personal circumstances, and so does not force people to attempt to define to each other who they are. When this occurs, a public geography is on the way to being born. (Sennett, 1974, p. 49)

One very effective tool for creating such a public geography is called civility. Civility is a process that 'protects people from each other and yet allows them to enjoy each other's company' (Sennett, 1974, p. 264), and it can play an important role in finding common ground during first contact between groups of people who do not know each other and come from different backgrounds. Dealing with the increasing social diversity of cities was a challenge recognised by both Renaissance and Enlightenment

planners. This diversity was fed both by incoming migrants looking for work from the surrounding countryside, and by the end of the eighteenth-century, an increasing number of 'the high nobility, alongside military staff and numerous administrators' who were attracted to a distinctly urban life fed by the 'social and economic momentum engendered by this spin-off' (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, p. 247) – the burgeoning cultural industry of opera houses and theatres.

The early Renaissance would prove a period of 'critical transition' for urban Europe. In this period, cities developed an 'urban' way of life that would become the leading behavioural code for Western European society, eventually 'spreading beyond the city walls and still inspiring the urbanised world of today' (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, p. 240). However, these revolutionary changes were more by 'degree than kind' compared to the 'achievements of the Middle Ages and the nineteenth-century' explored on page 60 above (Blondé & Van Damme, 2013, p. 241).

One of these degrees of change in urban behaviour attributed to the early Renaissance was the concept of being "Civilised", which described 'manners that could be applied anywhere to anyone' (Sennett, 1990, p. 80). Civilised behaviour allowed a more relaxed exchange between people from different backgrounds, and Renaissance planners embraced this concept and sought out ways to build in a civilised manner. This involved being able to bring diverse elements together that would be 'satisfying to all', a form of 'architectural politeness', where the square and its radiating streets were conceived as a 'crowd container', where 'otherness is contained within a round wall' (Sennett, 1990, p. 94).

The concepts of Renaissance planners laid the groundwork for a kind of street life in which people look around them. They were 'urban forms for the present tense' (Sennett, 1990, p. 176), designed to help people see 'outside themselves' (Sennett, 1990, p. 152). This was the age of the rediscovery of linear perspectivism (Edgerton Jr., 1975, p. 4): 'The centres created through perspective were places in which, it was thought, people would keep moving and look searchingly around them. In these centres discoveries would occur' (Sennett, 1990, p. 153).

Trade and other forms of economic exchange are crucial to developing ideas of civility and civilised behaviour. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were characterised by the resurgence of trade and crafts, rapid population growth, the emergence of new cities and expansion of existing ones. The new religious movements, as was shown earlier, were reluctant to come to terms with this new world and so located away from them (Milis, 2002, p. 672). The canons clearly preferred not to share urban space with their flock, their statutes distinguishing the 'urban manner (*urbano more*)' from what ordinary people do, perceiving it as a novelty (literally, a 'fashion') in contradiction with 'true' values, which had to be 'eternal and unchanging' (Milis, 2002, p. 673).

By the second half of the twelfth century it had been declared by the church that to withdraw oneself from the world meant 'a life pleasing to God, away from all disturbance, by fasting, prayer, and physical asceticism...' (Milis, 2002, p. 675). Meanwhile, by the conclusion of the twelfth century, much of Europe had emerged from a dynamic rural society into a dynamic urban society. A century later, the vitriol previously levelled at the withdrawal from feudalism is largely absent from monastic chronicles. But 'ordinary' people remained conspicuous by their absence, referred to occasionally, if at all, as 'the gray, amorphous *populus*,' and the 'opposite of *nobilitas*' (Milis, 2002, p. 681). Hatred of the city and its people had turned to indifference, and by the end of the thirteenth century, monks began to accept the new urban spaces into their worldview (Milis, 2002, p. 688). Clarity, stability and tradition, however, would remain an intrinsic part of how they defined themselves against these changing cities.

By the thirteenth century a system of Hanseatic leagues had emerged across northern and eastern Europe that would continue with varying fortunes into the seventeenth century. The 'Hansas', as the members of the Hanseatic League were called, constituted groups of European cities that 'bought' the rights to trade with certain nations. The Flemish Hansa of London, for example, had rights of trade with England and Scotland (Zijderveld, 2009, p. 30).

Hansas are an important development in the historic emergence of civility as an element of urbanity for a number of reasons. Firstly, despite often coming from very different cultures, in identifying in the mutual bond of trade, the Hanseatic League members exhibited a surprisingly common 'transnational urban culture'. Secondly, the Hansas were very mobile and would spend the majority of their time abroad experiencing and interacting with other cultures, and yet remaining very much attached to their city of origin, combining for the first time the experience of cosmopolitanism with a strong localism. Thirdly, as they became more established, leading Hanseatic members took up important positions in their local governments, further consolidating the interests of the bourgeoisie and their newly founded or adopted urban institutions (Zijderveld, 2009, pp. 31-32).

Enlightenment thinkers 'inherited' the 'intellectual possessions' of the Renaissance (Cassirer, 1951, p. 234), appropriating and pushing 'Renaissance conceptions of space and time to their limit in search of a more democratic, healthier and more affluent society' (Harvey, 1990, p. 249). These thinkers welcomed 'the maelstrom of change and saw the transitoriness, the fleeting, the fragmentary as a necessary condition through which the modernising project could be achieved' (Harvey, 1990, p. 13). Like their Renaissance forbearers, Enlightenment thinkers accepted and even welcomed difference and diversity. But rather than attempting to embrace and unify these differences as Renaissance planners did through the non-organic 'veil' of civility, the enlightenment planner sought to overcome it (Harvey, 1990, p. 100). To be civilised came to be understood as being untrue to one's true feelings. But there was one area where civility remained a 'uniquely modern socioeconomic order'; trade (Boyd, 2006, p. 866).

Traders have always had to rely on building relationships between merchant and producer, merchant and customer. Mill (2015) recognised the importance of trade as the primary facilitator of contact between people of difference in his mid-nineteenth century publication *Principles of Political Economy*.

But (3) the economical advantages of commerce are surpassed in importance by those of its effects which are intellectual and moral. It is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar. Commerce is now, what war once was, the principal source of this contact. Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress. (Mill, 2015, p. 137)

Being 'in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves' has meant that traders have always had to deal with different expectations about what constitutes polite behaviour. Civility was a way of bridging these expectations.

It is fitting that the practice of civility should have been so closely associated in the minds of eighteenth-century philosophers with the rise of the extended order of a market economy. Civility is a moral virtue borne out of the intermittent, informal and quasi-public interactions between shopkeeper and customer, between merchant and producer, or between fellow customers in the coffeehouse or public house. It represents something more than the anonymous self-interest of a Hobesian world where possessive individuals chase after the next economic increment. And yet it is also something less than the intense moral solidarity dictated by ascribed identities of family, kind or tribe (Boyd, 2006, pp. 866-867).

In his 'systematic interpretation' of Whyte's work on social encounters in public space, Grönlund (2002) identified four different types of informal and unplanned encounters between people in streets and public squares discussed as part of 2.2. One of these encounters he describes as 'contact to persons, that you don't know, but who have a special 'function' of some kind in the space – a vendor, a guard, the driver of a bus, a street performer, etc'. One possible example of a functional encounter is buying a newspaper from a newsstand.

At the level of day-to-day buying and selling, functional encounters are important because they allow people to practice being civilised in a relatively protected environment. Ritual plays an important role in these civilised encounters, as they appear to be lost in time, even though they do in fact change, albeit very slowly. Because they appear timeless, ritual behaviour seems to come from outside ourselves, which thus relieves us from self-consciousness, as we focus instead on doing the ritual correctly (Sennett, 2012, p. 178). These familiar rituals protect us from the uncertainties in life 'which, if left unguarded against, would overwhelm by their abundance and unpredictability (Nisbet, 1982, p. 266). These ritual moments of civility serve to 'celebrate the differences between members of a community,' and 'affirm the distinctive value of each person,' which in turn, diminishes the 'acid of invidious comparison' and promotes cooperation (Sennett, 2012, p. 86). These are the everyday mundane 'interactions between the atoms of society' (Simmel, 1997, p. 110) that sustain patterns of 'meaningful action' that lead to transformation of behaviour and attitudes (Kalberg, 2005, p. 38) reminiscent of Turner & Rojek's (2001, pp. 221-225) 'cosmopolitan virtue' featured in Noble (2013a, p. 168), which he 'characterised in terms of irony, reflexivity, scepticism, nomadism, a 'cool' and 'thin' sense of belonging but an ethic of care and a commitment to dialogue with others'

More recently, Hall (2015, p. 854) has questioned whether 'mundane' is the right adjective to describe such encounters. She argues rather for a shift from the 'sociology of encounter as a mundane or casual meeting between strangers, towards a sociology of reconfiguration, one in which the social is integral to the political', 'a lived practice of transformation…an active *making* of new urban spaces and forms of citizenship' created between established resident and newcomer. These transformations are important because they run counter to political narratives where migrants are seen to be contaminating a previously unblemished and homogenised national culture (Hall, 2015, p. 856). This 'sociology of reconfiguration' requires reflexivity, which has been described by Amin as crucial to 'ethical practices in public space', formed 'precognitively and reflexively rather than rationally or consciously, guided by routines of neurological response and material practice, rather than by acts of human will'

(Amin, 2008, p. 11). Such processes require the availability of public space that is both pluralistic (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 7; Zijderveld, 2009, p. 143) and contested (Amin, 2002, p. 959; Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 152).

One of the first urban places of contest, as the historic sources featured earlier in this section showed, included street markets. But the move from open-air street markets and small shops to new forms of retail commerce, such as the department store – as highlighted in 1.1.1 – saw active exchange between buyer and seller transformed into a more passive and one-sided relationship (Sennett, 1974, p. 162) through innovations such as fixed pricing (Sennett, 1974, p. 142). Today's retail spaces are 'wholly consumption spaces', with no other purpose than 'to consume' (Carmona & Wunderlich, 2012, p. 140). Haggling, one of the most ordinary instances of everyday theatre in the city had no place in these new retail spaces (Sennett, 1974, p. 131). The transition from a more active to a more passive form of exchange between buyer and seller was, according to Sennett (1974, p. 131), a 'paradigm of the changes to come in the public realm'. These changes were chronicled in the Prologue to Augé's (1995) *Introduction to Supermodernity,* where his protagonist, Pierre Dupont, leaves his house in France and travels to the airport, stopping at multiple points along the way with the minimalist of human contact – a cash point machine, an automated toll booth – before putting on his headphones on take-off and looking forward to being, for a few hours at least, 'alone at last' (Augé, 1995, pp. 1-6). Today, Augé's vignette could be extended to include additional areas of automation that would have previously required contact between people, such as self-service checkouts at supermarkets or self-service check ins at airports. But visit any busy street market today, and the process of exchange remains an essentially active and face-to-face form of encounter, both of which are elements conducive to supporting conviviality.

Conviviality – sustained encounters of belonging
In their study of *Conviviality in Everyday Multiculturalism*, Wise & Velayutham (2014) ask what conviviality brings to the table that terms with longer sociological and anthropological tradition like 'civility' do not? Wise & Velayutham see civility as a 'crucial dimension of conviviality', but that conviviality goes one step beyond civility to capture 'something more embodied, habitual, sensuous and affective that carries over

beyond the moment…' (p. 425). Conviviality conveys a certain warmth and welcome that is exclusive enough to indicate that the social encounter is special in some way, yet inclusive enough that strangers do not feel like they are intruding (Radice, 2016, p. 434). In this respect, Radice (2016, p. 434) coined the term 'inconsequential intimacy' to define the mixing of serious subjects like ill health with platitudes conducted in a familiar tone but not requiring familiar ties, which can involve people who are friends and people who are strangers on an equal footing.

Conviviality gained traction at the turn of this century as part of a growing concern with the deeper manifestations of the human condition and how we think about human modes of togetherness (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, pp. 341-342). For many, it marked a 'measure of distance' from a politics of fixed identity associated with mid-twentieth century concepts such as multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, (Gilroy, 2004, p. xi). In its place, was the beginnings of a new vocabulary in which to speak of collectives without referring to fixed categories of race and ethnicity (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, pp. 346-347; Radice, 2016, p. 432).

Within this new vocabulary, conviviality shares a conceptual family resemblance to several other notions currently in public and academic circulation, including the fleeting encounters of civility (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, p. 15) and everyday practices of resistance in Hall's (2015, p. 856) concept of congeniality. For Fincher (2003) conviviality is about 'the many small connections we make with others that may just make us feel happier or part of a population as a citizen' (p. 57). It is these momentary connections, many of which will be based on the possibilities of serendipity and chance (echoing Ghel above), that give the feeling of belonging to a larger fabric of urban life (Amin, 2008, p. 19). Conviviality is therefore about coexistence and, in turn, accommodation of others (Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 407). As with much urban discourse about social encounters with others, see 2.1.2 above, conviviality is often discussed with the primacy of engagement across cultural differences (Hall, 2017, p. 1568; Amin, 2008, p. 18) with the potential to play a significant role in 'prejudice reduction' and as 'a means to improve intergroup relations' (Christ, et al., 2014, p. 3996). Radice (2016, p. 433) notes that although conviviality is not a priori

intercultural, it can usefully intersect with related concepts that do refer to cultural diversity.

For Hall (2015, p. 859) conviviality has a pragmatic element that rejects the sentimentality and romanticism too often associated with debates about living together with difference, and cautions against everyday displays of conviviality and commonplace diversity masking the enduring structures that limit migrant participation 'through the virulent systems of social sorting by class, race, ethnicity and gender' (p. 855). Amin's (2008) conviviality is also practical in nature, with 'empathy towards the stranger emerging, if it does, as a by-product of the convivial experience of situated multiplicity' (p. 19). In this regard, Amin talks about the 'agency of mundane intermediaries' – 'traffic rules, public toilets, street furniture, spaces for dogs, children, cars and pushchairs' – that impact how people experience space and the civic legacy these experiences carry through to the next experience. Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2016) saw these processes at work in their research into everyday sociabilities between migrant newcomers and local urban residents.

> Several respondents reported that it was on the street where they lived that they 'found' people who proved to be significant in their lives. These strangers, who became companions, sometimes offered immediate help ranging from food to a telephone calling card and survival English. Such local and serendipitous relations often linked a newcomer to work or to local institutions without the mediation of communitarian structures and narratives (p. 25).

Conviviality in this sense is formed through everyday processes of habituation with others, the 'microcultures of place' (Amin, 2002, p. 967) rather than the top-down public policies and projects aimed at integration (Radice, 2016, p. 432). These top-down policies have been met with growing disappointment in their attempt to define the outcomes of human encounters in diverse societies and that are directed primarily to collectives defined in ethnic or national terms (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, p. 342). Amin (2002, p. 967) is careful not to prioritise ground-up or 'local influences over top-

down or general influences', as he considers both as equally important to 'the grain of places'. For instance, he cites Birmingham's use of important public spaces to publicise the city's history as one of global connection and layers of White and non-White migration as 'important signals of a shifting urban public culture' (Amin, 2002, p. 967). However, the 'depressing reality', he admits, is that in contemporary urban life, the public spaces of the city are often 'territorialised by particular groups' or 'spaces of transit' with minimal contact between strangers making them unnatural 'servants of multicultural engagement' (Amin, 2002, p. 967). Enabling ground-up conviviality are everyday acts of reciprocity, from small material gifts to expressions of solidarity such as acts of care or 'pitching in'' (Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 418).

But 'spaces of cultural diversity', says Noble (2013a, p. 166) 'can also be marked by conflict and ambiguity'. Habitual contact can entrench group animosities and identities, through recurrences of gender, class, race, and ethnic practices (Amin, 2002, p. 969). Such recurrences are more likely to occur under moments of stress, where perceived differences can be highlighted and used to exacerbate tensions. In such moments of crisis, Hall (2015, p. 859) questions whether day-to-day exchanges are 'a sufficient mode of civility to absorb confrontation, or whether more collective or organised platforms of civility are required'.

A key source of conflict is created by imbalances of power in place (Radice, 2015, p. 598), a topic too rarely addressed in discussions of social encounters in public space (Glick Schiller, et al., 2011, p. 411). Imbalances of power mean that people do not cohabit space in exactly the same way. Assuming they do not feel socially excluded and therefore able to even enter a public space (Noble & Poynting, 2010, p. 490), they do so with greater or lesser capacities to act due to relations of inequality and difference, which may be marked by gender, class, race, age, disability and other such divisions (Watson, 2016, p. 13). Multiscalar differentials of power begin with the assumption that 'all places are constituted through the intersections of, and contestations between, institutions and actors situated within different scales of economic, political and cultural power, including the global, regional, nation state, subnational, urban and local' (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 4).

Negative encounters imbued with power are 'encounters of subordinating difference' that lack expressions of mutual respect (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 28). Such stigmatising discourses can invoke and sharpen ethnic boundaries, enabling exclusion from access to various resources (Moroşanu & Fox, 2013, p. 439). In Watson's (2016) interviews in a London street market she found that it was only the long-term residents, most of whom were white, who felt able to comment on other people's cultures. She concludes that 'true conviviality' is where no one representative feels more entitled to speak and make judgements about others (2016, pp. 13-14).

However, imbalances of power in terms of social, economic and cultural capital should not necessarily be inhibitors to satisfying social encounters (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 27). The same was true in Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016) research into everyday sociabilities between migrant newcomers and local urban residents, where they found that positive relationships often developed between those with unequal access to information, skills and networks.

> Yet social bonds, social cohesion so to speak, emerges from a perhaps
> limited but potent shared set of experiences, emotions and aspirations
> including a desire for human relationships. While they may come to the
> relationship with different sets of experiences and social possibilities, these
> relationships cannot be reduced to, explained by or categorised by these
> differences including those of culture but rather understood as the creation
> of partial but significant domains of human commonality including mutual
> aspirations. (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, pp. 29-30)

These domains of commonality were created outside of predefined categories of group relations, and in many cases, sociabilities emerged between individuals who did not share language, race or gender. These sociabilities were described as 'significant affective and supportive dyadic interpersonal relationships, often forged within precarious employment situations' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 26). In forging these dyadic relationships through co-residence, common workplaces and institutional

sites (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 7), migrant and native come together to remake the spaces of their cities, something Hall (2015, p. 854) calls a 'sociology of reconfiguration', where the 'social is integral to the political'. Exactly how these urban places are reconfigured through domains of commonality has garnered very little research to date (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5).

Noble (2013b, p. 35) sees the current focus on culture as a processual thing rather than a static and bounded entity, based on habituation and the associated emphasis on the flows and mobilities of everyday life. This creates a more open-ended and dynamic view of future possibilities rather than confirming past patterns of behaviour, facilitating the possibility that entrenched negative responses and behaviours of already existing populations to newcomers – which are often embedded in nostalgic renditions of an idealized past – might be reconfigured (Watson, 2016, p. 5).

Hannerz (1992) recognises four major frameworks that account for cultural flow. One of these is 'form of life', the habituated, patterned and stable forms of life that result in the 'everyday practicalities' of work, home, and neighbourhoods.

> One characteristic of cultural process here is that from doing the same things over and over again, and seeing and hearing others doing the same things and saying the same things over and over again, a measure of redundancy results which is at least reminiscent of the small-scale society. Experiences and interests coalesce into habitual, enduring points of view. As the everyday activities are practically adapted to material circumstances, there is not much reason to bring about alterations in culture, as long as circumstances do not change. (Hannerz, 1992, p. 47)

Such patterns can play a role in whether someone new to an area feels at home or not, termed by Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2013) as emplacement displacement. In a later article, emplacement is defined by Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2016, p. 16) as the social processes through which dispossessed individuals build or rebuild networks of connections within the 'constraints and opportunities of a specific city'. They describe

emplacement sociabilities as those that bring together migrant and native in ways that build aspects of their social belonging to the city (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 21). To be comfortable in public settings rests also in part on our ability to be acknowledged as rightfully existing there: to be recognised as belonging (Noble, 2005, p. 114). This is a form of 'ontological security', measured in the 'the trust we have in our surroundings' (Noble, 2005, p. 107).

Engendering this sense of mutual trust in a way that does not create fixed identities of place is key to how diverse urban societies produce their own space (Hall, 2008, p. 10) involves acknowledging the layers of past and present as concurrent (Hall, 2012, p. 31; Hall & Datta, 2010, p. 72). This layered view reveals the overlapping of time and place more through its wrangled complexities than a chronological or categorical order, revealing how, despite the persistence of large-scale intervention and regeneration projects, is testimony to an incremental ground-up process of 'appropriation and expression on the part of its diverse citizens' (2008, p. 11/18). Working from the ground-up is the domain of the everyday, the scale of the neighbourhood, as Hall & Datta (2010) found in their research of London's Walworth Road.

> The capacity to engage in difference and change requires an ability to live with more than one sense of a local or familiar place – a 'here' as well as a 'there', and a 'then' as well as a 'now' – and the ability to live amongst different people. The translocality of Walworth Road then is also produced through mundane everyday exchanges across spaces and places that do not easily fit within the transnational analytic frame. These everyday exchanges are at the scale of the neighbourhood and incorporate more corporeal and embodied exchanges of physical movement similar to but not the same as mobilities across real and imagined transnational spaces. (Hall & Datta, 2010, p. 70)

Hall (2009, p. 81) explores similar terrain in her research into how both 'newcomers' and 'established' residents reconstitute their understandings of belonging in the 'rapidly changing context of London'. Her locus of study is a local London 'Caff' where

she finds 'experiences of belonging fluctuate both for the established resident and the newcomer' where people 'must deal with notions of being in-place and at home and mis-placed or foreign. The experiences of being at home within the Caff are framed through an intimate sense of belonging that emerges out of sustained social interaction, regularly repeated as part of day-to-day and face-to-face meetings' (Hall, 2009, p. 81).

Whether emplacement sociabilities, which Hall (2009) described as 'being at home', are supported or not is, in part, due to spatial configurations. Spatial configurations cannot 'preordain conviviality', but they can support it (Radice, 2016, p. 434). Radice (2016) proposes a four-layered model that constitute a place: 1) its microplaces, 2) prevailing norms of sociability, 3) intergroup relations as perceived by its users, and 4) its reputation or 'critical infrastructure' outside of these users (p. 434). In a similar vein, Hall (2009) defines three related modes for interaction that determine the social process of being at home: space, practice and sociability (p. 81). The three come together to help turn a *space* into *place* through the opportunity for individuals and groups to move through space and make places relevant and meaningful through their actions and ideas (Radice & Dalhousie, 2011, p. 13; Noble & Poynting, 2010, p. 490). Radice's (2016) model will prove useful in unpacking how street markets support urbanity in the conclusions to the analysis in 4.5 below on page 205.

Such places have a pedagogic process of social regulation – i.e. witnessing sociabilities of emplacement in public space between people outside of predefined groups of ethnicity, culture and race space impacts on the attitudes of others towards difference (Noble & Poynting, 2010, p. 501; Christ, et al., 2014, p. 3999). These impacts are enhanced through repetition and the development of skills and resources of negotiation and cooperation (Noble, 2013b, p. 35), the day to day textures of learned habits and their disruptions, and the sometimes 'unremarkable acts of urban and social repair' in the specific material and design infrastructures of place (Watson, 2016, p. 16). In areas of mobility, with rapid population change, such infrastructures facilitate the coming together of natives and migrants to forge domains of commonality that are often not 'seen or celebrated in the city's narrative' (Glick

Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 9). According to Hall's (2009) observations, the London Caff she researched operated in a very similar way.

> …the Caff is a place in which contemporary experiences of difference can be observed…To relegate Nick's Caff solely to the status of an eating establishment would be to overlook its significant role as a local meeting place, situated between the public street and his family's home above the shop…[it] provides a base to consider the complexities of how different people belong by coming together in the city; it is a local place that born-and bred 'locals' and a range of 'newcomers' use on a regular basis and its sociability extends from the solidarity of an extended family of relatives and friends, to the singular practices of diverse individuals (Hall, 2009, pp. 82-83).

The description of encounters observed in Nick's Caff echo Glick Schiller, et al.'s (2011, p. 399) domains of commonality, reducing the compulsion for people to be the same and thus creating what they term a form of 'cosmopolitan sociability', the simultaneous rootedness and openness to shared human emotions, experiences and aspirations, arising from social relations of inclusiveness that facilitate the maintenance of ethnic/national ties, gendered identities or religious commitments to occur simultaneously in the daily activities and outlook of some mobile people (Glick Schiller, et al., 2011, p. 399). Nick's Caff works in this way because it is a meeting place where both the migrant or newcomer and the established resident or local, share the predicament of being rendered fragile by change, contesting conventional understandings of what it means to belong. 'What matters', says Hall, (2009) 'is not that these tensions are necessarily resolved, but that they are encountered and shared' on a 'face-to-face scale of engagement' where 'family becomes reconstituted on the basis of regularity and not simply on the basis of kin'. In this context, belonging occurs as a process dependent on shared forms of sociability (pp. 86-87) where 'skills in translation or non-verbal communication, or simply a willingness to engage in unfamiliar patterns of communication, are crucial for this component of conviviality' (Radice, 2016, p. 435).

Nick's Caff is dependent on economic transactions for its survival. But such transactions have a highly socialised element to them that go beyond the need for profit, an element long associated with street markets, one of the oldest sites of exchange.

2.4. Street Markets: the oldest sites of exchange

We have been living for many generations in a consumer-dominated society where our everyday needs are satisfied through the capitalist system (Weber, 2003, p. 275). Consumerism is now very much the defining activity of public life (Koolhaas, 2001, p. 129). In such a society, the everyday lived experience alternates between times/spaces of work and times/spaces of consumption; we are either doing one or the other, where 'exchange' – 'the very essence of sociability' (Sennett, 1974, p. 311) – is the natural intermediary between the two (Sassatelli, 2005, pp. 2-3).

Street markets, as was described in 1.1.1, were a founding institution of our cities and towns (Mumford, 1961, p. 72). They have been with us for seven thousand years and are one of the oldest forms of exchange (Koolhaas, 2001, p. 30). In their most elementary form, street markets still exist today, as 'survivals of the past...unchanged down the ages' (Braudel, 1979, pp. 28-30), serving as the 'instrument of local life' (Mumford, 1961, p. 254). Although other aspects of street markets have undoubtedly changed – such as 'commodity-reach' through globalisation and the pressure on space through gentrification (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 14) – the basic exchange relationship of buying and selling which is the focus of this study has remained 'the same through time and across places' (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 12).

Despite the historic importance of these street markets, as 1.1.1 showed, we know remarkably little about them (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 3), which is one reason perhaps why national legislation has offered little support for independent retailers, including market traders (Hall, 2011, p. 2574). This is surprising because, what little evidence there is suggests that, as an urban form, street markets can support the elements of urban life aspired to within urban government policy (Portas, 2011; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012) and the characteristics of

urban space identified above in the urbanity literature and associated practices of exchange, particularly civility and conviviality. Principally, these are about street markets generating high levels of people density and diversity, supported by a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters grounded in the rituals of civility and moments of conviviality.

2.4.1.   Street markets increase people density

There is a close correlation between the location, or perhaps more accurately the continuing survival, of street markets and the most deprived areas of London (London Development Agency, 2010, p. 20). These street markets raise living standards because of their lower prices, particularly in regard to fresh produce, and 'employment and income' opportunities, which together 'highlights their ongoing importance for wider regeneration efforts' (London Development Agency, 2010, pp. 20-21). During the recent economic/financial crisis, street markets proved important areas for avenues of economic development and job creation – places where micro-businesses come into existence and jobs are generated during periods of stubborn unemployment (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 8).

Because of their location, rents in these markets must be affordable, and one way of doing this is to reduce stall pitches to their smallest viable units. This creates a highly dense commercial environment that can deliver twice the employment density of the average supermarket (Rubin, et al., 2006; Spitzer & Baum, 1995). This highly dense commercial environment breaks through the threshold of activity identified by Gehl and Whyte above, where 'life', as Jacobs (1961, p. 454) says, 'attracts life'. They do this in the first instance because they bring people and structures, in the form of market traders and their market stalls, into an otherwise largely empty space. As customers and passers-by arrive and move through the space, it already feels safe – assuming it is not too busy and crowded – because of the co-presence of other people. An example of this can be seen in Figure 4 and Figure 5 below. The two photographs were taken on consecutive weekdays at approximately the same time and in similar conditions, but the increased sense of activity and people on market day, even in Union Square, one of New York's busiest thoroughfares, is clearly evident.

Figure 4 – Union Square in New York during the week without its street market

Figure 5 – Union Square in New York during the week with its street market is markedly busier

This catalytic effect of street markets (Spitzer & Baum, 1995, p. 30) has proved a

powerful force in reactivating public places (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, p. 211; Watson &

Studdert, 2006, p. vii). By introducing market traders to Union Square as the first

Greenmarket in New York City, mentioned earlier and featured in figures 4 and 5

above, the perception of a no-go area that pervaded at the time – the "drug infested needle park" as it was known – was broken. And it was, as it turned out, largely a perception. There was antisocial behaviour occurring in Union Square, but not nearly as much as people had thought (Gratz & Mintz, 1998). The presence of the street market and its traders was the precursor to people feeling safe to enter this public space and therefore increase its levels of density.

2.4.2. Street markets support high levels of diversity

"Amare Le Differenze" blazes out in neon letters from the front façade of the historic Porta Palazzo Market Hall in Turin (see Figure 6 below). The phrase "Love Differences" is repeated in multiple languages in gaudy colours over three sides of Turin's most historic market hall, itself situated in one of Turin's most important piazzas, which on market days sustains over nine hundred market stalls. The artwork was commissioned by the city government as a symbolic gesture to celebrate the role immigrants have played in sustaining the economic success of the market, the most diverse part of the city[8].

Economically effective street markets are underpinned by diversity, they are the point where diversity becomes part of the fabric of the economy (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 7). Only in very rare instances, such as a single market-type stall next to a busy transport interchange, can individual traders succeed in isolation. In the street market context, the whole – *the market* – is very much more than the sum of its parts; *the market stalls*. And although there can be some benefits to clustering similar products together, a market only selling cheese, for example, will only ever have a limited appeal. In order to broaden its appeal and maximise the market's customer base, there needs to be a critical mass of different kinds of products attracting different clientele for different reasons at different times of the day. And in highly diverse neighbourhoods, the most effective way of achieving this is to have a diverse range of market traders from different backgrounds that attract members of different communities into the street market. And because migrants are often excluded from

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[8] The story of this project was recounted to the researcher by members of Turin's city council on a study visit to the city as part of the URBACT Sustainable Urban Markets program.

more formalised sectors of employment, market trading remains a tough yet productive modus operandi for migrants living in marginalised conditions (Hall, et al., 2016, p. 10).

Further aiding this sense of diversity is the ability for market traders to respond quickly to changes in the population (Hall, 2011, p. 2574), and in the process, drawing diverse customers into contact with unfamiliar goods and potentially with each other (Radice, 2015, p. 593). These levels of diversity build a complexity that goes beyond the array of differences on show and the interconnections between different people, to a more nuanced understanding of networks, relations and spaces requiring market traders to have the capacity to read a repertoire of different situations (Noble, 2011, p. 833) and in many instances, speak a number of different languages (Hall, et al., 2016, p. 11) through a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' that is strategic and economically motivated (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 13). Radice (2016, p. 435) had also noted in the importance of 'skills in translation or non-verbal communication, or simply a willingness to engage in unfamiliar patterns of communication' as being a crucial component of conviviality in diverse spaces.

> The repertoires of multilingual communication are as strategic as they are sociable, allowing proprietors to maintain trade across wide-spanning networks, as well as to attend to the needs of an ethnically diverse clientele. In parallel to the realities of inequality that permeate everyday life in Peckham, are therefore a range of fluencies and competencies that allow individuals to participate in a diverse cultural landscape, one which is forged across local and global scales (Hall, 2015, p. 860).

Street markets support high levels of diversity through two paradoxical forces. These forces are *the universality of the market experience*, and *unique personality of place*.

Figure 6 – Porta Palazzo Market Hall in Turin has "Love Differences" in multiple languages written on its façade. It was commissioned to celebrate the impact immigration had had on the success of the market (author's own)

The universality of the market experience describes how street markets across different continents can share universal characteristics, creating neutral ground even in areas experiencing high levels of segregation and population change (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, pp. 210-211). Where a street market succeeds in attracting a diverse mix of market traders from different cultural backgrounds, they can be key sites for the 'meeting and management of differences across cultures in the local community' (Watson & Studdert, 2006, pp. 14-15). The paradox is that each street market also has its own *unique personality of place* built from the diverse micro-narratives of the individuals, businesses and socio-spatial context. They cannot therefore be easily reduced to formula and 'defy generic categorising…individuality and local personality distinguishes each [street market] from the other' (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, p. 211).

These two paradoxical forces are underpinned by 1) the lowest retailing entry/exit barriers with little risk or capital required to set up a business (London Development Agency, 2010; Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 9), and 2) the aggregate strength of multiple

businesses trading together (Spitzer & Baum, 1995, p. 27). The former makes street market trading accessible to the broadest possible spectrum of the population, and the latter enhances the chance of the business being a success in the longer-term. Thus, although street markets are highly localised, vendors and consumers often come from different parts of the world and maintain transnational relations from their place of origin. Seen in such a way, street markets constitute interesting localized places for direct, local encounters with an otherwise global economy, and may taste, test and purchase products with distant origins (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 9; Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 395).

The combination results in a diversity of people and functions that feed off each other in a cyclical process (Rubin, et al., 2006, p. 21; Ford Report, 2003, p. 5; Conisbee, et al., 2004, p. 6). To adapt Jacobs' (1961, p. 454) phrase, as 'life attracts life', so it seems diversity can attract diversity, bringing together people into a public arena who might otherwise not meet. They do so within environments that are both relatively safe and controlled through discursive practices which are often highly routinized such that both sellers and regular buyers know the rules of engagement (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 13) but also highly adaptive and dynamic (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 17). This has consequences for the ways that people behave in street markets and 'the ongoing development of social civility and even, more broadly, social cohesion' (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 8). However, there is also the potential for stereotypes to arise from perceived behaviour in street markets and for groups to be singled out as dishonest and untrustworthy (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 17). Functional encounters cut across both potentialities.

2.4.3. Street markets support a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters

Street markets have been shown to generate high densities of people and activity, and that, in the right situations, these people can come from a diverse range of backgrounds – it is in street markets where we can see how diversity and the nature of economic transactions become mutually constitutive (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 5). However, just 'being around' people, as has been established, is not enough to

encourage the types of encounters that engender a community of shared action (Sennett, 1990, p. 128) that build domains of commonality between people who do not already know each other (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 26).

Figure 7 – example of 'heads up' functional encounters in street markets facilitate fleeting contact between strangers (author's own)

Figure 8 – example of 'heads down' functional encounters at a supermarket (author's own)

According to Cohen (2001, p. 12) 'community is called into being by the exigencies of social interaction'. The author's Masters dissertation (Fulford, 2005) concluded that it was the high frequency and broad range of *functional* encounters that was key to generating social interaction between market trader and customer, and these functional encounters often led to other types of social interactions.

The functional encounters observed in this MA study varied in length of time from seconds to nearly twenty minutes, and covered topics from asking the time to discussing sports results and politics. These encounters could be considered convivial, as defined by Radice (2016, pp. 434-435) through her concept of inconsequential intimacy, which she defined as being conducted in a familiar tone but do not require familiar ties, and can therefore involve people who are 'friends, strangers, or familiar strangers on an equal footing', and yet imply no commitment beyond that time and place. In this way, market traders facilitate transitory contact between strangers and engender a momentary sense of community among those who take part (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, p. 348). They are also pragmatic rather than ideological: practices of exchange that are primarily about the pursuit of profit, but at the same extend to 'social acts of care and counsel' (Hall, 2017, p. 1569). These functional encounters between market trader and customers are also on public display. Customers witness transactions and learn the habits/habitus of the street market, 'a kind of public theatre' where 'information about prices is communicated in public and codes of behaviour are transmitted from seller to seller, consumer to consumer' (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 10).

Even the majority of encounters, which involved quick simple and highly routinized transactions (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 13) that exchanged money for goods involved Sennett's (2012, pp. 5-6) fundamentals of civility being observed – daily 'rituals as small as "please" and "thank you",' that put 'abstract notions of mutual respect into practice'. These fundamentals of civility and conviviality are a form of shared activity mediated by the 'practical activity' of the functional encounter, places where dominant and subordinate groups can operate as equals (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 11).

A follow up paper (Fulford, 2007) demonstrated that the 'multisensory experiences of place' (Pink, 2008, p. 96; Sherry, 2000, p. 274) typical of busy street markets, encourages people to congregate around stalls with their 'heads up' (see Figure 7), engaging with the public realm (Sennett, 1974, p. 142). In a supermarket, by contrast, functional encounters are more likely to be 'heads down' (see Figure 8). The focus is on the task of shopping, with little designed to distract or cause heads to look up and around. The relationship is more passive (Sennett, 1974, p. 162), and the process of exchange separated from the public realm (Gratz & Mintz, 1998, p. 212; London Development Agency, 2005, p. 10; Spitzer & Baum, 1995, p. 31).

Watson and Studdert's (2006, pp. 14-15) study of social interactions in street markets found them to be both highly varied and anchored by the social interactions of the market traders, who were the 'visible centre of the market community'. These interactions also played a significant role in supporting high levels of social mixing, which was described as 'interactions across different socioeconomic, demographic and ethnic/racial groups'. Hall's (2015) study of independent retailers in a diverse London high street in Peckham describes the impact of such interactions on the politics of place.

> Everyday streets politics evolves through both crisis and common ground,
> where crisis provides a momentum for collective action, and common
> ground provides a medium for refining the forms of collective engagement.
> This street politics is neither without friction nor vulnerability. However, it is
> expressive of the need and right for contestation and concurrence, and
> therefore encourages an understanding of togetherness, mixing and diversity
> outside of the ideological canon of cosmopolitan tolerance...Perhaps the
> street politics on Rye Lane suggests that the point of a diverse and
> expressive public is not 'how to confer civic status' on minority or migrant
> groups...but how platforms of civility emerge and are sustained within and
> across diverse groups in order to express and advance diverse needs through
> forms of collective action. The street is about collective voicing, and about
> protest and dissent. (Hall, 2015, p. 864)

This quote is particularly interesting to this study, as although it relates to small independent shops rather than street markets as such, the two share many similarities with the case study street markets chosen for this study – independent retailers from diverse backgrounds, the precarity of start-up and often hand-to-mouth operations on a secondary shopping street. Hall's findings that such economic streets can provide platforms of civility through collective action directly relates to the working definition of urbanity set out in 2.1.1. Would similar traits be found in the case study street markets presented here? And what methodology would best be suited to finding out? This is the subject of chapter 3.

3.   Research Methodology

This chapter begins in 3.1 with a discussion of how the conceptual framework in chapter 2 helped shaped the research process and inform the hypothesis, aims and objectives before describing the rationale for an ethnographic grounded theory approach to achieving these research goals. 3.2 sets out the basis for choosing to study street markets, out of the many different types of markets, along with which of the social actors to target for enquiry and why. 3.3 concludes by describing the two case-study street markets selected for study.

3.1.   Shaping the research process: ethnographic grounded theory

3.1 begins by showing how the theories explored in the conceptual framework of chapter 2 helped shape the research hypothesis, aims and objectives. This sets the rationale for using an ethnographic grounded theory methodology to collecting empirical data on street markets and urbanity, and within such a methodology, which collection of research methods are most suitable.

3.1.1.   Shaping the research hypothesis, aims and objectives

The research hypothesis being tested here, and as first stated on page 29, is that street markets support urbanity through facilitating a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters. These functional encounters challenge third-hand stereotypes of what someone will be like based on appearances alone through first-hand knowledge of what someone is like based on shared experience.

The key research aim of this study is thus to capture the nature of social encounters in street markets and to investigate how these encounters impact the attitudes and behaviours of social actors in street markets to the people around them. Central to this research aim is to explore the role of functional encounters in street markets, defined in the literature by (Grönlund, 2002) as encounters between people who do not already know each other but share a special function of some kind in space.

This research builds on three strands of literature identified as part of the conceptual framework of urbanity set out in chapter 2 that, although overlap considerably in places, broadly fit into three different conceptual priorities. The first strand is principally concerned with the spatial characteristics of space on its capacity for bringing a diversity of people together in a way that encourages a broad range of social encounters between them. Such spaces were considered to have border-like characteristics. The second is a strand of literature that looks deeper into the nature of these social encounters and is specifically concerned with the patterned daily routines of civility and conviviality and includes an interest in encounters across difference. The third strand of literature is focused on concepts of difference and diversity in cities which emphasises social relationships rather than cultural differences to unmask the possibilities and circumstances within which commonalities frequently emerge (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 30). Central to recent research across all three of these strands are 'ordinary' city spaces, which are characterised by Hall (2015, p. 855) as 'comparatively deprived and ethnically diverse urban localities'.

These strands of literature point towards three specific research objectives. Objective one seeks to understand how the spatial configuration of street markets impact the frequency and nature of functional encounters in public space. The second research objective is to investigate the nature of social encounters that take place in street markets. Objective three is to determine whether these encounters constitute a 'sociology of reconfiguration' as defined by Hall (2015, p. 854) as occurring between established residents and relative newcomers.

3.1.2.   Delivering the research aims and objectives: an ethnographic grounded theory approach

As 1.2.1 showed, there has been an historic lack of research into street markets and their historic and contemporary impact on city spaces. More broadly still, remarkably little research has been conducted into how different people live together in the many public spaces of our cities (Watson & Studdert, 2006, p. 2) and only a handful of researchers have highlighted how urban places are made and transformed by the people who 'migrate, settle and form domains of commonality with longer term residents' (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5) through a 'sociology of reconfiguration'

(Hall, 2015, p. 854). Even fewer still have noted the role of immigrant businesses in this process (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 5/6). The question still therefore remains: 'what conditions and places engender sociabilities productive of domains of mutual understanding and sensibilities?' (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 11). This research seeks to help answer this question, at least in relation to the social realm of London's street markets.

Considering the lack of historic research in this area it follows that embarking on this study there was little theoretical understanding of how street markets may support urbanity. A grounded theory methodology was thus considered most suitable because it uses a set of systematic and flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing data to construct theories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). These theories are grounded in data that is systematically gathered and analysed, and thus evolves during the actual research through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 237). In this instance, the theories centre on how street markets impact the places they inhabit in relation to their ability to support urbanity, as defined by the attitudes of street market social actors – principally market traders and customers – towards the people around them. As these theories centre on exploring attitudes and feelings as a result of social encounters, the grounded theory methodology was underpinned with an ethnographic approach to collecting data. 'Grounded theory and ethnography are considered highly compatible, as ethnographic studies can provide' the kind of rich 'description that is very useful data for grounded theory analysis' (Pettigrew, 2000, p. 258).

Such an exploration of civil/convivial social encounters requires the need to analyse 'the situated conduct of humans', which has a 'performative' element requiring 'an observational methodology that attempts to capture the nuances of such situated performances' (Noble, 2013a, p. 169). This requires, suggests Glick Schiller, et al. (2011) the grounding of relatively abstract notions such as cosmopolitanism and conviviality for example 'within a study of concrete social practices and 'ways of being'' (p. 402). This follows Noble's (2013b, p. 34) endorsement for the need to capture such habituated social encounters 'phenomenologically', that is, through the 'empirical

exploration…of the forms of cooperation at stake in everyday copresence'. Amin (2012, p. 39) calls this process of habituation the 'granularity of situated practice' of publicly accessible places such as workplaces, schools, and shops. In the case of this research, the publicly accessible place is the street market, and following Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2016), 'the unit of study' is the social relations formed by people as they encounter each other in order to address 'what kind of urban sociabilities emerge in the particular spaces of the city between people categorised as native or local and newly arrived migrants' (p. 20). This approach entails ethnographic methods to researching urban settings that contain descriptions of how residents forge cohesive social relations around commonalities rather than differences (Glick Schiller & Schmidt, 2016, p. 3). These will include evidence of 'sociabilities of emplacement', to use Glick Schiller & Schmidt's language; or in other words, whether newly arrived established and newcomers feel at home in their street market.

Such an ethnographic approach can include both qualitative and quantitative methods (Whitehead, 2004, p. 2). Inclusion of both methods, is considered the most effective way to 'understand the cultural system' that is being studied (Whitehead, 2005, p. 2); in this case, street markets. The grounded theory methodology employed in this research study, combined ethnographic methods that included semi-structured interviews, structured survey questionnaires and informal observation to collect 'rich' data. Rich data is defined as being focused and full, revealing participants' views, feelings, intentions and actions, together with the contexts and structures of people's lives and experiences (Charmaz, 2006).

The resulting data was then separated, sorted, and synthesised through a process of 'qualitative coding' (Charmaz, 2006, p. 14). The beginning of this process, however, lay first in defining what Blumer (1969) has termed sensitising concepts, which are used to generate concepts that give the researcher some initial ideas to investigate and sensitise the researcher to ask specific kinds of questions. Charmaz (2006, p. 16) calls these early sensitising concepts 'guiding empirical interests'.

3.1.3.   Sensitising concepts and a pilot study

Sensitising concepts or guiding empirical interests, are generated through the researcher's own experiences and 'disciplinary perspectives'. Sensitising concepts, says Charmaz:

> ...give you initial ideas to pursue and sensitise you to ask particular kinds of questions about your topic. Grounded theorists often begin their studies with certain guiding empirical interests to study and...general concepts that give a loose frame to these interests. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 16)

To generate these sensitising concepts, the researcher's previous fieldwork, observations and experiences with street markets were collated and coded. An example section of this initial coding can be seen below in Figure 9 below.

Coding	Comment
	Market Manager, Bristol St. Nicholas' Market
Awareness of difference	I grew up in Birmingham. I started working at the Bull Ring Market as a market manager when I was about 20. One of the other managers was West Indian. He knew I liked cricket and asked me to join the market cricket team. At my first game all the opposition players were Asian. The umpires were Asian. The, all my teammates were Asian, apart from myself [white], my friend [West Indian] and one other fella who was also West Indian. We sat down at lunch and I was the only white person.
Positive exposure to different groups broke down racial stereotypes.	My friend could see I was a bit out of my depth and feeling uncomfortable. He chuckled and said "you'll get used to it". I played the whole season and made many friends. That experience changed my life. I had never been exposed to Asian people before, certainly not at this level of intensity, and through working at the market and playing cricket I got to realise that, of course, they were just the same as me.
Recognition that this was a positive experience and enriched his quality of life.	
Ability of a market to reflect the social diversity of a city.	Several years later I got the top job at this market and moved to Bristol. I immediately liked the market and the vibe here, but I felt there was something missing. I couldn't put my finger on it, and then I realised that the only people using the market were white middle class. I thought, I've got to do something about this, because there are a lot of other ethnic minorities in Bristol. We started a new food section and invited different minorities to take place. It was a great success, and now the market serves a much more diverse customer base, which has made the market stronger.
Conscious effort to open the market up to ethnic minorities.	
	Badrul Islam, Whitechapel Market
	The council were thinking of closing down Whitechapel

Figure 9 – example section of initial coding used to generate sensitising concepts and guiding empirical interests

These coding headings were then grouped together and summarised into a number of key guiding empirical interests, which included concepts such as the importance of interaction with others in breaking down stereotypes, and how market traders anchor social interaction in the street markets. These key guiding empirical interests then formed the basis for defining the research problem and formulating an initial set of research questions. The relationship between key sensitising concepts/guiding empirical interests, research problem, and research questions can be seen below in Figure 10. These early research questions were then tested in a pilot study.

Sensitising concepts:
- Street markets can be particularly effective at creating inclusive public spaces
- 'Functional encounters' are key to how they achieve this
- The market traders are the foundation of functional encounters in street markets
- People's experiences of diversity (or lack thereof) can either weaken or strengthen negative stereotypes of 'otherness'

Research problem:
- Street markets are largely ignored in debates about contemporary urban spaces
- Initial research shows they can be an important community resource, both economically and socially
- But lack of hard metrics has contributed to lack of funding & investment, contributing to a de-valuing of street market and a decline in their number

Opening research questions:
- What role do street markets play in creating successful city places?
- What role do functional encounters play in the street market context?
- Who are the different social actors present in the street market environment?
- How do these different social actors engage with each other?

Figure 10 – sensitising concepts generated from the researcher's guiding empirical interests and tested in the pilot study helped to define the research problem and frame the opening research questions

<u>A pilot study – testing research methods, mapping social actors, and shaping the research questions</u>

The emerging guiding empirical interests, research questions, and core research method – semi-structured interviews – were tested through a pilot study of social actors across the two case study street markets; West Market and East Market (more on how these street markets were chosen below). The aims of the study, conducted in December 2010, were threefold:

1. Sharpen the overarching research questions and hypothesis

2. Investigate the attitudes of different social actors present in the street market context towards

   o their local market

   o other people they encounter in their local market

3. Practice and hone interview techniques

As part of the sensitising concept stage, the researcher mapped out the different kinds of social actors present in a typical street market (see Figure 11 below). The pilot study then consisted of eight semi-structured interviews, four from each market, across the most important social actor categories – market traders, those responsible for managing the markets, and market customers.
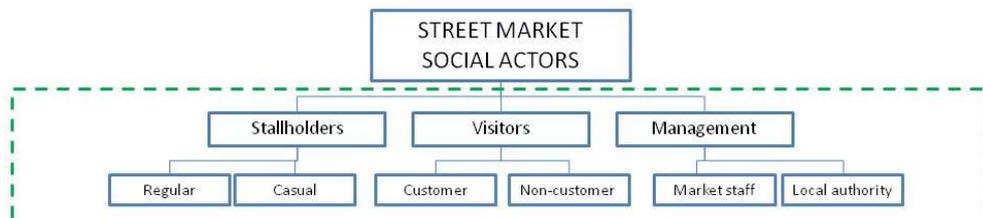
Figure 11 – a generic map of the potential social actors in an 'ordinary' London street market

In West Market the interviewees were recruited through the local authority's *Neighbourhood Management Team*, who oversaw the management of the market. In East Market the interviewees were recruited through a local community action group that had been set up in response to the local council's perceived efforts to redevelop, and potentially close down entirely, the street market. The core themes emerging from these pilot interviews were:

- Regular social mixing between different cultures on the basis of buying and selling (functional encounters)

- A value gap between market users and local authority (particularly in the case of East Market)
- The importance of market 'atmosphere' to the experience of being in the market
- The presence of a regular market provided a sense of continuity over time, despite substantial changes in population demographics
- Cases of racism in the markets were currently low. However, historically, racism had been overt and sometimes threatening (only West Market).
- Tensions between different groups increased during times of economic hardship
- Both markets were considered 'open to all types'
- For some, past racist attitudes had been changed through daily contact/activity – some negative, some positive – with other cultures
- Some people had made strong cross-cultural friendships. In other cases, it was respect earned over time, partly because there was no other choice – 'we have to get along'.
- Supermarkets have an important role to play by offering alternatives for shopping in the street market, but in terms of sociability, they are a very a different shopping experience.

The core conclusion from the pilot interviews was that:

> The regular occupation of the street market in a public space anchored day-to-day interaction through functional encounters with market traders that allowed for the expression of 'otherness' and adaptation to social change.

The pilot study also served to validate semi-structured interviews as a viable research tool for gathering rich data, and was essential in helping re-evaluate the research focus and hypothesis set out in 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 above, and in shaping the research questions ahead of the main period of data collection. In doing so, these research questions were then used both to shape a) the discussion guide for the main period of market

trader semi-structured interviews, and b) the questions for the structured surveys of market visitors/customers.

3.1.4. Finalising approach to data collection – linking research questions to interview discussion guide and survey questions

The pilot study interviews had been conducted either in offices, arranged meeting points such as a café, or at people's homes by invitation. A small digital recorder was used to record each of the interviews, and they were subsequently transcribed and coded. Having established that interviews of this kind could yield the kind of rich data required for a grounded theory approach, the core recurring themes were incorporated into an amended discussion guide for the next period of data collection. These core recurring themes are summarised in Figure 12 below, which also shows the stepped process of the journey from sensitising concepts, to key research questions, to an initial set of coded headings.
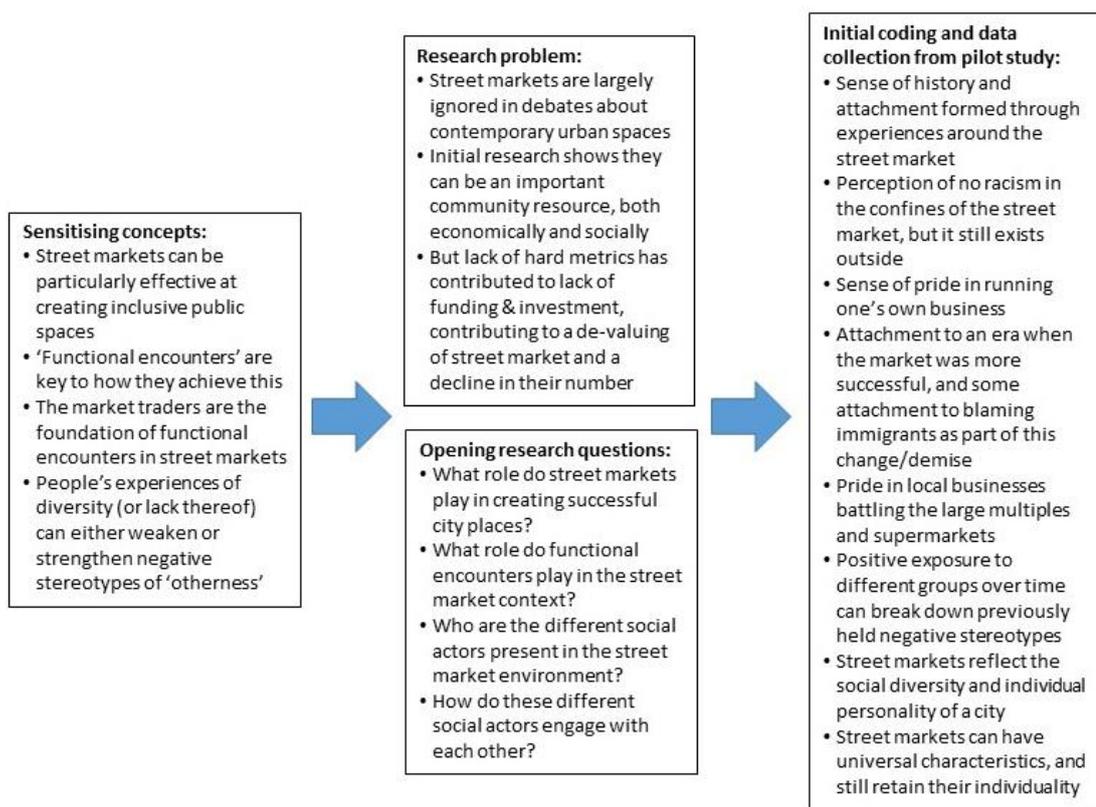
Figure 12 – link between sensitising concepts, research problem, opening research questions, and initial coding from the pilot study

<u>Re-evaluating the approach to data collection – functional encounters</u>
A key theme emerging from the sensitising concepts and supported in the pilot study interviews was the important function the market traders played in anchoring social encounters in street markets. It was therefore decided that the core focus for the semi-structured interviews would be the market traders. However, persuading market traders to be interviewed when they already work long days and cannot take long breaks from their market stalls was considered problematic. The interview strategy was therefore altered from the pilot study to enable the interviewing of market traders at their market stalls. This suited the grounded theory approach, which is most appropriate to data generated in 'natural settings' (Pettigrew, 2000, p. 258).

A pair of two-way radio microphones used for filming and documentary making was therefore sourced which would allow the interviewee the freedom to break away from the researcher at any point in order to serve customers. In making the interview process as convenient as possible, the assumption was that more potential interviewees would agree to be interviewed. Interviewing in situ could yield other benefits too. It would allow the researcher to be more embedded in the context of the study area, improving the quality of informal observations and fieldwork. In addition, it would enable the capture of exchanges between market customer and market trader, for example, when a market trader breaks off mid-interview to serve a customer.

Comparing informal observations with interview responses and quantitative surveys would also serve as a useful form of triangulation. Using a mix of methods enables the researcher to cross-check results from one research strategy against the findings of another *(Bryman, 2001, p. 447)*. As Heritage *(1984, p. 236)* notes, what social actors say in interviews cannot be treated 'as an appropriate substitute for the observation of actual behaviour'. Being able to compare what people were saying in interviews, alongside recording what they were actually doing whilst serving customers and talking to passers-by, became one of the most interesting aspects of this study, and complemented other forms of informal observations and notes taken during and immediately after interviews.

Alongside these more in-depth interviews and observations, 1,500 structured survey questionnaires were conducted among customers and visitors across the two chosen street markets. These structured questionnaires sought to capture a much broader picture of the attitudes of people using the street market towards some of the key sensitising concepts. These included attitudes towards the market traders, the perception of the street market as a social space, and attitudes towards being around people of difference. The survey sheet can be seen in Figure 13 below.

Q1
How often do you visit the market?

First time	Several times a week	Once a week	Once a fortnight	Monthly	Once every 3 months	Once or Twice per Year	Less often	Rarely/ Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Q2
Are the encounters you have with the stallholders an important part of your visit to the market?
On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 = Strongly Disagree, 10 = Strongly Agree and 5 = Neutral)

Q3
Is shopping in the market a more sociable experience than shopping elsewhere?
On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 = Strongly Disagree, 10 = Strongly Agree and 5 = Neutral)

Q4
Is the market a place where you mix positively with people from different backgrounds?
On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 = Strongly Disagree, 10 = Strongly Agree and 5 = Neutral)

Q5
What is your full post-code at home?

Q6
Observation
Age   Gender   Accompanied

Figure 13 – survey sheet used to collect 1,500 surveys across the case-study street markets

With all the above in mind, it was decided to frame the chosen mix of ethnographic methods within a case study approach. As Gobo (2008) notes:

> ...the expression 'case study' denotes research on a system bounded in space and time and embedded in a particular physical and socio-cultural context. Research is conducted using diverse methodologies, methods and data sources like participant observation, interviews, audiovisual materials, documents and so on. (p. 11)

Before embarking on the case study approach, it would be necessary to set out the criteria for selecting which markets to study. These criteria is set out below.

3.2. Criteria for selecting the street markets to study

Before conducting the pilot study, it was necessary to decide which street markets would be the subject of investigation. There also had to be a clear rationale for the number of street markets to be studied. One may be too few, but there would be obvious limitations for a lone researcher in studying, for example, fifty street markets. The first step in this process was to create a descriptive classification of markets in London.

3.2.1. A descriptive classification of London's markets

There is no accepted typology of markets in the UK. One reason for this is perhaps because there are so many different kinds of market. This might also account for why there is no accepted definition for street markets in any regulatory documentation governing London's street markets. The London Local Authority Act does not even formally recognise the existence of street markets, as outlined in 1.1.2, referring to them instead as 'licensed streets', with 'collections of individual pitches rather than a single entity' (London Development Agency, 2010, p. 17).

A helpful working definition of markets was created by Spitzer and Baum (1995). They define markets as a group of constituent parts that include:

> …vendors or merchants who meet regularly at the same location; a
> sponsoring entity that holds legal and financial responsibility and that
> oversees operations; and, in some cases the structures or facilities in which
> the market activity is housed. (Spitzer & Baum, 1995, p. 2)

However, within this very broad definition, markets are clearly not all the same. There are meat markets, fish markets, fruit and veg markets, covered markets, street markets, wholesale markets, markets specialising in antiques, books and fashion. They

can run once a day, a week, a month, or a year, with different management structures and strategic priorities, and vary in the nature and quality of the goods and services they sell, from illicit black-market goods to some of the UK's finest produce. It is no surprise, therefore, that the word 'market' conjures a mass of differing images and opinions.

The table below, Figure 14, sets out one possible descriptive classification of markets. It was produced using the researcher's own experience of visiting, working and researching markets, and divided them into categories using three distinguishing market factors: 'Ownership', 'Frequency' and 'Goods/Services sold'. Each category was then given a numbered code, together with examples of markets that fit the allotted classification coding. This descriptive classification has also been designed so that it can be further tested against other cities and locations in the future.

	Market name	Code		Market name	Code		Market name	Code
	Central		43	Shepherd's Bush	1		**Farmers' Markets**	
1	Berwick Street & Rupert Street	1		**Southwest**		85	Acton	4
2	Cabbages & Frocks	2	44	Battersea High Street	1	86	Blackheath	4
3	Charring Cross Collectors' Fair	8	45	Battersea, New Covent Garden	9	87	Clapham	4
4	Covent Garden	2	46	Brixton	9	88	Ealing	4
5	Earlham Street	1	47	Brixton Market	1,2	89	Islington	4
6	Leadenhall	?	48	Broadway and Tooting	1	90	Marylebone	4
7	Leather Lane	1	49	Hildreth Street	1	91	Notting Hill	4
8	Lower Marsh	1	50	Meridian Sports Club	9	92	Pimlico	4
9	Piccadilly Market	8	51	Merton Abbey Mills	2	93	Queen's Park	4
10	Smithfield	4	52	Nine Elms Sunday Market	1,9	94	South Kensington	4

Figure 14 – excerpt from the descriptive classification of London's markets

The descriptive classification was initially tested against the most comprehensive review of markets in London, Kershman's (2008) *The London Market Guide*, which lists over 70 London markets. Each of these markets was matched against a category code in the descriptive classification, an excerpt of which can be seen in Figure 14. If a market was discovered that did not fit into a classification category, then a new category was created in the descriptive classification coding. A table summarising this coding is given in Figure 15 below.

Code	Type	Ownership	Frequency	Goods/Services sold	Examples
1	Street Markets	Local authority	1-6 days a week	Mostly essential day-to-day produce and household goods etc with some specialist examples.	Northcote Road, Clapham Junction Queens Market in Newham. Columbi Road flower market is an example of a specialist market
2	Festival Retail Markets	Majority are privately owned	3-7 days a week	Non-essential goods with a mixture of inside and outside space. Many will have other elements such as shops, bars, restaurants attached to the market use, and will attract people beyond its local catchment area.	Camden Lock Market, Spitalfields Portabello Market is an example of local authority owned fesitval retail marke
3	Farmers' Markets	A mixture of local authority and private, but mostly run on public land	Once a week/month or even seasonally	Markets have to adhere to strict rules, and feature 'local' products that are often sold at premium rates and therefore have limited appeal.	Any of the London Farmer's Markets (private) or Broadw Market (local authority)
4	Wholesale Markets	Local authority	4-6 days a week.	Produce markets that feed many of the local shops and market stalls, as well as restaurants etc.	Billingsgate Fish Market, or Borough Market
5	Continental Markets	Private but often run on public land	A few days a year around seasonal festivities, the most popular being Christmas	Usually involve foreign traders (German/Italian/French are the most popular) bringing exotic produce from their native countries.	Locations change, but the South Bank a popular location
6	Movement/Cause Markets	Public body	Held sporadically around public holidays.	These markets specialise in promoting a cause or movement	London Craft Fair held recently in Sommerset House, or the Slow Food Market behind the South Bank
7	Public Markets	Public body	3-7 days a week	Must have specific public goals that give a defined public purpose, e.g. preserving farmland and providing employment. It should also be located on and/or create a public space within a community, and be made up of locally owned, independent businesses	This form of market structure was creat in America and doe not exist in the UK. The most successfi examples include Pike Place Market i Seattle and Union Square Greenmark in New York.
8	Collectors' Markets	Public/Private, including churches	1-3 days a week	Specialise in a particular type of good, such as antiques and brick a brack	Alfie's antiques market, parts of Portobello or Southbank book fai
9	Car Boot	Public/Private	1-2 days a week	A mish mash of secondhand and new goods sold from the back of a car/van	Wembley
10	Flea Market	Public/Private	1-6 days a week	A mish mash of secondhand and new goods sold from market stalls normally within a traditional street market setting	Deptford High Stre

Figure 15 – a descriptive classification of street markets showing ten different types of identifiable markets

The descriptive classification of markets identified ten different types of markets, of which 'street market' was one type. Street markets (see Figure 16 below) accounted for three quarters of markets trading in London. Of these street markets, 90% are local authority-owned. This made them the natural unit of study.
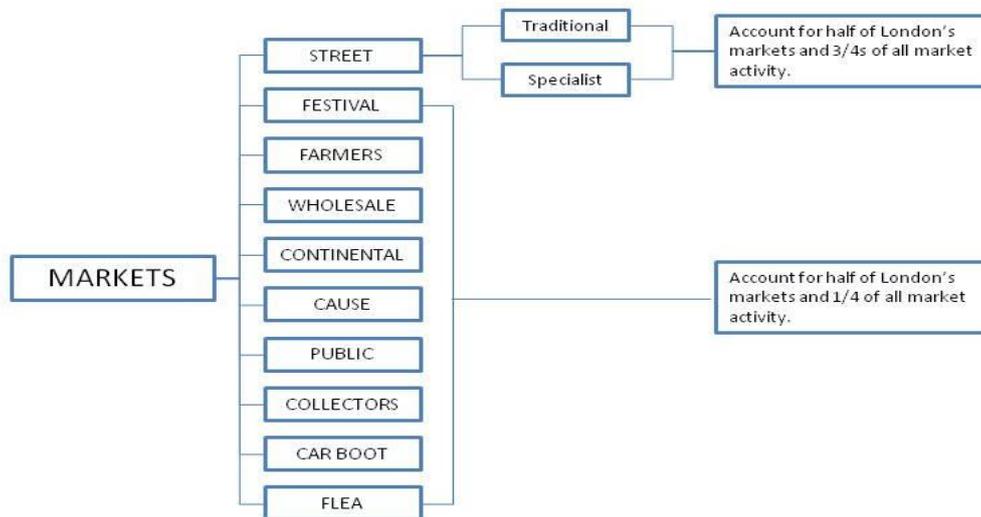
Figure 16 – different types of markets in London identified from the descriptive classification

The street markets were then further classified against 'attributes of interest' (see Figure 17 below). This process is termed 'purposive sampling' (May, 2001, p. 95), which ensures variety across a number of attributes, but also that the 'potential for learning' is maximised (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 451).
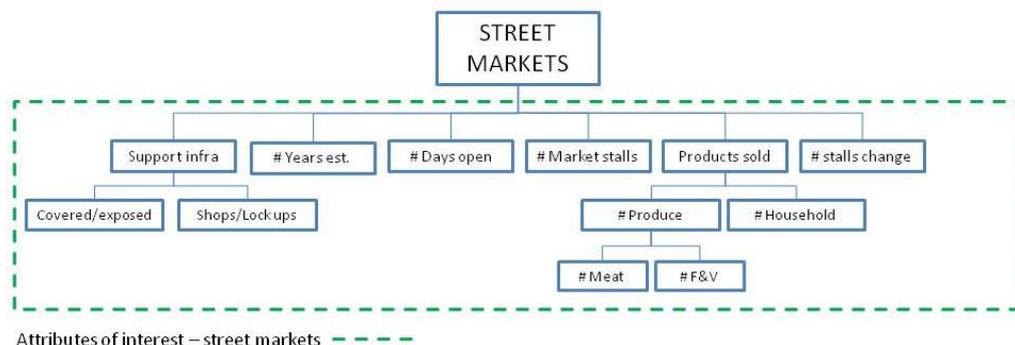
Figure 17 – key attributes of interest for street markets as part of the purposive sampling process

In their 2015 paper *Urban Markets and diversity: a research* agenda, Hiebert, et al. (2015) provide a useful descriptive account of street markets. They describe street markets as:

> …non-permanent structures (i.e. stalls) where entrepreneurs do not own the spaces and/or structures that they sell from. They are often, but not always, built in the morning and removed later that day, sometimes on a daily basis, at other times on a semi-weekly or weekly basis. Street markets are typically 'ordinary' places where 'ordinary' products are sold, such as food, clothing, flowers, shoelaces or inexpensive watches. The exchanges usually take place in flexible ways, which could involve bartering, and typically constitute a cash economy. Typically, street markets are characterized by a relatively high level of informality. The longevity of particular shopping outlets tends to be limited and the turnover of entrepreneurs is therefore high…The low entry barriers for vendors and market-goers to attend open street markets, as well as the style of market exchange, means that they appeal to and include many segments of the population and therefore are often associated with various forms of diversity. (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 9)

Of equal importance in choosing suitable street markets for the case study approach was access and opportunity to learn. Although many street markets trade in public space, permission to conduct research would ideally require the cooperation of the local authority and the management teams of the case study markets in question. This would help maximise cooperation among potential interviewees, and the interviewer is less likely to be challenged, and potentially forced to abandon an incomplete research programme.

Finally, it was decided that two case study markets would be the ideal quantity given a) the in-depth nature of investigation, and b) what would be deliverable within the timescale and resources of a part-time PhD. Most importantly, two case study markets would ensure heterogeneity across the attributes of interest (more on these below), but also provide comparability in terms of attributes they may also share.

3.2.2.   Deciding whom to interview and whom to survey

As well as deciding which case study markets to research, there also needed to be a clear rationale for whom to study and which research tools to employ in these street markets. Following the pilot interviews, there was a clear rationale for using semi-structured interviews to interview the market traders, who had been identified as the 'anchors' for social interaction through functional encounters in both street markets. In order to ensure heterogeneity across the interviewees, the street market social actors' map (Figure 11 above) was extended to include demographic categories – see Figure 18 below.

Alongside the market traders, it was considered strategic to interview members of the market management team. The market manager, or inspector as they are mostly called in local authorities, could provide a different perspective to the market traders. Certainly, their experience is likely to be broader, as they spend time in all parts of the street market and will have dealings, to some extent, with all the market traders.

The final market social actor that formed part of the strategic research goals came under the banner of customer/visitor. Quantitative surveys were chosen over qualitative semi-structured interviews in order to gain as broad a view as possible of the attitudes of non-market traders using or visiting the market to people considered different to themselves. Had using the street market played a role in shaping these attitudes? And if so, how? Quantitative surveys were considered most appropriate because they would allow a large number of people to be sampled, and provide for a certain amount of external validity and representativeness. As stated above, using survey methods would also help to triangulate data from the qualitative semi-structured interviews and informal observations.
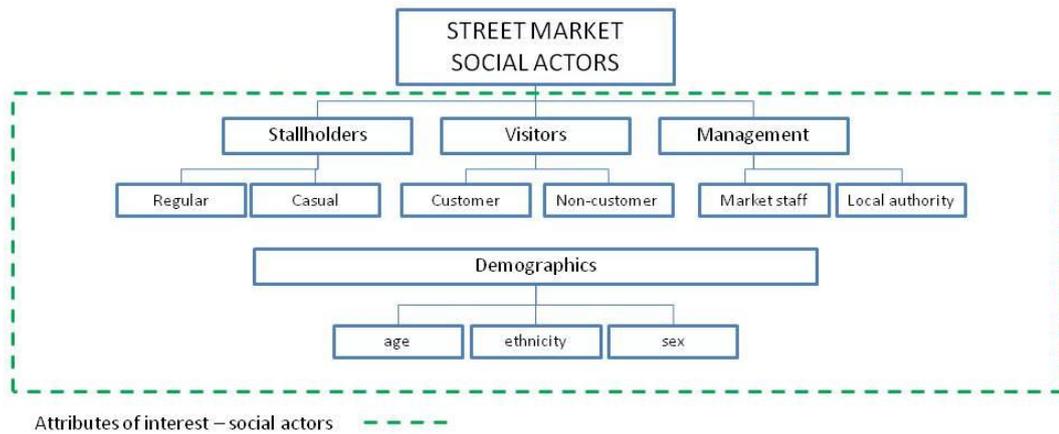
Figure 18 – attributes of interest mapped for social actors in street markets

Interviewing market traders – attributes of interest and how they were chosen

At the beginning of the interviewing process the researcher walked the length of the street market until a potentially suitable market trader was identified to approach for an interview. At first, the main criterion for suitability was simply whether they were busy serving customers. If they were, then interrupting them to ask for an interview would do little to encourage them to say yes. If the response was no, then the researcher would move onto the next available market trader. If the response was yes, then the interview would proceed.

| | | | 12.10.13 | | 17.10.13 | | | | | | 25.10.13 | |
| | | | Saturday | | Thursday | | | | | | Friday | |
			# stalls	% stalls	# stalls	% stalls					# stalls	% stalls
1	cosmetics & perfume		7	3	2	2		1	cosmetics & perfume		6	4
2	clothing & shoes		75	36	15	17		2	clothing & shoes		10	7
3	accessories		7	3	3	3		3	accessories		0	0
4	textiles		4	2	1	1		4	textiles		12	8
5	electronics & accessories		6	3	1	1		5	electronics & accessories		1	1
6	handbags & luggage		19	9	10	11		6	handbags & luggage		3	2
7	f&v/groceries		33	16	31	36		7	f&v/groceries		59	40
8	jewellery, watches & wallets		15	7	7	8		8	jewellery, watches & wallets		9	6
9	london souvenirs		2	1	1	1		9	london souvenirs		0	0
10	children toys & books		6	3	0	0		10	children toys & books		1	1
11	fish/meat		4	2	3	3		11	fish/meat		19	13
12	foodstall		6	3	2	2		12	foodstall		6	4
13	dry goods		8	4	1	1		13	dry goods		2	1
14	household goods		2	1	2	2		14	household goods		2	1
15	cut flowers		2	1	2	2		15	cut flowers		0	0
16	homewares		7	3	2	2		16	homewares		3	2
17	home furnishings/furniture		3	1	4	5		17	home furnishings/furniture		3	2
18	bric-a-brac/silver		1	0	0	0		18	bric-a-brac/silver		0	0
19	services [hair/nails]		1	0	0	0		19	services [hair/nails]		7	5
20	haberdashery		2	1	0	0		20	haberdashery		2	1
21	newsagents/stationery		-	-	-	-		21	newsagents/stationery		2	1
22	seating		-	-	-	-		22	seating		1	1
23	eggs		-	-	-	-		23	eggs		1	1
			210	100	87	100					149	100

Figure 19 – surveyed of street market to identify attributes of interest for potential interviewees as part of 'purposive sampling'

	Name	Age (approximate)	Origin/ background	Size of stall (no. of pitches)	Products sold	Days trading	Owner/ staff member	Length of time trading	Trades in other markets	Local to the area
1	Osman	25-30	Pakistan	1	leather goods, clothing	Saturdays	sole owner	3 years	no	no
2	Adamou	30-35	Wokin, UK	1	incense, burners, perfumes	Saturdays	owner with his wife	1 year	yes & starting QM soon	no
3	Jez	early 40s	Kosovo	2/3	household goods	Every day except Fridays	owner with his brother	10 years	no	yes
4	Gani	mid-60s	India	2	fashion	Saturdays	family business	30 years plus	no	yes
5	Ayesha	20-25	London	2	fashion	Saturdays	staff	"since nappies"	no	yes
6	Pat	early 50s	English	2	textiles	Saturdays	staff	30 years	yes	no
7	Hamed	50s	Kosovo	2	luggage, bags	Every market day	owner	9 years	yes but limited	??
8	Bilal	late 30s	Kosovo	2	luggage, bags	Every market day	staff	??	no	no

Figure 20 – attributes of interest for West Market interviewees

	Name	Age (approximate)	Origin/ background	Size of stall (no. of pitches)	Products sold	Days trading	Owner/ staff member	Length of time trading	Trades in other markets	Local to the area
1	Justin	20-30	Nigeria	1	shoes	Every market day	owner	5 years	no	yes
2	Usman	mid-50s	Pakistan	3	bags	Every market day	owner	16 years	yes	yes
3	Samir	mid-30s	Pakistan	3	bags	Part-time	employee	8 years	no	no
4	Salman	early 40s	Pakistan	2	bags	Every market day	owner	10 years	no	yes
5	Manjit	mid-40s	Punjab	3	jewellery	Every day except Sunday	owner	3 years	no	yes
6	John	40s	English	3	fruit & veg	Every market day	staff	30 years	yes	yes
7	Mary	50s	English	2	fruit & veg	Every market day	owner	24 years	yes but limited	yes
8	Jimmy	late 30s	English	2	fruit & veg	Every market day	owner	30 years	no	no

Figure 21 – attributes of interest for East Market interview respondents

Each time an interview was conducted, attributes of interest were recorded. Some of these attributes were observed, such as age, gender and whether they were wearing religious dress. Others were gleaned from information provided during the interviews, such as cultural background. The more interviews conducted, the more discerning the researcher was about who was approached. This ensured, as far as possible,

heterogeneity across the respondents interviewed in both street markets (see figures 20 and 21 above).

3.3.   The case-study markets: West Market & East Market[9]

In terms of attributes of interest, West Market and East Market could both be considered typical of 'ordinary' local authority street markets in London that share many of the characteristics of Hiebert, et al.'s (2015) description of street markets above. This is important, because this study was designed to identify whether the same social processes were at work in both street markets, i.e. this was not meant to be a comparative study of different kinds of markets, although this would be an interesting line for future research (see 5.4.1).

Examples of shared attributes of interest between West Market and East Market included that they are both:

- Composed largely of non-permanent market stalls
- Traditional inner-city street markets selling primarily 'ordinary' day-to-day produce and household goods
- Primarily cash economies in areas of economic hardship that have experienced rapid population change over the last twenty years leading to high levels of social diversity
- Have a history going back one hundred years or more
- Experiencing a state of flux in terms of large-scale regeneration/redevelopment plans in the area

However, the two street markets also differed in some attributes of interest. These include:

- Reviving West Market has been key to the local authority's regeneration plans, whereas the local council have been trying to reduce/close East Market for over a decade, to be replaced by a well-known supermarket chain and new housing.

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[9] The names of the case study street markets, and the market traders and manager interviewed have been changed to maintain anonymity.

- East Market is a covered market in a purpose-built structure. A public street runs through this market building, which means it can never legally shut. West Market, on the other hand, trades from a street, and is fully open to the elements.

- West Market is a separate entity to the surrounding shops and cafes (although some shops have rented market stalls outside their shops), whereas East Market is a single entity with a range of trading options, from market stall, to lock up, to shop.

- The shops on the local street of West Market vary significantly in use and price point. At the south-west end, the shops are more in tune with the street market, but the north-east section has a plethora of high-end antiques shops that have no relationship with the street market environment. The surrounding shops in East Market by contrast are very much in line with the street market experience and are managed as a single entity.

3.3.1.   East Market – east London

East Market is an enclosed rectangular-shaped produce and general goods market that has traditionally traded four days a week but has recently started to also trade on Sundays. When the market is not running most of the shops also remain closed. There are established rights of way through a public street that runs down the middle of the street market, which means the market structure must remain open twenty-four hours a day all year.

East Market stands on two floors of a 1970s concrete shell. The ground floor is all retail, the two sides of the structure comprise retail units, and in the middle, there are ten fixed concrete retail units with market stalls in between. The first floor is an open-air car park that for part of the research period was being let to Transport for London, so was unavailable for use by customers to the market. A ten-year planning process led by the council in partnership with a well-known property company and America's largest supermarket chain sought to demolish East Market and replace it with a supermarket and housing, possibly with a smaller market trading alongside the supermarket. A local action group made up of market traders and community

members was highly influential in blocking these plans. The development partners have since withdrawn from the project, leaving the site in limbo, and the market buildings continue to decline.

3.3.2. West Market – west London

West Market operates Monday to Sunday and can accommodate 220 market stalls of varying sizes. Visitor attendance has been in decline over the last twenty years.

Concerns over the quality of the market have been raised extensively through numerous consultation exercises. However, more recently, the number of mid-week traders has increased, and market inspection reports have improved.

The local authority regards West Market as central to regenerating the wider neighbourhood and achieving the overall aims of the council's Futures Plan. Significantly, this involves encouraging 'links between the market and its traders and wider community projects and organisations' as part of their four key recommendations to improve the market[10]. However, funding for neighbourhood management support has recently been cut, and the council's One Stop Shop has closed.

The next chapter sets out four key themes drawn from analysis of the research findings (4.1-4.4) together with a new model of urbanity (4.5) for how street markets support urbanity. Not surprisingly, the picture that emerges is complex. There were many examples of 'domains of commonality' mediated through functional encounters that constituted a 'sociology of reconfiguration'. But there were also conflicted feelings for some about changing demographics and the impacts these changes had had on the wider area that at times constituted themselves in sociabilties of displacement. These were examples of where the characteristics of street markets worked to undermine urbanity. In general, however, there was far more evidence of street markets supporting rather than undermining urbanity.

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[10] References that identify the Futures Plan in question have been removed from this document to preserve anonymity in line with the rest of this research study.

4. Findings from the Study & a New Model of Urbanity

3.1.2 set out the rationale for choosing a research methodology based on ethnographic grounded theory research methods in the empirical investigation of whether street markets support urbanity. As an ethnographic study, the researcher played an active part in the interactions and encounters that formed much of the analysis. This chapter of the dissertation is therefore mostly written in the first person. Writing ethnographic research studies in the first person is an accepted and effective way of acknowledging the role of the researcher as both observer and participant in the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. x).

4.1. Street markets create micro-borders and macro-borders in public space

'this [street market] is your territory, this is your atmosphere, this is your home…'
(Gani, market trader, West Market)

Page 98 set out the first research objective as to understand how the spatial configuration of street markets impact the frequency and nature of functional encounters in public space. In 2.3.1 on page 67, Sennett (2012, pp. 82-83) makes a distinction between two very different forms of urban edge – boundaries and borders. A boundary is defined as a relatively inert edge, where population thins out and there is little exchange. A border by contrast is a more active edge that encourages exchange by drawing different people and their functions into the same space. Street markets, as the following analysis will show, have characteristics more akin to borders than boundaries.

As Radice (2016) notes in the first layer of her four-layered model of place introduced on page 84 of 2.3.2 above, although spatial configurations cannot preordain conviviality they can support it (p. 434). The first layer of Radice's model is defined by its 'microplaces' which were described on page 37 as places that 'offer resources for

convivial social relations when they are accessible, heterogeneous and flexible' meaning that 'different kinds of people can use the place in different ways, enabling social interactions of variable purpose, intensity and duration' (p. 434).

As the first section of this analysis will demonstrate, the spatial configuration of street markets supports urbanity by transforming public space to create two types of border: micro-borders and macro-borders. On the micro level, active-edge borders are formed through the subdivision of space into market stalls that share characteristics of Radice's 'microplaces'. On the macro level, a border is formed from the collective presence, the aggregation of these micro-borders, which gives the feeling of belonging to a larger fabric of urban life (Amin, 2008, p. 19): "the market".

Borders are central to understanding how the spatial configuration of street markets can support urbanity. 4.1.1 focuses on three key characteristics of micro-borders – physical, legal and symbolic – implicit in the active-edge borders created by market stalls, before looking in 4.1.2 at how the aggregative impact of the experiences around these micro-borders impact attitudes towards "the market" as a whole – the macro-border. 4.1.3 draws together additional consequences which the transformation of public space into smaller units has for supporting urbanity, creating ideal territory for where diversity and the economy can intersect.

4.1.1.   Market stalls create micro-borders
A defining characteristic of street markets is that they are formed by sub-dividing urban spaces – public streets and squares – into smaller sets of constituent parts: the market stalls. Because market stall rents have to be affordable (see 2.4.1), the market stall pitches tend to be kept small, with standard trading frontages measuring between 6ft for a single stall and 12ft for a double. These frontages, and as the following analysis will show, the backs and sides sometimes too, create a collection of densely packed micro-borders, active-edges around which social and economic transactions can occur.

These micro-borders, as will be shown, resonate with Radice's (2016) concept of 'microplaces', introduced briefly as the first layer in her four-layered model that constitute a place (see 2.3.2 above). Radice's microplaces are defined as being 'accessible, heterogenous and flexible' shared spaces where exchange happens in an informal setting, such as the shared corridors of an office, where 'different kinds of people can use the place in different ways, enabling social interactions of variable purpose, intensity and duration' (p. 434). Radice's microplaces echo Amin's (2002) concept of 'micropolitics', everyday local urban spaces – the 'prosaic sites of cultural exchange and transformation' (p. 959) – that facilitate the daily negotiation of ethnic difference through direct social contact over and above national frames of race and ethnicity. Where Amin's concept differs from Radice's is his emphasis on the effectiveness of the *compulsory* nature of prosaic negotiations in spaces of association, such as the workplace, schools and sports clubs for coming to terms with ethnic difference (Amin, 2002, p. 969). This compulsory element will prove important in later sections of this analysis. As the following will show, the micro-borders created by market stalls share commonalities with both the concepts of microplaces and micropolitics.

Market stalls create physical micro-borders

As I approach traders for a possible interview, I am normally drawn to do so from the front of the stall, just as if I were a customer. The market stalls predominantly come in two forms, a fronted structure where the market trader stands behind a wooden board that is used to display the products for sale (see Figure 22 below), and a more open structure, a 'walk in stall', where the wooden board is removed to reveal a deeper stall that allows for the display of more, or perhaps fewer but bulkier, products (see Figure 23 also below). In these deeper stalls, customers are invited into the interior of the stall in order to inspect and purchase products.

Osman trades from a fronted-type stall similar to the set up in Figure 22. Metal bars and a wooden table-top clearly define the physical boundaries of the market stall, with a definitive delineation between trader and customer. Three minutes into the interview, a young man who describes himself as being of Chinese origin starts browsing through all the different wallets displayed on the market stall, picking them

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up and saying how all the brands, Armani, Gucci, Prada etc. are now all made in China. Rather than engaging with him as a potential customer, Osman attempts to ignore him, but the Chinese man is unperturbed and continues talking, at one point asking Osman where he is originally from, to which Osman replies 'nowhere'. Again,
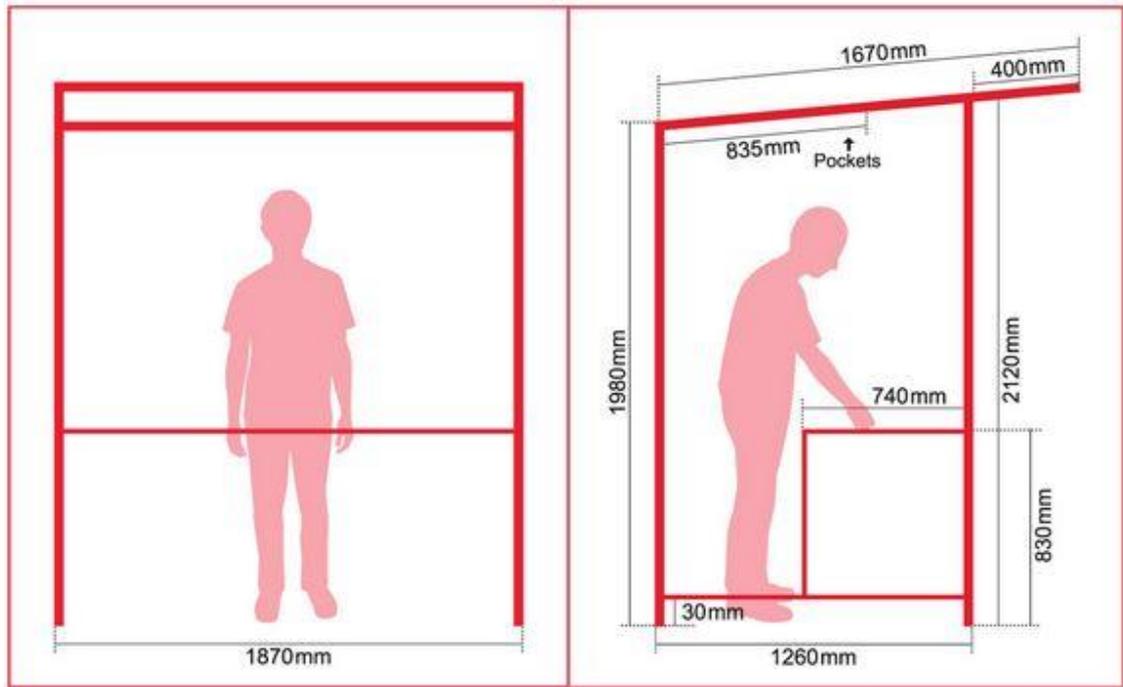
Figure 22 – a 'fronted' market stall a distinct micro-border between trader and customer

(www.camdenlockmarket.com)
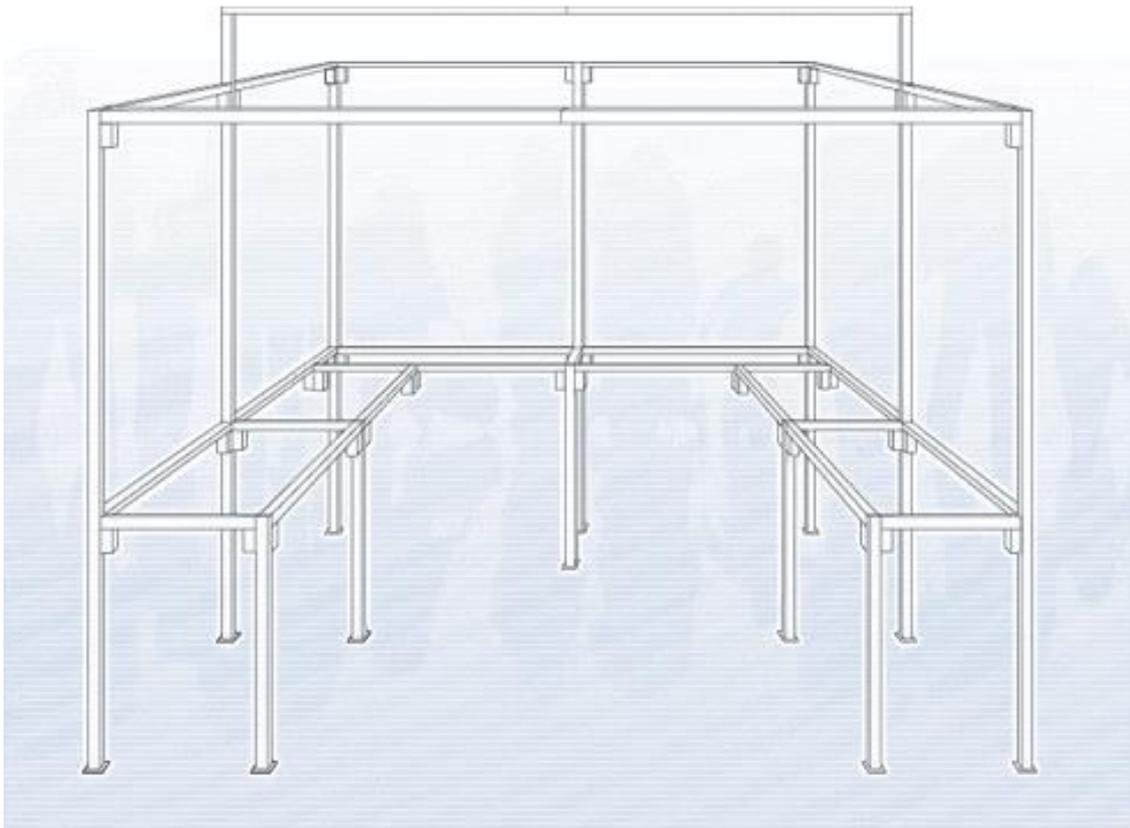
Figure 23 – a 'walk-in' market stall where people are invited into the market stall to inspect the goods for sale

(www.market-stalls.co.uk)

unperturbed, the customer turns to me and says he speaks lots of different languages including Hindi, Arabic and Chinese. Whilst the three of us remain assembled around the market stall, a woman walks past wearing a hijab and greets the Chinese man in Arabic and, somewhat to my surprise, he replies in what sounds like competent Arabic, after which she then enquires in English how his children are, but without actually stopping – it appears she does not want to get trapped in a lengthy conversation. As she continues on her way, the Chinese man returns to browsing through the wallets and starts talking about football. Eventually he says goodbye and moves onto another part of the street market. Once the Chinese man is at a safe distance, Osman explains to me that he comes to the stall every week and does the same thing and "if you start speaking to him he will just take up more and more of your time".

The exchange between Osman, the Chinese man, the Muslim woman and me, lasts about four minutes in total. It is an unremarkable exchange in many ways – similar types of exchanges were witnessed regularly across both street markets – but it is useful in demonstrating the active-edge nature of the physical micro-borders created by market stalls. The front of the stall is used to display the products for sale and is naturally designed to attract potential customers. In one sense, it separates customer and trader – there is certainly no confusion as to who is playing which role – but in another sense, as the site of exchange that brings them together, it momentarily encloses and incorporates them – key characteristics of borders identified by Cohen (2001) on page 68 above – within an instant of shared action.

The role of active-edge border was not limited only to the front of the market stalls. Although most exchanges between market customer and trader took place from the front, the backs and sides of market stalls could be active in different ways. Occasionally, generally for quick enquiries, customers would approach the sides and backs of stalls to beat the queues, perhaps to ask the market trader if a particular item, for example, was in stock. But the majority who made such approaches had some sort of functional involvement with the stallholders, such as fellow market traders or members of the market management team. For example, during the interview with Osman, I noticed his neighbouring trader, who obviously came from a different cultural

background, regularly entering and leaving the back of Osman's stall, placing and removing products. When I ask Osman whether there is a cooperative nature within West Market, he replies:

> Yes, I'm very comfortable with my neighbour. He's very nice and very kind to me, so he can come into my space without any charges. We get along very well. (Osman, market trader, West Market)

In this instance, the physical micro-borders of the market stall are incorporating and enclosing differences between market traders rather than market trader and customer. The nature of these encounters is that they are fluid, rather than isolated events, and can often work on multiple spatial levels. As identified in the first exchange above, there were many instances where market stalls incorporated and enclosed traders, customers, and any number of other individuals who happened to be in the market for a variety of different reasons and were thus drawn into participating in the ongoing exchange. In my case, I was there because I was a research student, but for many, they were simply passing through the street market on their way to somewhere else. In the case explored below, it was a salesman visiting West Market to sell his wares to market traders.

Adamou has a more open 'walk-in' type of market stall compared to Osman (see Figure 23 on page 123 above for a representation of a 'walk-in' market stall). This time it seems more natural for me to approach from the back of the stall, which is open sided and therefore accessible, so I do not take up valuable space and put off any potential customers from entering the main part of his market stall. When Adamou agrees to the interview we continue the exchange across the back of the stall. During the interview, a salesman who Adamou has obviously conducted business with before also chooses to approach from the back of the market stall. The interview pauses whilst they administer to their business, but rather than being segregated from the ongoing transaction, I am invited once again into the process. Adamou begins by jovially introducing me to the salesman and telling him how we struck our agreement for the interview; he had agreed to answer my questions about West Market if in

return I agreed to hear his teachings about Islam. The transaction between salesman and market trader lasted about ten minutes, as both swap their recent experiences about what is selling well. "Everyone's going heavy for the Argonne at the moment," the salesman tells Adamou, "Yes, but it's all about the packaging," replies Adamou. Meanwhile, there are constant interruptions from other customers, until eventually Adamou agrees to take ten pounds of Argonne from the salesman. As they complete the transaction, a customer hands Adamou's wife, who also trades on the market stall, a mobile phone for more details on a product they are looking for, who then gives it to Adamou. The salesman jokes to me about them moving onto taking phone orders and says next they will start selling on the internet. Adamou, having returned the phone to his wife and overheard the salesman, responds enthusiastically by saying they have already bought the domain they want to use. Whilst this is all going on, Adamou and the salesman have yet to complete their transaction, and Adamou asks for confirmation of the price. "I'll do you a deal innit bruv," says the salesman. Their collective chuckle indicates that this is a scene they have played out many times before. As part of completing the deal, Adamou manages to sell some of his stock back to the salesman, and there is more laughter between the two before he finally leaves.

What the encounters outlined here have in common, is that they all involved a number of different social actors on multiple spatial levels passing through the street market. In the second example, there was Adamou and his wife as market traders, the salesman, who came from outside of the market, various customers who appeared intermittently during the transaction to ask about products, and me as the interviewer. At different points during the transaction there were fleeting interactions between these social actors, all of which took place around the various physical micro-borders – the active edges – of the market stall. It was the presence of this market stall that brought us all together in one place for different reasons at the same time – without it, these encounters would not have taken place. Importantly, this was just one market stall from over a hundred that were trading that day. Similar patterns of encounters could be observed happening at each of these market stalls, gravitating towards the

physical micro-borders the market traders create by arriving and setting up in the street.

Their impact resembled Radice's (2016, p. 440) observations of the microplaces – the patios and balconies – that facilitated 'contact between sitting and circulating people' on the dense pavements of the Rue de Liège in Quebec. These market stalls were working along similar lines, although presumably at a significantly higher level of intensity, each one creating a mini-incursion of 'protected semipublic space' into the very public space of the street that were acting as 'hubs for social activity' across different people for different reasons. Reinforcing the efficacy of these physical micro-borders as protected semi-public incursions into public space is the legal footprint in which the physical entity of the market stall sits. These constitute legal micro-borders.

Market stalls create legal micro-borders

As well as physical micro-borders delineated by metal bars and wooden boards, the market stalls are set within a legally defined footprint. These market stall pitches are normally marked out by painted roadside pitch markings and are governed by strict rules and regulations, with the local authorities issuing licenses that give traders the right to occupy their stalls on market days. Conversely, as the following analysis will show, market traders can be fined if they do not abide by certain rules and regulations, such as not trading beyond official market hours and straying outside of their painted pitch markings.

The subject of these pitch markings arose voluntarily in the interviews across a range of different questions. Hamed tells me he is a Muslim originally from Kosovo who started out trading in Tottenham Court Road working for a Pakistani man. He was eventually offered a pitch of his own in West Market where he has been for nine years selling bags and luggage. When I ask Hamed if he has learnt things from other people in the market, he tells me the story of Isaac, who was his neighbour when he first arrived in West Market. According to Hamed, Isaac was always inching his products beyond his official market stall footprint and constantly being reprimanded by the market inspectors. After a few days of this, Hamed asked Isaac why he did this if it got him into trouble all the time, and Isaac replied, "Every inch is the money". Hamed said

that he never forgot this lesson, and ever since he has always tried to squeeze that extra inch of space out of his own market stall.

The market manager for West Market, Jack, expresses something similar in terms of a generic statement about market traders. Whilst telling me he has never really liked the word 'inspector' in relation to his job description, market inspector being his official title, he finishes with:

> I have a good rapport with all the traders. Well, you always get the one, but the majority I've got a good rapport with, because you know, don't give them an inch or they'll try and take a mile! (Jack, market manager, West Market)

Traders in East Market were equally aware of the rules and regulations they had to abide by. I asked Manjit, who has been trading in East Market for three years, what it was like first settling into the market, and if there were any formal rules she had to follow.

> Well, they were very strict about the line [pointing to the white lines marking her pitch]. If we stepped past the line then they would charge us a bit more, you know, and yeah, so they were like checking on us and plus we had to pay like a three months in advance, and that was a problem, and all the details that had to be provided, they gave us like a book, like abiding the rules, and told us what time we could set up, and what time we had to go. We can't serve after 6 o'clock otherwise there's a penalty fee, if they catch us they take a picture and give us a fine, and that's it, so. (Manjit, market trader, East Market)

Similarly, I ask Gani from West Market if there are any rules from the council she has to follow. Her response hints at the unforeseen consequence that rules and regulations – focusing on market traders not spreading beyond their borders – could have in reinforcing the sense of 'ownership' within them.

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No, it's just common sense really. Because we've been so long here, you know the rules, you get on with the inspector, who's telling you move this, move that, but before he comes you have to be doing it on your ways. This is your place, set with it. (Gani, market trader, East Market)

On page 83 of 2.3.2 above, Noble (2005, p. 114) emphasised that part of being comfortable in public settings rests on our ability to be acknowledged as rightfully existing there, which he described as a form of 'ontological security… the trust we have in our surroundings' (Noble, 2005, p. 107). Certainly, the legal right to occupy was an important factor in people feeling secure within what could otherwise seem a rather precarious existence. This appeared to be most relevant among newer arrivals to the street markets, who appreciated the protection afforded by the licenses.

However, even within these levels of security, the issue of market stall ownership remains complex. Some licenses are transferrable through generations within the same family, and yet they only allow occupation on specific market days and within defined trading hours. In West Market, there is no evidence of the market's existence on non-market days beyond the faded pitch markings on the ground. Some traders, such as Gani, Ayesha and Pat, used to trade every market day but now only trade Saturdays because of a lack of customers during the week. Osman had only ever traded Saturdays because he had another job Monday-Friday. Jez traded every market day, but was in a different pitch on weekdays compared to weekends. Others, such as Jimmy and John, had held the same pitch within their families for several generations.

In addition, as well as complex ownership patterns, the very structure of a market stall is far from secure. There are no windows, doors or locks; just a collection of metal bars, a plastic sheet for a roof, and wooden boards to display their products (more on the consequences of precarity in relation to reciprocity in 4.3.1 below). As Gani says in part of her response to my question about whether she has to rely on her neighbours for help:

Or if they go and get their cars they say can you look after my stall, so it's the small things that are helpful, you can't just leave your stall and go and pick up your car. (Gani, market trader, West Market)

But despite the transient nature of ownership, the different number of days per week someone traded, the varying length of time people had occupied their pitches, and the insecure physical form of the market stall, there was a definitive sense of ownership in the language used by respondents in both markets. As was seen with the examples of Osman, Gani and others above, the emphasis is very much on the use of 'my' and 'your' in relation to mentions of 'space' and 'place', when referring to their individual market stalls. The use of possessive pronouns denotes a sense of definitive ownership and with it a right to occupy what is, at the end of the day, a piece of public land. The combination of a physical entity in the market stall, however precarious, and the legal framework that sits behind it, however complex, creates a base from which a sense of belonging can be built through the occupation of market stalls. It is through this sense of belonging that physical and legal micro-borders also become symbolic.

Market stalls create symbolic micro-borders

The market stall, as a physical and legal micro-bordered entity, adds a third dimension once it is occupied by market traders and the products they want to sell. As a consequence of occupation, these micro-borders become symbolic expressions of the people and products that occupy them.

The physical and symbolic occupation of important spaces was identified in 2.2.1 above as key to the historic emergence of contemporary public spaces in western cities, and more recently, in challenging established notions of identity in movements such as Occupy and Gay Pride (see page 51). Although not of national importance, both West Market and East Market sit in symbolically important positions locally, in that they are central to the everyday livelihoods of the neighbourhood's inhabitants, a key quality identified by Hall & Datta (2010, pp. 69-70) of their research into the 'translocal geographies' of 'ordinary' inner-London high streets. The importance of these high streets is that they extend past the locale, linking it to other places and spaces and expanding the possibilities for contact between different people without

contesting loyalties between here and there. In street markets, this is the function of the symbolic micro-borders created by market stalls.

Samir, an East Market trader originally from Pakistan, stocks products from his homeland. He saw his products as being truly representative of where he had come from, and this gave him confidence that other people's products represented on market stalls were also true representations of other cultures who had settled in the area. Towards the end of a long and interesting exchange in response to a question about whether the market is truly representative of different elements of the community, he exclaims:

> Exactly! Yes, this is symbolic [he says pointing to the products on his market stall]. You know these types of things, they are Indo/Pak things, so we know these things, so you know this is true representation of their culture as well. (Samir, market trader, East Market)

Usman has been trading in the market for sixteen years. Throughout the interview, he refers to East Market as a 'community market'. Central to his definition of a community market is the presence of different communities sharing the same space within the market. As he explains, the importance of symbolic expressions of difference in the community extends beyond the street market:

> ...because this is different people, it's a community market, if you want to see anybody you can talk anybody, they all talking other, they all nice. "You mean people from all different backgrounds?" yeah, different backgrounds, like a you know, mostly, in this area, east London, Asian community, Muslim community, Hindus, Buddhist and err Sikh, they all mixed culture, they know each other, they look after each other as well, and the government they support us as well, you see, any road, any street, you can see Mosque you can see Temples, there are no restrictions, this is, whatever belong to you, what kind of religion, there is freedom, that's why we are happy in the market here, in my area. (Usman, market trader, East Market)

When I ask Usman whether the market is representative of the local area and the different community groups, he starts to answer before interrupting himself and saying "you know, some people like me they can't explain properly, you know there are so many people here, the communications with different peoples..." before being interrupted and handing over to his cousin Samir, who I find out in the course of the interview is studying for a doctorate in mechanical engineering at Queen Mary University. Again, the importance of symbolic occupation, display and availability of products that represent the communities in the area was emphasised.

> Actually, this market is truly representative, because you know there is no other market like this. The people come here and everything under the same roof, if you are, as I said, a Sikh community, they come and they buy their own goods and they find them here, and we are Muslim and we find our own, without difficulty, so it is representative of the local community. (Samir, market trader, East Market)

If, as is suggested here, the physical and legal occupation of public space by different elements of the local community creates a symbolic presence made up of symbolic micro-borders, then the crossing of these micro-borders by people who are different from each other – momentarily encapsulating and enclosing their differences – becomes a symbolic expression of commonality. This symbolic expression is enhanced by the ability for market traders to invite people – customers and neighbouring traders – into their market stall. As discussed above, some market stalls were deliberately left open to maximise display space, and customers were invited into the space to browse their products. Other market stalls had a more traditional set up, with products displayed at the front and the trader standing behind serving the customers. In this instance, neighbouring traders were granted permission to enter each other's spaces, sometimes just to chat when the market was quiet or to borrow change or bags, sometimes to store over supplied products or even to "spread" onto the neighbouring pitch "without any charges", as Osman put it earlier, if that person was not trading that day (see page 125).

In an economically challenging environment, the ability to invite people into their space was an important symbolic act that could be offered at no additional monetary cost. At the same time, it has a reciprocal value – practical and emotional – that is negotiated both consciously and subconsciously. These actions are evidence of a ground-up form of conviviality, where every day acts of reciprocity work at the contextual level (Christ, et al., 2014, p. 3999) as explored in the discussion of conviviality in 2.3.2 above that helped to forge expressions of solidarity identified by Wise & Velayutham (2014, p. 418) as so important in their study of *Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism*. Although these examples have focused on the micro-borders of market stalls, their effect appeared to have a wider impact on the sense of the area that is encapsulated in this study through the concept of the macro-border of the street market.

4.1.2.   Aggregation of micro-borders creates a macro-border

The sense of ownership, expressed at the micro-level of a single market stall, could also be extended to the macro-level of the street market. When I ask Gani if she lives close by, she replies:

> Yeah, just five minutes' drive, so it's close to home, we don't want to travel
> far. All these years we've been here so you make a home. And once you are
> come, this is your territory, this is your atmosphere, this is your home,
> instead of going to strange places. (Gani, market trader, West Market)

The feeling of "the market" being an entity more than just a geographical destination and place of work, extended across both street markets, but was more pronounced in East Market, perhaps because it has been under constant threat of closure and redevelopment for over ten years. Jimmy, a third-generation East Market trader, talked warmly about what "the people" and "the market" mean to him.

> Because I do realise, I've learnt so much through the years working in this
> market. But to be honest, this market, it really does mean a lot to me. I

wouldn't put myself, I'm really passionate about the market and anyone
coming into it, like my son's not interested in it, I understand that, but, when
I think of, it's give me a home, it's give me a good life... it's the heart of it
[the community], it's not just a market, if you just think of it like a market
with the stalls and boards, you've got no insight in nothing. (Jimmy, market
trader, East Market)

The effect of the macro-border of the street market on issues such as sense of place
and ownership is distinguished from micro-borders of the market stalls in two distinct
but related ways. The first is that it had implications for belonging to something larger
than one individual business or market stall – the feeling of belonging to a larger fabric
of urban life (Amin, 2008, p. 19) – "the market". The second is that it enabled a
simultaneous situatedness and connectedness that facilitated transnational mobility
without reducing the importance of locales that resembled the findings of Hall &
Datta's (2010, pp. 69-70) research into 'translocal geographies'.

An example of the former was expressed by Usman who at various times in the
interview described East Market as a "community market" (see pages 131 and on page
138). Central to this definition was the presence in the market of lots of different
people from different communities and the freedom this gave to be who you want to
be: "there are no restrictions, this is, whatever belong to you, what kind of religion,
there is freedom, that's why we are happy in the market here, in my area".

An example of the second was Jimmy expressing pride when his customers and
colleagues, many of whom were from a range of cultural backgrounds, invited him to
social engagements outside of the market. This included a passage where expressed
pride at finding out his photograph had made it to the mantlepiece of someone's
house in India

The amount of weddings we're invited to. I must admit, I don't drink alcohol
or nothing, but the amount of time the people take the time to say oh here
Jimmy, my daughter's getting married. I've been to a few, and I've been

made so welcome, and I always like to think to myself, well when they come

to my house I hope I make them as welcome as me. But you know I've been

to Indian weddings where I'm the star of the show. Everyone, that dad's

never met me, and he says oh Jimmy, I've heard so much about you, we've

got a photograph of you and Zaffar [his colleague] on the mantle...I'm in

India on a mantle! Oh, this is Jimmy who's got a stall, and I'm like, me and

my partner [girlfriend] are going, oh nice to meet you, nice to meet you, and

they're all, the mums are all bringing all the food because I'm big they're

thinking ooh he can eat more, he can eat more, and to me they're just, you

know, I wouldn't want to do any other job. I'm very frustrated politically

about the market, but the people, and what this market stands for, this

market is one of the very last places where people can integrate and there's I

say a 90% rate of acceptance, and real proper acceptance. (Jimmy, market

trader, East Market)

This example resonates with Hall & Datta's (2010, p. 69) research into 'translocal

geographies' featured in 2.2.1 where they described a simultaneous situatedness and

connectedness that facilitates transnational mobility without reducing the importance

of locales. Jimmy expresses this sense of transnational mobility in his delight that his

picture is on someone's mantlepiece somewhere in India.

The two examples are interesting because on the one hand a relative newcomer is

expressing a sense of freedom, security and belonging in his adopted local community,

and on the other, an established member of that community, whose family have

traded in East Market for over a hundred years, is expressing pride in the fact a part of

him, in the form of a photograph with his friend Zaffar, has made it all the way to India.

These two examples both require an openness to the other that implies a strong sense

of 'ontological security', 'the trust we have in our surroundings, both human and non-

human' which Noble (2005, p. 107) considered fundamental to people's capacity for

social agency. This trust is expressed on the micro level in terms of the human

relationships that are formed and enacted across micro-borders of the market stalls,

and on the macro level through the daily experiences – 'the proliferation of everyday

attentiveness as a condition of being in the world' (Amin, 2012, pp. 33-34) – of trading in "the market".

These passages express the capacities both Usman and Jimmy feel they have to make themselves at home in a changing world. This gives them confidence to engage with flexible forms of national identities and social belongings (Noble, 2005, p. 117) through their everyday experiences of trading in Eat Market. Such sentiments are evidence of Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016, p. 24) 'sociabilities of emplacement', which were considered key components for the capacity to remake and remould city spaces, termed by Hall (2015, p. 854) as a 'sociology of reconfiguration', which was identified as a key component in the working definition of urbanity set out on page 37.

But enabling these facets of micro and macro-borders were only made possible because the street markets drew their market traders and customers from a wide variety of backgrounds into using the same space. Enabling this capacity is that street market economics are underpinned by diversity.

4.1.3.   Micro and macro-borders – where diversity and the economy intersect

The effectiveness of micro-borders in how street markets can support urbanity is contingent on them being occupied by a diverse range of people who are broadly representative the local demographics. As Radice (2016, p. 441) notes, 'the appropriation of certain microplaces by small groups can be intimidating', and this certainly seems to relate to experiences of street markets. In one of the pilot-study interviews, the interviewee, who was from an Asian cultural background, described how walking through West Market as a child in the nineteen-seventies could be an intimidating affair in which she regularly experienced racial abuse. This is an example of where the micro-borders that can support urbanity are also capable of undermining it, particularly when dominated by a single group. Walking down the same market today, she said in her interview, she has none of the same concerns: the market feels like home.

One of the main changes from the nineteen-seventies to today is that the market traders are from a mix of cultural backgrounds that is far more representative of the local demographics. Street markets can adapt relatively quickly to changes in demographics through a number of different channels. First, many incoming communities come from countries where there is still a strong culture of shopping in street markets, so they feel relatively comfortable in street market environments. Second, it was the incoming communities who were sustaining many traditional market businesses as they still had the culture of making their own clothes and soft furnishings, cooked their own food and clubbed together to buy in bulk to save money (see page 141 below). Third, market traders can adapt quickly to take commercial advantage of the changing demographics of their clientele (more on this in 4.2.2 below). Fourth, market stalls are one of the most affordable entry-points for members of incoming communities to start a business, many of whom will have been excluded from other forms of employment and sources of finance, such as bank loans (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 6), and will have had some experience of or trading in other markets, the basic components of which are transferable skills. Fifth, market stalls can offer informal employment opportunities to members of incoming communities, many of whom again will have been excluded from more formal employment opportunities but perhaps do not have the skillset or resources to start their own market stall (Hiebert, et al., 2015, p. 6). These five channels of diversification are further supported by the fact that economically effective street markets are underpinned by diversity. As 2.4.2 established, the more diverse the offering the wider the customer-base. Together, these factors make street markets the natural point where, as Hiebert, et al. (2015) describe it, 'diversity becomes part of the fabric of the economy' (p. 7).

The principle of generating critical mass through diversity, although not using these words directly, was not lost on the market traders of East Market. Usman, reflecting on a time when he considered East Market to have been busier and more successful, described how people used to come from as far as Manchester, Cambridge and Brixton to visit the market. The driver for these visitors venturing so far was the diversity of products and people all sited together "under the one roof".

Saturday, you can't believe so many people, even some people, Asian people, because this is a community market, in a community market you can buy Halal meat, that's the main reason the people came, and fresh veggie, fresh fruit and everything in one roof, under the one roof, you can buy everything. And like, err, you know funfair, Saturday you can see, I remember, we ready early in the morning, you came, and people came, it's the one day it's like a funfair, and we really enjoy it, like a festival, and we really enjoy it, like Asian festival but a mixed community, I don't know like Brixton, even some customer come from Brixton. (Usman, Market Trader, East Market)

Usman goes onto explain that the decline of the market, in his view, is because of more competition from regenerated areas around the Olympic Park combined with unfair parking charges at East Market that have forced people to shop locally at Green Street instead of using their street market. Consequently, East Market has experienced a cycle of decline, where fewer customers sustain fewer traders, which means less variety and choice.

For Usman, the link between diversity, critical mass and an economically successful market seems clear. But more recently, whether through design or fortune, one market trader had noticed an improvement in the product and trader mix at East Market. A mini-arcade had opened at one end of the market, with a café and tables spreading into the main market area. There was also a stall that had opened selling honey and jam, and another with nuts and olives. Manjit, who described herself during the interview as Sikh Punjabi, highlighted these changes as being positive to the overall market offer, and hoped the area, not just the market, would diversify further in terms of the shops and services it was able to offer, with a particular emphasis on the need for more non-Asian traders and products.

Yeah, the arcade, that's helped because the food shops, before that we only had one shop, but now we've got quite a few shops which has made it more lively, and various stalls now, you know it's now not just Asians, now loads of

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other people have taken over, like the jam guy up there, and the olive guy, so it's different stuff, not just Asian food, or Asian people running the stalls, it's various different people. It's more mixed now, yeah, and more representative of the local area, which is important. For example, I miss the big shops, like Wallace's and Next and all that in Green Street, and we could do with a few of them, you know normal shops like Marks & Spencer's and all that. You know we've got all those Asian shops up there and sometimes I want English clothes, and where do I go, so... (Manjit, Market Trader, East Market)

It makes sense that having a range of products "under the one roof" creates a broader appeal that in turn attracts more customers into the same space. It is a tactic that supermarkets have employed since their inception. In the street market context, the most effective way this can be achieved is by having lots of market stalls manned by different people from different sections of the community selling different things. And having a diverse customer base certainly has its advantages.

When I go to market it's in the back of my head. If I can't buy grape, then I'll buy some butternut squash to go instead of it. But you've always got a chance with the Asian community, and the African community and all the communities, it's not just, you know, but when you're serving so many different nationalities, you've got such an edge because, you know, what one won't try the other one will, and then what that one will try, so in the end, you can't lose. You know you can't lose, because you know, what someone's like is someone's dislike, and in the end, the more variety you've got, the more pulling power you've got. (Jimmy, Market Trader, East Market)

The most successful market traders respond quickly to demographic changes in the area. These changes were driven by the necessities of trade. They adapt to survive by bringing in the kinds of products that will appeal to customers from emerging populations settling into the area. Fresh produce stalls were particularly quick to

adapt, as the incoming populations had strong market cultures, did not have the money to eat out or order takeaway, and therefore still cooked from fresh ingredients.

> …plus, you have all the ethnic food, you know, they ain't like the English people who phone up and order take away every week, you know what I mean, they cook all their own food, so you cater for what your trade is don't ya. We've always sold fruit and veg here, but we've got more into the herbs, i.e. the spinaches and the corianders and things like that, sweet potato, which is what that kind of people like, the minorities. You see it [the demographics] changing and you have to cater to that. Like the Polish, they like cabbage and beetroot, and they want the biggest cabbage they can buy, things like that, so you have to try and cater to different people don't ya.
> (John, Market Trader, East Market)

The same applied to haberdashery and textile stalls. Pat has traded at West Market for over thirty years. She has seen the clientele at the market change enormously over this time.

> There's not many people left that were originally here. It's mainly Moroccans and Afghanistanis who live here, and it's only mainly them now that keep us in business because there are not many English people that still sew. Primark, wear it and chuck it away, it's really sad, but with shops now you can go in and park, you can go to the pictures, you can eat, you can be in the warm, who wants to walk round a market?...The youngsters now, they're not going to sew or come to the market, they want to go to the West End or Westfields. We've still got our old clientele, you know, new ones as well, but a lot of them have been coming here since I've worked here. (Pat, market trader, West Market)

Pat, who also trades in textiles at Bromley and Portobello Road markets, describes West Market as her busiest market, but even so, sees market trading ultimately as a dying trade. Pat acknowledged that, whilst they might have longstanding and valued

customers that pre-dated the substantial demographic changes, all their new customers came from the emerging communities. It was also recognised that English-born consumer culture in particular, as she described above, had changed significantly with Internet shopping and the availability of fast food and cheap throwaway clothes. In contrast, it was the emerging communities that held more of the values to which market traders traditionally appealed – cooking from fresh ingredients, buying in bulk as a family to save money, and making and mending one's own clothes – all of which, of course, is essential to keeping traditional market traders in business.

> But they, like I say, they've got 5 sons live with mum and dad, 3 of them have got their own houses, then 4 of them, 5 of them will have their own houses. But what they'll do is go shopping for the whole family, they'll buy a great big bag of rice, they'll buy a box of apples, a box of bananas, and then they'll get it all round mum's, mum's is the beating heart of the family. So, then all the family go to mum's, and mum, I know this happens, mum will designate all the shopping for everyone, but it's not mum sharing, oh he's got one more banana than you, it's the heartbeat of the family, which is what society's all about. Have you been round mum's? You gotta go round mum's because she's doing all the shopping. So, they put all the money in together, they buy it wholesale instead of retail, because obviously if you get someone come up here and buy a box of oranges, a box of apples, you know they're gonna get a pound off 'em at least, so they're spending £30/40 a time with ya, but it's a quick sale and you're spinning money over 'aint ya. But when they get home they've got a better deal and not only that, mum knows she's gonna see David/Kevin/John, you know all her boys are gonna come there, and then what's mum do? Mum cooks a big, say, curry, so as they come in, they're sitting down and eating one of mum's special big curries. (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

This sharing of historically held values across very different cultures was a source of admiration between established and emerging communities. Evidently, it was the emerging populations keeping many market traders in business. These businesses had

to adapt out of need and necessity, and valued the fact they still appreciated shopping in street markets. Diversity played a key role in attaining a critical mass of customers and maintaining the viability of the street market, and ultimately, their businesses. And at some points, exposure to the foods incoming populations wanted to buy changed the eating habits of the market traders, as Jimmy explains:

> Like, about three weeks ago, my brother said to me, we was down the market and he said to me, I think that that butternut squash will sell. I went, yeah but it won't sell in volume. And he went, well I think if we try it, and I was hesitant. Well, we couldn't sell enough of it. You know the gentleman said, I'll start you off cheap, and the lady said to me, give me one and I'll cook it for ya. So, I give her a couple and said, do us a couple, and she said I'll bring it down, and I've never had it before. And now I say to the wife, listen don't forget me butternut squash on me roast dinner, and she says oh you're driving me mad with that. After all these years, I've never bothered with it, and now we can sell it, so it's another string to our bow. (Jimmy, Market Trader, East Market)

What the analysis so far in this section has shown is a cyclical process of diversification fed by supply and demand where need accompanied by the flexibility of street markets and market traders creates a natural point in the city where diversity and the economy intersect. As traders from established populations adapted to sell products that appealed to emerging populations, the symbolic presence of products these populations recognised gave legitimacy to their presence as shoppers in the market. In time, people from the emerging populations started working on the stalls, and then to become market traders themselves, attracting more people from different communities to use the market. As explored in detail later on, as competition for clientele increased, traders developed techniques for attracting customers from different populations and making them feel comfortable so they would go on to become loyal and regular customers, a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' as described by Hiebert, et al. (2015, p. 13) and introduced on page 90 of 2.4.2. Central to this process is the role of functional encounters.

4.2. Functional encounters dominate social interaction across micro-borders

'Trade is a thing that forces you to know your fellow people, and that's why it's sometimes beautiful, as otherwise people wouldn't interact with me in another way…' (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

4.1 of this analysis established the market stall as a physical, legal and symbolic micro-bordered entity. It showed that these micro-borders act as magnets for social and economic interactions which are mediated through functional encounters, and in doing so helped achieve the first research objective of understanding how the spatial configuration of street markets impact the frequency and nature of functional encounters in public space. The second research objective, set out on page 98, sought to investigate the nature of social encounters in street markets.

On page 75 Grönlund (2002) defined a type of informal encounter identifiable between people in public as 'contact to persons, that you don't know, but who have a special 'function' of some kind in the space'. In functional encounters, the sense of unease that can be felt when approaching, or being approached, by people who do not already know each other, is lessened because the social contract between the approached and the approaching has been pre-agreed before contact is made. And because nearly all of us have to negotiate functional encounters on a daily basis – shopping being a defining characteristic of daily life – most of us are comfortable engaging in them to a certain extent: we understand the rules of engagement.

An example of an everyday functional encounter noted on page 75 is buying a newspaper from a newsstand. When a newspaper buyer approaches a newspaper seller there is very little room for uncertainty. The newspaper seller is used to being approached, particularly by strangers, in order that people can buy their newspapers. Conversely, the prospective buyer of the newspaper feels no unease in approaching the seller because he/she knows the seller wants to be approached to sell newspapers.

This mutual understanding is a consequence of the special function newspaper seller and buyer share. A further consequence of this mutual understanding is that newspaper sellers are often approached for reasons other than buying a newspaper, such as asking for directions or the time.

The functional encounters in street markets work in exactly the same way. However, instead of one newsstand on a street corner, in West Market and East Market, there are tens, and at busier times hundreds of market stalls, each acting as generators of functional encounters. The next section describes some of these encounters at work.

4.2.1.   Market traders are skilled at functional encounters

Jez is a West Market trader in his 30s/40s originally from Kosovo who sells low cost household items such as pest control and cleaning products. "In the beginning, it was very hard", says Jez, "it was not easy, until you can make new customer...in the beginning it's hard, but any new job you start the beginning is always hard. But after some time, you make new customers, you learn how to do it".

The interview with Jez lasts well over an hour, as we are continually interrupted by customers either passing by or stopping to ask questions and/or buy products. Jez is often dealing with several customers at a time, all at different stages of buying or not buying, whilst at the same time exchanging greetings across multiple spatial levels (see page 125 above) with people who are also passing rather than visiting the market stall. And all of this takes place with people from many different predefined groups of ethnicity and culture etc. – a consequence of local demographics – and across several different languages.

"90% of my customers are regular customers," says Jez, before we are interrupted again. This time it is a woman who appears to be of West Indian origin and to be in her mid-sixties/early seventies. They begin their exchange by continuing what appears to be a long-running joke about meeting up after work for a drink before she then starts browsing the stall for products. The passage below is an extract of our interview,

including breaks in the conversation (represented by square brackets) as the tape kept running whilst Jez served his customers.

> [We continue]..."yes, so you're dealing with different people all the time, do you find you have different tactics for dealing with different people or is it all the same or...?" Well you have to know which customer you are dealing from, you know, some customers you don't really know who they are, you don't know if they come from here. You know, I'm not racist, I'm no, I can say I have a lot of good customers and a lot of bad customers from all backgrounds [he breaks off briefly to serve customers…£2 sir, that's £1 darling], [West Indian woman returns and asks some more questions whilst giving Jez some products to put aside for later...]. "So there's good and bad everywhere?", there's good and bad, it doesn't matter who they are or where they come from, but more or less I can know from the face...West Indian woman totals up the overall price next to me, and I say "it's a bargain", and Jez quips "cheap at half the price, no VAT for you madam" and she jokes about wanting another discount and starts counting out her change...whilst she is doing this, Jez calls out to a woman passing the stall "where is amigo today?" and she replies in English "working"...all this whilst serving a south-east Asian couple who are not previously known to Jez and are looking for a product he tells them they won't find on West Market...he then breaks into Spanish with a woman customer "that's trés por favour, graçious" and introduces his son to the woman who he explains is with his Dad on the stall because the teachers are on strike…Jez then moves onto what sounds like Arabic and then follows up in English "hello sister how are you?"...then there is French "how are you doing? Comme ci comme ça!" as he motions his hand from side-to-side. Finally, the West Indian woman pays for her products, but rather than leaving, she starts telling me about how she had a large tumour removed four weeks ago, so is really happy she's out and about again. I wish her luck with the chemotherapy she informs me is about to start next week and we say goodbye whilst Jez continues to serve more customers...

Witnessing Jez dealing with so many different types of customers and passers-by at the same time in multiple languages (five counted in the passage above) gives greater import to the process Jez described as simply learning "how to do it". The passage above, which lasted about five minutes, demonstrates that Jez has developed a highly

skilled and nuanced way of dealing with customers and putting them at ease. As we continue the interview, for example, the south-east Asian couple return having visited other stalls on the street market, and finally make a decision about which product to buy, having been unable to find what they were originally looking for elsewhere, just as Jez had predicted. Jez has not served these people before, and as they are paying and about to leave they still have products in their hands they have not paid for. "If you like, I can have these back?", says Jez, posing it as a question perhaps to remove any chance it could be misconstrued as an accusation. Certainly, it is taken without offence, and the superfluous items are handed back to Jez and put back on the stall. Any potential for conflict and misunderstanding has been skilfully avoided.

Although Jez seemed particularly skilled in dealing with so many different people in short bursts of activity, his techniques – such as the use of other people's languages and greetings, humour, and the use of civil refrains (madam, sir, thank you, please) – were consistent among market traders across both street markets. What was also consistent was the adaptability of the content of these functional encounters, which encapsulated a certain fluidity evident in the changing use of language that had also been noted in research by Hall, et al. (2016) and Hiebert, et al. (2015) that featured on page 90 of 2.4.2.

4.2.2.   The 'content' of functional encounters is highly adaptable

As I walk through East Market with clipboard in hand, a customer called Margaret stops to enquire what I am doing in the market. Margaret has lived in the area on and off since the late 1960s and has borne witness to the rapidly changing demographics. When I explain the subject of the interviews she immediately recalls her own memories of the area changing and particularly how the traders adapted to these changes. The story that stands out in her memory is about the Trinidadian trader in the 1980s who was the first one to learn Punjabi and to sell Indian vegetables, "and of course", she says, "all the Asian people loved it! Now all the English traders call out in Punjabi, you know, which is of course a sales thing, it's not done for the benefit of visiting sociologists, it works with the customers".

When I tell West Market manager, Jack, about Margaret's story of the first Trinidadian trader learning to speak Punjabi to attract the Asian customers, he recalls his own experiences:

> Oh yeah they do that, because obviously the customers as well, it's like I speak so many languages out there as well, you know, and yeah that does go on, they wouldn't survive otherwise. There's this one guy who's Egyptian, and we're talking about 6 months ago now from when he first became a trader, he could not speak one word of English, but now he's not too terrible, so he's done very, very well. And he's just picked that up from working on the market. Yeah, you know I think his first words were "50p"!
> (Jack, market manager, West Market)

Because basic functional encounters are easy to learn, and because market traders are engaging in them all the time, they quickly pick up words – basic greetings and numbers – in different languages. Using these languages has an economic imperative, a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' as Hiebert, et al. (2015, p. 13) termed it, a consequence of which, whether conscious or not, could also help affirm mutual respect for other cultures (see page 90 above). But to do so, it was generally seen as important that these encounters are reciprocal in nature. In many cases, the market trader appeared to call out in the customer's language, and the customer replied in the market trader's language. But if a market customer just assumes the market trader will speak their language then this can lead to conflict and resentment, as will be explored in detail later in 4.4.2 below.

Several other market traders also mentioned being able to talk multiple languages. John said he had learnt 'the naughty words', so he knew if people were talking about him in a bad way, perhaps revealing a different manifestation of tactical cosmopolitanism. Market trader Justin, who is originally from Nigeria, said he had picked up basic greetings and numbers in Urdu, which was one of several languages he could speak and that helped attract customers from different cultural backgrounds to visit his market stall. This adoption of other people's languages is evidence of the

shifting norms of sociability in street markets. The prevailing norms of sociability constitute the second layer of Radice's four-layered model that constitute place. This research suggests that, in tactically shifting the prevailing norms of sociability through the changing content of functional encounters, they act as the beginnings, however small, of a 'sociology of reconfiguration' between established and newcomer. But the real value of functional encounters in this respect is that whilst their content may be highly adaptable, their form remains relatively familiar, guided by familiar rituals of civility.

4.2.3. The 'form' of functional encounters remains guided by familiar rituals of civility

Although the origins of ritual behaviour often appear to be lost in time, as page 76 described, it is constantly changing, albeit very slowly (Sennett, 2012, p. 178). Whilst asking market trader Mary to sign her interview permission form, I ask her if there is anyone else she thinks would be interesting to interview. "Today's normally a busy day, Thursdays and Saturdays. Friday's a funny day, they call it like a prayer day, a lot of people go pray in the temples and things like that…". It is said matter of fact, as if it has always been this way, but in retrospect it must have been a relatively new phenomenon linked to changing demographics. The seeds of these changes lie in the flexibility of functional encounters that allow their content to adapt quickly to changing demographics and attract customers from emerging populations through forms of tactical cosmopolitanism (see page 90 above). The main form these adaptations took was through the use of other people's languages, which created a shift in the norms of behaviour in street markets, the first steps towards a sociology of reconfiguration between established resident and newcomer.

Page 76 described ritual as behaviour that seems to come from outside ourselves, which in turn relieves us from self-consciousness – the focus is on doing the ritual right (Sennett, 2012, p. 178). This is perhaps because, as Simmel & Hughes (1949) believed, for sociability to have meaning, form is always more important than content (p. 255).

Evidence from the two street markets demonstrates the importance of form over content in the way that over time the *patter* between market trader and customer develops into a *pattern*. This pattern may be as simple as exchanging pleasantries before exchanging money for goods, or it may be the continuation of a long-running joke – such as the example of Jez and the West Indian woman (see page 144 above) – or a discussion about politics, football, the weather, or even ill health and recovery thereof, examples of Radice's (2016) concept of inconsequential intimacy that first featured on page 78. These patterned forms of patter are evidence of rituals of civility being used in street markets to guide the form of functional encounters that in many other respects were constantly changing.

Adamou is a devout Muslim originally from Woking. He runs a market stall alongside his wife. The market stall sells a range of goods mostly sourced from the Middle East, including incense, soap, and perfumes. They both wear traditional Islamic clothing, with his wife fully veiled, and Adamou described himself during the interview as a devout Muslim. The contrast between Adamou, his wife, and the majority of people passing their market stall and trading in the market could not be more pronounced. Furthermore, many of these contrasts were symbolic of increasingly negative depictions of Islam and Islamic people that so often feature in the British press.

Adamou, who was first featured in 4.1.1 of this analysis, is the first trader at West Market approached for an interview. Before agreeing, he wants to know what he will be interviewed about. When I explain the topic of the research, which I introduce as "the importance of street markets and their traders to London's culture" he agrees, but on the condition that in return he can talk to me about Islam. The deal is struck, guided in retrospect at least by the processes of ritual exchange and the functional encounter. As the interview progresses, we chop and change between the topics of street markets and Islam, although at points, these topics also manage to converge.

Once again, we are regularly interrupted by passers-by and potential customers. Towards the end of the interview, a mother and daughter couple approach the stall. They are white, working class, brought up in the area, although the daughter tells

Adamou she now lives in Hertfordshire. The daughter is looking for charcoal for a burner she bought a few weeks back from Adamou. The mother liked the aroma so much she wants the same charcoal and burner combination. Adamou then takes great care to explain how to burn the charcoal safely.

"Don't sit in the room while the charcoal is burning. Open the windows and leave it for 30 minutes before returning. You can then close the windows and sit in the room safely". The mother replies to her daughter "aaah, you see, that's why your chest hurt!". "Yes", says Adamou, "because of the chemicals, you see. The only thing you can burn that's natural is this", and he brings out an unassuming packet which he explains is Frankincense. Then he shows them something called Oud, which is from South East Asia. "The wood is diseased, which brings out the perfume. You can burn it on the same burner…". Then the mother and daughter couple move onto oil-based perfumes, which "don't dry your skin", advises Adamou, and lasts much longer than conventional water-based perfumes. He eventually hands them over to his wife, and in the background, I can hear the excitement as they filter through the different perfumes called names like 'white musk', 'myrrh', and 'silver'. As the mother is choosing which perfumes to buy, more customers turn up with a barrage of questions "what's this?", "how much is it?", "what's the difference between this one and that one?". Meanwhile, the daughter, who appears to be in her 30s/40s starts a conversation with me "I come here couple of weeks ago, and bought the charcoal and the burner and this [pointing to the Frankincense] is lovely, but I didn't realise the man said don't sit in the room...", "you should go for the natural stuff", I say, "yes, yes" she replies. In the background, I can hear the mother saying "How much do you put in the burner?", and "I never knew Frankincense looked like this", and she calls over to her daughter in a rhetorical fashion, "I've got the gold perfume and I'm thinking of getting myrrh", before turning to Adamou and asking "what does myrrh look like?". The excitement is palpable, and to complete the transaction, Adamou gives them a gift box for free to put the perfume in. A small gesture that appears gratefully received.

These encounters show how such functional encounters are guided by rituals of civility – the form in which questions are asked and answered, the appropriate uses of 'please' and 'thank you' and the offering of small gifts that imply civility and mutual respect and that were identified on page 80 as being important aspects for everyday ground-up conviviality (Radice, 2016, p. 433; Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 418). Certainly, at no point in this exchange did the fact they looked very different from each other seem to impinge on their ability to communicate. Indeed, in this instance, the differences appeared to be are a source of interest and intrigue as the mother and daughter probe for information about what things are and how they are used, and the market traders respond with expertise and knowledge.

On page 80, Hall (2015, p. 859) questions whether such rituals of civility are sufficient to absorb confrontation and even goes further to caution against their propensity for masking deeper-seated imbalances of power. On their own, Hall is probably right, and in the example above, one can only speculate on the attitudes of the mother/daughter couple to Adamou and his wife that might be expressed in private but hidden in public, and vice versa of course. The strength of street markets, however, is that these moments of civility, which are generally fleeting in nature, is only one possibility around which domains of commonality can be revealed. Over time, as people become more familiar with each other through repeat visits, functional encounters can take on a richer spectrum of intensities. While still retaining a functional element, these encounters maintain rather than create contact between people who do rather than do not already know each other, to support the potential at least for civility to evolve into conviviality.

4.2.4.   Familiarity extends the role and nature of functional encounters – sustained conviviality

'Familiarity breeds contempt' is a popular interpretation of Aesop's fable *The Fox and the Lion*, where a fox goes from outright fear on meeting a lion for the first time, to being alarmed at the second meeting, and by the third, confident enough to exchange pleasantries. The more accepted translation of this fable's moral meaning is

'Acquaintance softens prejudices', and although there was evidence of acquaintance both softening and hardening prejudices across the two street markets, there were significantly more examples of the former than the latter (more on hardening prejudices in 4.4.2 below). How this impacted the ways in which people in street markets get to know each other and themselves better is explored in detail in the next section of the analysis. Here, the focus is primarily on how sustained familiarity can extend the nature and role of functional encounters through moments of conviviality.

Q1 How often do you visit the market?
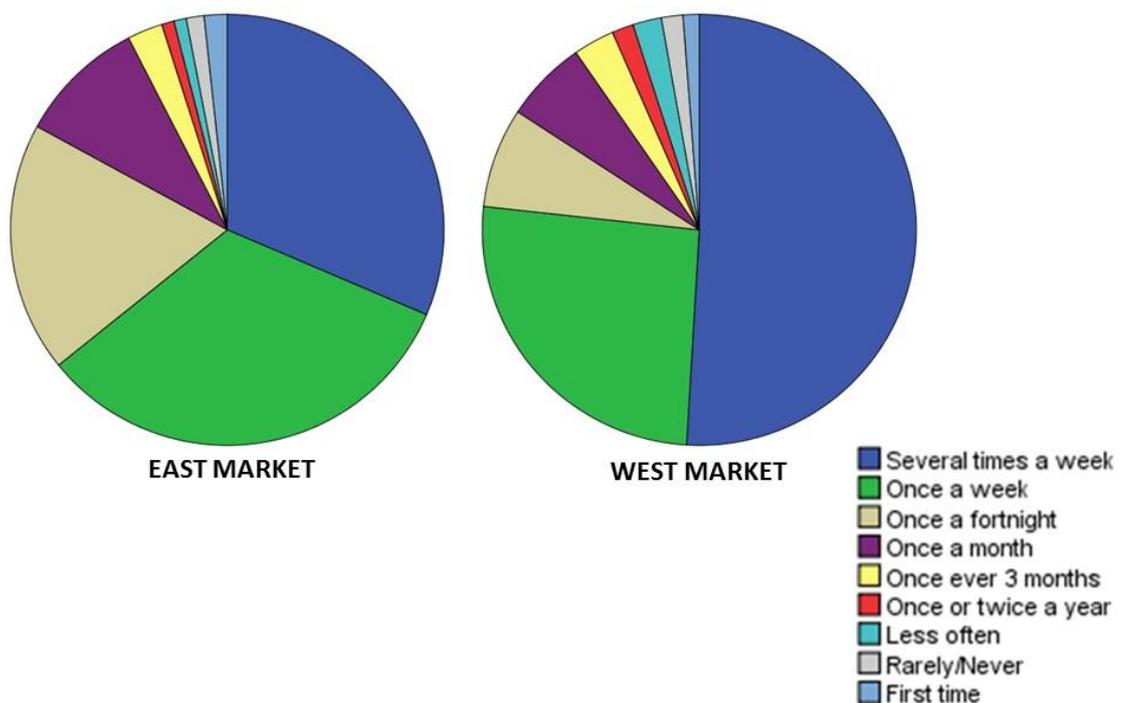
Figure 24 – pie chart demonstrating that most customers visit their street market at least once a week

Page 75 defined functional encounters as taking place between people who *do not* already know each other, but who share a special function of some kind in space. Evidently, in the example above (page 145) which described the rapid-fire functional encounters with his customers, many of the people visiting Jez's market stall already knew him: 90% were regulars by his count. Jez has created relationships with his customers through the medium of functional encounters, but they have also been nurtured through sustained encounters of a functional nature.

Certainly, this regularity of visits is born out in the visitor data survey. When asked "How often do you visit the market?", over half of the visitors to West Market said they attended several times a week, and over one quarter more said they visited once a week (see Figure 24 above).

Jimmy is a third generation white, working class fruit & veg trader at East Market. Friendship with some of his customers has extended as far as being invited to important social engagements outside of the street market, as was described on page 134. Jimmy was certainly at the more extreme end of where functional encounters had led to increased social activity outside of the street market environs, but he was not unique. Mostly, however, these encounters consisted of market traders and customers either bumping into each other, or noting their respective absence from the market next time they met.

> Well if I don't work in the market myself...what I noticed, and I can only
> speak for myself, but when we are not on the stall, and our regular
> customers bump into me and my wife, they say "hey, where were you mate?
> We miss you", so if I'm not here I can see the customer feeling different,
> they notice something is missing. (Jez, market trader, West Market)

> It becomes, like I mean, when I've had a week off at Christmas, I've been out
> shopping with me partner, and people come up and say, "here, someone
> else is on your stall". And I say, "I know who's on it darling, but I'm not
> there", and they say, "I won't go on it when you're not there", and I say,
> "well don't do that to me because I won't be able to have a week off!" "Oh,
> alright then..." (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

In other instances, there was evidence of people using the market as a social resource first, and a place to buy things – if at all, as witnessed with Osman and the Chinese man above – second. "You know", says Adamou, "sometimes people come to the market just for the chit chat". Page 83 of 2.3.2 above described Hall's (2009) study of social encounters in a 'London Caff' and their effectiveness at building solidarity

between 'locals' and 'newcomers' – to relegate the Caff 'solely to the status of an eating establishment would be to overlook its significant role as a local meeting place' concluded Hall (pp. 82-83). The same could be said of many of the market stalls featured in this analysis, reflected in Jimmy's description of East Market that featured on page 134 of the analysis above, where he describes the market as more than just a collection of market stalls and wooden boards, it is the heart of the community.

Of course, not all market stalls performed at the same level of sociability, and much was dependent on the attitudes and personalities of the individual market traders. But the general importance of social encounters with market traders was recognised in the quantitative data for both street markets. Market visitors were asked "Are the encounters you have with the stallholders an important part of your visit to the market?" In East Market, over three-quarters of respondents gave a score of 7 and above, where 5 is neutral, 0 is strongly disagree and 10 is strongly agree. In West Market, it was slightly less, but still significant (see Figure 25 below).

Q2 Importance of encounters with stallholders?

EAST MARKET   WEST MARKET

Legend:
- Strongly disagree
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- Neutral
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- Strongly agree
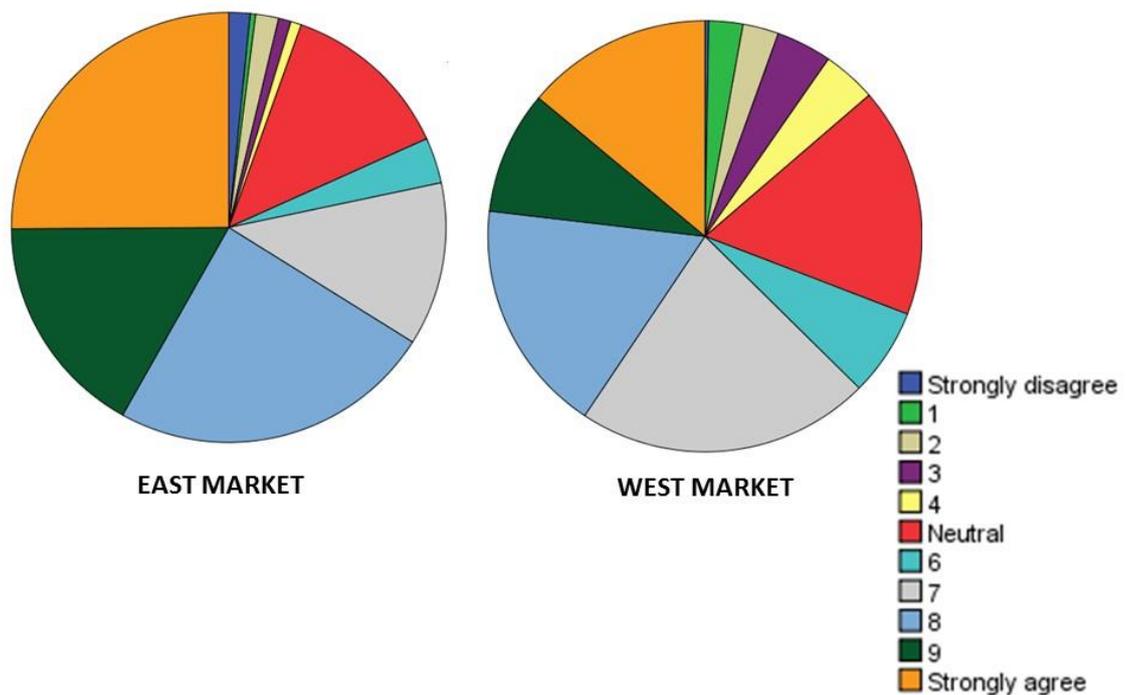
Figure 25 – pie chart demonstrates that most customers view encounters with market traders as an important part of visiting street markets

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Gani, is a long-term trader who sells ladies fashion at West Market. She also recognised the broader social role she played in West Market, a role Glick Schiller & Schmidt (2016, p. 9) claim is so often unseen and uncelebrated in the narrative of more mundane city spaces.

> A lot of people come, even if they don't buy things they always come and say hello. We've been here, as I say, for over 30 years, and there's so many old people come along and if they don't want to come out of the house, they come out of the house and think, hang on that lady is still there, let's visit her and they will spare 10 or 20 minutes and you know, you talk to the people, ask them how they are, and they say you know, I've been to the hospital, this problem and that problem, so it's a socialise with old people here. "And have any of your customers become good friends?" Oh yes, and some people have a habit of addiction to buy clothes. I stop them now, there has to become a limit because then they come and talk and say this bill to pay, that bill to pay, and I have a certain amount of money come along, and some people are living on the dole money, they can't afford but they have attempt to buy my clothes, and I say no, I say I don't want to do business, I want to earn some money but this has to be stopped. I stopped a few people here. I say come and say hello to me, but you have to think about your budget.
> (Gani, market trader, West Market)

This social function was born out in the quantitative survey. When asked "Is shopping in the market a more sociable experience than shopping elsewhere?" market visitors across both street markets gave remarkably similar answers, with nearly three-quarters of respondents choosing 7 and above (see Figure 26 below).

Q3 Is shopping in the market a more sociable experience?

EAST MARKET · WEST MARKET

Legend:
- Strongly disagree
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- Neutral
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- Strongly agree
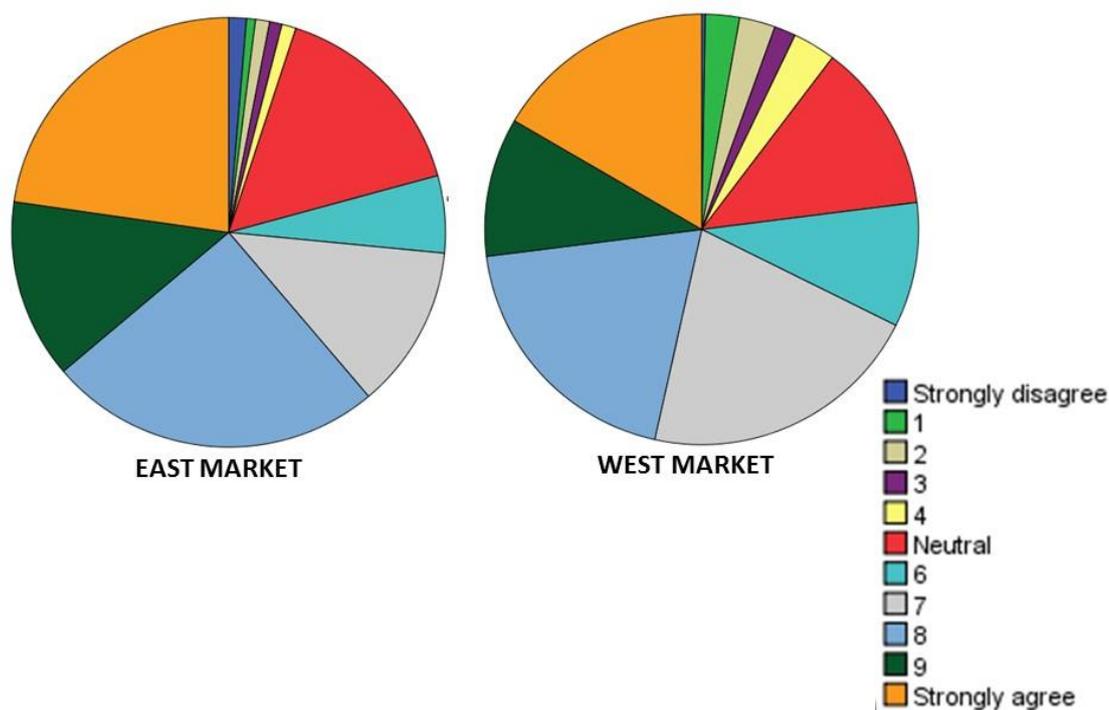
Figure 26 – pie chart demonstrating the majority of customers think shopping in street markets is a more sociable experience than other forms of retail

So far, much of the focus has been on trader-to-customer encounters. Naturally, trader-to-trader encounters make up a large proportion of social encounters in street markets. Many of them start off as functional in their nature – the need to borrow change, or look after someone's stall while they take a comfort break – particularly when a new trader enters the street market for the first time. I ask Salman, who was originally from Pakistan, about his first experiences arriving at the market.

"And did you feel welcomed when you first arrived in the market?" Oh yes, sure. "And what made it feel welcoming?" Umm, I can help, anybody ask me, I can help, anything I can do, you know. "And do you find that, as an independent trader, that you help each other out on your stalls?" Oh yes, obviously, you know. "And what kind of way?" Errm, if somebody needs to go see the doctor or something like that, I'll look after each other, you know. "Really, so even for long periods of time?" Yeah, one hour, two hours, doesn't matter you know. (Salman, market trader, East Market)

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Helping each other out with these functional requirements can lead to a sense of solidarity in the street market with neighbouring traders. Justin originates from Nigeria. He is a sole trader who started trading in East Market in 2008 and was new to the area, choosing East Market because there were pitches available, and "it had a roof", which he thought would be important for winter trading. I ask him whether he has got to know his neighbouring market traders.

Of course, of course. It's like a big family, you know, they are my brothers, you understand. If anything happened to me today they would be the first to, you know, to come over. "Wow, and they are friends you've made since trading here?" Absolutely, it's a big family man, a big family... (Justin, market trader, East Market)

The experiences of Salman and Justin resonate with Hall's (2015) study of everyday street politics of independent shops on London's Rye Lane featured in 2.4.3. Hall's study found that platforms of civility emerge and are sustained within and across diverse groups in order to express and advance diverse needs through forms of collective action (2015, p. 864). In both the examples above, Salman and Justin arrived in the market and had to immediately rely on help from neighbouring market traders. This help was reciprocated, mediated through forms of civility that over time became more convivial. The process of how we get know people in street markets, and how this impacts thoughts about ourselves, is crucial to understanding how street markets can support urbanity, and is investigated in more detail in the next section of analysis.

4.3.   How people get to know each other in street markets through functional encounters

"I'm glad and privileged to work with all the different races of people. I've got on with every one of them, and I'm glad that I've been enlightened and met them." (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

4.1 of the analysis above invoked the first layer of Radice's four-layered model of place to demonstrate that market stalls, through their creation of micro-borders, establish semi-public incursions into public space that act as hubs for functional encounters. 4.2 analysed the nature of these functional encounters and found their capacity to adapt their content whilst retaining a familiar form was an effective way of shifting the prevailing norms of sociability, the second layer in Radice's model, in a way that was satisfying to established and newcomer alike. Shifting the prevailing norms of sociability in this way, the reasons for which were often, in the first instance at least, tactically motivated, were nonetheless symbolic of an active 'sociology of reconfiguration' framed through rituals of civility. Sustained contact of this nature had the capacity to develop into more convivial forms of functional encounter. Together, these forms of encounter have implications for the third layer of Radice's model, which deals specifically with what she describes as the 'intergroup relations at work in a place as perceived by its users' an important part of which is 'how they are seen as getting on with each other' (Radice, 2016, pp. 434-435).

2.1.2 of the literature review above noted the importance of moving beyond the ethnic lens in the study of urban social encounters (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016). Retaining ethnicity as the unit of study reinforces fixed binaries of difference and conceals the many diverse ways that people form domains of commonality – examples of which have already been given in the analysis above – in place of predefined categories of group relations, including those based on ethnicity (Glick Schiller, et al., 2011, pp. 402-403). As Radice (2016) notes in her third layer of conviviality, 'as individuals engage interpersonally, they are perceived and received in terms of social categories – ethnic, racialised, classed, and so on', which has implications for power

relations and in turn can impact on people's ability for social agency (Watson, 2016, p. 13) and ontological security (Noble, 2005, p. 107). Thus, how people relate to each other between such categories – Radice's third layer of conviviality – is considered significant to the study of street markets and urbanity (p. 435).

This does not mean, of course, that special mechanisms are required to bridge subjective differences between such groups, a criticism of some towards the primacy of ethnicity in the study of urban group relations (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109). As the discussion in 2.1.2 noted, people are different from each other in all kinds of ways, even within groups who may appear homogenous from the outside (Twiss, 2012, p. 358). Even siblings growing up together, for example, develop different ideas, views, opinions and beliefs. These differences can be a cause of intense inter-family conflict and disagreement, which in extreme circumstances can lead to family break ups and violent outbursts. But in other circumstances, recognising how people can be both fundamentally the same – expressed through domains of commonality – and different – expressed through alternative perspectives based on different life experiences – can be a source of inspiration that helps people reflect on their own lives as part of embarking on a deeper and more meaningful sociology of reconfiguration that sits alongside those possible through rituals of civility alone. The strength of street markets is that sociologies of reconfiguration work on multiple levels, and those formed through civility and conviviality work to nourish each other.

This section looks in greater depth at the consequences of encounters between people in place of 'predefined categories of group relations' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24) such as ethnicity, culture and race. It is divided into two sections. The first section 4.3.1 details examples of relationships between different street market social actors – customers and market traders, market traders and market traders, and market traders and their employees. Section 4.3.2 then looks at the practical and emotional value market traders recognised in their encounters with a range of people across different predefined group categories.

4.3.1. Getting to know people through triangulated functional encounters

Triangulation was described by Whyte (1980, p. 94) on page 70 as 'the process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as though they were not. The analysis set out here suggests that triangulation plays an important role in helping people get to know each other in street markets, and in facilitating the kind of inconsequential intimacy identified by Radice (2016) (see page 78 above) as an essential part of sustained convivial sociability. For customers and traders, triangulation is centred primarily on the products; for traders, it is the need to cooperate and help each other out through every day acts of urban care and 'pitching in'; and for traders and employees, it centres on the need for reliable workers and conversely opportunities for work. In all these forms of triangulation, functional encounters play a significant role.

Customers and market traders getting to know each other
On arriving at the back of the queue for a colourful fruit and veg stall in East Market I make a general remark about the fantastic array of vegetables on display. The woman in front of me in the queue, who appears to come from an Asian background, turns to me and asks where I am from, and I explain I was brought up in London but that I have never seen so many varieties of fruit and vegetables. She then starts telling me about them: what they are called, which ones you eat raw "like a cucumber" and which should be cooked. As my gaze hovers towards the cucumbers, she leans over and says in a whisper "they are half the price over there" and nods discretely towards a stall on the other side of the market. I nod approvingly back to the woman before it is her turn to be served by the market trader, after which, she says goodbye and we never see each other again.

For a brief moment, two strangers who are completely different in shape, size, age, gender and cultural background become complicit in a desire to impart and receive information. The products of the market stalls form the centre of attention. They are the connecting third point in our triangle which reveals a domain of commonality shared through, in this instance, the function of shopping.

This is just one example, one moment in time, between two strangers in East Market. However, it is a pattern I saw develop as a matter of routine, particularly between customers and traders, at many of the market stalls where the interviews took place. As described earlier, Adamou is a devout Muslim who runs a market stall together with his wife. They both wear forms of traditional Islamic dress, including his wife who is veiled, which remains uncommon in West Market, especially among market traders. When I ask him when he started trading at the market he responds:

> I arrived a year ago to Church Street in order to earn some 'halal' money [which he describes as meaning an honest living]. For us [meaning devout Muslims], it's a form of worship to have an honest living, to live in a good way. I love the talk of trading because the prophet Mohamed, peace be upon him, he said that him and the fair tradesman are like that [crosses two fingers representing them being very close/the same], so that's why I love to do trade and try to behave in a fair manner, so I can do good in this world and good in the hereafter. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

Adamou spent a lot of time talking about fellow Muslims and focusing on the teachings of Islam, which was part of the deal we struck when agreeing to the interview (see above). During the interview he regularly calls out "Salam Alaikum" and receives back the standard response "Wa-Alaikum-Salaam". When I ask him about the greetings Adamou responds telling me that the great thing about being a Muslim is that fellow Muslims will welcome you wherever you go, which helped him when first settling in at West Market. I ask him whether he's made connections with non-Muslims too and he responds 'Noooo', whilst wagging an index finger in order to emphasise that I had perhaps misunderstood the focus of his attention so far.

> Nooo, a lot of customers they've kind of adopted my wife, they love her, it's like when it's just me by myself and my wife's gone to pray, they always ask 'where's your wife'? They have really taken to her. You see, that's one of the things about building bonds, innit, you know you have a laugh with them,

you give them a gift sometimes, so it's one of those things that you do. And

we do a lot of trying to tell people about Islam and stuff like that, and we

also have stuff that is good for people's health, we have this thing here called

Black Seed Oil which is scientifically proven to boost your immune system...

(Adamou, market trader, West Market)

Our conversation continues with a long chat about the benefits of Black Seed Oil, how it can cure all diseases "except death", how it can be prepared and used, and how it cured shingles on his nose. The black seed from which the oil is made, I am informed, is called nigella sativa. Adamou tells me that customers come for henna too, but warns me off the black henna, saying it is very dangerous. His enthusiasm is infectious, and he comes across as highly knowledgeable, even though some of his claims appear, to me anyway, somewhat exaggerated.

Adamou's stall is a treasure trove of products, mostly from the Middle East, including perfumes and soaps called myrrh, silver and gold, but also more mundane items such as skin exfoliating gloves. Adamou's market stall seemed to work on two levels of triangulation. For some, such as the encounter described on page 150, the exotic nature of their products acted as a rich source of triangulation, recalling Rhys-Taylor's (2013, p. 395) conception of the 'metropolitan multiculture' found in his research of a London street market, with people eagerly asking what things were, how to use them, and of course, how much they cost. For others, they represented evocative reminders of home (Rhys-Taylor, 2013, p. 395). What unites them is the forms of ritualised triangulated functional encounters, which varied from unbridled excitement to much more mundane enquiries by people who seemed more familiar with the products. Either way, Adamou recognised the role that being a market trader had in allowing him, as a symbolically marginalised character in his traditional Islamic dress, long beard and veiled wife, to interact with a range of people he might otherwise not have contact with in the same way.

...and that's why it's sometimes beautiful, as otherwise people wouldn't

interact with me in another way, you know, maybe they call me Jesus or

something like that once I pull my hair out [takes off his hat revealing a shock of bushy hair and laughs], or I walk past them and they go "oi, Jesus!", but they are taking the mick, but it doesn't bother me. I love Jesus and Jesus was one of our prophets, I love him and we're waiting for him to come back. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

Adamou's market stall was particularly interesting in terms of the products stocked compared to, for example, those selling luggage. In the role of expert market traders, Adamou and his wife were regularly fielding questions and advice about their products, and customers seemed to trust them to proffer good advice about the products they were choosing on which to spend their hard earned, and often very limited, financial resources.

Naturally, not all the interactions around products were positive. John tells me a story about a Mexican woman he thought was stealing large bags of potatoes from his market stall. He had noticed a pattern of items going missing when she was around, and one day he decided to find and challenge her. After searching around East Market he found the woman and discovered she had one of his bags of potatoes in the underside tray of her pram.

I said to her, "Hey you didn't pay for those, you owe me £5". "I've only got £10", she says. "Yeah well, I'll take the £10 to cover the bag you nicked last week too!" "Fair enough!", she said. She didn't even argue, and she still shops on the market stall today. (John, market trader, East Market)

What is interesting about this exchange, whilst acknowledging that this represents only one side of the story, is that a situation that could have involved external authorities, such as the police or market security, was sorted out internally between the two individuals involved. Even more surprising, perhaps, is that they have retained an ongoing customer/trader relationship which is of course in both of their interests.

People working things out themselves was also evidenced in the responses between market traders. But there is another element of triangulation around products that was important in terms of market traders and customers getting to know each other: a sense of trust and loyalty that is even more valued as it emerges out of a precarity that defines market trading.

Precarity was identified by Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2016, p. 26) as common drivers for moments of collaboration between people who in some cases did not even share language, racialisation or gender. Precarity played a role in the exposed type of trading in street markets too. A market stall is a relatively exposed form of trading. Products are often displayed in a rather haphazard manner, as there are no walls or doors, and people need to see and handle the products they want to buy. Theft is therefore a major form of economic loss for market traders in what can often be a hand-to-mouth existence, particularly for new traders starting out.

When talking about the loyalty of his traders, Jez made a special point of telling me that his regular customers always stopped to give him the right money, even though it would be easier for them to steal the product instead. In the example of functional encounters described in 4.2.1 of the analysis, Jez had a hugely diverse clientele, and was often switching between several different languages in the course of a few minutes. There is no discernible pattern in the appearances of people who might steal from him and those who will make sure he gets his money, which makes it almost impossible to single out individual communities as having particular proclivities. Later in the passage, Jez uses the statement "I'm not racist", which is normally a red flag for meaning the exact opposite. In this context it summarises what it meant to him to be serving a whole range of people who look different from each other. This is evident in his follow up statement that there are "good and bad everywhere, it doesn't matter…", including, as he was keen to point out, members who share his own cultural background. This level playing field meant treating everyone with respect, regardless of cultural backgrounds, and this was a recurring theme among many stallholders' attitudes in both street markets.

Gani has traded at West Market for over thirty years. When I ask her whether the area has changed much over this time she replies "No, it's the same old [place]." This is a surprise, because it contradicts what some of the other stallholders have said, that the area has seen huge population change. I ask her if this is a good thing and she says "Yes, it's comforting", before going onto describe the diverse mix of her clientele.

> ...yeah, I got English people, Arab people, Muslim people, black people, all different people come along. Yeah, the way I'm talking to you I talk to all my people. Yeah, everybody's treated the same. (Gani, market trader, West Market)

In East Market, I ask Justin whether he has different strategies for dealing with people from different backgrounds, and he puts the emphasis on being true to who he is, rather than adapting to other people, "Errm, just be who you are, you understand, just be who you are", before expanding:

> There will be some who need more explanation, you know, you try and do it to them, you understand, yeah like with a language difference, it does happen, you know like, you can see many Asians in this area now, you know, like for the past years I have been here I'm able to speak some, you know some words, the greetings and prices, I can say them in Urdu and all these things [laughs]... (Justin, market trader, West Market)

However, traders could be equally disparaging as well as complimentary towards some of their customers. "These people", says John, "if there was someone laying dead on this floor they'd step over him and keep on shopping", before going on to tell me about the time one of his customers had a heart attack, and as they were performing CPR, some customers still wanted serving. But later in the same statement he also says, "Nine times out of ten, you can have a laugh with anybody".

Certainly, the quantitative data gathered at both street markets reinforces the qualitative evidence that street markets are places where people mix positively with

others who are unalike in appearances. Answering the question "Is the market a place where you mix positively with people from different backgrounds?", nearly three-quarters answered 7 and above, where 5 is neutral and 10 is strongly agree. This data also supports the concept of "the market" as a macro-border
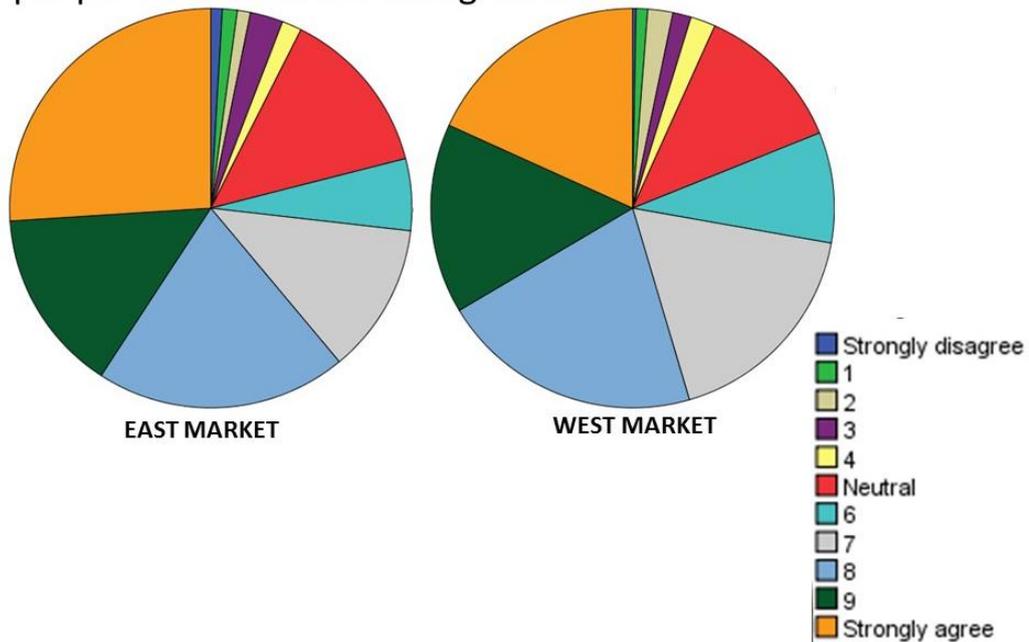
Figure 27 – pie chart showing the vast majority of market customers view street markets as a place where they mix positively with people from different backgrounds

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q5 Is the market a place where you mix positively with people from different backgrounds?	757	.0	10.0	7.606	2.2557
Valid N (listwise)	757				

EAST MARKET

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q5 Is the market a place where you mix positively with people from different backgrounds?	748	.0	10.0	7.436	2.0587
Valid N (listwise)	748				

WEST MARKET

Figure 28 – table showing remarkably similar results in response to customers' attitudes towards difference in both East Market and West Market

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What is perhaps most remarkable about this data is how similar the results were across the two street markets, which is represented above in Figure 27 in the form of two pie charts and in Figure 28 which shows the mean response to mixing positively with people from different backgrounds in East Market as 7.66, where 10 is 'strongly agree' and 5 is 'neutral' and in West Market the mean value was 7.436. Without further contextual detail in the form of qualitative interviews with these respondents, for example, an area for future research identified in 5.4.1, it is not possible to know exactly what lies behind these responses. But previous extracts from this quantitative data set out on pages 154 and 156 demonstrate that shopping in street markets is considered by market customers to be a sociable experience and that this experience is largely mediated through encounters with the market traders. It is not a huge conceptual leap to extrapolate from these results that respondents who gave a favourable answer to mixing positively with people from different backgrounds represent 'domains of commonality' being formed outside of 'predefined categories of group relations'. The presence of these 'domains of commonality' represented in the quantitative results are reinforced by the responses from the qualitative interviews, observations and live recordings of encounters between market traders and customers, which together provide strong empirical evidence of a 'sociology of reconfiguration' that supports urbanity in street markets, and thus helps to satisfy the third research objective as set out on page 98.

As with all relationships, however, the bond between market customer and trader is far from straightforward, which will be explored in detail as part of the analysis in section 4.4.   In the case of trader-to-customer interactions, it was the products that were the primary source of triangulation. The products are, after all, the primary reason for market traders and customers sharing a function in the same space. In the case of interactions between market traders, rather than the products being sold, triangulation centred more on the need to rely on each other – the need for mutual trust – as a basic requirement for their businesses being able to function within the precarious existence of market trading.

<u>Market traders getting to know each other</u>

As I wait in line at a market stall in East Market, the customer in front of me only has a ten-pound note. The stallholder nips across to the neighbouring market stall as he has run out of change. As it is my turn to be served he asks the rhetorical question "what would we do without our neighbours, eh?" holding up a bag of change to indicate why he was just returning from the market stall next door.

This need to rely on neighbouring market traders was a recurring theme across all the respondents, from sole traders to larger market stalls with lots of employees. Reasons varied, from running out of change or shopping bags, to looking after each other's stalls for short breaks during the day, to mutual surveillance to warn of repeat troublemakers. Another major source of daily cooperation was in getting cars in and out whilst setting up and packing down the market stalls in the mornings and evenings. Whilst interviewing Pat towards the end of the day some vans start to come onto the market. I ask her how they organise packing up the stalls and how they know whose van can come on when etc., and she responds:

> Because we all work together on it, you have to, otherwise it would be
> mayhem. No one's allowed in before 4pm, depending in the summer, but
> we can still be here at 6 o'clock, but if they want to come in at 4 we can't
> really stop them, but we all come in, like now [points to a scene that seems
> unintelligible to me] he's telling him now he's coming in. (Pat, market trader,
> West Market)

Justin expresses the same sentiment. I ask him whether he has to pack down the stall every day, and he says yes, and explains that otherwise the site could not be cleaned each evening. He goes onto explain the process for setting up the stall the next morning and how they organise which car comes on and when.

> It just, it's kind of like whenever you come, if the route is free you just come
> in and offload your goods, you understand. And if the road is closed then
> you stay in the queue, be patient and work together to try and organise, you

know, no problem. There's no need for that is it? Like you come in in the morning, and that's something you don't want to go into; start quarreling with your neighbours or customers, you know. (Justin, market trader, East Market)

Working together is an effective way to reveal domains of commonality and in the process people's superficial differences start to become less apparent. Samir, also from Pakistan, explains that it was easy for him to integrate into the market because so many of his fellow market traders were also Muslim.

> You know here the people are from our communities, so all of them are
> Muslims, they [pointing a few stalls away] are from Pakistan and from India
> as well, and when we came here, everyone was; so, it was not difficult if you
> are same (Samir, market trader, East Market)

When I question him on whether he has also made friends with market traders who are not Muslim, Samir is quickly joined by Usman who is close by and has heard the question. Both say almost in unison "Yeah, yeah, we are all community, it's the same thing…". Samir, the doctoral student from Queen Mary University featured earlier on page 132, continues:

> You know, at the start we don't know one another, but with the time,
> everyone is the same, there is no difference. When you work closely with
> people the differences just goes away, and it is never there, when
> understand with us, there is no difference, this is just the ignorance, so
> whenever there is difference you get ignorance, so when you have
> knowledge of something you understand things and you [realise] it's, oh it's
> the same thing, it's a similar thing… (Samir, market trader, East Market)

Working alongside each other builds a mutual sense of trust, of reciprocity, and of belonging to something larger than just a market stall. This sense of trust gains strength when built up over time, and when the people you are *having* to rely on come

from a range of different backgrounds, and these people reciprocate the trust, as they are motivated to do since inevitably they will have to rely on you too one day, it becomes a powerful way of revealing domains of commonality that exist between market traders. Importantly, the sorts of tasks market traders help each other out with are generally everyday tasks, requests that are easy for traders to say yes to. Yet, these everyday tasks make a big difference to the lives of market traders. Not being able to shut up shop for a few minutes to fetch your car, for example (see Gani quote above on page 130), is a real problem on an open sided market stall with all your products, your livelihood, on display and vulnerable to theft. Having someone, or even better several people, you trust next door to keep an eye on your business, sell your products and then pass the money onto you, has a huge mutually positive impact on each other's businesses.

Through this need to rely on each other, the forces of cooperation and competition find a form of equilibrium. "We are all fighting against each other, but there's a lot of respect between stallholders", says John, when I ask him about competition for spend in East Market. Mary, who I interviewed earlier, is close by and re-joins the conversation "Yeah but the same point, we'll serve something off Nichola's [stall next door] and give her the money, we help each other out with bags, markers, pens, no-one's really like nasty like that". "And if anyone's snide ", says John, before Mary continues "yeah, oi watch this one, watch that one, it all goes around, yeah…".

Salman, a market trader from East Market, describes his origins during the interview as Muslim Pakistani. He says he often looks after his neighbours' stalls, even for several hours at a time, if they have to visit the doctors, for example. During the interview, I ask him whether he thinks the street market has a community feel.

> Oh yes, because the different backgrounds, people come here, and talk each other, they know each other, they enjoy you know. Yeah, European, English, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, there's a lot of countries, you know, Algeria, Albania, there's a lot of people talk each other, they enjoy you know, they know each other. (Salman, market trader, East Market)

When I ask whether he has learnt things about other cultures whilst trading at East Market, he replies 'Oh yes, yes'. And when I quiz him over whether these are "good or bad things?", he replies:

> Oh very good things, like tomorrow is Diwali. When I am in Pakistan, I just heard about Diwali but I don't know who they celebrate, how they pray. But now I know very well. We celebrate each other, we greeting each other, we give the cards each other, you know. This is the experience. When we celebrate Eid, when Muslim people celebrate Eid, the other religions give us greetings and cards and celebrate each other together. (Salman, market trader, East Market)

This sense of togetherness, cooperation and mutual trust builds 'sociabilities of emplacement' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24) and strengthens ontological security (Noble, 2005, p. 107), creating a sense of belonging rooted in what Glick Schiller, et al. (2011, p. 399) call a form of 'cosmopolitan sociability'. One consequence of this deep-rooted sense of emplacement is, as Hall (2009, p. 87) witnessed in her research into a local London Caff is, where family is no longer constituted on the basis of kin.

'Family' was a word Justin used to describe his neighbouring market traders, who he described earlier as "like a big family" (see page 157 above). In response, I point out that the traders around him seem to be from a range of different backgrounds. Justin immediately replies:

> No, it doesn't matter, we don't even see that, you know, we don't even see that. We are brothers and sisters, and you know. We are all here for the same purpose. You know, to get our living, you know, simple, that's why we're here, you know. (Justin, market trader, East Market)

This sense of family no longer solely being based on kin also extended to some of the responses between market traders and employees. Here, trust and cooperation also have important roles to play.

<u>Market traders and employees getting to know each other</u>

The 2013 film *The Butler* tells the true-life story of Cecil Gaines, who works his way from being a domestic servant born into a former slave-owning family in the nineteen-twenties to become head butler at the White House. He achieves this meteoric rise through a mixture of hard work and relentless efficiency. A parallel storyline in the film follows Cecil's son, Louis Gaines, as he joins a number of organisations with different philosophies – some peaceful, some violent – in his struggle to find his role in the fight for equal rights as a young black man growing up in the nineteen-sixties. In one scene, Louis meets Martin Luther King, and they share the following exchange (taken from the screenplay):

MARTIN LUTHER KING: What do your daddy do?

[Louis looks at him embarrassed.]

LOUIS GAINES: He's a butler.

MLK: The black domestic plays an important role in our history.

LG: I didn't tell you that to make fun of me.

MLK: Young brother, the black domestic defies racial stereotypes by being hardworking and trustworthy. He slowly breaks down racial hatred with the example of his strong work ethic and dignified character. Now, while we perceive the butler or the maid as being subservient, in many ways they are subversive without even knowing it.

[The scene ends with Louis staring at Martin Luther King. He has never thought about his dad in this way.]

Similar processes have been identified at work in some of the analysis above on functional encounters (see 4.2 above). Market traders originally from different cultural backgrounds defied racial stereotypes and earnt mutual respect through displays of mutual trust and relentless hard work over time. These same processes

have played an important role in the relationships between market traders and employees.

Not all market traders interviewed had businesses that earned enough money to have employees, or necessarily wanted the associated hassle of employing other people. Others had had to let people go because of the recession. Some market traders worked in partnership with family members, such as Adamou and his wife, or Jez who had his brother to help out on weekends and days off. But for those traders who employed people from different backgrounds, there was a strong link between first-hand experience and positive views about the people they employed, regardless, and sometimes in admiration of, the cultural backgrounds they came from.

In a passage that will be explored below on page 180, Jimmy describes how he had initially had trouble adapting to the demographic changes in the area. Working with and employing people from different cultural backgrounds – even if it was begrudgingly so at first – was a key part in changing Jimmy's preconceptions about members from these cultural groups.

> I've got what 2/4/6/7 Asian chaps, all work hard, none of them ever, ever say to me, oh um that's not the reason I think so much of them, can I have a rise this week. Once you negotiate their daily pay, that is the deal. So, they will ask you for what they want, at the beginning of the deal, but if you haven't done well, they will feel for ya. They will look you in the eye and say, Jimmy, next week, I don't think I could have tried any harder, but do you think if we tried it this way, or may be that sells better on that corner. I don't know why, they are absolutely devoted to a hard day's work. And yet, I'm not being funny, no disrespect, I don't know how to say it, I've had my own family and my friends that I went to school with, who are white, I don't like to say it like that, and they've come to work with me, they're late every morning, they think they've got a god given right to walk away and have a break when they feel like it, and I'm not saying that is all the case because it isn't. But I just find that they work so hard and they, if you say I'm gonna

have a week's holiday, they will say can I run it for you for the week, can I run it and I'll pay your rent and you have the week's holiday. They just so want to do well. (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

This sequence echoes the Martin Luther King scene from *The Butler* about how people can, often unknowingly, defy and subvert racist stereotypes. Jimmy's employees are considered by him to be trustworthy and hardworking, with a strong work ethic and dignity of character. These are characteristics discovered not by reputation, but over the course of time through first-hand experience. The fact they are perhaps not aware they are subverting racial stereotypes together makes it all the more powerful. This is a sociology of reconfiguration forged from the ground-up that is independent of top-down policies designed to encourage social cohesion (see page 79).

Once the initial barriers to exchange are lifted, other possibilities arise. Later in the interview, for example, Jimmy talks about being introduced to new foods by his colleague Zaffar, whom he employs on the market stall.

> They go, I see em come down here and mum will have a great big, my friend Zaffar, will have a great big container and he'll say to me, here you go, and we'll say cor and it'll have onion bhajis and it'll be the best thing you've ever ate in your life. (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

Jimmy was not alone in his experiences. John is a white working-class fruit & veg seller working on the oldest continually trading market stall in East Market. I ask him whether working with lots of different people has impacted his views of them. He thinks for a while, and then begins telling me about a disabled person in his own family, and relates it to how experiencing others who are different can change perceptions about them.

> If you working with this, that and the other, it's the same as if you were working with disabled kids. You see now, my brother-in-law's grandson, he's as big as me and looks the same as me, but he's mentally handicapped.

Now, having been living with him, knowing him and this that and the other, it makes me look at disabled children [differently], so now, when I'm out with him and he gets excited and a bit loud, and you'll see kids take the piss out of him, and then you'll see women go tut tut tut, and then you'll end up having a row with them, and so you see, and what my father said, he said every family should have a disabled child, because then they'd realise what life is about. "Well it breaks down the stereotype?" So, as you say, working with these people [pointing to his Asian colleagues but then moves out of earshot]...so anything you do, if you're working with people you realise different things don't ya. (John, market trader, East Market)

John's statement also shows the use of reflexivity (discussed further in the next section on page 174). He applies the question to a situation that is particularly close to his own experience, before answering the initial question more directly. One of the important factors in this process of getting to know each other, and in the process revealing 'domains of commonality' is that once potential hurdles towards differences are negotiated, it creates possibilities for deeper friendships to emerge. For example, one of Jimmy's longest serving employees, Zaffar, has also become one of his closest friends.

And what I admire about them as well, is, the gentleman I was just talking about, Zaffar, he works for me, and erm he's got 3 daughters, lovely young ladies, and we talk a lot about different, we talk about religion, we talk about politics, we talk about everything, but we are truly, truly democratic between what we're saying. There is, like I mean he says to me, listen Jimmy, I've got a 19 year-old son, and he said, and he always talks to my son and tries to steer him like an uncle, but he said I wouldn't want your son and my daughter to get married, he said although I know your son, he said only because his belief is that his race should stay with his race. Not that we shouldn't tolerate one another and be friends, but we can talk like that without not the slightest bit of intimidation or disrespect meant. And when you get on that wavelength with someone it's a fantastic thing. I know that I

can talk to him about anything. Like I even ask him questions sometimes that I don't understand, and he just gives me such a truthful answer and his answer is always, it's never an answer where I walk away and think, no he hasn't answered that. He always answers the calling, always, he truly does, and I find it with all these gentlemen. (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

This quote shows that Zaffar and Jimmy have become good friends, despite the imbalances of power inherent in an employer/employee relationship. This echoes Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016, p. 27) findings featured on page 81 that also found imbalances of power were not necessarily inhibitors to satisfying social encounters. Even more importantly, the domains of commonality discovered between Jimmy and Zaffar have become strong enough that he felt he could talk to Zaffar about any subject honestly without fear of upsetting him. Their commonalities give them the confidence to also acknowledge ways that they are different too – maintaining different religious beliefs and ideas about intercultural marriage (see page 175). In fact, their ability to openly discuss complex issues from different perspectives enhances their friendship and is something on which Jimmy places great value.

Jimmy and Zaffar's example was an extreme instance of a deep friendship that had revealed strong domains of commonality forged by working first-hand experience of working together. But the essence of this process was also apparent in some of the other responses between colleagues. In West Market, Pat seemed to feel closer to people from cultural groups she had worked with. When I ask her whether the market has a community feel, she says:

I would say not so much now, I don't think, a while ago yeah but I think things have changed now, I don't think people have the same community spirit as what they used to have. They're all brought up in different ways, you know. They all stick together, their own, but I don't live in this area, so the guy that's with me today he lives here, so yeah I suppose they have got a good community spirit, they know everyone who comes here. He's from Bangladesh, but he was born here, but him and his children were born here,

they are English [laughs], they are English. He was a little boy when he started working here, he used to come and help us load the van up, he wanted to come and help, so when he was 10/11 we used to let him come and help, now he works for us full time... (Pat, market trader, West Market)

In the examples set out above, first-hand experience through a combination of observing and encountering people from a range of different backgrounds framed through moments of civility and conviviality combined to reveal domains of commonality that helped form sociabilties of emplacement, increase ontological security, and in the process, enact a sociology of reconfiguration. As people got to know each other, often challenging assumptions based on appearances alone, they reflected on these previous assumptions, and in the process got to know themselves better too.

4.3.2.   Getting to know ourselves – the practical value of being around difference

The preceding analysis has shown that street markets, through shared activity over a sustained period, have the potential to transform peoples' attitudes towards each other. This was one example of the practical value associated with being around difference on a daily basis. There were other examples too.

<u>Finding practical value in being around difference</u>

Learning things by being around and engaging with other cultures was a recurring theme in the respondents' interviews. When I ask Gani whether dealing with different people all the time has altered her perception of people outside the market, she responds:

Yeah, yeah. Outside people coming from different area, different backgrounds, different cultures, the way the people talk differently, you learn things, you know, for example, the way the Muslim people talk, the way they talk about their culture. (Gani, market trader, West Market)

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Gani's daughter, Ayesha, has a different take on things. She initially dismisses the idea that you learn about different cultures through being in the market. "Nothing I didn't already know", she says, before pondering and expanding a bit further, "I guess you don't really learn, you just absorb and observe things". Ayesha's response is perhaps indicative of the fact she has been brought up in the market: "they've known me since I've been in nappies", she says whilst pointing out some of the neighbouring stalls, which was reminiscent of the 'family-like relationships' Hall (2009, p. 84) found had developed between regulars in the London Caff introduced on page 83. Later in the interview, when I quote Sennett's phrase about how people can live separate lives together, she responds:

> …we don't have that problem, we don't have it where we work or where we live. I don't know where these other people live, because I know every single one of our neighbours. There are 109 houses in my street, and we know everybody, and they know us. (Ayesha, market trader, West Market)

Building on interactions of this kind, many of the market traders recognised a practical value in spending time interacting with lots of different kinds of people. "Yeah you know", says Justin after pausing for a while to think about whether his time in the market has helped him in his life outside the market too, "it kind of like makes you fit wherever you go, you don't find it so difficult". Similarly, for Jez, when I ask him whether he has learnt things from other cultures and whether his outlook towards other people has changed because of working in the market, responds:

> Well, I learned a lot of things from different people, a lot of things, from Europeans, from Africans. But each person, sometimes you have to deal in different ways, you know, some of them you have to deal with more friendly, some people you have to be a little bit more strict, you know, this is the rule and if you don't like this, walk away, so you can learn from people, but if you get it wrong they can be trouble, they will try to put you down. Even from this country it's the same, even for me as well, the same. (Jez, market trader, West Market)

Here, Jez is expressing another element of practical value in dealing with so many different kinds of people; the ability, or at least a belief in the ability, to read the body language of the people approaching his stall. Manjit expresses a similar sentiment "I think I'm quite clever", she says proudly, "I know now which ones will buy straight away and which ones won't".

Osman, who was featured at the beginning of this analysis, only trades on Saturdays, as he has a full-time job Monday-Friday. I ask him whether he has learnt things from other cultures he has experienced at the market, and whether it has influenced how he perceives people when outside of the market.

> Yes, yes, it is like this. You always learn from the people who's been working with you, and so yeah, it's been always a good experience to find new people and get good relationships with them. It doesn't matter where their background is. Yes, it's helped me a lot to be more patient and understanding because of the diverse nature of this market and how you share communication with people from different backgrounds. So, it's helped me with my work Monday-Friday to actually help understand and find common ground where you can communicate with everyone without any issue. By knowing that some people have good conversation and others do not have good conversation you have to be understandable about where they are coming from, because sometimes this communication gap hinders you from understanding different cultures, so one thing that might be appropriate for them might not be appropriate for another, so you try to understand where they come from. Yes, it's helped me a lot. (Osman, market trader, West Market)

Being skilled in interpersonal communication is now recognised as a key ingredient for success in both personal and professional contexts (Hargie, 2010). Radice (2016, p. 435) had also noted on page 90 the importance of 'skills in translation or non-verbal communication, or simply a willingness to engage in unfamiliar patterns of

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communication' as being a crucial component of conviviality in diverse spaces. Trading in the street market had improved the communications skills of many of the market traders. Dealing with many different people, in different languages with different levels of spoken English, had a direct practical value that for some had positive implications beyond the street market environment.

Finding practical value in being around difference – from being introduced to new and exciting foods, to learning how to communicate across different languages and how to adapt to a range of social situations – was evident in many of the interview responses. Reinforcing the practical value of being around different people was the power of reflexivity.

<u>The practical value of reflexivity</u>
Another element of practical value that emerged from the respondents' interviews was the power of reflexive thought. Reflexivity is transformative by its nature. People reflect on a position currently being held, and through a process of introspection, either maintain or move towards an alternative point of view.

On page 76, reflexivity was described by Amin as crucial to 'ethical practices in public space' that are formed 'precognitively and reflexively rather than rationally or consciously, guided by routines of neurological response and material practice, rather than by acts of human will' (Amin, 2008, p. 11). One striking example of this reflexive process in action in street markets is detailed below.

> I've learnt such a lot, I truly mean it, I've learnt not to be prejudiced, which is the greatest thing I've learnt, because in all honesty, the late 70s, I started to become, I started to move a little bit over [as in becoming racist towards incoming communities] like thinking oh you know, blimey, because I saw like all my family and everything was moving out, and the reason they was moving out was because they was saying it's like little India here, and this that and the other. But I was willing to accept the marvellous living I've got, but I wasn't willing to accept the cultural change. But thank God, and I truly

mean that [crosses his chest] somewhere I've realised that, seen the light if you like, and not trying to be pathetic about it, but these people are so hard working, and so want to be accepted, I just want to be one of them people that do accept them, you know, they are entitled to everything that I'm entitled to. (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

Jimmy seemed to have high powers of reflexivity, as it constantly emerged in his responses to interview questions, perhaps precisely because of the personal journey he describes above. In another passage, Jimmy begins with: "And I thought to myself, as the years go on, the philosophy of the Asian people, I just think they are so much more sensible than us". The phrase "I thought to myself" is a recurring theme in this part of the interview, where he spontaneously covers a number of topics where he has learnt things from different cultures, and how these insights have impacted positively on his own attitudes and the way he now lives his own life. These included how: "Asian kids" are brought up shopping with their parents, so really know their fruit, and therefore eat more healthily than his own kids; incoming communities appreciate things that established communities take for granted, such as education and the NHS; they look after their children without spoiling them; and their commitment to family. The story that perhaps stood out most in terms of reflexivity was the attitude towards giving well-meant but essentially harmful gifts to relatives.

Yeah but also the biggest one that I found, that really tickled me, and I never thought about it, I was talking to my friend outside, his name is Zaffar, and it was his Dad's 80th birthday. Anyway, I thought to myself, I know he likes a little tipple, but he's not supposed to. Anyway, I was talking to my friend and I said I'd like to, I bought him a bottle of Courvoisier brandy, anyway I said to him, my friend, would you give that to your dad, and he said, Jimmy, he said, I hope you're not offended, but I'd rather not. He said I know it's predominantly white people, when they go to see their granddad they buy them 40 cigarettes and a bottle of drink, but to me, you're killing the people you love. And I looked at him and I thought, no, but I wasn't offended, and I thought to myself how many years did I buy my granddad a bottle of whisky

and 40 cigarettes thinking I'm doing him a favour and I'm being so generous, but I helped kill him. And I ==thought== to myself, oh my god, so I said to him, what would he like? Tell you what, he'll have a lovely box of red apples. So, I said okay, totally against the grain, so I went and got a lovely big box of American red apples. Then I said to him, what do ya reckon, and he said, oh Jimmy, he said, to be honest he might be a bit biased, they're American! I went, oh my god! I didn't realise, I said listen, just put them all in a bag, he 'aint gonna know, and I said no I won't do that to him, I said how about a box of Golden Delicious, and don't tell me he's got anything against the French! And he said no he hasn't, he said, but it's a political thing about America, he said, and I just ==thought==, I went home, and I really sat and ==thought== about it, and I ==thought== to myself, these people are so principled, I've learnt such a lot, I truly mean it, I've learnt not to be prejudiced, which is the greatest thing I've learnt… (Jimmy, market trader, East Market)

In the above quotation, Jimmy uses the word 'thought' eight times in relation to his own self-awareness, how he has lived his life in the past, and how he might change how he lives in the future. It is a powerful statement, which ends with Jimmy recognising that learning not to be prejudiced, through his interaction with people of difference in East Market, has been his greatest lesson, his greatest transformation of all. These are the sorts of dyadic relationships Glick Schiller & Schmidt (2016, p. 3/7) found being forged between people of difference around domains of common interest, aspiration and place, played out through daily routines around 'co-residence, common workplaces and institutional sites'.

None of the other market traders spoke with quite the same mix of conviction, passion and clarity as Jimmy about the positive impacts that being immersed in so many different cultures had had on his life, both economically and culturally. But throughout this analysis there have been examples, at all ends of the spectrum, of where first-hand experience revealed domains of commonality between people who were also different in other ways. Revealing these commonalities gave confidence for people to express their differences too, suggesting a strong sense of ontological security and

sense of belonging that reduced forces of repressive unity and the compulsion for people to be the same. Domains of commonality were being revealed in the daily structures of the street markets, a ground-up 'sociology of reconfiguration' based on the solid foundations of mutual cooperation and trust forged through first-hand experience.

The analysis over the previous three themes have focused on how the spatial characteristics of street markets support functional encounters that can both be adaptable and familiar, allowing a sociology of reconfiguration that can be satisfying to both established residents and newcomers. Crucial to this process has been proximity, people sharing the same space, and precarity, which encourages the need for cooperation and trust. The next section of analysis highlights some of ways in which the spatial characteristics that support urbanity can also work to undermine it.

4.4.   Conflict and competition are necessary forms of social interaction

"One minute you see them they've got their arms around each other cuddling and kissing and whatever, and the next thing they're beating each other and then ten minutes later they're best of friends again." (Jack, Market Manager, West Market)

Street markets are highly contested spaces, the competitive processes of buying and selling being the underlying activity in any effective and sustainable marketplace. Other forces contribute to this sense of place-as-contest. The busier trading times are often highly congested, with pedestrians crowding around stalls and competing to attract the attention of traders. This congestion can make it difficult to navigate a route through the markets, which are located on public highways. The crowds of people and goods on display create opportunities for petty crime. As traders are packing up after a long day, they have to navigate choke points created by vehicles coming onto an already tight space in order to take away their goods. Whilst some market stalls are packing up, others are still serving customers and remain trading. And all this takes place among a highly diverse public, both visibly – the way people look and dress – and audibly – the languages they speak, with levels of spoken English varying from nothing to fluent within a mix of established and emerging populations.

There are, consequently, multiple opportunities for street markets to become spaces of contest. This can lead to frustration and conflict, emotions and responses that have been seen, understandably perhaps as 2.2.3 showed, as negative emotions, actions to be designed out of public spaces. However, the only way to design out conflict is to increase social distances between people. On page 55, Radice linked proximity with the capacity at least to be turned into conviviality. Naturally, of course, proximity can also turn into hostility (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 25). But isolation is the enemy of urbanity, sharpening differences and feeding assumptions of what people are like based on appearances. On page 64, Lefebvre criticises his compatriot Le Corbusier for designing spaces that are incapable of drawing different people together with the capacity to be in conflict but also, by proxy, to also form alliances.

This research demonstrates that there were certainly negatives that arose out of the processes of contest, conflict and competition. But these processes also had a practical role to play in how street markets can support urbanity. Thus, the focus of this section of the analysis firstly establishes 4.4.1 competition as a key source of conflict in street markets. It then moves onto 4.4.2 the challenges expressed by some market traders of selling to a very diverse community, including the potentially disruptive nature of the accompanying symbolic changes that define such changes. Finally, 4.4.3 sets out examples of tactics market traders used to mediate the potential for conflict, before concluding with 4.4.4 the role of market managers in avoiding the potential for conflict to spiral out of control.

4.4.1 Competition can be a key source of conflict

Competition can be a key source of conflict in street markets. From the perspective of market traders, competition within street markets takes two broad forms. First, market traders are competing against each other to attract customers to buy their products. Second, market traders are competing with customers over individual transactions. Both these forms of competition, which are explored below, can lead to different types of conflict.

Market stalls trade in dense clusters, often cheek-by-jowl, as 2.4.1 described. Both West Market and East Market sit in economically marginal areas of London, with a limited pool of available spend. Market traders are competing against each other to attract this spend, which has the obvious potential to give rise to conflict and disagreement. And when there are added pressures from an adverse economic climate, as the Market Manager for West Market explains, tensions rise further.

> …there's big pressure now because of the economic climate, and as you will know, markets are getting harder and harder, and when they are competing with each other and they're not getting the money, then tensions rise and there's fighting. And I've noticed in the last year or so, it's got really, competition has got really intense, and there's a lot more arguments, a lot more fighting. I wouldn't call it fighting exactly, but it's got pretty bad. (Jack, Market Manager, West Market)

A further strain on relationships between market traders is between those selling the same sorts of products. This is particularly the case when traders change what they are selling in response to seeing other traders doing well with a certain product.

> The other thing they're doing, they're always changing their commodities, or trying to change their commodities, and if they see somebody doing very well, the next thing, well prime example is the suitcases, one started out with suitcases and now we're just overrun with them, and what's happened is they can't compete with each other. They're buying, sadly, crap quality, because it's getting cheaper and cheaper and it's falling apart and, well Monday to Friday we have about ten people selling suitcases, which is ridiculous. (Jack, Market Manager, West Market)

Frustration at competing products can be directed at individual traders, particularly if new to the market. Bilal and Hamed sell suitcases at West Market. They both complain about the number of market stalls now selling the same products as them, and how this number has escalated in recent years. Hamed puts the number of

market stalls selling suitcases at nineteen, as opposed to Jack's estimate of ten. He also expresses frustration at the fact this number is the same on weekdays, where there are 60-70 stalls, as weekends, when there are closer to 220 market stalls. Hamed wanted to make clear that he has no hatred towards his competitors, but that he feels they should have done more research into what was already here and oversubscribed before beginning to trade at East Market.

This attitude was also reflected in East Market by Usman, who sells women's bags and accessories that he imports from Pakistan, and who talked in 4.1.3 of this analysis about the economic importance of having a diversity of products on the market.

> If we sell one things in the market, don't bring any things similar. Bring if you want to come, they welcome, if management say welcome it's no problem, you can come, you bring something different, to attract [people to] the market for different reasons. If I sell same thing and other people selling same thing, this is no market point. (Usman, market trader, East Market)

Like many of the stallholders interviewed, Usman started at the market working on someone else's stall, before opening his own business. He was keen to point out that he changed products from cardigans to bags, and location, before setting out on his own. When I ask him if the person he used to work for still trades at East Market, he replies with a grin, "Yes still here [laughs]. Sometimes they are happy and sometimes they are jealous, but this is life!"; there may well be more history of conflict here than Usman is prepared to admit.

Usman goes onto say that his only competing stall is far enough away in the market not to affect his business. On the other hand, another East Market trader, Manjit, complained about competition with other traders on the street market driving down the prices she can charge for her jewellery products.

> Yes, very very much so, because, if I buy a ring for 50p and I want to sell it for £1, the other one will say £1.50 for two rings. You see there's a lot of

competition these days. I have to try and adjust my prices accordingly and try not to get the same stuff they've got, or have a word with my wholesaler that if he's gonna give me the stuff, don't give it to the other trader in East Market. (Manjit, market trader, East Market)

This protectionist attitude is understandable against the backdrop of finite spend, particularly in areas that are relatively economically deprived and highly price sensitive. Official rules and regulations across both street markets gave some sense of comfort to some market traders, such as Emanuel, who identified the implementation of these rules as the primary difference between trading here and when he traded at markets in Nigeria. However, the rules were not always applied systematically, particularly in West Market it seems, where decisions about who was allowed to come onto the market and what they were allowed to sell were taken by a licensing department that many felt was too far removed from the realities of the situation on the ground. As Jez, selling household products, explains:

To be honest, the rules of the council do not allow someone to sell next to you the same products. But you know, in this market they are doing it. I've got them on the opposite side, he's not here today, but right beside me I've got. (Jez, market trader, West Market)

This sentiment is echoed by Hamed in his complaints about the numbers of luggage sellers. During this discussion, the Market Manager, Jack, walks past and joins the conversation. Both agree the situation is far from ideal, and blame the council's licensing department for not understanding their own street market.

4.4.2. Challenges of selling to a diverse and changing customer-base – sociabilities of *dis*placement

Having more strings to your bow, as Jimmy put it (see page 142), was given as one of the economic advantages of selling to a diverse client-base. But from a practical standpoint, having such a diverse clientele had made making the right business decisions for some market traders more complicated. For example, Osman had found

it difficult to know what to sell at first, with so many different people visiting the street market, with different tastes and expectations. For Hamed, a consequence of the increased use of haggling was that some market traders had started to change the way people were selling at West Market to appeal to certain communities, which he could not do because his customers came from everywhere.

> Some stallholders have started not putting the prices on their merchandises
> so they can start higher and let the Arabs haggle them down. But that
> doesn't work for me because I have buyers from all backgrounds, and many
> like to see the price. Even when they have bought an item they check the
> other stalls to see if they have made a mistake! But in general, Europeans
> don't haggle. (Hamed, market trader, West Market)

But these were relatively minor complaints. The area that caused the most conflict was when there was a clash in expected norms of civility.

<u>When expected norms of civility clash</u>
The potential for diversity to make things on a practical level more complex was expressed by Noble (2011) in his research into transcultural complexities featured on page 48, and a couple of examples from the interviews were listed above. Language could also create difficulties at times. Mostly, market traders appeared to be understanding that their customers would have different levels of spoken English, but understandably, during a long and busy day trading at the market stall this could lead to moments of frustration.

When I asked Pat whether working with people from different backgrounds has impacted her views of people outside of the street market. Her answer is conflicted between a sense of frustration at being talked to in a way she is not accustomed to, but also an awareness that in most cases people are not being intentionally rude.

> "…do you think working closely with people from different backgrounds, and
> the fact you're dealing with different kinds of customers all the time, has had
> an impact on how you view people when you're outside of the market?" I

think so, because you obviously realise that people are not all the same as me, everybody's different, you've got to accept how they are, and sometimes they're not being rude, it's just the way they are. You can sometimes, by the end of the day, you want to bang your head against the wall and think I've had enough, but most of them, they're not purposely coming up to be rude to you, it's just what they're bred into. (Pat, market trader, West Market)

It is evidently difficult to talk about groups of people without falling into gross generalisations and stereotypes. I have had to use such generalisations in this account, sometimes reluctantly for want of a better vocabulary, describing Jimmy as 'white working-class' on page 174 for example, and at other times to emphasise domains of commonality emerging between people who are different from each other in terms of predefined categories of group relations, such as between Jez, the West Indian woman and me described on page 144. Interestingly, some respondents were equally uncomfortable using such generalisations, expressing regret at having to do so, such as Jimmy on page 173, and in some cases apologising for not having the vocabulary to talk sensitively about such subjects, such as Usman on page 132. Such discomfort, along with criticising ingroup racist attitudes (see Jimmy's comment being thought of as a traitor, page 195), was also evidenced by Radice (2016, p. 441) in her research into multi-ethnic high streets in Quebec.

But there was another use of generalisations that emerged from the interviews with market traders. These generalisations resulted in gross stereotypes being applied to whole groups of people, whilst in the process also making assumptions about the groups they belonged to. The group most singled out in this instance was "the Arabs", although this only applied to West Market. In East Market, one trader complained about "the Bengalis". These were examples of where the spatial characteristics of street markets served to undermine rather than support urbanity.

The causes of these stereotypes were clashes in expected norms of civility. If you have ever opened a door for someone else to walk through and they do so without saying

thank you, or had someone bump into you in the street without apologising afterwards, it can raise the heckles and make you feel wronged, albeit in a very small way. If it has been a particularly frustrating day, then privately you might even focus on some element of how this person looks different to you as a focus for this frustration. Usually, however, moments later the hackles soon lower and the incident is forgotten.

A consequence of population change is that it is very easy for incoming populations to cause offence without the benefit of growing up in the host country and absorbing its norms of ritual civilised behaviour from a young age. Anyone who has been on holiday abroad can testify to this, and the same is true of functional encounters in street markets. The use of please and thank you, the mundane moments of ritual civility that demonstrated mutual respect highlighted in section 4.2.3, were considered important for most of the market traders interviewed. This was particularly true for established market traders in framing their attitudes towards market customers.

Mary works with John on a fruit and veg stall at East Market. She has worked in the market since her early teenage years. I start off with a question about whether dealing with different kinds of people all the time has influenced how you perceive people when you're outside the market:

> Errm, not really, I mean, my parents always brought me up to be strict, like
> you get nothing unless you go out and work for it and all the old principles
> and things like that, so as far as, I mean, I can be a bit narky to be honest, I
> am narky, I don't like it when people say to me do this and do that, and I
> think treat people how you expect to be treated, and that's all I ask. You
> know, I'm polite and everything to anyone, and I'll double bag anyone's bag,
> I'll phone anyone for a cab, you know kids come up and we grate them a
> carrot and give them a carrot, and yeah, I just think treat them how you
> want to be treated really, it doesn't matter where you're from. But I do think
> that it's good, whatever country you go to, I mean if I go to Spain, I learn how
> to say please and thank you, I go to France, China and that, I think that goes

a long way when people try. And then you're willing to give that little bit extra, to spend more time to say, what, you want this? you want that? and try and explain to give them what they want, then they walk away and come back. But I think it is all about give and take in the end. (Mary, market trader, East Market)

[We continue…] "And do you think that people can learn over time those small things that make a difference?" Yeah, course you can, yeah. I mean, my little nephew, sorry he's 18 soon, and he's just started at W H Smith, and he's on a YTS, and he sits on the till and he's like really nervous and he don't know how to talk to people. And I said bring him down here for a couple of days, and I say pass that, say please, say thank you, and it sort of brings you out of your shell. It's not about acting loud, it's just about voicing your opinion really. If you want something, 'scuse me can you help me'? if you can't, see you later and move on. Don't be stuck and be frightened. If you don't ask, you don't get. I mean I don't ask for wage rises, but I ask [for] 'please' and 'thank yous', you know [chuckle], it goes a long way. It's the old school, you know, it does go a long way, it really does. (Mary, market trader, East Market)

Mary, is not the only one to identify the importance of the mundane rituals of civility to guide functional encounters in street markets. In West Market, for example, Pat identifies a certain group of people, who she calls collectively "the Arabs", with failing to grasp these rituals with. "You mentioned before about the diverse clientele", I say to Pat, who has been working on the only surviving textiles stall in West Market for over forty years, "do you find that you have to have different techniques for dealing with different groups of people?"

Erm, I suppose you could say in a way you do. A lot of the Arabs are a lot more demanding and don't know how to say please or thank you, they just point or grunt. "And is that a problem of language?" it's probably a problem of language, but it's also just how they've been brought up, as far as I can see

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it, they have never been taught to say thank you or please, they just get what they point at, which sometimes don't always go down well with me [laughs]. But it's just one of those things, the Indians and that sort of thing, they are fine, it's mainly the Arabs that we get problems with the way they speak to you… Some have been here 20 years and have never even bothered to learn English, not even a thank you or a please. They just come and speak to you in Arabic and expect you to know what they are saying not the other way around. (Pat, market trader, West Market)

In Pat's response there is evidence of people being talked about in homogenous ethnicised terms. "The Indians" are fine, as they understand the rules of civility, but "The Arabs" are not, because this understanding is lacking. These sorts of statements are evidence of Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016, p. 28) 'encounters of subordinating difference', negative encounters imbued with power that lack mutual respect, the stigmatising discourses introduced on page 81 that can invoke and sharpen the appearance of ethnic boundaries (Moroşanu & Fox, 2013, p. 439) that hide rather than reveal domains of commonality. There were numerous occasions in West Market, and only one in East Market, where clashes in the expected form of functional encounters had led to the process Cohen (2001, p. 74) identified on page 68 as gross stereotypical features being applied to whole groups.

One of the greatest areas where expected norms of ritualised behaviour were misaligned was in the process of haggling. The rituals around haggling were identified on page 143 by Sennett (1974, p. 131) as some of the most ordinary instances of everyday theatre in the city. This may have still been true when Sennett was writing in the 1970s, but in a culture where haggling is no longer a customary form of ritualised functional encounter, it was a source of intense frustration across both street markets, and a way of singling out criticism for groups of people who either looked a certain way, or came from a certain place. This included "the Arabs", as they were described by Pat above and on several other occasions in West Market. For one trader in East Market, as will be demonstrated later, her frustrations were directed at "the Bengalis".

Of all the market traders I interviewed, Adamou seemed most conflicted by issues around haggling. Near the beginning of the interview he says haggling is a good aspect of trading in street markets. But towards the end of the interview, he seemed less certain. Again, as we saw earlier with Adamou in his offering of a small gift to the mother/daughter couple, gift-giving also plays its part.

> And the good thing about the market is that the Arabs come because they love haggling. And if you don't haggle with them they accuse you of not being a proper Muslim and they abuse you [laughs again], they look insulted, and you know, nowadays they go to me "give me a gift", and I say what about me, you give me a gift [laughs again]? Arabs get insulted if you don't haggle with them. Nowadays I'm just trying to find small little things like something that costs me 10 pence or something and then I can give that as a gift rather than giving something that's 50p or £1...you know our percentage profit isn't much in the market, and it's a hard day; 12 hours and it's hard work. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

> I always feel that when someone buys something from me and doesn't haggle, I feel more keen on giving them a gift. Because it's kind of a good feeling for them not to haggle with me, and then they get a good feeling too for receiving the free gift. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

In West Market, Adamou and others, as already mentioned, identified "the Arabs" as the main haggling culprits. Hamed and Jack concurred: "Even if something's a pound, they [Arabs] won't pay a pound", says the market manager for West Market, Jack, echoing Adamou. Hamed, who said during the interview that each community had their own characteristics in the way they buy, said of "the Arabs", "I sell it for £20, we agree £10, and after we agree, they [the Arabs] say 'how about £5?'"

Adamou, is reviewing the way he sells his products to adapt to the growing influence of Arabs and their desire to haggle in the street market, by trying to find cheaper items he can give away as gifts. But, the effect of constant haggling over a few pence seems

to have had a draining impact on Adamou, who is relatively new to market trading, having started his business less than a year ago. Later in the interview I ask him about whether his experiences in the street market have influenced how he views people outside of the market, and again, the issue of haggling arises. "I don't know about that, but I have kind of more empathy for traders now", he tells me, before recounting a story about going to Morocco to buy some clothes for a Muslim charity, and how he kept going deeper into the market for cheaper prices "…some of the traders were really upset, as if I had insulted them. But I understand that now as they are just trying to make a living".

Haggling appeared much less prevalent in East Market. Salman, an East Market trader, made the lack of haggling, or in his words "bargaining", the main distinction from his experience of trading back in Pakistan. Manjit, who describes herself as "Sikh Punjabi", is the only other East Market trader interviewed to mention haggling. Interestingly, she also uses it to single out a particular cultural group. In response to a question about whether her experiences trading in East Market had affected the way she viewed other cultures in any way, she responded:

> Yeah it does, yes it does, I've become very tempramental as well, like I find, when they want two rings for a pound, and I feel, why can't they understand that, two rings, have they not worked out in their mind how much I get it for, are they that stupid or something that, you know, it makes you feel that way that, can they not understand, that's commonsense, how can I give them two?! Like I'm standing here free, and I get urrrgh. (Manjit, market trader, East Market)

When I ask Manjit whether this is a particular culture, she replies "Yeah that is quite a particular culture, it is Bengalis". Could Manjit's cultural background – the historic conflict between Punjab and Bengal – have prejudiced her opinion of Bengalis unfairly? Perhaps it is a coincidence, but she is the only interviewee to single out Bengalis for haggling. Either way, her responses suggest that her experiences of trading at East Market had served to strengthen her prejudices against Bengalis.

The mundane rituals of civility that mediate the form of functional encounters –
whether it be when to say please and thank you, or whether it is okay to haggle or not
– were an obvious area where stereotypes could either be reinforced or weakened
through first-hand experience. There were other challenges too in selling to a diverse
and changing customer-base that displayed the potential for sociabilities of
*dis*placement, disrupting the ontological security of place that in other examples above
had been nurtured through functional encounters.

<u>Changing symbolic markers can create a sense of loss for existing communities</u>
People change places. Different cultures require different products and different ways
to buy them. Street markets are quick to adapt, by stocking foods that will appeal to
incoming communities. In doing so, they change the symbolic markers of community,
and for some this can be disturbing.

Jimmy, the third-generation market trader from East Market, who was extolling the
virtues of a diverse clientele giving his business "more pulling power", also admits in
his interview that he had trouble adapting at first, particularly as friends and family
members started to move away from the area in the nineteen-eighties. Jimmy was in
his twenties when these demographic changes began to really take hold, and says it
was particularly hard on the older generation, which included his granddad.

> You know, when my granddad was alive and he had the stall, in the very
> early eighties, when things started to change, and I sat him down and said,
> look it's time for you to retire, because I know you won't be able to accept
> the changes. But if we don't change then we'll go under, so it's up to you.
> (Jimmy, Market Trader, East Market)

Among some of this generation, entrenched attitudes towards race are still prevalent.
And Jimmy is not convinced they are likely to change any time soon, if at all.

> …they just can't grasp how quickly the area and the country has changed.
> So, I put it, one down to ignorance, but I do find, I find that I tend to mix

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more with the Asians down here because I find them, I find them easier to work with, and I find the white generation, the older generation, I find them, no matter how I try to explain how I feel and how I can see it working down here, that they just don't wanna understand. I get the feeling that they walk away and say traitor, if you like. Not that there's anything to be traitoress about, but I feel that because I'm not in their clan, and I'm not on their wavelength about the way that I feel, I mean they just feel, oh everything's changed. (Jimmy, Market Trader, East Market)

The market manager of West Market, Jack, had had similar experiences. Some of the older generation, particularly the ones who feel they have been left behind, felt the area had gone seriously downhill.

The local residents, the older ones, think the market's gone right downhill blah, blah, blah. It's rubbish, you know what I mean, and I'm thinking hang on a minute, you're buying the stuff [from the market] all the time! (Jack, market manager, West Market)

Some of the other market traders also hinted at a sense of loss attributed to the demographic changes in both areas the street markets are located. Market trader John initially introduced himself, with a big grin, as being "like Colonel Mustard, last white man standing". And Mary, who has worked at East Market since her early teenage years, seemed to take comfort in the fact some of the older clientele who had moved out to places like Thurrock and Waltham Abbey "still come here to do their Christmas shopping", and it was important that they recognised her and stopped to say hello when she was in their neighbourhood on the odd day off.

Jimmy was one of the more exceptional of the multi-generational stallholders in the way that he had adjusted and embraced the demographic changes in the area. But even for Jimmy it took time for him to adapt to the demographic changes in the area he had grown up. But given time he had "learned not to be prejudiced", as he put it, because of a realisation that the economic success of his market stall was due in part

to the cultural changes of the area. And for those traders willing and able to adapt, having a diverse clientele provided real economic opportunity and competitive advantages over a more homogenous clientele.

Pat also expressed a sense of loss at the changes in the area. Like some of the other market traders, she appears conflicted by these changes. When I ask her if there is a particular group that dominates the market, she replies they are all mainly of Moroccan and Arab descent with just a few English people left. But when I ask whether she still feels welcomed and accepted here, or if there's a sense she might be being squeezed out, she replies somewhat incredulously:

> No, no, no they wouldn't like it if we wasn't here. I've known some of them since they were youngsters and now they've got children of their own, so no, not at all, not at all. And as we say, the people that work for us are from Bangladesh and from India, so you know... (Pat, market trader, West Market)

This passage is interesting because earlier (see page 176) Pat complains that the area and the people no longer have the same sense of community spirit. She notes how they are all "brought up in different ways" and how "they all stick together, their own". However, when I ask if she feels like she is being squeezed out she replies in strong terms "No, no, no they wouldn't like it if we wasn't here". These contradictions encapsulate some of the challenges of working day-to-day in a dense, contested and diverse public space, and how on occasions these frustrations could lead to people falling back on stereotypes. Market traders displayed a number of tactics for mediating moments of conflict that had the potential to spiral out of control.

4.4.3   Trader tactics for mediating and resolving conflict

Despite the amount of low-level conflict in both street markets, or perhaps because of it, there were many instances where market traders demonstrated techniques for avoiding conflict, or at least, for avoiding it spiralling out of control. These tactics included being 'courteous at all times' with 'good customer service', 'just ignoring them', and learning 'how best to behave' with difficult people in the market.

<u>Mediating conflict</u>

4.4.1 showed how direct competitors could be a source of conflict. However, even among these competitors, there was pride expressed by some market traders in their ability to mediate this potential for conflict, particularly without the need to involve market inspectors. West Market trader, Jez for example, complained about the administrators of the street market not adhering to their own rules in placing a direct competitor next to him. When I ask him how he feels towards this competitor, he was keen to point out that there were no ill feelings, and that it was just business.

> I don't mind, we say hello, how much is this how much is that. Sometimes he buys the product from cash and carry and doesn't know how much to sell it and he comes in here and says listen, I bought this one how much can I sell? And I say I don't know how much you paid for it, but I sell it, for example, for £2.50. But you must check your invoice to see how much you paid. (Jez, market trader, West Market)

Furthermore, in some cases, competing traders even collaborated, sharing information on sourcing products and even buying on behalf of each other. In East Market, I asked Salman whether he spoke to people who sold competing products. "Yes, why not? We share our experience you know, we compare the prices, where we bought it, get it for me as well, or give me the contact number."

An unwritten rule was that traders should not undercut each other. However, it was difficult to ascertain if this was adhered to throughout. Certainly, there were complaints in both street markets of too much competition driving down prices, and with it the quality of product.

Such cooperation between competing traders was not always the case, as has been seen above. However, traders did have other tactics for avoiding, or dealing with, situations of conflict.

Page 124 of this analysis above included an exchange between Osman, a Chinese man, a Muslim woman and me. The exchange was used to illustrate the role of the market stall as a bounded entity that encloses differences. Throughout the exchange, Osman ignores the Chinese customer, while he rifles through his products and asks a number of unobtrusive but somewhat trivial and repetitive questions. At the end of the exchange, when the customer is out of earshot, Osman explains that he comes here every week and does the same thing. "If you start speaking to him," says Osman, "he will just take up more and more of your time".

Clearly, past experience has taught Osman that there is no chance of a sale with the Chinese man, and he is clearly annoyed to some degree by the repetitive nature of the exchange. But rather than confront the customer, Osman's tactic is simply to ignore him and hope he goes away quickly. In this instance, the tactic seemed to work, and there was no sense that the Chinese man was upset at being ignored, and the fact he comes back each week is testament to this.

There were other examples of traders learning to ignore people within the market. When I asked Adamou whether there is a good community spirit in West Market, he replies:

> Yeah, there are certain characters here that everyone knows and knows
> either to ignore them or how best to behave with them. Yeah, there's one
> guy here, I think his name is Tom or something, and he just shouts abuse at
> everybody, everyone and anyone [starts laughing], you know, and he's just
> pure foul language. He's a proper, proper drunk. He must be old school, you
> know, I don't know how long he's been round here but a lot of the traders
> just deal with him. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

There were also examples of where low-level conflict was not an inhibitor to getting on. Adamou tells me a story about his favourite chicken and chip shop.

I've got this one guy I go for chicken and chips, a grill shop, and he's a proper grumpy guy, he just abuses anyone who comes into the shop, and sometimes it's really ignorant stuff, but people like to come back to it, and but you know he does it with a smile on his face. He's the owner of the shop and he just abuses people, he's been abusing me for years. Maybe it's a novelty, may be everyone takes it as a joke, but after a little while...[laughs again]. "So why do you go back?" I like the food! I like the atmosphere and I've been going there for years since the first time I came to London. (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

And when I ask Adamou about his neighbours:

"So, you've got Muslim neighbours on one side, Jewish neighbours on the other" yeah and Arabs opposite "and would you say you get on with both your neighbours?" Yeah, yeah we always have slight disagreements, because the guys next door [pointing to the Muslims] are more secularist/nationalistic types, whereas we Muslims don't do nationalism, we're not supposed to... (Adamou, market trader, West Market)

One of the forces that helped to mediate conflict is that even moments of frustration are tempered by the fact such people are still using markets in which to shop. "You've still got to take the money at the end of the day," says Pat. Even for Manjit, who previously pointed her finger at "the Bengalis" for haggling and not understanding that traders need to make a profit, has a begrudging respect for these customers. She fully recognised that without them, as difficult as it could sometimes be, she would not have a successful business.

I mean at the end of the day, no matter what, maybe they are being greedy, and so on, but they are my customers, they are the ones that are buying at the end of the day, so without them, I wouldn't have any business. (Manjit, market trader, East Market)

<u>Learning to resolve conflict between themselves – compulsory</u>
In the interview with Jack, the market manager of West Market, he described how much of the serious conflict he had to deal with seemed to be inter-tribal, particularly among some of the traders who had arrived more recently from Afghanistan. He distinguishes this situation from cross-cultural exchange, where people generally get on well. However, he is keen to point out that a lot of the market traders, in his opinion, are not that interested in getting on with people from different cultures. They do it, because they have little other choice.

> …it's not that they want to do it, it's necessary, they've got to get on with their neighbours, but yes there is a lot of conflict out there between the different nations and as I say especially within the Afghan community where it's different tribes. (Jack, market manager, West Market)

Hamed reiterates the first part of this statement, saying "there is no choice, you have to cooperate. Plus, it's the law", meaning that respecting your neighbours is within the rules set by the council. This is a similar sentiment to that expressed by Justin in describing how people work together to help set up and break down their market stalls each day. "That's something you don't want to go into", says Justin about the potential for conflict when trying to get onto East Market to set up his stall in the morning, to "start quarrelling with your neighbours or customers, you know".

This 'having to get on' with neighbouring traders and market customers for the sake of the business emphasises the practical nature of conviviality explored on page 69 of 2.3.2 above, emerging, assuming it does emerge, as a consequence of other actions. Amin (2008, p. 19) stressed the importance of 'mundane intermediaries' in this process, how the infrastructure of space impacts people's experience of it, and the civic legacy these experiences carry with them. One of the infrastructural qualities that can enhance the effectiveness of encounters in spaces of association between people who may be different from each other, says Amin (2002, p. 969), is when they are compulsory in nature.

In street markets this certainly appeared to be the case. People have to get on in order to earn a living for themselves and their families, and conflict only impinges on their ability to do this. Therefore, it is in the best interests of all market traders to do everything they can to get on with other people at the market, whether they particularly like each other or not, as the above sections have shown. But there are other practical values related to low-level conflict that emerged from this analysis.

on page 163 of this analysis, John described the story about a Mexican woman who was caught stealing large bags of potatoes from his market stall. He was suspicious, and eventually caught her with potatoes she had not paid for. What was interesting about that story is that they came to an agreement for her to repay him for the potatoes, and she remains a customer.

In East Market, there appeared to be a divide between more established populations being more self-sufficient, and emerging populations being more grateful for the safety net of management should other routes towards mediating conflict fail. Certainly, John had little time for the management of East Market.

> …we looked after our own things, and that's why you don't need [he pauses]...these markets run themselves really, you know what I mean, they [the council/market inspectors] won't do nothing. (John, market trader, East Market)

Mary expresses a similar sentiment:

> We never even had police here did we, we never ever had police, even outside the sweetshop when they was a drugs problem. And the toilets, when we had the toilets here originally, we were the ones cleaning them up. Then at one point they didn't work for ages, and my boss had to get me a Portaloo thingy, it was terrible. (Mary, market trader, East Market)

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Sorting things out without the need to involve external authorities, is a form of shared action. Osman said something similar about how people in the West Market tried to solve issues themselves.

> People are generally very good in nature. Yeah, they try to sort things out
> themselves, but to be honest I never find anyone who comes across with
> hostile nature. It can happen sometimes because it's a public market, and
> you have people from all different backgrounds, but you know with good
> customer service and behaviour people are generally courteous. (Osman,
> market trader, West Market)

Justin, described how the official rules, such as not being able to arbitrarily change what you sell, helped to mediate conflict. However, as with other respondents, when I ask if he has had to speak to inspectors about problems, he says:

> We don't really comes up with lots of problems, no not really. There is very
> little conflict between traders. No, no there isn't. (Justin, market trader, East
> Market)

No one in the street markets wanted to admit needing the help of market managers with regards to helping sort out issues of conflict, and I suspect there were more instances of conflict than people cared to acknowledge to an interviewer. However, it seemed important to some in West Market, especially those who had arrived more recently, that the market management were there just in case to help mediate when things did go wrong and conflict spiralled to a level they could not deal with between themselves.

4.4.4 Role of market managers as a safety net should conflict spiral
The market manager for West Market, Jack, comes from a military background. He says this has helped him in a number of ways to be effective in West Market. The first is that he has travelled extensively, and has therefore been exposed to many different cultures. The second is that he is used to dealing with conflict. However, he sees his

job not so much about enforcement, but about helping the market traders and their businesses.

> I buy all me fish and me meat and veg and fruit and it helps them, I mean that's what I'm here for. Not only to enforce on them but to help them as well. I see it that we work together, I'm not here with a big stick I'm here to help them, you know what I mean, and that's the way I see it. (Jack, market manager, West Market)

Certainly, the presence of market inspectors was considered an important safety net should conflict spiral out of control, which it could on occasions, although such occasions were considered rare by the market traders interviewed. Having this safety net was considered most important among newer traders. When I ask Justin, who had previously spoken about the cooperative nature of the market, whether it is also a very competitive space, he replies:

> Yeah that's why it's regulated, you know, he's selling fish [pointing to the stall opposite] I can't come in tomorrow selling fish, you know, and he can't come in tomorrow and start selling shoes as well, or him [his other neighbour] selling bags. We just respect each other and try to be good in your field, and if you can't, then you look for something different. (Justin, market trader, West Market)

As well as being a safety net, market inspectors also acted as a sounding board for grievances, and in so doing were able to deflate potential for conflict among competing stallholders. In West Market, as described above, decisions on allocating stall pitches were taken by, what both market traders and manager considered to be an anonymous department separate from the market. In consequence, market manager and market trader were sometimes complicit in their grievances against the local authority, which implied its own form of solidarity.

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4.5.   A new three-layered model for unpacking seven characteristics of street markets that support urbanity

In Radice's (2016) article *Unpacking intercultural conviviality in multiethnic commercial streets* she asks the question 'can a place be convivial?'. In answering this question, she proposes a four-layered model that constitute a place: 1) its microplaces, 2) prevailing norms of sociability, 3) intergroup relations as perceived by its users, and 4) its reputation or 'critical infrastructure' outside of these users (p. 434). The first three layers of this model have featured at times across this analysis, the fourth being outside the scope of this research study[11]. In this summary of the analysis I indicate how the three layers in Radice's model can be developed and adapted to provide a similar, though in some respects distinct, three-layered model for unpacking seven characteristics of street markets that support urbanity.

Layer I of this three-layered model of urbanity (see Figure 30, page 208 below) focuses on how street markets transform the spatial configuration of public space by sub-dividing it into a series of 'microplaces', the market stalls, that have three key characteristics – (1) micro-borders, (2) precarity and (3) proximity – that make them effective platforms for generating functional encounters based on cooperation and trust conducive to building moments of reciprocal solidarity that constitute Sennett's communities of shared activity (Sennett, 1990, p. 128). Layer II centres on two mutually supporting characteristics of these functional encounters in street markets – (4) adaptable content and (5) consistent form – that seed the first 'sociabilities of emplacement' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24) that are created through everyday acts of mundane civility between established market traders and residents and more recent newcomers. These acts of civility mediate the shifting norms of sociability to acknowledge the presence of incoming communities through the changing content of functional encounters, whilst retaining a sense of familiarity for established communities through their consistent form, which remain guided by familiar rituals

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[11] The fourth layer of Radice's model 'critical infrastructure' is described as the generalised image of the place itself rather than the perceptions of groups who use it. As this research concerned the attitudes of social actors within street markets, critical infrastructure falls outside of the remit of this research study. However, the image of street markets outside of the groups and individuals who use them would be a very interesting topic for future research.

(see Figure 31, page 215). Layer III extends the role of functional encounters beyond creating first-contact to include sustaining contact between people over time, enabling more intimate deeper-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' to be established. Here, functional encounters provide opportunities for two types of conviviality: (6) 'inconsequential intimacy' – the mixing of serious and trivial subjects in a way that allows friend and stranger to partake equally (Radice, 2016, pp. 434-435) – and (7) consequential intimacy, the forming of long-lasting friendships (see Figure 32, page 219 below).

These three layers of the model combine in street markets to create platforms where *semipublic* moments of reciprocal trust and cooperation – mediated through moments of civility and conviviality – become very *public* expressions of 'domains of commonality', many of which are forged between people outside of predefined groups such as ethnicity, religion, culture and race. These semipublic moments, combined with the pedagogic effect of their public display, spark a process of reflexivity that challenges previously held beliefs about what someone is like based on third-hand stereotypes and replaces them with first-hand experience of what someone is like based on shared activity. The compulsion for people to be the same is thus reduced and urbanity is supported (see Figure 33, page 223 below) paving the way for an evolving 'sociology of reconfiguration' that can be satisfying for both established and newcomer (Hall, 2015, p. 854).

The remainder of this section looks at the three layers of this model in more detail to unpack how the seven characteristics of street markets support urbanity in relation to the analysis findings. It also looks at examples where the characteristics of street markets that support urbanity can work in reverse to undermine it, before outlining some final thoughts on how, in reality, urbanity rarely works in a straight line, and that people go through a range of emotions and experiences along a spectrum of where urbanity is being supported and/or undermined according to the minutiae of experiences working in a dense, busy, contested and diverse urban place. Since time immemorial there have always been tensions and conflict in such spaces, as well as opportunities for collaboration and solidarity. The research findings from this study

suggest that the characteristics of street markets have the capacity to balance these forces in a way that supports urbanity more than it undermines it.

4.5.1. Layer I – street markets transform the spatial configuration of public space to support moments of shared activity

The literature featured in 2.3.2 was consistent in concluding that spatial configurations, whilst not able to preordain the types of sociability that support urbanity, can determine the probability of such behaviour being supported or not. The first research objective, set out in 3.1.1, therefore sought to understand how the spatial configuration of street markets impacted the nature of social encounters. This analysis suggests that, as shown in Figure 30 below, there are three characteristics in the spatial configuration of street markets that facilitate types of social encounters that in turn can support urbanity. These are: (1) the sub-division of space into micro-borders, (2) the precarity of market trading, and (3) the proximity and density of market stalls.

(1) Street markets sub-divide space through micro-borders created by market stalls
It is difficult to imagine a more rapid transformation of the spatial configuration of a public square or street than the setting up of a street market. In a matter of minutes, a relatively clear and open expanse of public land is transformed by its subdivision into tens or even hundreds of market stalls (see Figure 29 below). These market stalls collectively transform a singular public space into multiple domains of pluralistic semi-public spaces, each of which share characteristics consistent with Radice's concept of 'microplaces', infrastructural spatial features that facilitate convivial social relations.

market stalls increase the number of active edges in space that act as magnets for functional encounters

Public space with a street market

Public Space

Public space without a street market
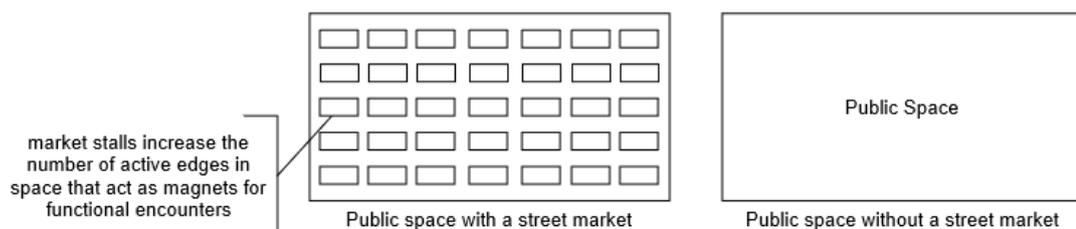
Figure 29 – a visual representation of how street markets temporarily transform the spatial configuration of public spaces by sub-dividing them into a dense collection of micro-borders that work on three dimensions: physical, legal and symbolic micro-borders that create active edges in space that become magnets for functional encounters

Layer I
Three spatial characteristics of street markets that support
shared moments of reciprocal solidarity through functional
encounters: (1) micro-borders, (2) precarity, and (3) proximity
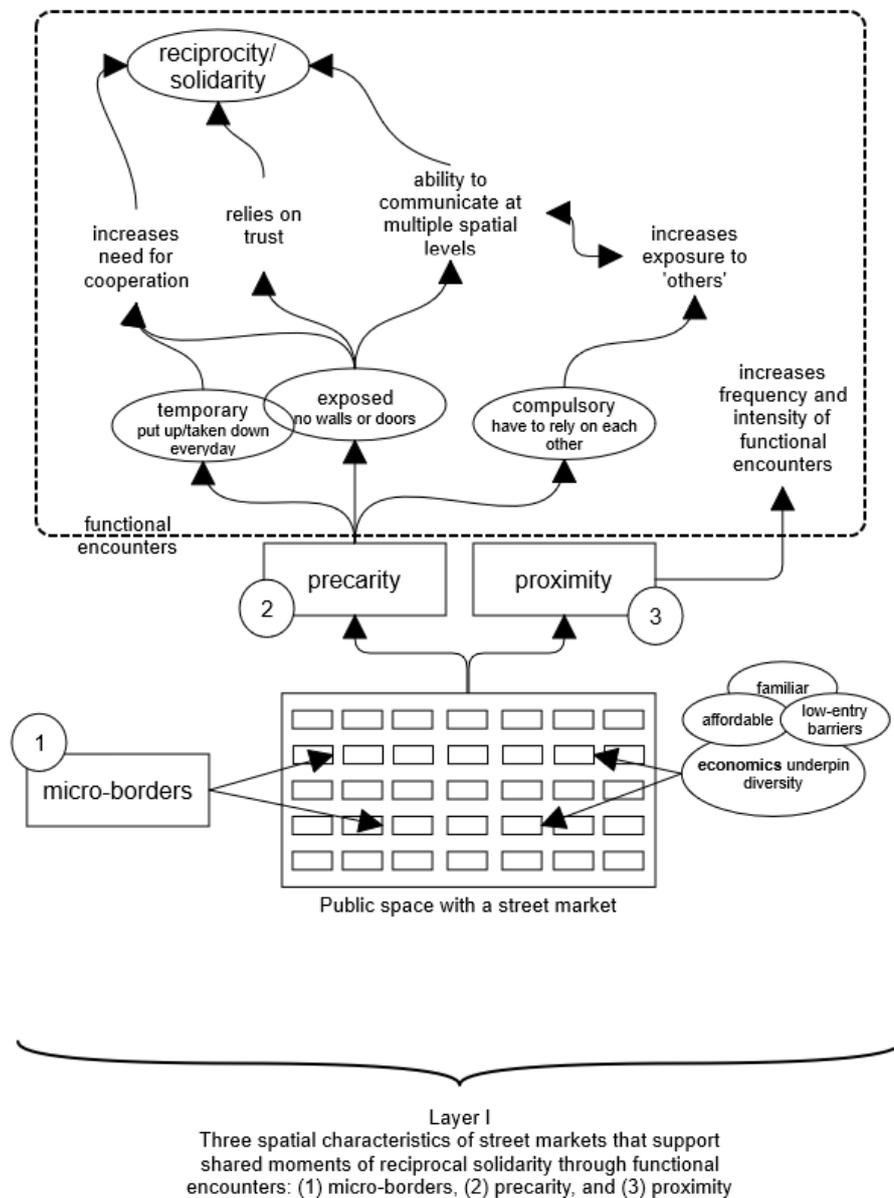
Figure 30 – Layer I of the urbanity model – three characteristics (numbered 1-3) in the spatial configuration of street markets that support urbanity: (1) market stalls subdivide public space into multiple domains of pluralistic semi-public spaces with the characteristics of micro-borders that create active edges for functional encounters; (2) market trading is a precarious existence, increasing the compulsory need for cooperation and trust among market traders and customers which exposes them to their differences and similarities; (3) proximity and density of market stalls and visitors increases the frequency and intensity of functional encounters. These spatial characteristics combine to create multiple opportunities for moments of reciprocity and mutual solidarity.

Market stalls create particularly effective microplaces in public space because they are highly flexible micro-bordered entities that are used by different people in different ways for different reasons. The sides, backs and fronts of market stalls, for example, can all act as active-edges, depending on the layout of the market stall. In general, however, the backs and sides of market stalls are more likely to be used by people the market trader already knows – other market traders, salespeople, and members of the market management team – and the fronts of the stalls are predominantly used by customers. These physical micro-borders, reinforced through legal micro-borders – the right to occupy a certain market pitch, which increases ontological security and sense of belonging – become symbolic when populated by people, the market traders, and their products. Crossing these micro-borders thus becomes both a physical and symbolic act. For example, Adwan on page 125 explained how he had agreed that his neighbouring market trader could store extra stock at the back of his stall for no charge. This meant his neighbour was constantly crossing the threshold of Adwan's market stall without question. This was a physical act, but it was also a symbolic act of cooperation, and because Adwan and his neighbour, just by the way they looked and talked were obviously from very different cultural backgrounds, it became a symbolic act of cooperation outside of predefined categories of group relations being performed in public. Such symbolic expressions of cooperation, mediated through functional encounters, occurred as a matter of routine across both street markets (more on these in Layers II and II of the model). Strengthening the efficacy of these micro-borders are two further qualities of the spatial configurations of street markets: precarity and proximity.

(2) The precarity of street market trading drives the need to trust and cooperate with those around you

The precarity of market trading manifests itself in three ways that can help support urbanity: exposed, temporary, and compulsory. These combine to form strong drivers for reciprocity and shared moments of solidarity, reminiscent of the acts of urban care such as 'pitching in' that featured in Wise & Velayutham's (2014) study of everyday conviviality cited on page 77 above.

Exposed nature of market trading – increases the need to trust others and removes spatial barriers to social encounters

Whilst market stalls are made up of physical micro-borders – the metal bars, tables and plastic sheets that define the space of the market stall – market trading remains an exposed form of retailing. As page 164 of the analysis above described, there are no walls or doors to a market stall, which makes the products highly vulnerable to theft. Whilst there must undoubtedly be theft in street markets, surprisingly perhaps, theft was not cited as a problem in any of the interviews. In fact, the only time theft was mentioned was when Jez exclaimed proudly that his customers did not steal from him even though it would be easy to do so, and always made sure he received the right money (see page 164). In this way, the exposed nature of market trading increased the need to rely on the trust of customers, and on the whole, this trust did not appear to be misplaced.

Not being able to lock up the stall for a few minutes (see page 130) also increased the need to rely on neighbouring traders to help out when needed. Not only would market traders look after each other's market stalls to make sure unattended stock did not go missing, but they also sold goods on their behalf and made sure the returning market trader received any monies due. Sometimes market traders would be away for a few minutes, but there were also occasions where people might be away for a couple of hours, such as to visit the doctor (see Salman's quote on page 156 above). On the whole, however, these were relatively mundane and unobtrusive requests for help – borrowing change, plastic bags, looking after someone else's stall for a few minutes etc. But nonetheless, they were essential to the day-to-day viability of market trading. As such, it was easy for people to comply, and as everyone is essentially in the same position, people were equally incentivised to reciprocate.

The exposed nature of market trading had another important element for supporting urbanity – the ability to communicate at multiple spatial levels. There were a number of encounters described in the analysis that worked across multiple spatial levels (see examples on pages 124, 125 and 145). These encounters often included people on three different spatial levels: those within the market stall; those shopping and

browsing around the edges of the market stall, and those walking past the market stall onto somewhere else, which appeared to be a mix of other market traders, regular customers and people more generally going about their business. The exposed nature of the market stall removes barriers to allow for the inclusion of a range of people in social encounters that would be impossible from behind the sales counter of a shop, for example, and this increased the capacity for the micro-borders of market stalls to momentarily enclose and incorporate – key characteristics of borders identified by Cohen (2001) on page 68 – a large number of people in moments of sociability, many of whom happened to look and sound different from each other.

Temporary nature of market trading – increasing the need to cooperate with others
The second aspect of the precarity of market trading is that market stalls are normally temporary structures which are put up and taken down each day. Even if the structure of the market stall remains in place, which was often the case in East Market, the products themselves have to be packed up, taken away, and then brought back again the next day. This is an intensive process, especially for the many market traders who operate without the help of staff or other family members. Much of this work was therefore done in cooperation with neighbouring market traders, either in organising how and when cars came onto the market (see pages 130 and 168), for example, or with help packing up larger items that required more than one person (page 168).

Compulsory nature of trust and cooperation – increases exposure to others
The temporary and exposed nature of market stalls made cooperation and trust a pre-requisite for the mutual viability of their businesses. Sites where 'prosaic negotiations of difference' are compulsory were considered to be ideal sites for the coming together of differences in the literature review (see page 201). In street markets, people had to rely on each other and serve customers they might not, all things being equal, choose necessarily to be around. But these compulsory acts increased exposure to other people, co-presence being a precondition, as page 55 described, of how people get to know each other. On meeting, people might decide they do not like each other, and there were some examples where cultural differences were

pinpointed as playing their part in this dislike (see comments from Pat and Hamed about "the Arabs", pages 191 and 193, and Manjit about "the Bengalis" 194).

But even dislike based on first-hand experience is more productive in terms of its longer-term potential to support urbanity somewhere down the line than dislike based on third-hand stereotypes driven by segregation, under which circumstances it is unlikely urbanity can ever be supported. As Hall (2009, p. 87) said about the encounters she witnessed in the London Caff: 'What matters is not that these tensions are necessarily resolved, but that they are encountered and shared'.

Certainly, there were examples of how exposure to others, given time, had drastically changed attitudes towards people of difference. The most striking of these was Jimmy (page 180) who described a journey from intolerance to enlightenment but other examples included John in East Market, talking about how he had learnt things about people by working with different cultures, who he described as "this, that and the other" (page 175) and Osman (page 179) whose communication skills had been improved by dealing with lots of different people and this had helped in his work Monday to Friday.

Even in the examples where first-hand experience had appeared to strengthen prejudices, such as Manjit and her comment about "the Bengalis" (page 194), there was an acknowledgement, sometimes somewhat begrudgingly, that either a) people were not deliberately being rude (Pat, page 189), and/or b) at the end of the day, these are still customers who are helping to keep market trading viable (Manjit, page 200).

The spatial characteristics associated with the temporary, exposed and compulsory nature of market trading combined to increase the need for cooperation, reliance on the trust of others, and the ability to communicate at multiple spatial levels, with increased exposure to people who were, on the surface at least, unlike each other. As Adamou said on page 143 "Trade is a thing that forces you to know your fellow people". Increasing the frequency and intensity of this process, thus increasing the

likelihood of domains of commonality being revealed, is the third spatial characteristic of street markets – proximity.

<u>(3) Proximity and density lower economic barriers to market trading and reduce social distances, intensifying other spatial characteristics of market stalls</u>
For both practical and economic reasons, market stalls tend to be squeezed in cheek-by-jowl, as described on page 87. This impacts how street markets support urbanity in two ways. The first is that it increases the likelihood, in diverse urban areas, of there being a mix of market traders that go some way to reflect this diversity. Partly because market stalls are kept so small, market trading remains one of the most affordable ways to start a business for people from incoming communities, many of whom often sit on the margins of society, unable to access bank loans and excluded from other more conventional forms of employment (see page 89). In addition, some of the market traders interviewed had had experience of market trading in their countries of origin before settling in Britain (see Salman on page 194). These were transportable skills that accompanied a certain familiarity to trading in street markets in London. Having a diverse mix of market traders was also likely to attract a more diverse range of visitors to the street market, and this was certainly recognised by Usman (page 138) and Manjit (page 138) in East Market, who wanted to attract the broadest range of customers from the broadest range of communities – diversity in this respect underpinned the economic success of street markets.

The second impact of density is that it brings neighbouring market traders – many of whom will come from different backgrounds – into close proximity with each other. This can lead to moments of conflict as they compete for space and customers (see the market manager Jack's comments on page 183), but in reducing social distances between market traders it also facilitates the ease with which they can enter into reciprocal acts, some of which have been described above and others that will be explored in more detail in the next two layers of this model.

The precarious spatial characteristics of market stalls described above mean little to supporting urbanity when market stalls exist in isolation. But when multiplied in their tens or hundreds, their impact on place becomes exponential – they become far more

than the sum of their parts. Importantly, this works in economic terms – a loan market trader will have very little pulling power, as described on page 89 – but it applies equally in social terms too – the ability for market traders to engage in mundane but meaningful reciprocal acts of cooperation that build a sense of mutual solidarity. Proximity supports the efficacy of the active-edge micro-borders of market stalls by increasing the frequency with which they are crossed by different social actors in the street market. At the same time, proximity intensifies the precarious spatial characteristics of street markets by bringing people closer together. Central to this process are the unique characteristics of functional encounters that feature in the next two layers of this urbanity model.
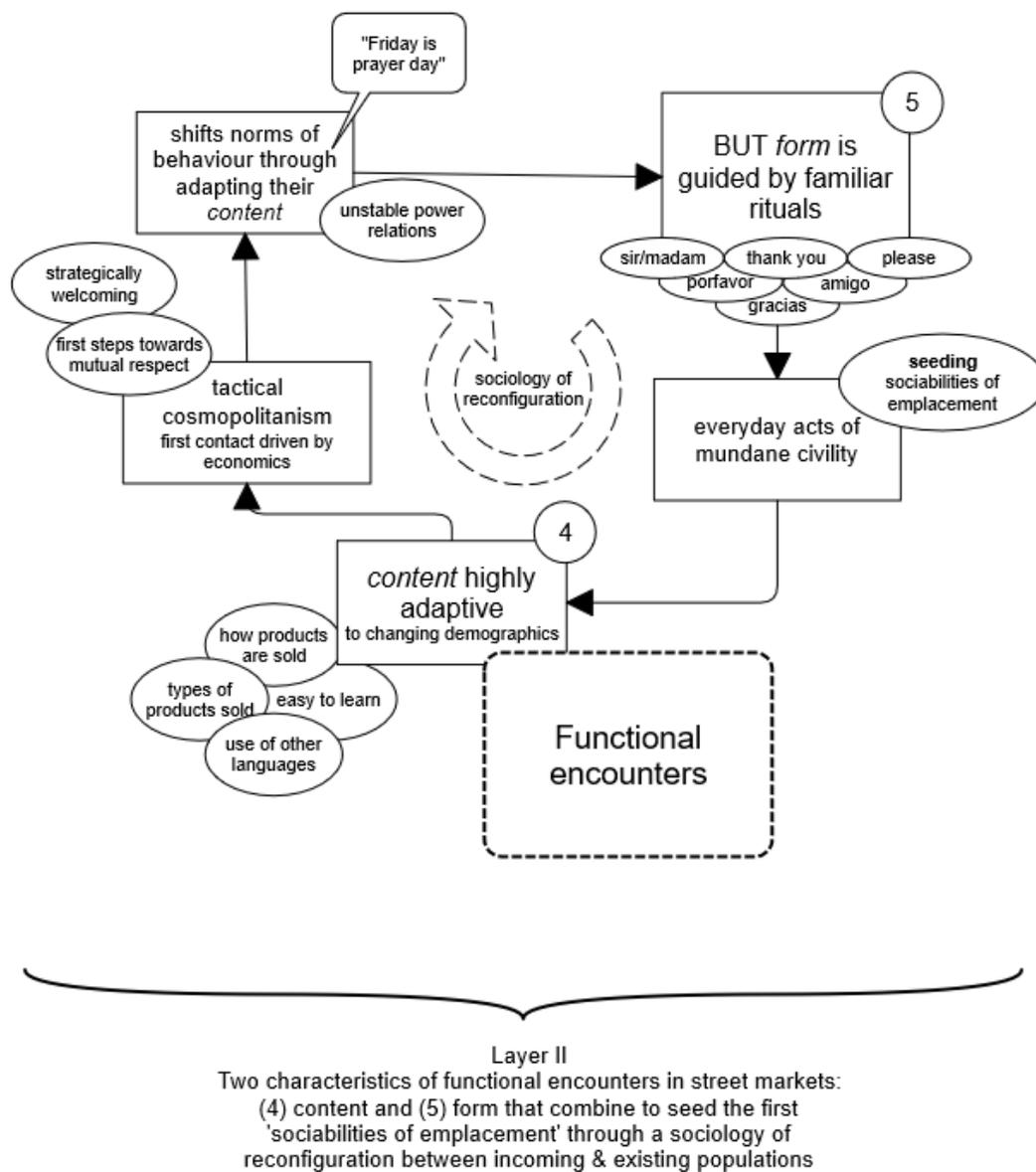
Figure 31 – Layer 2 of the urbanity model – two characteristics of functional encounters in street markets (labelled 4-5) that help to seed the first 'sociabilities of emplacement' between incoming and existing populations: (5) the content of functional encounters is highly flexible, which means market traders can adapt quickly to changing demographics, often through adopting other people's languages in a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' driven by economic opportunity that as a consequence creates a welcoming environment for incoming communities; (6) as the content of functional encounters adapt, the form remains guided by mundane rituals of civility, retaining a sense of familiarity for established communities in what can otherwise feel like an unstable and changing environment.

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4.5.2. Layer II – functional encounters shift prevailing norms of sociability whilst retaining a sense of familiarity through ritual – seeding 'sociabilities of emplacement'

Functional encounters were defined in the public space literature on page 75 as occurring between people who do not already know each other but who share a special function of some kind in space. Sharing this special function creates a tacit understanding as to why two strangers are occupying the same space, thus reducing the sense of unease that can be felt when approaching each other for the first time.

As the analysis in 4.2 described, functional encounters dominate social interaction in street markets. There are two principle characteristics of functional encounters drawn from the evidence gathered at both street markets that make them effective at shifting the prevailing norms of sociability in a way that can be satisfying to both incoming and established communities (see Figure 31 above). The first is that the content of functional encounters is highly adaptable, the second is that by contrast, their form remains relatively consistent, guided by ritual, and therefore familiar. Together, functional encounters help seed the first 'sociabilities of emplacement' between established and newcomer in a mutual 'sociology of reconfiguration' (Hall, 2015, p. 854) that reshapes an important local civic space – their street market – in a way that is potentially satisfying to all involved.

(4) The content of functional encounters is highly adaptable – 'tactical cosmopolitanism' creates a welcoming environment that is the first step towards building mutual respect

Functional encounters are highly adaptable. As the clientele of the street markets change, the market traders adapt to sell products that will appeal to them (see cabbages comment, page 140). They also sometimes adapt the way they sell them. This may be through the way they sort, display and price the goods on sale, but the most commonly used tactic was through the use of other people's languages, such as the story of the first Trinidadian market trader to start speaking Punjabi (see page 146).

Because functional encounters are relatively easy to learn, and because they are engaging in them all the time, market traders readily pick up the conversational basics

of other languages, which often took the form of simple greetings and numbers. Not all market traders were able or perhaps even willing to learn other languages. But even in these cases there was often an emphasis on understanding their customers' differing abilities to speak and understand English and equating it to the difficulties they can have when on holiday and adapting their tactics accordingly, such as being patient and talking clearly (see Mary, page 191).

In section 2.4.2, Hiebert, et al. (2015, p. 13) identified such strategies as a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' driven in the first instance primarily by economic need. But a consequence of adapting the content of functional encounters to suit different clientele is that it creates a welcoming atmosphere for newcomers to an area, which whether conscious or not, helped affirm mutual respect for people from different cultural backgrounds using the same space. Importantly, however, the changing content of functional encounters was accompanied by a familiar form – civility.

(5) Functional encounters shift norms of behaviour through their changing content whilst retaining a sense of familiarity through their ritualised form – civility

The changing content of functional encounters, such as the adoption of other people's languages, is evidence of the shifting norms of behaviour in street markets. There were other examples too of shifting norms of behaviour, such as on page 148 of the analysis when Mary nonchalantly described Fridays as a "funny day" in terms of not being easy to find other people to interview: "they call it like a prayer day, a lot of people go pray in the temples and things like that…".

In street markets, the norms of functional encounters, at least in terms of their content, are constantly being remade between established and newcomer as they buy and sell at the market. Such changes can be unsettling, especially when accompanied by changing symbolic markers as market traders adapt the products they sell and how they sell them. This was especially the case for some of the older market traders who were more entrenched in their ways of doing things and more reluctant to change (more on this 4.5.4). But because functional encounters in street markets are still being guided by familiar rituals of civility where form trumps content, at their most effective, they remained flexible enough to adapt to demographic shifts in the

population whilst retaining sufficient familiarity to satisfy people who are more established in the area.

The combination of adaptable content with ritualised form that was recorded in functional encounters in street markets is evidence, this research suggests, of what Hall (2015) called a 'sociology of reconfiguration' (see 2.3.2 above) where 'social and political processes of reconfiguration' emerge 'within and across connected societies', rather than being perceived as 'an assault on national integrity' that 'problematises migration as an external imposition being done to us from the outside' (p. 854).
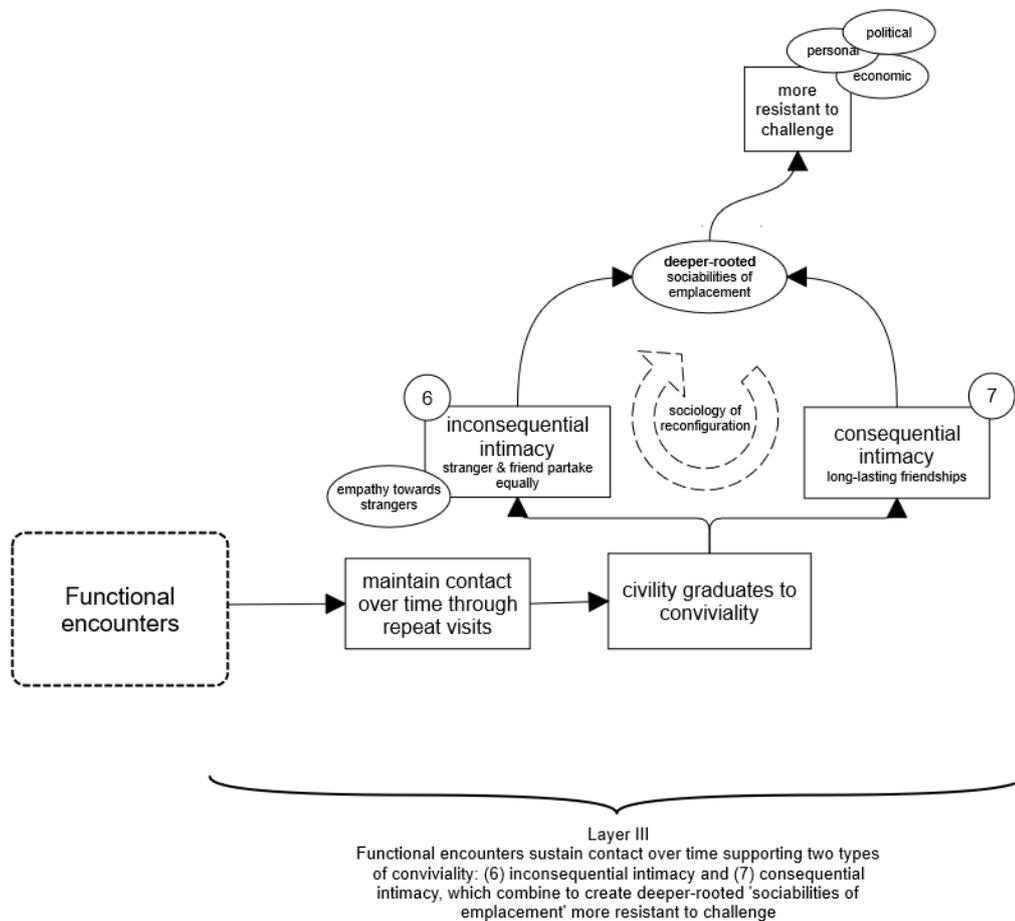
Figure 32 – Layer III of the urbanity model – functional encounters sustain contact over time through two forms of conviviality: (6) inconsequential intimacy, which allows stranger & friend to partake equally in conversations ranging from the trivial to the serious, and (7) consequential intimacy, where long-lasting friendships are formed. These moments of conviviality combine to create deeper-rooted sociabilities of emplacement that facilitate longer-term changes in attitudes towards people who are different from each other, making these sociabilities of emplacement more resistant under moments of stress and strain where people are less likely to fall back on prejudices as the root cause of any sense of displacement or local disharmony.

4.5.3. Layer III – functional encounters sustain contact over time to create deeper-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' through two types of conviviality

Layer II of this urbanity model centred on the role of functional encounters in seeding sociabilities of emplacement between established and newcomer. This thesis extends the definition of functional encounters to include the important role of sharing a function in space between people who *do*, rather than do not, already know each other (see section 4.2.2 of the analysis**Error! Reference source not found.**). In sustaining meaningful longer-term contact between people who otherwise may not meet and interact in the same way, functional encounters move beyond the relatively thin, but no less important, seeding of sociabilities of emplacement created through mundane rituals of civility, to create deeper-rooted sociabilities of emplacement anchored through moments of conviviality. These moments fit into two broad categories of conviviality: inconsequential intimacy and consequential intimacy.

(6) Inconsequential intimacy
Inconsequential intimacy was described by Radice (2016, pp. 434-435) as involving conversations that mix serious subjects, such as ill health, with platitudes. They are conducted in a familiar tone but do not require familiar ties, and can therefore involve people who are 'friends, strangers, or familiar strangers on an equal footing', and yet imply no commitment beyond that time and place.

A classic example of inconsequential intimacy observed in West Market was during the interview with Jez described on page 145 of the analysis. Jez had broken off from the interview to serve one of his waves of customers. One of these was a West Indian woman in her sixties/seventies who joked about meeting up with Jez after work for a drink while she gathered the various products she wanted to buy and worked out whether she had the money to do so. This process also became part of the joke: "cheap at half the price, no VAT for you madam", said Jez as the West Indian woman asked for a better discount. This seemed like a routine that had been played out many times before, and at one point, when Jez was busy serving another customer, the West Indian woman turned to me, someone she had never met before but who had been involved in the joke from the periphery through nods and smiles of acknowledgement,

and described how she was happy today because this was one of her first trips to the market since having a brain tumour removed four weeks ago. I congratulated her and wished her luck with the rest of her treatment before she left for another stall on the market.

In this example, Jez's market stall acted as one of Amin's (2008, p. 19) agencies of mundane intermediaries featured in the discussion of conviviality in section 2.3.2 on page 79 that impact how people experience space and the legacy these experiences carry with them. In this instance, a moment of inconsequential intimacy created an opportunity for 'relational empathy' (Amin, 2012, p. 32) between strangers of different age, gender and cultural backgrounds. This empathy was reinforced because the moment was created as a consequence of the practical activities of daily life rather than any top-down public policy aimed at integration (Amin, 2012, p. 33); it acted at the level of the subconscious. If I had been a regular at the market, it is quite possible I would have bumped into the West Indian woman again, and doing so, I would have asked her how the treatment was going. In time, inconsequential intimacy may have led to consequential intimacy. Certainly, there were examples where this had happened in both street markets.

(7) Consequential intimacy
The second form of conviviality that emerged from the analysis is being termed here as consequential intimacy in acknowledgement of Radice's use of the 'inconsequential' above. Consequential intimacy concerns examples of conviviality that implied commitment beyond a specific time and place, as opposed to inconsequential which did not. The example that stands out in this analysis was Jimmy talking about his colleague and friend Zaffar (see section 4.3.1 page 175). Jimmy considered Zaffar, an employee on his market stall, to be one of his closest friends, who he described as being 'like an uncle' to his son. Other examples of consequential intimacy included Justin describing his neighbouring traders as "like a big family" on page 157 and Salman's description of how the market traders give gifts and cards to acknowledge each other's different religious ceremonies and how through this process he had learnt about the Hindu festival of Diwali from his neighbouring market traders (see section 4.3.1 on page 171).

Consequential intimacy creates deeper-rooted sociabilities of emplacement between people that are more resistant to shock. In moments of stress, people can be prone to lashing out, and in frustration can often latch onto subjective differences as the cause of this frustration. These need not necessarily be differences associated with ethnicity, culture and race etc., it could just as easily be directed towards other physical traits such as age, gender or physical stature. But the deeper-rooted the sociabilities of emplacement, the more profound an impact they have in questioning stereotypes and judgements of people based on appearances alone, and the less likely these appearances will be evoked in moments of stress.

The deeper-rooted sociabilities of emplacement allow for a more confident and powerful process of social reconfiguration between established – which in the example above was Jimmy, whose family had traded at East Market for three generations – and relative newcomer, Zaffar, who was the first generation of his family to settle in Britain, and the first to work in the market. The rewards of such social reconfigurations, from Jimmy's perspective at least, had been a positively significant part of his life for which he was sincerely grateful. Through Zaffar, and others he had met at the market, he had been given access to whole new philosophies and perspectives on life which had made him question long-standing ways of behaving and thinking. Even more surprising, perhaps, was that this deep friendship had been formed and maintained despite distinct differences in certain beliefs and values as potentially inflammatory as Zaffar not wanting Jimmy's son to marry one of his daughters, theoretically speaking, because Zaffar does not believe in racial intermarriage (see page 175). Whether one agrees with interracial marriage or not, what is important here is that they were able to have discussions about such topics, whilst coming from different perspectives, without the fear of upsetting each other.

Of course, the real value in how street markets support urbanity is in how the three layers of this model fit together. This is the focus of the next section of these conclusions, together with acknowledging how these same characteristics can undermine rather than support urbanity.
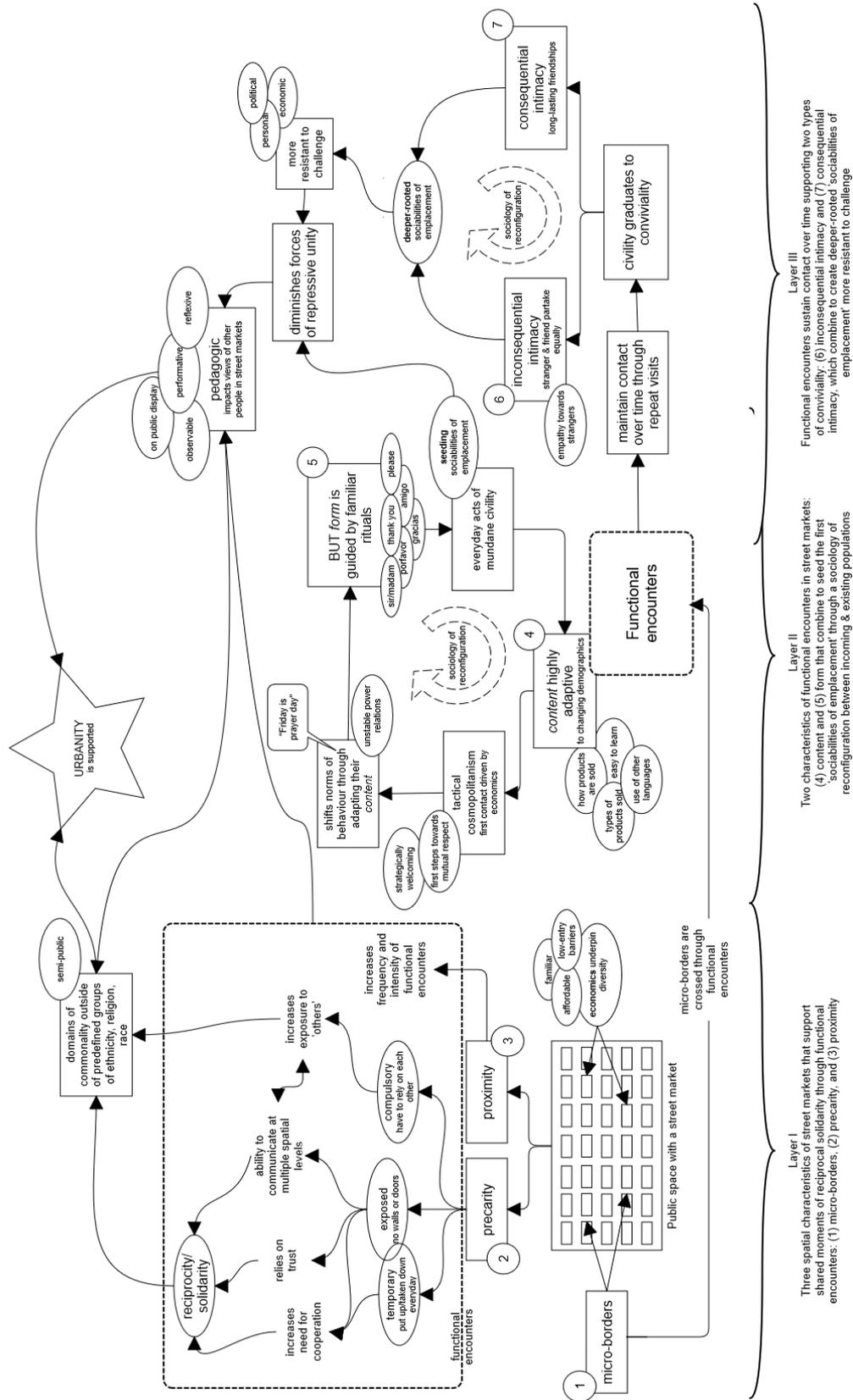
Figure 33 – three layers of urbanity combine to support seven characteristics of street markets that support urbanity: these characteristics reveal domains of commonality, many of which will fall outside of predefined categories of group relations. These commonalities are performed in an important local public space, the street market, as expressions of a constantly evolving 'sociology of reconfiguration' that is satisfying to both established residents, market traders and newcomers.

4.5.4. Bringing the three layers of urbanity together – sociabilities of emplacement through a sociology of reconfiguration

The three layers of urbanity set out in the model above (see Figure 33 above) help to unpack seven characteristics – three physical, four social – that work together to reveal domains of commonality in an environment where cooperation, trust and reciprocity are a) relatively easy to perform, and b) essential for mutual economic survival. Such domains of commonality, whether seeded through mundane rituals of civility or through deeper-rooted moments of conviviality, are expressions of a 'sociology of reconfiguration' between established and newcomer that works from the ground-up, rather than through top-down policies aimed at integration. Because these domains of commonality are being 'performed' in public, they become everyday symbolic expressions of cooperation and mutual solidarity that have a pedagogic impact on the behavioural norms of others sharing the same space. Previously held beliefs based on third-hand stereotypes of what someone will be like based on appearances alone are replaced with first-hand experience of what someone is like based on shared activity.

In street markets, this first-hand experience is mostly mediated through two types of functional encounters. The first of these falls within the conventional definition of functional encounters as occurring between two people who do not already know each other but who share a special function of some kind in space. The second expands this definition to include how sharing a special function in space can also work to sustain contact between two people who *do* already know each other, but that might otherwise be unlikely to meet and interact in the same way. These functional encounters combine to engender two interlocking types of behaviour conducive to supporting urbanity: civility and conviviality.

Functional encounters mediated through mundane rituals of civility – please, thank you, sir, madam etc. – are most relevant to creating first contact between people who are not well acquainted. There is a tactical element at play here, as market traders adapt the content of functional encounters to appeal to people of different cultural origins. But the form of these functional encounters remains familiar, guided by the same rituals of civility. This creates a welcoming environment and affirms mutual

respect between buyer and seller – the first seeds of sociabilities of emplacement between established and newcomer.

Functional encounters that sustain contact over time lead to opportunities for two different types of conviviality in street markets: 'inconsequential intimacy' – the mixing of serious and trivial subjects in a way that allows friend and stranger to partake equally (Radice, 2016, pp. 434-435) – and consequential intimacy, the forming of long-lasting and meaningful friendships. The 'sociabilities of emplacement' created through conviviality had deeper roots that made them more resistant to sudden shocks.

These moments of civility and conviviality were public expressions of 'domains of commonality' being established between people in street markets, many of which cut across predefined groups such as ethnicity, religion and race. Importantly, these domains of commonality are being performed, and therefore observed, in important local public spaces, street markets, which has a pedagogic effect on other people sharing the same space that sparks a process of reflexivity where we learn more about ourselves. These first-hand experiences disrupt previously held views about other people that were based on third-hand stereotypes. The compulsion for people to be the same is thus reduced and urbanity is supported.

<u>When street markets undermine urbanity – sociabilities of *dis*placement and domains of *dis*harmony in street markets</u>
Whilst the overall findings from this analysis are that street markets can be particularly effective at supporting urbanity, it is important to note that the characteristics of street markets that support urbanity can also work in reverse to undermine it. If trust and cooperation are not reciprocated in Layer I it can create conflict, or domains of *dis*harmony, rather than domains of commonality. When the form of functional encounters does not fit with the norms of civilised behaviour in Layer II people can experience sociabilities of *dis*placement rather than emplacement. And if either of these two happen en masse, then urbanity has broken down and Layer III is unlikely to be a major factor. In such circumstances, the pedagogic effect is mediated through performances of *dis*trust and *dis*harmony and urbanity is undermined as people evoke

their differences – which can be cultural, but can also be about class, accent, gender etc. – as the root cause of this sense of *dis*ruption, *dis*harmony and *dis*placement.

There were examples during the interviews where people's first-hand experiences in street markets had worked to undermine urbanity. Urbanity was most likely to be undermined when the form guiding everyday mundane rituals of civility, Layer II of the model, was thought to be absent. When a clash of expected civilised behaviour – failing to say please and thank you, for example – was combined with a sense of otherness, it had the potential to single out whole communities generically in a negative way. On page 191, for example, Pat talked about "the Arabs" who she thought were more "demanding" as they "don't know how to say please or thank you, they just point and grunt".

The main culprit in clashes of expected civilised behaviour, which seemed much more prevalent in West Market, was the spectre of haggling. A culture of haggling was blamed by Hamed for making it difficult to know how to sell his goods, explaining that some market traders had increased the prices they displayed on their products just so they can be haggled down to appease customers from an Arabic background, but he did not want to do this because that would put off his European customers who will be put off seeing the high prices and do not haggle and will not buy his goods if the starting price is too high (see page 188).

This was an interesting example of where the physical characteristics of street markets, that in many cases ease the way for acts of reciprocity, in this instance created the opportunity for collusion against others. As I was interviewing Hamed, Market Manager Jack walked past and joined in the conversation. Hamed had been complaining about haggling and "the Arabs" being the main culprit. Jack concurred, saying "Even if something's a pound, they [Arabs] won't pay a pound". Hamed then continues "I sell it for £20, we agree £10, and after we agree, they [the Arabs] say 'how about £5?'". In this instance, the ability to communicate at multiple spatial levels (a characteristic of Layer I of the urbanity model) facilitated the ability to collude against a generic 'other', in this instance "the Arabs". This was an example where saying

derogatory things about a population was considered okay, a norm. In East Market, where only one trader, mentioned haggling being a problem, it was directed at "the Bengalis" (see page 194).

These are examples of sociabilities of *dis*placement, the opposite of Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016, p. 24) 'sociabilities of emplacement', where people felt dislocated from their local environment. But such examples were relatively rare compared to expressions of commonality, such as those expressed by Jez, Gani and Osman in West Market (see pages 164, 165, 125 respectively), and Jimmy, Samir and Usman in East Market (see pages 175, 169, 131 respectively). Even those who did express frustration at certain groups of people, at the end of the day, there was still an acknowledgement that a) not everyone is the same, but it does not mean they are intentionally being rude (see page 189), and for others, such as Manjit, that b) these are still the people keeping them in business (see page 200).

On the whole, there appeared to be more sociabilities of emplacement created through everyday mundane acts of civility through the medium of functional encounters than sociabilities of *dis*placement. The evolving norms of functional encounters in street markets, as defined by their changing content, was evidence of how urban places can be made and transformed by the people who migrate, settle and form domains of commonality with longer term residents in a process that Hall (2015, p. 854) called a 'sociology of reconfiguration'. Such encounters are evidence of a ground-up form of conviviality that was initiated through everyday acts of reciprocity and civility at the 'contextual level' (Christ, et al., 2014, p. 3999) that allowed people from different cultural backgrounds to get to know each other at an important but relatively superficial level.

Naturally, perhaps, some respondents expressed mixed feelings about working in environments that were so diverse. Although there were practical advantages to serving lots of different communities – more strings to your bow as Jimmy commented on page 142 – others said the sheer diversity had caused problems in knowing what to sell (see Osman on first setting up at the market on page 187) and how to sell (see

Hamed on page 188) certain products. Glick-Schiller's research, featured on page 81 established that communicating with people who do not share a first language is not necessarily an impediment to building domains of commonality, and in fact, many of the stallholders, such as Osman on page 179, said they had learnt skills in having to communicate across such diversity working on the market stall that had helped in other aspects of their lives. But there can be little doubt that understanding each other and communicating is harder work when a common language is not shared, and there were times of exasperation, particularly towards the end of a long day trading on the market stall, when difficulties of communication was a cause of frustration. This was particularly true when expectations of civilised behaviour were not met.

Final thoughts on the analysis – urbanity is not experienced in a straight line
The two scenarios outlined above, where one model supports urbanity and the other undermines it, are being posited here as 'ideal types', such as those created by Tönnies to represent community and society in his Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft continuum discussed on page 38. A more realistic scenario than either of these two extremes is that most people go through a range of emotions and experiences along a continuum where urbanity is being either supported and/or undermined according to the minutiae of experiences of working in a dense, busy, contested and diverse urban place. This was certainly evident in some of the more interesting contradictions in some of the market trader responses, such as Pat's assertion during her interview (page 177) that, on the one hand, the community spirit had diminished in the market, and then on the other, remarking that they would be really missed if they left because they have all grown up together. These conflicting tensions were also played out over longer expanses of time, in the journeys some market traders had made, such as Jimmy on page 180, from positions of racism in the early days of demographic changes in the area to experiencing the privileges of enlightenment, he had "seen the light" to use his own words, as his views of different people had changed over time.

What is important for urbanity is whether the prevailing 'feeling' of a place is of domains of commonality rather than domains of *dis*harmony, and sociabilities of emplacement rather than *dis*placement being created and observed in street markets, and that these domains of commonality and sociabilities of emplacement regularly cut

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across predefined groups of difference, such as culture, ethnicity and race. As Jimmy, the third generation of his family to trade at East Market said on page 135 of the analysis: "this market is one of the very last places where people can integrate and there's I say a 90% rate of acceptance, and real proper acceptance".

The overriding picture emerging from this analysis is that this macro sense of the market as a place where people from different backgrounds mix positively is built up from the micro experiences of place. The interviews with market traders was certainly backed up by the quantitative survey (see Figure 27 on page 166 above), where in answer to the question "Is the market a place where you mix positively with people from different backgrounds?", nearly three-quarters of respondents in both markets answered 7 and above, where 5 is neutral and 10 is strongly agree. What is more remarkable, is that the quantitative results were so remarkably similar, suggesting that that the social processes at work in supporting urbanity were the same. In street markets, these micro experiences occur around the micro-borders of the market stalls to ensure the three-layer model most in play in street markets is the one that supports urbanity rather than undermines it.

5.   Overall Conclusions, Future Directions, and a Recommendation

The idea for this research was prompted by two informal observations about one London street market: 1) people talked to each other in this street market; 2) people who looked different also talked to each other. Was this London street market unique, or would similar traits be found across other street markets? If the answer was yes, then why was this so?

These were the informal beginnings of an academic interest in researching social encounters in street markets. It was a surprise, as 1.2.1 showed, to find how little research had been conducted in this area, as street markets seemed fertile ground for a study of the social world. It was even more of a surprise to find only a handful of historic sources – albeit very good sources, such as Braudel (1979) – on street markets, given that they have been with us in one form or another throughout our history. There was less surprise at the paucity of local government policy research into street markets – the Greater London Assembly (2008, p. 6) report featured in 1.1.2 claimed to be 'the first comprehensive survey of its kind' (see page 18) – as London's local authority street markets often feel rather neglected.

Because of this lack of information, the research turned first to a strand of public space literature which emerged in response to a legacy of prosaic public spaces that were part of a wave of development in cities post-World War 2 in Europe and America. These writers were interested in identifying the structural characteristics of space, which forms the bulk of 2.2, that were more likely to draw a high density and variety of people into voluntarily using the same spaces as part of their daily routines. This led to a second strand of literature, the focus of 2.3, that was concerned with understanding the finer-grained processes of social encounters at work in these public spaces and other places of association. This second strand included a strong focus on intercultural encounters through concepts such as cosmopolitanism, civility and conviviality. More recent research in this area has revealed interesting data on how diverse forms of belonging are constantly being enacted by 'ordinary' people in 'ordinary' city spaces

(Hall, 2015, p. 855) to form 'domains of commonality in place of predefined group relations' such as ethnicity, culture and race (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24). This led to a third strand of literature, closely related to the second, on the nature of difference and diversity in cities that was set out in 2.1.

Together, these three strands of literature – public space, social encounters, difference and diversity – proved fertile territory for drawing together a family of concepts that formed a new working definition of urbanity that building on Sennett's definition, in particular through the work of Glick Schiller and Hall, became the focus of this research. Stated first on page 37, urbanity is defined in this study as: spatial characteristics that create and sustain functional encounters through which the public expression of 'domains of commonality in place of predefined categories of group relations' fosters a 'sociology of reconfiguration' that is satisfying to both established residents and newcomers.

5.1.   Implications of the findings for the research hypothesis

The findings of this research study broadly validate the hypothesis that street markets support urbanity through facilitating a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters. These functional encounters challenge third-hand stereotypes of what someone will be like based on appearances alone through first-hand knowledge of what someone is like based on shared experience.

Many examples of positive functional encounters were noted between people outside of predefined categories of group relations that began to reveal how third-hand stereotypes might be challenged through first-hand experience. One such encounter (see page 150) described a mother and daughter couple buying, among other things, charcoal and a burner from Adamou and his wife. The image of a white working-class couple engaging positively with a husband and wife in strict Islamic dress stood out because it ran counter to so many negative public stereotypes of Islam and its relationship with the West. But while the encounter stood out for the reasons outlined above, the way it unfolded was far from unique, resonating with so many other accounts of social encounters observed repeatedly occurring in both street

markets that were created through ritual moments of civility between people who did not know each other.

Figure 34 – an example of functional encounters around the micro-borders created by market stalls that reveal 'domains of commonality' and support a 'sociology of reconfiguration' that is satisfying to all (author's own)

There were two other types of encounters recorded in the observations and interviews with market traders in which functional encounters sustained, rather than created, contact between people who did, rather than did not, know each other. These encounters were characterised by moments of conviviality, rather than civility, which as defined in the discussion in 2.3.2, implied a deeper warmth and familiarity than civility (see page 78) but importantly were still mostly framed in ways that stranger and friend could partake equally.

The first of these types of encounter was identified in the literature by Radice (2016, p. 434) as moments of 'inconsequential intimacy' which mixed serious subjects with platitudes in a way that implied no commitment beyond the here and now, but that

had long-lasting effects on attitudes towards others. The clearest example of inconsequential intimacy that was both observed and experienced in street markets featured on page 144 between market trader Jez, a West Indian woman, and me as the researcher. The light-hearted banter that immediately ensued between Jez and the West Indian woman revealed her to be a regular customer. Despite being a stranger to Jez and the West Indian woman, I became a part of the light-hearted exchange, primarily through acknowledging nods and smiles from the periphery. On completing her transaction with Jez, rather than immediately moving on to the next market stall, the West Indian woman stopped to tell the researcher that this was one of her first trips out since recovering from brain surgery. We talked for a little and I wished her luck with the remainder of her treatment before she moved on to continue with her shopping.

The second form of conviviality, which this research termed 'consequential intimacy' in acknowledgement of Radice's use of 'inconsequential' in the first, emerged more through statements in interviews than observation. Consequential intimacy is conceptually distinct from inconsequential intimacy because it *does* imply commitment beyond the here and now. The literature that this research collated under consequential intimacy included at one end everyday acts of reciprocity from small material gifts to expressions of solidarity such as acts of care or 'pitching in' (Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 418), and the forming of close friendships at the other, where ideas of 'family' became no longer limited to the category of kin' (Hall, 2009, p. 87).

This research revealed numerous examples of consequential intimacy in street markets, particularly at the level of 'pitching in', as market traders were constantly looking after each other's stalls and helping each other out (more on this below). However, an example that stood out in this regard was Salman (see page 171), who described how his neighbouring market traders celebrated each other's religious ceremonies by giving each other cards. At the level of close friendships being formed, the example that stands out most was Jimmy's description of his friendship with his employee Zaffar, who he described at one stage as being like an uncle to his son (see page 175).

Part of the effectiveness in how street markets support urbanity is that they overlap these three types of encounter – mundane rituals of civility, inconsequential, and consequential moments of intimacy to create different levels at which people can embark on a sociology of reconfiguration that creates sociabilities of emplacement that are mutually satisfying to established and newcomer alike. Within street markets, the location for these encounters is the market stalls, and more precisely, this research identifies micro-borders as the specific sites that create and sustain moments of civility and conviviality.

5.1.1.   Street markets transform the spatial configuration of public space into physical, legal and symbolic micro-borders

2.2 listed three key requirements for spaces that support urbanity that were extrapolated from the first strand of literature on public space. These were: 1) physical and symbolic occupation of public space, 2) high densities of people, and 3) high levels of diversity, both in terms of the people and the functions supported. In 2.3.1, the literature on borders – active as opposed to inert edges in urban space – largely described them in macro terms, such as a mixed-use street that draws people together relative to an elevated highway that separates them (see page 67). The literature on street markets in 2.4 broadly supported the case for street markets satisfying the spatial requirements to support urbanity set out in 2.2, but again, much of this was descriptive with little contextual understanding as to why, and even less as to how. 4.1 of the analysis established that street markets support these key requirements because they share the characteristics of borders, but took this concept one step further in the concept of micro-borders.

It was in the observation of market traders serving their customers that the concept of micro-borders emerged. It quickly became clear that each market stall was acting as a mini-magnet for drawing people together around a set of micro-borders for the efficient buying and selling of goods through the medium of functional encounters. As a consequence of this buying and selling, other types of social encounters were also

happening; what makes micro-borders spatially efficient for buying and selling goods also makes them conducive to other forms of social interaction.

That street markets are composed of market stalls is hardly revelatory. But the nuanced understanding of the physical characteristics of these market stalls as micro-bordered entities helped to contextualise the impact this transformation had on the spatial configuration of public space and its ability to support a high frequency and broad range of functional encounters. The concept of micro-borders, a key research outcome of this thesis, thus provides a conceptual link between the literature on public space (strand 1 as identified above) and the finer-grained literature on social encounters and difference in cities (strands 2 and 3).

This led to the first research objective as set out on page 98, which sought to understand how the spatial configuration of street markets impact the frequency and nature of functional encounters in public space. The research outcome was that street markets transform the spatial configuration of public space by its subdivision into micro-borders. These micro-borders worked on three different mutually supporting dimensions – physical, legal and symbolic that resonated with findings from the literature set out in chapter 2. The physical micro-border created a physical active-edge around which functional encounters could be performed (2012, pp. 82-83). The legal micro-border reinforced the efficacy of physical micro-borders and supported ontological security in establishing the right to occupy space (Noble, 2005, p. 107) in what can otherwise be a precarious existence. The third dimension of micro-borders, symbolic, becomes enacted once market stalls are occupied by market traders and their products, making crossing these borders both a physical *and* symbolic act. The symbolic occupation of space in a way that reflects the local demographics was identified as a key requirement for space to be considered public (Watson, 2006, p. 75).

Two further spatial characteristics of micro-borders, beyond the three dimensions outlined above, increase their effectiveness in supporting urbanity in ways that also

resonated with findings from the literature in chapter 2. These are precarity and proximity.

5.1.2.   Precarity and proximity increase the efficacy of micro-borders through reciprocal functional encounters

Precarity was identified in the research of both Glick Schiller (Glick Schiller, 2012; Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016) and Hall (Hall, 2015; Hall, et al., 2016) as being motivators for collaboration. This research identifies three conditions – exposed, temporary and compulsory – in which the precarity of market trading increases different forms of collaboration in public space.

The first way precarity increases collaboration in street markets is through the exposed nature of market trading. Because market stalls have no walls or doors, market traders cannot quickly lock up their market stall for short breaks during the day. Thus, neighbouring traders regularly looked after each other's market stalls for short periods, and sometimes even longer (see page 156). The exposed nature of market trading also meant relying on customers not to steal products that were often highly vulnerable to theft. Surprisingly, the only time theft was mentioned in the interviews was when Jez used the lack of theft to symbolise the loyalty of his regular customers (see page 164). Finally, the exposed nature of market stalls facilitated the ability to communicate on multiple spatial levels at the same time, something that would be impossible from behind the counter of a shop. There were several examples of this happening, including the first exchange described in the analysis (see page 124) between Osman, the Chinese man and me, who were all standing around the market stall, and a Muslim woman who was passing through the market onto somewhere else. Being able to communicate on multiple spatial levels extended the sphere of influence of micro-borders deeper into space and increased the potential for them overlap with other micro-borders.

The second condition in which precarity increases collaboration in street markets is through the temporary nature of market stalls. Market stalls have to be put up and broken down each day. This is an intensive process that requires help packing away

heavier or bulkier items. Negotiations over when cars could come on site at the beginning and end of each trading day was another form of daily cooperation required between market traders for the smooth operation of the market (see, for example, page 168).

These two conditions of precarity – exposed and temporary – combine to increase the need for cooperation and reliance on the mutual trust of others in the form of market customers and traders. The compulsory nature of placing this trust is the third condition of precarity. Although there must have been occasions when this trust was judged to have been misplaced, the overall affect was that trust was more likely to be reciprocated than not, otherwise street markets would break down and no longer be viable.

Aiding the three conditions of precarity was the second spatial characteristics of micro-borders – proximity. The literature in 2.2.2 described density as a key requirement for space to support urbanity. One reason for this, as Radice (2016, p. 440) highlights on page 55, is that proximity at least offers the capacity to be turned into conviviality.

Literature featured in 2.4.1 set out the case for street markets increasing people density, which was driven by a mix of economic – market stalls tend to be kept small to maintain affordability – and practical – a critical mass of market stalls to appeal to a large customer base – responses to creating an effective trading environment. The result for an ideal trading environment is a street market with a large quantity of market stalls, closely packed together, that attract a large number of customers, all of which serve to increase the number of people in public space and increased the proximity between them.

The research showed that the proximity of micro-borders played the relatively simple but no less important role of increasing the ease with which people can collaborate and rely on each other. Looking after someone's market stall for five minutes, or popping over to borrow change or for a chat during quieter times, for example, is simply made easy, but the reciprocal value is considerable. The exposed nature of

market trading comes back into effect here too, further aiding the ease with which people can pop in and out of each other's market stalls, as evidenced during the interview with Osman, during which his neighbouring trader must have entered Osman's market stall more than ten times. On enquiring what was going on, Osman explained in a moment that encapsulates how market traders collaborate, and how this can mutually reciprocal: "He's very nice and very kind to me", says Osman about his neighbour, "so he can come into my space without any charges" (see page 125).

Precarity and proximity combine to turn micro-borders into platforms for a broad range and high frequency of functional encounters that are reciprocal in nature. Precarity creates a relatively level playing field where people *have to* cooperate to survive, and proximity makes it easier to do so. This research suggests that compulsory reciprocal functional encounters based on precarity and proximity in street markets create two types of Glick Schiller's (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24) 'sociabilities of emplacement' that impact the capacity for street markets to support urbanity.

5.1.3.   Functional encounters nourish two stages of 'sociabilities of emplacement' through adaptable content & familiar form

Figure 34 above captures much that was demonstrated across the analysis in chapter 4 and summarised so far above about micro-borders and functional encounters. It shows a typical scene of functional encounters being played out around the physical, legal and symbolic micro-borders created by the market stall.

Page 145 of the analysis described a rapid-fire set of functional encounters being skilfully performed by Jez whilst serving on his market stall. In this instance, Jez was dealing with a multitude of people whilst using up to five separate languages to express greetings, numbers and quantities. This example highlights the adaptable content of functional encounters where "please" and "thank you" quickly become "por favour" and "gracias" depending on the customer. Even in instances where market traders did not have such linguistic flexibility there was an awareness that their

customers had different levels of spoken English and they were prepared to adapt accordingly, perhaps speaking slower or using more hand signals (see page 191).

In the literature on street markets, Noble (2011, p. 833) identified the capacity for market traders to be able to read a repertoire of different situations, and Hall (2016, p. 11) noted the many instances where market traders learn to speak a number of different languages. In their study of street markets, Hiebert, et al. (2015, p. 13) identified these communications skills as a form of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' that is strategic and economically motivated. Hall (2015) accepts the potential value of such encounters, but also cautions against the potential for everyday displays of conviviality and commonplace diversity to mask enduring structures that limit migrant participation 'through the virulent systems of social sorting by class, race, ethnicity and gender' (p. 855).

Certainly, the sorts of everyday mundane moments of civility described earlier, for example, between Adamou, his wife and the mother and daughter couple appeared on the surface to be public displays of civility and mutual respect, but how deeply such sociabilities affect attitudes towards difference once back in their respective private realms can be known only to the individuals concerned. Certainly, many of the examples of mundane moments of civility observed in street markets were economically-driven. But this research suggests that 'tactical cosmopolitanism' of this nature, however superficial some of it may be, had consequences for seeding the first 'sociabilities of emplacement' between established and newcomers in street markets.

The first of these is that it involves the content of functional encounters to change and adapt to shifting local demographics. Even though these shifts may be economically motivated, at the very least, the message being conveyed by the market trader is "we value your custom". An example of this process first emerging in East Market was described by Margaret on page 146 who remembered the first Trinidadian to learn Punjabi and start selling vegetables that appealed to an Indian client-base in the nineteen-eighties: "and of course, all the Asian people loved it!", she said.

These tactical moves disrupt the norms of behaviour in street markets through the adaptable content of functional encounters. This could be unsettling for established populations, particularly when accompanied by the changing symbolic markers in the types of produce and languages on display, and there were examples of people who never quite recovered, including Jimmy's Grandad to the demographic changes in East Market during the nineteen-seventies and eighties (more on sociabilities of *dis*placement later). But there was a second characteristic of functional encounters that served to temper the potential sense of loss and displacement that often accompanies change of any kind. This was that while the content of functional encounters changed, their form remained largely consistent, guided by familiar rituals of civility.

A key finding from this research was that the combination of adapting content and familiar form created by everyday functional encounters motivated by 'tactical cosmopolitanism' seeded the first 'sociabilities of emplacement'. However superficial these may be, the shifting content and familiar form of functional encounters entailed a disruption of dominant norms and a renegotiation of a new set of behaviours. These are components of Hall's (2015, p. 854) 'sociology of reconfiguration' in which urban places and ideas of citizenship are made anew between established residents and newcomers (see page 37 in 2.1.1).

On page 75, Grönlund (2002) defined functional encounters as occurring between people who do not already know each other, but who share a special function of some kind in space. This research extends the definition of functional encounters to also include *sustaining* contact between people who share a special function in space, which as outlined above (see 4.2.4 and 4.3.1) moved functional encounters from the relatively superficial domains of civility into the warmer climes of conviviality through shared moments of consequential and inconsequential intimacy. These moments were conceptualised in the analysis as deeper-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' and constitute a second layer to Hall's (2015) 'sociology of reconfiguration'. This type of 'sociology of reconfiguration' through deep-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' formed more profound connections between people that were more transformative,

an internal journey instigated through a process of reflexivity that destabilised entrenched attitudes towards people based on what they looked like.

This reflexive process was often provoked when responding to complex questions during the interviews about difference and diversity, where market traders often took their time to think before responding. One prominent example included market trader John, who described how living with his cousin, who suffered from learning difficulties, had helped him reassess his views of mental disability. He then equated this transformational experience with working with people from different communities, whom he described as "this, that and the other" (see page 174). Reflexivity in this instance had enabled perspective, the ability to see things from someone else's point of view, an essential component of empathy towards others (Amin, 2012, p. 32).

Reflexivity and perspective combined to challenge entrenched views through an internal dialogue, a personal journey. This helped people to get to know each other by discovering 'domains of commonality in place of predefined categories of group relations' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24) which resulted in gratifying moments of conviviality and in some instances long-lasting and meaningful friendships. Another result was that in getting to know people different from ourselves through first-hand experience, it also helps in getting to know ourselves better too – people expressed that they had benefitted by being around lots of people from different backgrounds. A sociology of reconfiguration formed through sustained functional encounters supported deep-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' that were more resistant to challenges, such as recession or a divisive political narrative.

5.1.4. When street markets undermine urbanity – sociabilities of *dis*placement

Naturally, there were examples of where the changes in dominant norms – particularly norms of buying and selling – were uncomfortable and destabilising, examples of which were pulled together under 4.5.4 starting on page 225. In these instances, the functional encounters centred around the physical, legal and symbolic micro-borders of the market stall served to entrench, rather than weaken, negative stereotypes

through sociabilities of displacement and 'encounters of subordinating difference' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 28), negative encounters imbued with power that lack mutual respect, the stigmatising discourses introduced on page 81 that can invoke and sharpen the potential for ethnic boundaries (Moroşanu & Fox, 2013, p. 439). These were examples of where action, although present, was no longer being shared.

When these moments of ritualised civility were absent, or when expectations around what constitutes civilised behaviour were not met, the action between market trader and customer was no longer being shared, and the sense of collective identity, of 'domains of commonality' evaporated. When this happened, people were more likely to fall back on stereotypes, examples of which were noted in the analysis. In West Market, "The Arabs" took most of the blame for things that were wrong with the street market. According to Pat, they had not learnt to speak English, and pointed and grunted when they wanted something (page 191). For Adamou (page 193) and Hamed (page 188) the custom of haggling, only associated with "the Arabs" in West Market had caused them to consider changing how they sold goods at the street market.

This was the most obvious example of Cohen's (2001, p. 74) gross stereotypical features being applied to whole groups which would invariably be regarded as unfair and ridiculous distortions (see page 68). "The Arabs" are a highly diverse group of some eighteen countries who speak the Arabic language. Arabs speak different dialects, and have different customs, appearances and even religions (Nydell, 2012, p. xi), but here they were being represented as an amorphous cultural mass. In East Market, Manjit had done something similar in her labelling of "the Bengalis" as the main culprits of unreasonable haggling. In these instances, first-hand experience seemed to have strengthened stereotypes in the absence of a collective shared identity.

However, such instances were rare in the interviews. Most traders seemed to accept that there are, as Jez put it, "good and bad everywhere," and even by their detractors, "the Arabs" and "the Bengalis" were acknowledged as important market-buying customers: "I mean at the end of the day, no matter what, maybe they are being

greedy, and so on, but they are my customers...so without them, I wouldn't have any business", said Manjit (see page 200 for the full quote).

5.2.   A new three-layered model of urbanity and other contributions to knowledge

This study builds on three strands of work, outlined briefly above and in more detail in 3.1.1, that bring together a family of concepts spanning the fields of public space, social encounters, and difference in cities to build a new three-layered model to unpack seven characteristics of street markets that support urbanity. As described in detail in 4.1, spatial characteristics of street markets (Layer I, including the elements of micro-borders, precarity and proximity) support initial functional encounters (Layer II of the model, encompassing the elements adaptable content and familiar form) that in turn support sustained functional encounters (Layer III, encompassing elements of inconsequential and consequential intimacy). The third layer of the model extends previous accounts of functional encounters and is particularly important in explaining how street markets create deep-rooted 'sociabilities of emplacement' that resist challenges, personal, economic and political. The model as a whole therefore provides a novel and detailed account of how street markets support urbanity.

There were several challenges to formulating this new model of urbanity. Overcoming these challenges led the research in directions where it was able to make contributions to knowledge in a number of further respects.

A descriptive classification of markets

The first challenge was deciding which markets to study. As there is no accepted typology of markets in the UK, this involved creating a descriptive classification for markets, an excerpt of which can be seen in Figure 14 on page 62. This descriptive classification was tested against over seventy markets that featured in the most comprehensive London market guide available. The final descriptive classification divided markets into categories using three distinguishing market factors: 'Ownership', 'Frequency' and 'Goods/Services sold'. Each category was then given a numbered code, together with examples of markets that fit the allotted classification coding. The

full descriptive classification can be seen in Figure 15 on page 110 and has been designed so that it can be further tested against markets in other cities and locations in the future.

A working definition of urbanity

The second more significant challenge required building a working definition of urbanity for the empirical study of street markets. The individual steps to meet this conceptual challenge were set out in 2.1.1. As there was no established definition of urbanity appropriate to the empirical study of street markets this required a substantial review of literature covering a broad range of subjects, each of which was systematically sifted and coded. The working definition of urbanity that resulted built on the work of Sennett, Glick Schiller, Hall, Radice and others to define urbanity as: spatial characteristics that create and sustain functional encounters through which the public expression of 'domains of commonality in place of predefined categories of group relations' fosters a 'sociology of reconfiguration' that is satisfying to both established residents and newcomers. As stated above, this definition was built for the empirical study of street markets, but it has been developed with future research in mind, so it can be applied to other types of markets and other types of spaces.

Live real-time encounters

With a descriptive classification of street markets and a working definition of urbanity to hand the study could embark on the field research. As far as can be ascertained from the published literature, this research is the first to record live encounters between market traders and their customers. Two-way microphones were used which allowed market traders to break off from the interview to serve customers. While they were serving, the tape kept running and this recorded some of the most revealing data in how the spatial characteristics along with functional encounters were key to how street markets could support urbanity.

Development of the concept of micro-borders

It was through a mixture of literature on borders, together with direct observations and reviewing the recorded exchanges between market traders and customers, that

the concept of micro-borders was born. This concept was then expanded to micro-borders that worked on three different but mutually supporting dimensions – physical, legal and symbolic (see 4.1.1).

Development and elaboration of the concept of functional encounters

As described in detail on page 75, building on Grönlund's synthesis of Whyte's work on social encounters, the concept of 'functional encounters' was developed to encapsulate a key aspect of the exchanges between social actors in street markets. This concept proved extremely fruitful in extending understanding of how these exchanges support urbanity (see 4.2). Furthermore, this research extends the role of sharing a function in sustaining contact between people and the impact this has for sustained conviviality, and ultimately possibilities of deep-rooted 'sociologies of reconfiguration' (see 4.3).

Testing other concepts

There are also a number of areas featured in the literature where vital concepts have been tested in the field and understanding has been extended. These include:

- Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016) 'sociabilities of emplacement' – to include the role of both 'seeded' and 'deeper-rooted' forms of emplacement sociabilities in supporting urbanity (see 4.2.3 on page 148).

- Glick Schiller & Çağlar's (2016) / Glick Schiller & Schmidt's (2016) 'domains of commonality' – incorporated concept into the working definition of urbanity. Revealed how compulsory nature of functional encounters provided first step in forging 'domains of commonality' outside of 'predefined categories of group relations' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 24). Noted the importance for public expressions of commonality (see page 206, 4.5) through moments of civility and conviviality.

- Hall's (2015) 'sociology of reconfiguration' – incorporated the concept into the working definition of urbanity. Revealed how unique characteristics of functional encounters – adaptable content, familiar form – engender two distinct but overlapping forms of 'sociology of reconfiguration' in street markets.

- Radice's (2016) 'inconsequential intimacy' – extended to include the concept of consequential intimacy.
- Radice's 'microplaces' – extended their understanding in respect of street markets, market stalls and micro-borders.

5.3.   Limitations of the research

This research has demonstrated that street markets are capable of engendering communities of shared action through which urbanity is enhanced. This shared action takes place around the borders created by the market stalls through the medium of functional encounters.

However, it must be acknowledged that all research has limitations.   Firstly, this study only investigates two street markets, both of which were chosen because of their similarities. In one sense this was a strength of the research, as it was designed to test whether the same processes were at work in how street markets support urbanity in London. However, in another way it could be considered a weakness, as the same research process could reveal very different results when applied to different types of market; the descriptive classification given in 3.2.1 identified over seventy markets in London alone. The results could also be affected by the economic state of the chosen street markets. Although resources were scarce in both locations, the street markets themselves were relatively well attended and well known. Watson & Wells (2005) have shown how relations in street markets can be put under strain when under extreme economic pressure. This was also something observed by market manager Jack on page 185 of the analysis, where he noted how conflict levels rose in line with more stressful economic times.

A second issue is that, within the limitations of a sole PhD researcher, only a relatively small number of market traders were interviewed, albeit across a wide range of attributes of interest as identified in 3.2.2. Furthermore, the researcher was only able, understandably, to interview people who were willing to be interviewed, and perhaps people less inclined to be interviewed would show different tendencies. In this regard, the researcher also became aware of the potential for bias towards who might be

approached to give an interview. Furthermore, in the process of conducting the interviews, the researcher's own preconceptions about how someone might respond based on appearances alone were also challenged. In the same vein, a different researcher, perhaps who spoke different languages for example, may have successfully elicited interviews from targeted respondents who were not willing, in this instance, to be interviewed. Also, this study focused only on people already in the street market environment. There may well be people within the local community who avoid the street market, and some may do so because they do not want to be around people who are different from them. This was layer four of Radice's model of place (see page 84), which fell outside the remit of this study.

In addition, there are other methods of investigation the researcher could have employed to test the research hypothesis. A quantitative study of attitudes of market traders, for example, may have yielded a broader picture of attitudes towards difference in the street markets, and reached people that would not have agreed to an extended interview. However, this would not have yielded the kind of rich data suited to the investigation of culture and attitudes.

Finally, the possibility of the researcher developing empathy with the interviewees, in an ethnographic study, is acknowledged. There was also the danger of the interviewer subconsciously leading the interviewee to answer in a particular way. 'It is difficult to disentangle the effects of being a researcher from a majority social group, which undoubtedly would have its effects' (Watson, 2016, p. 13)

5.4.   Future directions

This research study has demonstrated clear empirical evidence for street markets supporting urbanity. Furthermore, it has identified two mutually supporting factors – micro-borders and functional encounters – underpinning the effectiveness of street markets. These findings suggest a number of future directions for work in this area: for research, for policy and planning, and for the way markets are managed.

5.4.1.   Lines of further research

The section above highlighted some limitations of this research study. A natural line of further research would be to address some of these limitations. One of these, as already noted, is that the research could be extended to include people who were not willing to be interviewed. Another would be to extend the study to include the shops that bordered both street markets. Would the more independent nature of retailing from a shop premises impact the frequency of shared action witnessed in how market traders work together to mitigate the transient and exposed nature of their market stalls?

A further potentially fruitful area of research would be comparative studies with private markets. Such research would explore exactly why private markets have flourished while local authority street markets have declined. Research questions would include: What are the factors supporting the success of private markets? Are these factors transferrable to local authority street markets? And are they compatible with building communities of shared action through which local authority-run street markets, at least of the kind studied in this research, support urbanity?

A more challenging line of future research would be an impact study of attitudes and behaviour in public space before and after the introduction of a street market. There are, in fact, a number of challenges to conducting such a study, not least, in identifying a suitable project that would meet the criteria, and its necessarily long-term nature. But such an impact study would surely provide many important further insights into how street markets support urbanity.

Finally, a natural line of further research would be to investigate the attitudes of people in the local area who do not use markets towards their market and the people in it. The fourth layer of Radice's model of place, 'critical infrastructure', is described as the generalised image of the place itself rather than the perceptions of groups who use it. As this research concerned the attitudes of social actors within street markets, critical infrastructure falls outside of the remit of this research study. However, the

image of street markets outside of the groups and individuals who use them would be a very interesting topic for future research.

5.4.2. Developments in policy and planning

The findings from this study, if borne out by future research, suggest ways in which policy and planning might fruitfully be developed to provide better support for street markets. It was clear from the London context today, set out in 1.1.2, that street markets remain a very low priority for the majority of London's local authorities. This section also pointed to some of the barriers – planning, legislative and commercial – that helped explain why tacit acknowledgement of the positive role of street markets in policy research and planning documents, as referenced in the Cross River Partnership (2014, p. 5) report, is never realised. These barriers suggest that Sennett's (1990, p. 18) corrosive dualism is not always the reason street markets fail to receive the support they require; West Market has been central to the local authority's regeneration plans. However, the absence of any new public markets in London's recent massive regeneration schemes, such as the Olympic Legacy plans, is clear evidence of the need to revisit the value of street markets as vital public spaces within contemporary cities.

5.4.3. Managing street markets

The market manager from West Market protested at being called a market inspector. The role of inspector is primarily to enforce rules and regulations, whereas, as per page 128 of the analysis, Jack saw his role much more about management of space and the people within it. The term market manager, as opposed to market inspector, therefore suggests a more nuanced set of skills. As 1.1.2 discussed, street markets can be difficult to manage because they are multi-layered, intense and complex spaces (see page 23). But in turn, this complexity is one of their strengths, and why as 2.2 showed, they have been recognised for their ability to transform challenging urban public spaces.

The lack of a nuanced approach to management in West Market created its own challenges. Decisions on whether someone new could start selling on the street

market were not taken by the market manager, but by a licensing department who knew little of the situation on the ground. This was a cause of unnecessary conflict, as too many market stalls selling the same items, cannibalised limited levels of spend available in the local area. These were examples where win-win exchanges, discussed above, moved to an area of Sennett's spectrum of exchange that no longer balanced cooperation and competition: winner takes all.

However, enforcing the rules of the street market also had positive consequences. Firstly, they created legal borders through pitch markings on the ground, as identified in 4.1.1 of the analysis, that reinforced the efficacy of the physical borders already discussed. They also helped propagate a sense of security and belonging: "this is your home," said Gani pointing to her market pitch (see page 119). Secondly, it was important to some that management was there as a safety net, should conflict not otherwise be resolvable, although no-one admitted to ever having to call on such help.

The findings of this study suggest that managing a street market successfully is a matter of balancing control and creativity. Too much control and the creativity of market traders in responding to changes in market conditions will be driven out. Too little control on the other hand and the security that in this study provided a safe space for building communities of shared action will be lost.

5.5.   A recommendation: London's local authority street markets should be revisited as vital public spaces that support urbanity

Although not the main focus of this study, the research clearly has implications for the future of street markets in London. In 1.1.2, it was demonstrated that local authority street markets are under threat on multiple fronts, from the legislation that governs them, to increasing competition, and an ageing market trader and clientele base. However, over the same period that local authority street markets have declined, private markets have seen unprecedented growth. Furthermore, other cities – New York and Barcelona being two notable examples – have demonstrated that with the right political will, expertise and investment, a system of public markets can play a leading role across a number of policy areas, such as health and wellbeing.

These are important outcomes in their own right. Perhaps even more important though, given currently growing levels of marginalisation and radicalisation, and an accompanying political rhetoric increasingly based on the fear of others, is the capacity demonstrated by this study for street markets to build communities of shared action based on first-hand experience. Communities of shared action build confidence in collective identities within which individual differences are not to be feared, and for some, are even to be embraced and celebrated.

The findings set out in this thesis, if supported by future research, demonstrate that street markets have a key role to play in supporting urbanity through engendering communities of shared action through revealing domains of commonality that exist in all populations, however diverse. Street markets have shown in this study that, despite weak and uncoordinated support, they can play an important role in providing pluralistic and contested public spaces that give people first-hand experience of each other through functional encounters that both facilitate, and maintain, contact between different cultural groups. In doing so, they support urbanity by reducing the compulsion for people to be the same by both creating and sustaining contact through the medium of functional encounters that enable a sociology of reconfiguration to be enacted in public space in a way that is satisfying for all involved. Thus, street markets should be recognised for their potential to play a valuable role across a whole range of public service priorities. These include health and wellbeing, as already recognised, but also the need to counter marginalisation and radicalisation. This is why the importance of London's local authority street markets should be revisited as vital public spaces that support urbanity.

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