ENVIRONMENT-MAKING, CHEAP NATURE, AND CARE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HAZEL FOOD, ARTS, AND CRAFTS MARKET IN TSHWANE.

by

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SUMMARY

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Keywords: anthropology, environment-making, cheap nature, care, inclusion, exclusion, Hazel Food Market, Tshwane, Pretoria, urban food market.

This anthropological study identifies the actors involved in processes of environment-making at the Hazel Food, Arts, Craft and Culture Market (Hazel Food Market) in the capital city Pretoria, South Africa, and analyses such environment-making through the concepts of cheap nature, care and inclusion/exclusion. Existing studies of urban food markets in South Africa and elsewhere typically focus on products, consumers and the social and economic functions of market exchanges including tourism, gentrification and income generation. This study, constructed on the basis of participant observation and semi-formal interviews with vendors, visitors and managers, explores the market in the context of environment-making. By focusing on this activity, this dissertation contributes to the existing literature by bringing into view the various aspects and persons involved in it, including actors who constitute the market, the products that are being sold, online and offline advertising through text and visuals as well as aesthetic and other dimensions that put nature to work in the context of this market. The consequences of the kind of environment-making and deployment of nature that are documented in this dissertation are then analysed by examining forms of inclusion and exclusion among customers, vendors, products and ethnic groups within the market and its wider surrounds. In this way, the dissertation seeks to show that nature, in addition to race, and class and gender, is a potent concept for urban anthropological analysis.

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree MSocSci at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

ETHICS STATEMENT

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. Ethics number: HUM022/0920

The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for Researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research.

Signature: _____
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Month Year: November 2022

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Chapter 1: General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> Green Thought has always pointed beyond the dualism of Nature and Society. Just as often, it has been captive to the binary it challenges. Green Thought has been vexed by a thorny reality that has never fit comfortably within dualist models. To their credit, environmentally oriented scholars have stayed with the trouble, to paraphrase Haraway (2016). That reality is one in which humans, quite obviously, work and live and play through our relations with bodies (some human, many not) and landscapes, themselves often made by bodies. There is no separation from nature in our lived experience, even if the natures we inhabit are often filled with concrete structures, traffic jams and cell phone towers
>
> Jason Moore, The Capitalocene Part I.

The weather is warm and sunny as I make my way towards the market. On the 17th of July 2021 I turn my Honda Ballade into Queens Crescent Street and I am met with the whistles and extravagant arm gestures of car guards, signalling where to park, which is familiar to me, as I grew up in Pretoria. Although they are not always deemed to be "welcome" by South African drivers, car guards are a familiar presence in urban South Africa and in Pretoria, even at events such as food markets and rugby matches, the latter usually played at Loftus Versfeld down the road from the market. Before leaving and locking my car behind me, I sigh deeply when I put on my face mask. The Corona virus has been around for almost a year now, and everything still feels like we are living in a sci-fi movie. I greet the elderly white lady sitting at the entrance of the market, and she greets me before she sanitises my hands. She takes a bright blue washing pin and throws it in a white bucket with "Inside" written on it in large black letters. I assume they have to keep count of the number of visitors inside the market to ensure that managers are adhering to government restrictions regarding public gatherings during the State of Disaster. I walk around the market and observe how vendors and visitors chat, keeping their distance physically whilst trying to act normally under the conditions of the virus and the restrictions.

I choose to keep myself occupied with the vast array of products lined up at the different stalls: artisanal breads, fresh meat, pressed juices, multiple international dishes (croquettes,

stir-fried rice, burgers, shawarmas, bao buns, samosas and more), body soaps and candles and clothes and perfumes. I pondered on the academic scholarship of Jason Moore (2017a) about how humans put nature to work and his term for this process 'cheap nature'. The lady who sanitised my hands, together with the other market managers, have to work so that its aesthetic is upheld to draw their client pool: international visitors and tourists as well as middle and upper-class suburban residents and families. I nod at the vendors whilst passing by their stalls, making eye contact briefly, wondering how the pandemic has affected them and their sales. Moore's work on environment-making made me curious about environment-making specifically at the market. I cannot help but think how for example occurrences such as the pandemic and the State of Disaster have changed the way vendors and visitors interact with each other, how the managers, vendors and visitors have to adapt. The managers and vendors show such care for the market aesthetic, including carefully looking after the quality of the products and, to a degree, each other. I am reminded of the work from De la Bellacasa regarding care. It makes me wonder how care manifests at the market and in the relationships between vendors and managers. Part of what I am trying to do in my research and writing is to put Jason Moore in conversation with De la Bellacasa. De la Bellacasa (2012:197) states that to care means to relate. "Care is itself relational. It speaks of those actions that is needed to create, hold together and sustain life's essential heterogeneity. To care for somebody or something is to create relation, to build a form of relationship or connection with somebody or something" (De la Bellacasa, 2012:198). Moore's work is about the relation between humans and nature, and how that relation creates different environments. Moore is concerned about how humans tend to cheapen nature, by framing it as a resource such as 'cheap nature', and this framing often leads to destructive environment-making.

In my undergraduate training in environmental anthropology, I found that connections are important, such as the connections between humans and nature. My training taught me to look at such connections and unravel them. To do so I was challenged in how I think and what type of questions I ask. This was further challenged during my Honours year, during my fieldwork I lived on a farm for four weeks, spending my days with the staff who work on the farm. During this time, I was challenged in how I saw humanity and how I saw nature and how my views influenced the questions I asked which guided my research. The more aware I became of this the more I was able to point out holes in my own thinking, which was

limiting my ability to ask the right questions. After my Honours year I uncovered that although the year brought with it many challenges with regards to my thinking, it also uncovered a curiosity regarding the connections between humanity and nature. When I started with my master's year and had to start thinking about a topic for my research, that same curiosity started to drive my search. One Saturday morning I visited the Hazel Food Market with a friend of mine, and I started talking to my friend about the research I did in my Honours year and the curiosity it awakened in me, and in that moment, I started using the market as an example to explain the connections between humanity and nature. The moment I did that I became interested in the market as a topic of my research regarding the connections between humanity and nature. After that day I went back to some of the research papers I read in my Honours year, and came across Moore's work on Cheap Nature, and I wondered how I can connect a space such as a market, with the work of Moore and other scholars.

Both Moore and De la Bellacasa form part of a broader conversation in the social sciences about undoing the Nature/Culture binary that is so central in Western philosophy. At the onset, it is important to show what I mean with this binary and how I write about it in this dissertation. In this dissertation there are times when I spell Nature with a with a capital N and other times when I spell nature with a lower-case n. Following Lorimer (2015:25), I use Nature with a capital 'N' as Nature as "a relational achievement, a power-laden process of purification rather than the revelation of a transcendent archetype". Nature with the uppercase 'N' refers to this process of purification which is central to most Western Philosophy. Whereas nature with the lower case 'n' refers to the recognition of the presence of humanity in nature and that humanity and nature is, philosophically and practically, not separate from each other. Nature with the lower case 'n' refers to what Moore defines as the oikeios, that is, "that creative, generative, and multi-layered relation of life-making, of species and environments. Species make environments, and environments make species". (2016:1). Nature with the lower case 'n' refers to the process of environment-making. Moreover, Moore (2016:2) explains the difference between 'environment' and 'environment-making' as follows: "nature moves from noun ('the' environment) to verb (environment-making). Human organisations are environment-making processes and projects; manifold environment-making processes in the web of life shape human

organisation". Environment-making is therefore the processes of ongoing changes in human organisations such as the Hazel Food Market.

The Nature/Culture binary was birthed in the context of what many scholars now call the Anthropocene (Moore, 2017:4). The concept suggests a recognition of the role played by humans (Culture, and Society) in transforming Nature to such an extent that Nature is under threat (Moore, 2017:5). The concept of Anthropocene has been useful in directing the attention of scholars to the Nature/Culture binary and to better situate humans and nature in the concept of the 'web of life', yet as Moore (2017:5) argues this concept is unable to recognize the ways to improve the gaps, because that would require a new synthesis. As a result, Moore suggests a new term, the Capitalocene, to allow for a thinking that is not driven by the same perspectives as the Anthropocene to give answers to the questions the Anthropocene arises produce (Moore, 2017:2). His thinking within the Capitalocene is that society and nature is co-dependent, there is not a binary that separates them, but rather they are all connected in the web of life, along with capitalism (Moore, 2017:4). Capitalism, in this sense, can't be restricted to a monetary exchange rate, but rather it is seen as a way or organizing nature and society (Moore, 2017:3). However, this does not deny that nature is made cheap through capitalism, cheap nature arises by lowering the worth of natural resources, groups of people, types of labour and other aspects of the web of life (Moore, 2017:5).

In this dissertation, I am interested in exploring a market I know well, the Hazel Food Market, and the kind of environment-making that happens as this market. I know the market well because I grew up in Pretoria. When I was still in High School, I visited the market with friends and family. I grew up knowing the market well as a space where I can go to do something fun on a Saturday morning. At school I would often hear of couples who visit the market for a date. My family and I would often visit the market just to buy a freshly baked bread and some jam to serve to guests who would come over to our house later the evening. The area in which it was located before it moved in 2020 was also well known to me, I often visited the area to buy food with my mom at the Checkers supermarket or to visit the hair salon to get my hair done. My relation to the market is close, I enjoy visiting the space and walking through the stalls with my friends or family. Sometimes I visit the market just for a

cup of coffee with a friend and to get a change of scenery. It was always a place of interest for me. I always love to see so many people in a space, chatting and meeting up with each other. It makes me happy to sit in such a space, and I think that is why I enjoy the market so much.

Markets are fascinating institutions. The anthropologists Chris Hann and Keith Hart (2009:1) define markets as "networks constituted by acts of buying and selling, usually through the medium of money". Markets are also social spaces, in that buying and selling happens between humans who may or may not form long-term relationships as a result of the social interactions that accompany buying and selling. Markets as networks are also embedded in the surrounding area in which the market is situated, and as a result market can reveal relationships of inclusion and exclusion. It may be prudent here to give a bit of a background of the market, even though I discuss this in more detail later in this dissertation. Whereas Hann and Hart (2009:1) provides us with a useful definition of markets in general, the market I examine in this dissertation is not the market model they also refer to, but an actual space of buying and selling.

The Hazel Food Market opened in 2009 to sell organic, home-grown, and handmade foodstuffs and products. Nature is a prominent theme at the market; in terms of how products are marketed, how the market is aesthetically organised, and with themes such as organic food, handmade objects and recycling featuring quite prominently. The market has more than 70 stalls which all sell a wide variety of foodstuffs ranging from artisan bread to freshly made smoothies amongst others. The area in which it was originally located is the Greenlyn Village Centre at the corner of Thomas Edison and Mackenzie Streets, Menlo Park, Pretoria. The Greenlyn Village Centre hosted the Hazel Food Market on their grounds every Saturday (Greenlyn Village Centre), surrounded by restaurants, a local theatre, and small shops selling different wares that range from hair and beauty to leather goods, the latter in a shop creatively known as Freedom of Movement.

However, at the end of 2020, the Hazel Food Market changed location, as indicated, moving to the Pretoria High School Old Boys Club (PHSOB) club in Lynnwood. The new location brought new elements to the market. It is situated around a cricket field where matches are

often played on a Saturday during market hours, which brings new customers to it. The club has a cycling and running group who have their weekly get-together on a Saturday morning, when they visit the market after their morning run or cycle. The PHSOB club is located near the Menlo Park High School, which places the market in a suburban area where families often visit with their children and dogs. There are many embassies within the vicinity of the club, and its centrality brings a larger international presence to the market in the form of tourists and ambassadors. Regular visitors to the club who take part in its activities such as cricket, cycling, running, or bowling, have also become aware of the market on the grounds of the PHSOB and will often visit the market. Most of the visitors to the market are middle class, white residents of surrounding neighbourhoods. Yet as I discussed in opening vignette to this chapter, the car guards that informally operate outside the market, and cater to the parking needs of visitors who arrive by motor vehicle, are black and working class. This is a relation and dynamic I pay attention to in this dissertation, as part of the environment-making that happens at Hazel Food Market.

Thinking about environment-making at the market brings into focus the ways in which the market is situated within capitalism, and how its location, aesthetics and organisation create an environment that allows for Nature, ecosystems without the presence of humanity, to be made cheap. Moore explains that environment-making involves the making and un-making of connections by means of exchanges and encounters (Moore, 2017:5). He explains that humans make environments, but environments also make humans (Moore 2017: 5). Offices, markets, airports and golf estates all demonstrate environment-making in different ways and involve different aspects of environment-making. The concept of environment-making also allows us to ask how nature and race are put to work at the market. What struck me as I was doing participant observation at the market, and as I was thinking with Moore, was the forms of inclusion and exclusion that I saw at the market, and how that formed part of the environment-making process.

Walking past the market stalls, I became aware of phrases that were often present in the signage, such as ‘organic’, ‘homemade’ and ‘natural’. It made me curious: why these words, exactly? Were they connected with one another? Or were they separate? I was reminded of the Nature/Culture in the work of Moore (2017:5). This term suggests a perspective, an

attitude, one especially strong in Western Philosophy, that places Culture apart from Nature. Ignoring and denying the connections between the two, therefore assuming that Nature is apart from Society in certain ways and that Nature can be wild and absent from human contact (hence the capital 'N' in nature), and Culture can be apart from Nature by assuming that there are spaces where Nature is not present (Moore, 2017:5). These terms are not separate: they are intricately connected, and one directs the other and vice versa. Although they can be moderated and adjusted depending on the environment, both are present. They both function together and are connected in the web of life (Moore, 2017:5).

One factor that is evident at the market regarding 'Nature' is that certain environmentalisms do occur, that is, actions and concerns aimed at protecting or improving the environment. It includes ideas and practices that seek to raise ethical and moral awareness of how food is grown, how it is consumed and how human choices and lifestyles impact 'Nature'. Environmentalism can be understood best in terms of practices such as recycling. Using less plastic, expanding organic food production, eating less meat and promoting vegetarian and vegan alternatives, reducing the carbon footprint, sourcing locally, and creating a greater awareness of our accountability as custodians of 'Nature' are further instances of this practice.

At the risk of repeating myself, let me state the aims again. The aim of this study is to explore how cheap nature, care, and environment-making connects to and make possible the exchanges that take place at the Hazel Food Market. The main research question reads: How does environment-making and cheap nature connect to and make possible the exchanges that take place at the Hazel Food Market?

In this section, I offered a brief introduction to the main field site where data for this dissertation was made, and I also indicated my own curiosity about this topic. I also introduced, even if briefly, some of the main actors involved in environment-making at the market, while I introduced Jason Moore who coined the concept environment-making. I now move on to outline the main research questions this dissertation seeks to answer I then provide an outline of the chapters and how, in these chapters, I answer the primary and secondary research questions.

1.2 Research Questions

The focus of my research is to understand how environment-making and cheap nature enable exchanges that take place at the Hazel Food Market, as indicated. I am interested in understanding the forms of care that underly some of the relations and dynamics at the market, while also trying to understand the inclusions and exclusions that are generated through the specific forms that environment-making happens at the market. In order to understand environment-making as a process with certain effects, I first have to identify the actors involved, and then have to develop a perspective on environment-making, at the market.

The main question that directed my focus during my research was:
"How does environment-making and cheap nature connect to and make possible the exchanges that take place at the Hazel Food Market?"

Because the main question was broad, I divided it into two sub-categories, namely 'exchange' and 'nature and environment-making'. This made it possible for me to explore the main question more effectively by emphasising the three themes separately. However, during the span of my fieldwork, some questions changed in view of the data collected, which engendered new themes that I wanted to attend to. Specifically, around the concept of care and the inclusionary and exclusionary effects of environment-making within the market. As a result, I am restating some of the secondary questions this dissertation seeks to answer:

- Who are the actors involved at the market?
- What is the history of this market?
- What commodities and non-human goods are exchanged at this market?
- How are these goods marketed?
- How does nature feature in the marketing of these goods?
- How is nature put to work or cheapened at the market?

- What kinds of environmentalisms are enacted in the market?
- What is the relationship between care and inclusion/exclusion in the environment-making taking place at the market?
- What kinds of labour make the running of the market possible?
- How does the physical layout and organisation of the market allow for relationships of inclusion and exclusion to be cultivated?
- How did Covid 19 influence and change environment-making at the market?
- What forms of environment-making is evident at the Hazel Food Market?
- How is 'nature' or 'the environment' presented in the marketing material of Hazel Food Market?
- How does the preparation of foodstuff and goods at the vendor's home connect to the market?
- How did the market's relocation to a new venue shape the relationships and environment-making process at the market?
- How does the layout of the market influence the environment-making process?
- How does the presence of non-human actors such as dogs and cats influence the environment-making process at the market?
- What groups of people do the market target for inclusion and exclusion?

I made use of the following questions about Nature and environment-making:

- What forms of environment-making are evidenced at the Hazel Food Market?
- How is 'nature' or 'the environment' presented in the marketing material of the Hazel Food Market?
- How are nature and labour made cheap at the Hazel Food Market?

These are the questions I am seeking to answer in this dissertation.

1.3 Outline of dissertation

In Chapter 2 I outline the previous research done by multiple scholars on the topic of suburban food markets through a literature review. Within the literature review I outline previous scholarly discussions regarding food markets, where markets have been discussed within the frameworks of tourism, community, and health benefits. I further discuss the work done by Jason Moore regarding environment-making and the Nature/Culture binary.

Thereafter I discuss the methods I used during my fieldwork to collect data whilst in the field along with the ethical considerations I had to keep in mind during my research.

In Chapter 3 I discuss the history, location, and organization of the Hazel Food Market. I look at the shift from the market's old location to the new location along with decision-making aspects that drove the manager's decision to move to the PHSOB club. From there, I will explore the market aesthetic and environment-making of the market. Looking at the ornaments used to attract customers to the market and the way the managers and vendors act on a Saturday at the market.

In Chapter 4 I explore the race, class, and environment-making at the Hazel Food Market. I also explore the relationships between the car guards and the market managers, and the tension between the two 'sides'. Here I draw on the work of Moore with regards to the Nature/Culture binary, cheap nature and environment-making. Thinking about environment-making at the market is a way to think about how the market is situated within capitalism, and how the location, aesthetics and organisation of the market creates a very specific environment that allows for Nature to be made cheap. Moore explains that environment-making is a process of the making and un-making of connections through means of exchanges and encounters (Moore, 2017:5). Moore (2017,5) explains that we make environments, but environments also make us. Offices, markets, airports, golf estates all demonstrate environment-making in different ways, and different aspects of environment-making. The concept of environment-making also allows us to ask how nature is put to work at the market.

In Chapter 5 I focus on violent exclusions and caring inclusions, looking at how inclusions and exclusions further reveal evidence of cheap nature, environment-making and the Nature/Culture binary. Here I draw on Moore's (2014:287) ideas of environment-making and the oikeos to analyse the data for this chapter. Moore explains that environment-making is the outcome of the oikeos, the multi-layered relationship of species and environments (Moore, 2014:287). Moore's discussion on environment-making directs the focus of this chapter by directing the ways in which the data is analysed. Moore (2017:6) explains that environment-making is a constant process of interactions. Such interactions are directed by

access and inclusion and exclusion, as will be seen from the data collected and discussed in this chapter. For environment-making to be explored as a constant process, I made use of Moore's explanation to explore how environment-making takes place at the market. Because Moore explains environment-making as a constant process of interactions, my focus is directed to which interactions take place at the market and which are excluded from the market. I came to this conclusion when I found how interactions between visitors, vendors, managers, car guards, street hawkers and the decision-making process with regards to new products and vendors at the market, determine inclusion and exclusion at the market.

In Chapter 6 I explore a specific encounter with a couple I interviewed for my study, I call them the 'aquaponic couple'. Their names for the sake of the study are Jack and Jill, I met them during my fieldwork at the market and they invited me to their aquaponic farm to do a site visit and get a tour of the farm. In this chapter I discuss the reworking of Nature/Culture and care. Focusing on how care influence the Nature/Culture binary, cheap nature and environment-making not just on the aquaponic farm, but also how it relates to the Hazel Food Market.

In Chapter 7 I conclude the dissertation with a summary of the findings from each chapter, followed by a discussion on how the chapters connect with each other to reveal the outcome of the main themes, environment-making, cheap nature, and care, in relation to Hazel Food Market.

Chapter 2: Literature review and methodology

2.1 Literature review

"A literature review is a systematic examination of the scholarly literature about one's topic. It critically analyses, evaluates, and synthesises research findings, theories, and practices by scholars and researchers that are related to an area of focus." (Efron and Ravid, 2018:2).

In this chapter, I intend to systematically examine the existing literature regarding cheap nature, environment-making and exchange. I will start off with an analysis of the definitions of a market in scholarly literature and move to existing scholarly literature on the markets in South Africa. The discussion will then shift focus to extant research on the Hazel Food Market to evaluate topics previously used. Subsequently, I will continue to discuss the literature of Moore and other scholars regarding cheap nature, environment-making and exchange. The framework of the three topics will contain descriptions of cheap labour, the Anthropocene and the Capitalocene. This discussion will lay the groundwork for the data I present in the subsequent chapters, and I will show how this literature informed the research questions I answer in this dissertation.

2.1.1 Markets and urban food markets

Markets have long been studied by anthropologists. Chris Hann and Keith Hart (2009:1) define markets in three ways: firstly, as "networks constituted by acts of buying and selling, usually through the medium of money". This definition describes a market as a place where the buying and selling of goods takes place. Secondly, market is viewed as a model that is closely related to "household management" (Hann and Hart, 2009:1). Thirdly, the market is viewed in terms of an ideology of the free market where the economy could become self-regulating as long as all products are bought and sold without restrictions (Hann and Hart, 2009:5).

Some of the principles that underpin the market as model and institution, but perhaps not the ideology of the free market, include reciprocity, redistribution and householding, which

predate capitalism and indeed the ideology of the free market (Hann and Hart, 2009:3). They also point out that markets are places of social interaction, in which buying and selling takes place, with all kinds of social and economic effects. In colonial Africa, markets were often regulated and managed so that markets would not upset traditional social arrangements and political authorities.

Most existing studies look at a market as a practice that forms part of a system, be it the system of economy, tourism or social life. As networks, markets have been discussed by linking them to the tourism industry and the ways in which they contribute to the building of community (Hann and Hart, 2009; Naidoo and Ramatsetse, 2016; Naicker and Rogerson, 2017). The contribution to the building of the economy and the usefulness of markets to the economy and exchanges have also been examined (Bloch, 1989; Hann and Hart, 2009; Fourcade and Healy, 2007; Bestor, 2001; Varul, 2010).

In contemporary market societies, where householding and consumption are closely tied to the existence and influence of a variety of markets – from the property market, labour market and the market in food and services – urban food markets such as the one I studied occupy a different position in the urban landscape. While there are food markets in the City of Tshwane that offer residents of the city access to fresh produce and foodstuff, the market I studied can be related to food markets that emerged over the past twenty years that cater for farmers located close to towns and cities and for the urban middle classes.

In many cities all over the world, over the past 20 years, urban food markets have become important features of urban life. Of course, urban food markets are much older, and predate capitalism (Fourcade and Healy, 2007:289). Yet urban food markets have grown in number and in type during the period known as ‘globalization’. It has accompanied or formed part of the transformation of cities all over the world, and in the literature has been linked to “neoliberal restructuring” (Hann and Hart, 2009:5), “gentrification” (Bestor, 2001:9229), and “global tourism” (Abranches, 2013:335; Naicker and Rogerson, 2017:3). Some markets are owned and run by public authorities, and seek to offer fresh food to urban populations, while many others are privately owned and focus on selling artisanal and luxury food items to wealthy urban consumers.

Godette, Beratan and Nowell (2014:80) state that markets increase societal pride and provide interactions of multiple environments. Here the focus is placed on local food systems, of which food markets are a part of, and how they increase support and knowledge of locally produced foodstuff and their origin (Godette, Beratan and Nowell, 2014:81). Abranches (2013:334) explains that the exchanges of foodstuff at markets are dependent on the local and cultural practices of the marketplace and where the market is situated. The environments created within the markets have also been explored by looking at exchanges that take place outside of the market, such as market vendors who buy products from sellers or merchants who do not physically take part in the market but merely transport foodstuff (Abranches, 2013:335). These encounters between the merchants and the market vendors show relationships that are formed and exchanges that are made outside of the physical market boundaries but connect the market to much more than those who are physically taking part in the market practices (Abranches, 2013:335). Bestor (2001:9229) argues that markets not only sustain society, but that society sustains the market, together they create source of supply of food and other items while simultaneously markets assist in creating demand through the selling of their fresh and home-made products.

South African cities have also seen the growth of urban food markets, from organic markets to farm markets to artisanal markets (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017:2). Over the past 20 years, several urban food markets have appeared in Tshwane. This study concerns one of these markets namely the Hazel Food Market, which was established in 2009. There is now a well-established body of literature on urban food markets (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017; Naidoo and Ramateste, 2016; Godette, Beratan and Nowell, 2014; Abranches, 2013; Bloch, 1989; Fourcade and Healy, 2007; Bestor, 2001; Varul, 2010). These studies tend to focus on the economic and social functions of urban food markets and how such markets connect with wider urban processes such as the restructuring of cities, the growth of tourism, the decline of manufacturing, cultural changes and so forth. Not many studies on urban food markets ask questions about the ‘nature’ or ‘environment-making’ or the relationship between the economic and ecological in relation to urban food markets. By “nature” I mean not only the fresh produce that is grown outside of the city and then sold in the city as ‘organic food’ or ‘local produce’, but also the ways in which ‘nature’ is framed in terms of environmentalisms.

By environmentalisms I mean the actions and concerns aimed at protecting and improving the environment (Hole and Hawker, 2004:186), ideas and practices that seek to raise ethical and moral awareness of how humans grow food, how we consume food, how our choices and lifestyles impact on "nature". Such environmentalisms are evident in ideas and practices of recycling, using less plastic, organic food production, veganism, limiting one's carbon footprint, sourcing local foods, and so forth. Such environmentalisms have become very popular in many parts of the world, especially in market societies, including among wealthy and middle-class South Africans. I too engage in such environmentalisms by recycling plastics, glass and paper and even recycling rain- and bathwater to water plants in our garden and by buying local food products.

Such environmentalisms have grown considerably as middle-class movements across the world, at times in parallel with the new urban food markets. Yet there are critiques being made of such middle-class environmentalisms. These include that people tend to only take part in these environmentalist actions after their physical and economic needs have been met and fulfilled (Buck, 2013:887). These middle-class environmentalisms are in many ways connected to recent debates among activists and scholars and politicians regarding the Anthropocene. The geographer Jason Moore (2017, 2017, 2016) has produced important theoretical work over the past two decades on the relationship between 'Nature' and 'Culture'. Together with scholars such as Anna Tsing (2017) and Donna Haraway (2008) and many others they are debating the usefulness of the Anthropocene concept to theorise the relationship between humans, extra-humans, plants, capitalism, labour, power and the ecological crisis.

A good example of a recent study on farmers markets is the published work by Foti and Timparano (2021) conducted research at a farmer's market in eastern and western Sicily. They collected data by making use of surveys in which their topic of focus was "Relationships, sustainability and agri-food purchasing behaviour in farmer markets in Italy". The focus of their research was to collect data on the way in which the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic caused changes in individual and collective behaviours and the repercussions that these had for food consumption (Foti and Timparano, 2021:449). Their

research found that consumers who turned to local food markets tended to show greater sensitivity to the various aspects of sustainability and its declinations and tend[ed] to build relationships around the trust placed in the territory and its products because they are considered to be of quality, on the environmental impact and the safeguarding of important natural resources, such as water, and the adoption of strategies for the separate collection of waste (Foti and Timparano, 2021:449).

They established further that the farmers market is a space where relationships are built so that, among others, food waste is challenged. Communication systems were formed that allowed individuals to communicate their commitment to sustainability and share production strategies based on good practices (Foti and Timparano, 2021:449). Those who visited the market mentioned that they tended to build relationships around the trust placed in the area and the products because these were of good quality (Foti and Timparano, 2021:449). They found that the construction of relational networks relied on four main elements as "represented by individual sensitivity towards sustainability, habitual purchasing behaviour, expectations about the agri-food system and agri-food policy and, finally, knowledge of the system of enterprises operating in farmers' markets" (Foti and Timparano 20:449).

There are many other existing studies on farmers markets in Europe and the USA (Naidoo and Ramatsetse, 2006; Hann and Hart, 2009; Bestor, 2001; Varul, 2010), as well as in South Africa (Foti and Tamparo, 2021). Perhaps unsurprisingly, most of the literature on urban food markets connect these to leisure, tourism and economic growth. The existing research on Hazel Food Market is also integrated in these debates. For example, in the study conducted by Naicker and Rogerson (2017:8), who explored food markets in Pretoria and Johannesburg as leisure phenomena, they state that "the outdoor setting of most food markets provides an inviting and intimate atmosphere and serves as a place of relaxed enjoyment for a family outing" (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017:8). They focused on aesthetic aspects of multiple markets in Pretoria and Johannesburg. They looked at the seating areas of different ones and explained that comfortable seating areas encouraged visitors to enjoy food and drinks purchased from the vendors (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017:8). They looked at distinctive features of each market, and the Hazel Food Market was described as one with scattered benches whereas, at Irene, the focus was a rustic setting (Naicker and Rogerson,

2017:8). They published findings about the importance of seating arrangements in creating an aesthetic for middle class leisure and consumption has relevance for my later discussion regarding the aesthetics of the market in relation to environment-making.

Another study conducted by Naidoo and Ramatseste (2016), of the same market I studied, emphasised the purchase intentions of consumers who buy organic food at the market. Naidoo and Ramatsetse (2016:82) discussed the benefit of the production and purchase of organic foodstuff by arguing that such foodstuff is not only beneficial for the environment because it improves soil quality and saves water, but it also discourages and even forbids the use of toxic chemicals and, pesticides, and genetically modified organisms that is harmful to the environment (Naidoo and Ramatsetse, 2016:82). The authors thus clearly make a connection between nature, environmentalist ideas, and the products being sold at this market. Moreover, Naidoo and Ramatsetse (2016:82) point out that studies have shown that organic food has multiple health benefits because they do not contain as many additives, which can be toxic to the human body if consumed too much or over a prolonged period. Without using the phrase 'web of life' used by Jason Moore, they argue that organic food not only has a healthy influence on consumers, but indeed on all organisms that come in contact throughout the process of producing the final product - from the soil to the workers; all who may come into direct contact with dangerous chemical and additives, if used (Naidoo and Ramatsetse, 2016:83). While Naidoo and Ramatsetse (2016:82) only made use only of questionnaires to make their data on what the participants of the Hazel Food market preferred and what their experiences were, their paper show that consumer's intentions for purchasing organic products at the Hazel Food Market is influenced by their demographic profile (where they stay), their previous purchase experiences, their attitude towards organic food and their environmental consciousness. These variables influenced their participant's' reasoning for visiting the Hazel food market and their 'purchase intentions'. They were also able to indicate that environmentalism is a feature of this particular market, a point I will return to when I discuss the environment-making taking place at the market.

The Hazel Food Market has of course also a presence in non-academic reporting and opinion pieces, published in both local newspapers and in various online publications and blogs.

An article written by Cochrane (2019) published in the online magazine *Eat out* discussed nine different food markets located in Gauteng that the reader should try. The Hazel Food Market was one of these and was described as "one of Pretoria's most popular food markets" (Cochrane, 2019). The other markets that were discussed included the Banting Real Food Market, Cowhouse Market, Deep Roots Night Market, Irene Village Market, Market @ the Sheds, Pretoria Boeremark, Vegan Food Fair, and Waenhuiskrans Plaasmark (Cochrane, 2019). The Banting Real Food Market is in Pretoria's national botanical gardens and visitors are invited to bring a picnic blanket with them when they visit it (Cochrane, 2019). Many markets are mentioned to be pet-friendly, such as Cowhouse, Hazel Food, Deep Roots and Irene Village (Cochrane, 2019). The Cowhouse was found to be enjoyed by market lovers, exercise junkies and food lovers, whilst Hazel Food Market was described as a relaxed outdoor place that hosted a large range of food stalls (Anon, 2021). Deep Roots invited people to end their week on a celebratory note and listen to live music while visiting (Anon, 2021). Market @ the Sheds is described as a vibey inner city place where musicians, artists and designers showcase their artwork and invite the 'hip' and 'trendy' to come and look (Anon, 2021). On google review, the Hazel Food Market is described by visitors as 'relaxed' and 'mellow' containing 'opulent vibes' (Anon, 2021). The Waenhuiskrans is described as a place to shake off the stress of the daily hardworking life and get a dose of fresh air (Anon, 2021).

It is noteworthy to record here that these markets are described in terms of the reasons why they should be visited. These descriptions and reasons place them in certain configurations within the community and in terms of their contribution to society. But it also communicates specific leisure activities taking place within aesthetics linked to environment-making. The descriptions also contain code words that would suggest to the reader whether this would be 'their scene' or not. This can influence visitors' expectations around experiencing the market. Open-air markets often make use of their natural environment to accommodate this aesthetic. An important part of this communication is how nature is put to work, including non-humans. If a market is described as pet friendly, for example, it may well be a way to communicate to readers that humans who are not comfortable with the presence of pets in public spaces, should avoid this market. I now turn to a discussion of the literature on nature, cheap nature and environment-making that would help me address research questions which

have not yet been addressed by the literature I have read. While I am interested in understanding what motivated consumers who visit the market, I am more interested in understanding how nature and even non-humans are put to work by social actors involved in environment-making at the market. I found the concept of environment-making useful here to bring together the social, economic and ecological questions I want to answer about Hazel Food Market.

2.1.2 Urban food markets, cheap nature, and environment-making

I start this section of the literature review with an extended discussion of the writings of Jason Moore who has contributed to recent debates regarding the Anthropocene by offering us the concepts cheap nature, environment-making and the rather unusual term Capitalocene. I spend some time discussing his ideas, because his ideas are both difficult to understand and relatively new. The geographer Jason Moore (2017, 2017, 2016) has produced important theoretical work over the past two decades on the relationship between 'Nature' and 'Culture'. Together with scholars such as Anna Tsing (2017) and Donna Haraway (2008) and many others they are debating the usefulness of the Anthropocene concept to theorise the relationship between humans, extra-humans, plants, capitalism, labour, power and the ecological crisis.

Now the relationship between 'Nature' and 'Culture' has long been of interest to anthropologists. Jason Moore is revisiting these earlier conversations by asking scholars to question the thinking and the model's scholars use that opposes or separates humanity from nature. He wants scholars to do away with the Nature/Culture binary and develop perspectives that sees 'nature-in-humanity' and 'humanity-in-nature'. His theoretical works seeks to critique Marxist and economic theories of capitalism that seeks to portray capitalism as being outside of or alien to nature. He is also critical of theories that portray nature as passive and merely a background or a resource to be tapped, utilized, mined and exhausted by humans. For him nature is active and should be foregrounded in our analyses.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Jason Moore is in conversation with a range of scholars who are writing in response to the ecological crisis that has been termed the Anthropocene. Central to many of these scholars' theoretical work is trying to move

beyond what they call the Nature/Culture binary that seems to be central to most of Western Philosophy (Moore, 2017). In these conversations that are happening between scholars, public leaders and activists it is often assumed that there is a binary between Culture and Nature. This binary is part of the debates concerning the concept of the Anthropocene. In these debates, humans are typically theorised as separate from nature such as in the work by Lorimer (2015). Lorimer suggests that nature is separate from humanity and is not as much influenced by humanity as humanity is influenced by nature, but that it is only through encounters with one another that these influences take place. For him, nature and humanity live alongside one another, occasionally crossing over into the other's spheres of existence, which creates encounters, before moving back into their own spheres of existence (Lorimer, 2015). Haraway (2008) also steps into the debate of the Anthropocene by explaining how the 'worlds' – by which she means separate ways of life – of human and non-human species 'collide' with one another through means of encounters and co-living. In her work there is a much closer connection and indeed interdependency between humanity and nature.

Yet my focus here is on Moore, and as such I will offer a summary of the ideas he articulated that I find useful in this study. Moore argues that the concept Anthropocene has been useful in directing the attention of scholars to the Nature/Culture binary and to better situate humans and nature in the concept of the 'web of life' (2017:5). But as Moore argues, his concept of the Capitalocene may be of more use in that it shows that society and nature is co-dependent, there is not a binary that separates them, but rather they are all connected in the web of life, along with capitalism (Moore, 2017:4). Moore is suggesting here that capitalism is not a system outside of nature or humanity/society, but rather could be theorised as a way of organizing nature and society (Moore, 2017:3). This means of course that capitalism may not be the only way to organise nature, but it also means that capitalism is part of nature and humanity, not separate from either. In rethinking the binary that opposes humanity and nature, Moore is critical of what he calls Enlightenment thinking and its 'Cartesian dualism'. By Cartesian dualism he means philosophies that separate the body from the mind, that privileges thought and leads to a consciousness that portrays humans as the 'possessors' of nature (Moore, 2017:12). But Moore is also critical of recent scholars who use the term Anthropocene to discuss the ways in which humans have impacted Nature. While he is sympathetic to what he calls Green Thought and some environmentalisms, he is critical of

this line of thinking as it remains trapped in the Nature/Culture binary. Moore wants to do away with this binary and makes a case for 'humanity-in-nature' and 'capitalism-in-nature', not Humanity opposed to Nature or capitalism outside of Nature. Where, for example, he asks, does nature begin: "in a rice paddy or a wheat field, in a cattle feedlot or on our dinner table, where does the natural process end, and the social process begin?" (Moore, 2017:7).

Moore argues that the economic and Marxist portrayal of capitalism as outside of Nature is problematic (2017:2). In the process he created several concepts such as cheap nature, humanity-in-nature, life-making, environment-making that are central to my research. As part of this project of rethinking the Nature/Culture binary, Moore (2017:4) introduces and discusses the term 'Capitalocene' which he prefers over the term 'Anthropocene' as a way to think and view capitalism, history and humanity as they are all situated within what he calls the "web of life". In his article "The Capitalocene Part I" Moore (2017) explains the weaknesses of the Anthropocene concept suggesting that this concept does not assist us in viewing capitalism as part of the 'web of life', which society and nature is part of (Moore, 2017:2). Elsewhere, Moore (2016) explains the 'web of life' as the billion-year-old process of life-making on the planet. Capitalism in the longer 'web of life' is about "how the mosaic of relations that we call capitalism work through nature" (Moore, 2017:4). Elsewhere he writes "The 'the web of life' is nature as a whole, nature with an emphatically lowercase 'n'. This is nature as us, as inside us, as around us. It is nature as a flow of flows" (Moore, 2017:6). For him, the era of Capitalocene is a very recent sliver in a long history of the 'web of life'. Moreover, for Moore capitalism is not an economic system but a social system and 'a way of organizing nature' (Moore, 2017:6). Moore is asking us therefore not only to 'bring back' nature in how we think of capitalism, but to see capitalism and its many natures and environments as part of the longer history of the 'web of life' that includes humans and non-humans. One of the implications of Moore's framing of these relationships is his suggestion that there is no one nature (or Nature), a permanent and stable category throughout the history of humanity. Rather, different epochs in human history produce multiple forms of species environments. This is difficult to explain other than using his own words: "This implies a shift from environment to environment-making: the ever-changing, interpenetrating, and interchanging dialectic of humans and environments in historical change. We are looking at the relations that guide environment-making, and also the

processes that compel new rules of environment-making, 'environments' are not only fields and forests; they are homes, factories, office towers, airports, and all manner of built environments, rural and urban" (Moore, 2017:5).

For Moore, environment-making is an activity of all life and that humans too "inhabit and environments 'made' by extra-human agencies" (Moore, 2017:5). The implication is that environments are always plural and that all environments are constantly being formed by all of life and those environments are shaping the basis of life (Moore, 2016). The web of life is a way of placing humanity and human organizations and civilizations within a larger whole of which humans is a powerful environment making species (Moore, 2016).

Moore (2017:6) explains environment-making by saying "we make environments and environments make us" showing that the action of environment-making is the way a species lives and operates. Humans make environments in which they work, live, and move. Moore (2017:9) explains that capitalism forms nature but nature also forms capitalism, as nature changes so does capitalism they are connected within the web of life where one influences the other. Moore (2017:9) refers to this as capitalism-in-nature, a nature with a lower case 'n' a nature that is us, inside us and around us but is also part of our environments such as capitalism. The Anthropocene concept, Moore argues, suggests that the problems that arises within Nature, i.e. global warming, pollution and so on, are the responsibility of human beings (Moore, 2017:2) and that this problem arose with the development of the steam engine where humanity started off the path of the destruction of Nature (Moore, 2017:1). Such thinking, including that he calls Green Thought (the various strands of environmentalisms), portrays places nature as a single factor or variable in the web of life that is undermined and subjugated by humanity. Moore (2017:4) argues that such thinking separates society and nature. This dualism makes is difficult for us to see the connections between humans and extra-human life, meaning that the dualism disconnects human life with other life (extra-human life). Moore (2017:5) explains that multi-species connections become visible when we think in terms of 'humanity-in-nature' and the 'web of life'.

In the current period of the Capitalocene, Moore (2017:3) argues that we have seen amongst others the rise of 'cheap nature'. Moore (2017:14) explains that cheap nature is not merely

low prices of parts of nature such as food supplies, labour, energy and raw materials. It is about the way in which these are valued under capitalism. Capitalism cheapens nature by organising nature in such a way that it can easily be exploited. Moore is effectively asking us to see the ways in which nature is exploited in the way that Marx asked us to see how the labour power of the working class is exploited and feminists asked us to see how the domestic and other labour of women are made invisible and not valued. Moore shows further how long histories of imperialism, racism and colonialism effectively used the nature/culture binary by placing those who should be exploited and not valued – women, Black people, slaves, Indigenous People, etc. – on the nature side of the nature/culture spectrum (Moore, 2017:14). Moore writes that the dynamics of supply and demand and the value placed on resources due to the capitalistic view that all things (human and extra-human) have a specific value within the 'web of life' has made resources (including some humans), cheap (Moore, 2017:6). In the same way that Marx showed how cheap labour is central to the functioning of capitalism, Moore is showing us how cheap nature makes capitalism possible.

Moore (2017:13) refers to extra-human natures as natures that are 'outside' of humanity, meaning it is natures that work for humanity but is not part of humanity. Human and extra-human natures are pushed and squeezed until every last drop of labour is squeezed out of them (Moore, 2017:13). Moore (2017:13) explains that the exploitation of nature made cheap causes the appropriation of nature to exceed the commodification thereof, pushing appropriation to its peak. Meaning that the conditions of reproduction and the unpaid work/energy of humans and the rest of nature is much larger than the ever-expanding commodity system (Moore, 2016). This means that the rate of exploitation of labor-power will rise and exhaust the life-making, which is the energy of the workers and the rest of nature, that sustain it (Moore, 2017:13). However, the movement of capitalism and de-humanization allows it more effectively cheaply extract the work and wealth of human and extra-human natures (Moore, 2017:10). Moore (2017:10) explains that this process is cyclical and cumulative, meaning that it is a process that is constantly on the move and increasing. For Moore, there is no one Nature but multiple natures that are linked to different epochs. The multiple natures are connected to history and are finite, the exhaustion of one Nature means the exploitation of the next (Moore, 2017:10). What he calls 'historical natures' are those natures that are formed through history but are used and exploited now, in

this civilization and across multiple civilizations and environments, until these historical natures are exhausted (Moore, 2017:10). In other words, for Moore, certain categories of humans are also made cheap in the Capitalocene as well as extra-human life forms. Moore (2016:9) explains that many species that work for capital aren't valued due to the system that merely values paid work. Here Moore is echoing the point made by feminists that showed how women's work is often not valued and therefore not paid (Moore, 2016:9).

In this lengthy summary of Jason Moore's theoretical work, I tried to show that he draws on both Marxist and feminist theories of value to show the ways in which the Nature/Culture binary assists in capitalism's extraction of value from human and non-human forms of life. Moore's work has been used by anthropologists such as Berger (2020:105) to show how the consumption of fungi and the planting and distribution of mushrooms are the pathway to the Capitalocene.

Although markets have been under discussion with regards to tourism and community building, not much research has been done by making use of Moore's work and exploring markets as a space of environment-making, cheap nature, and care. The following paragraph will discuss the importance of the research along with the research methodology and ethical considerations before moving on to Chapter 3.

2.2 Importance of research

As discussed, Moore's argument on cheap nature, environment-making and exchange challenges the Nature/Culture binary. Working with Moore's argument, this research will explore the Hazel Food Market as a system of environment-making influenced by capitalism. I agree with Moore that it is important to challenge the binary of Nature/Culture binary. This research will broaden the view of the Hazel Food Market by examining it as an economic system and show the ways in which humans are dependent on 'nature' even as we cheapen nature. The following section will discuss the way in which I am planning on doing my research and collecting data in the field. It will therefore discuss the relevant methods.

2.3 Methodology

Bernard (2011:13) explains that methodology is "a set of techniques for gathering and handling data". Multiple techniques are used within the social sciences and anthropology to gather and handle data. The most common technique within anthropology is known as participant observation (Bernard, 2011:13). However, there are other methods of data collection within anthropology and the social sciences such as informal interviewing, formal interviewing, unstructured interviewing, semi structured interviewing, questionnaires and direct and indirect observation (Bernard, 2011; McNeill and Chapman, 2005). McNeill and Chapman (2005:34) refer to methodological pluralism which is "the employment by the social researcher of more than one method of research in order to build up a fuller and more comprehensive picture of social life".

I made use of more than one method of research:
Participant observation which Bernard (2011:10) defined as the researcher "immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from the immersion so you can intellectualise what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly. I also made extensive use of semi-structured interviews which Bernard (2011:12) defined as a scheduled activity. "A semi-structured interview is open ended but follows a general script and covers a list of topics".

My principal research site was the Hazel Food Market located in Lynnwood, Pretoria East. I performed participant observation at the market and I also conducted interviews with a variety of role-players in the market. Mannik and McGarry (2017:36) explain participant observation as the engagement with people in various ways to obtain a clear understanding of their views and social and economic processes. It often involves taking part in different aspects of daily life. I made use of participant observation as a tool to generate data when I visited the Hazel Food Market and took part in the market activities, including buying products and communicating with the vendors and other visitors as well as the car guards and the security guards. Through participant observation I was be able to study how nature is present at the Hazel Food Market. My participant observation also stretched beyond visiting the physical market to participating on their online platforms such as Facebook; this type of research method is defined as 'polymorphous engagement' (Mannik and McGarry, 2017:36). The data I collected by using the online platforms were centred on the aesthetic of

the market and how the market is advertised. Mannik and McGarry (2017:36) define this kind of approach as "interacting with informants across a number of dispersed sites, not just in local communities, and sometimes in virtual form; and it means collecting data eclectically from a disparate array of sources in many different ways". My field site extended beyond the market in other ways too. I also attempted to build relationships with some of the vendors who sell products at the market and get permission to travel with them to their sites where they produce the products they sell at the market. One vendor invited me to his/her where produce where made and I conducted an interview with the vendors whilst they showed me how their products are made. Whilst on the site I made use of ethnographic tools such as observation and semi-structured interviews to collect data. This helped me to see more clearly where the products come from and how they are made. This further assisted me in seeing and documenting how nature and it's 'free gifts' (Moore, 2016:9) are used and sold at the market.

As I mentioned, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the food vendors, managers and some visitors to the Hazel Food Market. The interviews were directed at the vendors, managers, and the visitors because they were active contributors to the environment of the market. I approached these actors using a Letter of Informed Consent (appendix B) which I used to initiate a conversation about participating in the research through interviews. These interviews were voluntary, so that every participant was made aware that they could withdraw from the study if they did not wish to take part. Semi-structured interviews were useful because they typically create space for the interviewee to give personal answers to questions without being restricted, hence generating an understanding of individual's encounters and understandings of the market and their participation in market activities. Harrell and Bradley (2009) state that semi-structured interviews allow participants to share their beliefs, practices and views, which allow for past and present experiences to be shared. It allows interviewees to expand and clarify their answers, which provides a better evaluation and understanding of the responses given.

The languages I spoke during my research were Afrikaans and English. I adapted my chosen language to the preferred language of the vendor, visitor, or manager interviewed. I did not have to make use of translators because all the participants I interviewed were either

Afrikaans or English speaking: because I speak both languages fluently, I had no difficulty in communication with the interviewees. The greatest difficulty I faced regarding my research was contacting the owner of the market to speak with him about receiving permission to do my research at the market. The owner is a very busy person, and it took some time to get formal permission from him to conduct research at the market; especially after the Faculty Research Ethics requested a formal letter stating that the Whatsapp message I obtained from him was not formal enough. This was the same when I arranged an interview with him. Only one vendor refused to be interviewed: he stated that he was too busy to make time for an interview. The rest of the participants were willing and eager to take part in my research and even shared the reason for my visit to the market with those who were with them. The time I spent doing field research stretched over 7 months of visiting the market every Saturday morning. The sample size of my research participants is 25 participants which consist of visitors, vendors, and managers.

The largest unanticipated impact on my research was the Covid-19 Pandemic and the State of Disaster that was announced by the South African Government in response to the pandemic. I started to visit my research site directly following the suspension of "hard lockdown" when shops were allowed to open up again and the strict restrictions on public gatherings in public spaces were eased. Vendors and visitors were eager to take part in my research but the restrictions on the number of people in public spaces limited my sample size. There were often times where I had to wait outside the market for visitors to leave before I could enter. Because the market was functioning at full capacity, the number of people who were allowed inside were limited due to pandemic regulations. Vendors were reluctant to agree to house or site visits because they were afraid of exposing their workers or other family members who were more vulnerable to the virus to. Communication and interactions were also difficult to maintain because of the wearing of masks and social distancing. A considerable number of participants were nervous and would maintain social distancing, making casual small talk and interviews difficult, since I occasionally struggled to hear what they were saying. Some visitors were difficult to approach, because of fear of the virus. People were afraid to be outside their homes and afraid of other people standing too close to them or even talking to them. Communication was therefore complicated by Covid restrictions. It was difficult to read body language, facial expressions and tone of

voice. As a student who was still living at home, I was also afraid of contracting the virus at the market and infecting my family. So, there was a personal aspect of fear that I had to work through while I was conducting my research at the market. I also realised that as a researcher I had ensure that I not bring harm to my research participants, but also to myself and those I live with.

There were, however, ethical aspects that I had to consider whilst doing my research and collecting data in the field. In the following section I will discuss some of these ethical considerations these.

2.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations arose within my research and around the research site. Paying attention to these and planning on how to deal with it assisted me around to ensure that no harm would be done to any of the participants. The main consideration was that of participant consent and to ensure that my participants were informed of my research throughout my fieldwork period. Mannik and McGarry (2017:53) explain that it is the responsibility of the anthropologist to ensure that their research will do no harm, be it of a physical nature or harm to dignity and material well-being. The potential harm includes human and non-human life.

A large ethical question that arose from fieldwork was the matter of participant livelihoods. I was aware that my research at the markets had to take into consideration the livelihoods of the vendors as well as the workers and visitors who attended the market. It was important to keep participants in mind because the market was their workplace and, for some, their only means of income. It was therefore important to ensure voluntary, informed and dynamic consent from participants. Informed consent occurs where participants of the research are aware of it and have made an informed decision to take part in it (Mannik and McGarry, 2017:55). Participants were informed about the research in order to ensure that they gave informed consent to take part in it (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005:142). I ensured that participants were aware that they could withdraw from the research at any given time (Mannik and McGarry, 2017:55). I ensured that there would be formal and written consent

from the participants so as to ensure they were aware of the study and that they had agreed to part take in it.

Chapter 3: The Hazel Food Market: History, organisation and aesthetic

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Hazel Food Market in Pretoria where most of the fieldwork for this dissertation was completed. I offer a brief history of this market and then also describe its location, organisation and aesthetics. I then place the market in its wider context: that is, suburban Pretoria East. In this dissertation I am interested in how Moore's notions of 'environment-making' and 'cheap nature' can be used to develop new insights about urban market spaces such as the Hazel Food Market.

3.2 History of the market

Ten years ago, when I was attending high school in Pretoria, I was familiar with the Hazel Food Market, as it was called even then. My family and I would often visit the market for a family outing or, when house guests came to visit, we would take them to there to experience something of Pretoria. Back in those days, the Hazel Food Market was located in the Greenlyn Village Centre on the corner of Thomas Edison & Mackenzie Streets, Pretoria East. Even then, finding parking at the market venue was difficult. As visitors to the market who arrived in cars, 'informal' car guards would wave and call out to motorists and show them open parking spaces in which to park.

The market opened for the first time in January 2009. The first location of the market was at the Greenlyn Village Centre: the name of the market was the Hazel Food Market, and it was started by the then owner, Retha van Hoven (Mzongwana, 2016). Van Hoven was quoted in 2016 as saying that the focus of the market is to "re-establish the consumer's relationship with ingredients and opening the lines of communication between producers of fresh food" (Mzongwana, 2016). When new management took over the market and, in 2020, they decided to move to a new location, which caused a dispute between them and some of the vendors. Some vendors split away from the Hazel Food Market to start an alternative market. In the beginning of 2021, the remaining managers and vendors moved the market to a new

location at the PHSOB club in Queen's Crescent, Lynnwood, Pretoria (Jacobs, 2020). The market was renamed to The Hazel Food, Arts, and Crafts Market. In this dissertation, I will refer to this market as the Hazel Food Market.

From what I understand, the current managers of the Hazel Food Market were shareholders in the old market when it was still located at the Greenlyn Village Centre. In an interview[1] I conducted with one of the managers, they said:

> Ons het die mark begin re-invent. Ons het die twee markte 'n eenheid gemaak die kos en die arts and crafts was heeltemal geskei van mekaar. En ons het sport ingetrek so ons is nou die enigste mark in Suid Afrika wat eintlik op n sportveld is. En ons het ook gekyk na die area, ons sal nou nie name noem van ander markte nie maar soos die een wat in die verre Ooste van Pretoria is, daar kan enige iets gebeur. Low-cost housing kan daar gebeur en alles. Hier is daar nie noodwendig sulke gevare nie want ons is in 'n gevestigde area.
>
> [We started to re-invent the market, we combined the two parts of the market (the food and arts and crafts were apart from one another). And we integrated sport, so we are currently the only market in South Africa that is on a sports field. We also looked at the area, we won't name other markets' names but like another market that is far in Pretoria East, there anything can happen. Low-cost housing can happen there. Here there is not such a big danger of that, because we are in an established area.]

The managers explained to me that the move was not easy because there were vendors who did not want to leave the old location and wanted to split away from the Hazel Food Market and start their own market at the Greenlyn Village Centre. This conflict among vendors and the split of the market was not ideal, since it would not be good for either market if two

[1] Interview with managers: 19 October 2021.

markets existed so close to each other. The Greenlyn Village Centre and the PHSOB Club where the new market is located, is about three kilometres away from each other.

The PHSOB club was established in 1952 for the purpose of providing a place for school alumni to meet for sport, recreation and social get togethers (Anon, 2022). On their website, the club describes themselves as "a non-profit sports and social club aiming to serve the community through sports and recreation" (Anon, 2022). The PHSOB Club, where the market is hosted every Saturday, is located in Lynnwood, Pretoria. The suburb is a well-developed area situated in the east of the city centre (Anon, 2022). Lynnwood was first established in the 1960s and was the most eastern suburb of Pretoria back then; since then, the city has expanded considerably (History and Information on Pretoria Suburbs, 2022). The suburb, along with Brooklyn and Menlo Park, are now known as the Old East and have some of the city's most expensive and sought-after residential properties (History and Information on Pretoria Suburbs, 2022). The suburb is situated in close proximity to the University of Pretoria, The University of South Africa (UNISA), Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and its Convention Centre, Menlyn Mall, Brooklyn Mall and Hatfield Shopping Centre (SA venues 2022). The CSIR is one of the leading scientific and technology research and development organisations in the continent (SA venues, 2022). Lynnwood is also situated close to the Pretoria National Botanical Gardens, which is a popular place among tourists and locals alike.

Multiple embassies are found in the surrounding area of the Hazel Food Market. Those closest to the market are the embassies of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Qatar. The surrounding schools in the area include Lynnwood Primary School, Menlo Park High School, Menlopark Primary School, St. Mary's DSG, Brooklyn Primary School, Pretoria Boys High School, Afrikaans Hoër Seunskool, Afrikaans Hoër Meisieskool and Waterkloof House Preparatory School. The University of Pretoria and Isa Carstens Academy are also located near the market. Several guest houses are close by, which make it easy for tourists to travel to the market. Loftus Versfeld, a large sporting venue and stadium, is also located close to the market. The market is therefore located between schools, embassies, universities and a few guest houses, makes it ideally located for suburban visitors who live

in the area to visit it over a weekend. The geographical location was one of the focus points for the managers when they decided to move it to the current location.

3.3 Market organisation

In this section, I describe the organisation of the market as encountered in my fieldwork. Firstly, I analyse the outline of the market by making use of hand drawn sketches of it concomitant with the market aesthetic. Then I discuss the digital platforms used by the owners to advertise the market, as well as its aesthetic presentation as it appears on digital platforms. Lastly, I explore that which is perceived to be important or noteworthy to the managers by exploring their posts and comments on digital platforms.

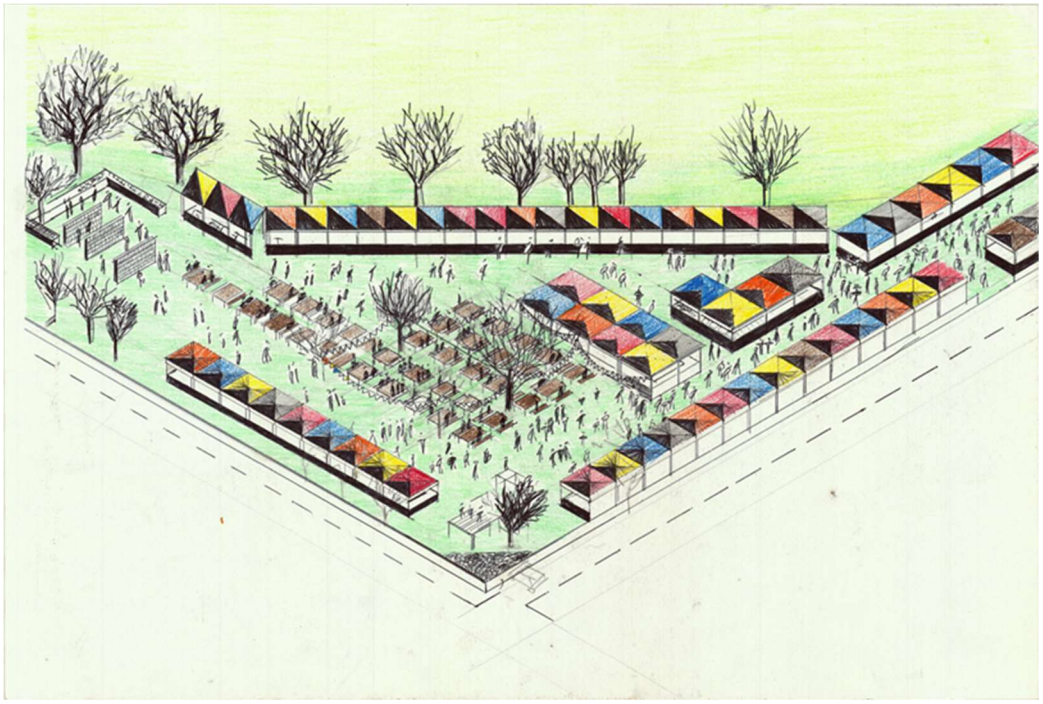

Figure 1 (Looch a, 2021)

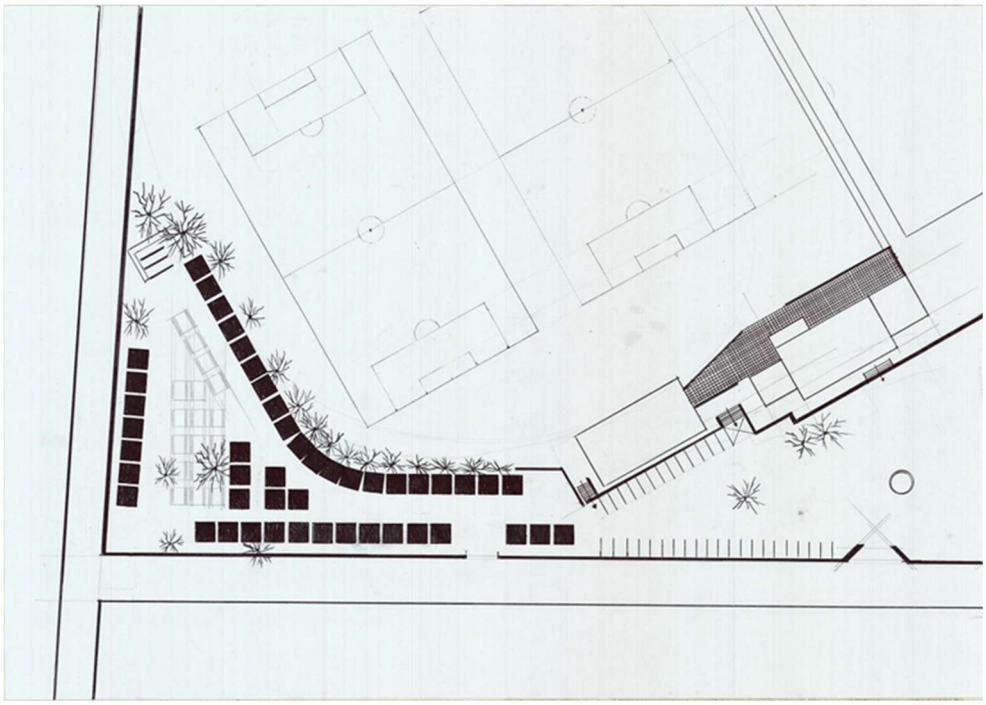

Figure 2 (Looch b, 2021)

Figures 1 and 2 show the outline and floorplan of the market on the sports field as found on market days, namely Saturdays. The stalls are positioned to create flow and direct visitors to vendor stalls by forming walkways. The benches are situated in the middle of the market which allows visitors to pause and sit down in between browsing episodes. In an [2]interview, a vendor explained that most of them try to book the same vending spot for their stalls every Saturday so as to ensure that visitors and regular customers know where to find them. Because the market is located outside a building, the vendor said, it is vulnerable to adverse weather conditions such as rain and storms, which are frequent in summer. Weather conditions such as immense rain and thunderstorms prevent vendors who sell products such as plants and clothes to sell at the market, because their products would be damaged. In the past, the managers notified visitors that the market would be closed due to weather conditions, which would have made the selling of products impossible.

[2] Interview with vendor: 6 October 2021.

The vendors at the market would often rearrange the benches and stalls to ensure a better "flow" and direct the visitors so that all the stalls would be visible and easily accessible. Vendors were allowed to move the stalls and benches if they received permission from the managers or if the managers asked them to help move these. This is important, because it shows the importance of the positioning of the stalls at the market. This determines the number of visitors each stall can attract. The black and white sketch of the market in Figure 2 shows how it is situated on the property of the PHSOB Club.

The relationship and agreements between the market managers and the owners of the club are of course important aspects to consider for understanding the organisation of this market. The managers explained to me that the owners of the PHSOB Club are regular visitors to the market, at both the old and new locations. In fact, one manager told me in an [3]interview that it was the club that had requested that the market consider their sports field as a venue and location: "Hulle [PHSOB Klub] vra nou al n rukkie vir ons om die Markie na hulle toe te skuif" [They [PHSOB Club] have been asking us for a while now to move the market to them]. This manager continued: "Dit is 'n langtermyn verhouding. Seker al so vyf of ses jaar een van die grootste borge van die [PHSOB] Klub wou ook gehad het dat die Markie hiernatoe [die sportvelde] toe skuif. So ek sal nie sê dit is net 'n professionele verhouding nie. Dit is mense wat saam met die mark wil groei en deel van wil wees" [It is a long-term relationship. For probably the last five to six years one of the largest sponsors of the [PHSOB] Club wanted the market to move here (to the sports fields). So, I won't say that the relationship is only professional. These are people who want to grow with the market and who want to be part of the market].

The interviews made it clear that managers believed that this relationship was beneficial for both the market and the club owners, because more visitors would come to the club because

[3] Interview with managers: 19 October 2021.

of the market. Part of the arrangement was that the club operated two stalls at the market. A manager explained it in these terms: “Ons help hulle ook veral met hulle alkohol verkope, hulle het ‘n bier, wyn en gin stalletjie waar hulle alkohol verkoop en geld maak vir die club” [We especially help them with their alcohol sales as they have a stall set up every Saturday where they sell beer, wine and gin at the market and make money for the club]. Figure 2 shows the flow of the market along with the places on the sport fields where cricket matches are often played.

One vendor said in an [4]interview that some of the vendors would arrange for their stalls to be placed close or next to each other, because it made sense for the products they sold to be located next to each other. He stated that “I have asked one of the managers to put stalls next to each other that work together, like perfume and jewellery”. He explained further that “I don’t like the front [section of the market] whatsoever, the problem with the front is, people rush in and rush out”. It seems that the stalls that were located close to the entrance of the market struggled to attract visitors, because they entered in a hurry at first and would rush past the first few stalls. This seemed to make interaction and sales at these stalls difficult. However, as visitors to the market became settled, they would slow down and start to walk through the market and explore the stalls at a slower pace. As a result, vendors would try to avoid those stalls. Furthermore, vendors told me they would try to stay at the same spot every week to make it easier for visitors who were looking for their products to find them. In another [5]interview his colleague, who works with him, told me: “Ons moet voor sewe uur opgeslaan wees en dan na dit kom die mense in” [We must be set up before seven o’clock because then the people start arriving]. He explained how the setup worked every Saturday morning: “There is a lot of trust you have to build with everyone, and once you have that trust you want to be around each other and have your stalls next to each other, we try work with each other to make everybody happy”. Vendors were required to be set up and ready

[4] Interview with vendor: 6 October 2021.

[5] Interview with vendor: 26 June 2021.

by a certain time and were not allowed to start packing up before a certain time, so as to ensure that visitors enjoyed a good experience.

On market day, colourful strings of flags were hung from trees and strung up between stalls along with small white wooden picket fences to create a border of sorts between the benches and the stalls. The repetitive patterns of the flags, picket fences, and benches and stalls gave the market an aesthetic appeal which resembled that which Hagen (2021:6) describes as "classical aesthetics". These are aesthetics with repetitive patterns and symmetry that would signal "naturalness", because they resemble patterns found "in nature". As I will show in later chapters, "nature" and "naturalness" are important themes in the kind of environment-making that was happening in the market, ranging from the products that were on sale to how the market was advertised.

The outline of the benches in the middle of the market invite visitors to explore the stalls but not wander too far from the stalls for a place to sit. It was not uncommon for strangers to share a bench. I often made use of this to start up conversations with visitors who asked to share a bench with me. On one occasion, I was surprised when a family asked me if they could share the bench I was sitting on. The middle-aged white woman got up to buy drinks for herself and her family and she asked if I would like something to drink as well. It seemed like a form of courtesy because we were sharing the bench. The benches seemed to encourage interactions among visitors and produce elements of sharing among strangers, even if they were all insiders to the market. This is of course an aspect of markets that have been documented in extant literature (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017:8), as exchanges that happen in marketplaces tend to encourage social interaction and the formation of social ties. I also think that the sharing of benches and the conversation among strangers that it encourages, tends to lessen the tensions, formality and social distance that may exist among strangers visiting the market. I have observed how visitors seated on the benches would share stories with each other, jump into overheard conversations and even share mobile phone data amongst each other if phone connections failed to process card payments. The design and aesthetics of the stalls, benches and picket fences contributed to the environment-making of the market by creating space for vendors and visitors alike to initiate relationships. I return to this in the next chapter.

The fact that the market is located on sport fields causes further social and exchanging intensity of the market on Saturdays. The market space is located right next to the cricket fields and cricket matches were frequently being played there. This meant that the market often attracted spectators and players, and it brings to the market an important leisure activity for suburban residents in Pretoria who enjoy watching sport matches. This also benefitted the club directly.

One manager had this to say in an [6]interview:

> Mense in die onmiddelike area het nie geweet hulle kan hiernatoe (die PHSOB club) kom nie, hulle het nie geweet die klub is oop nie. En nou dat hulle dit [die mark] sien, kom eet hulle by die restaurant en reel funksies hier. So ek dink die interaksie is baie goed vir beide".
>
> [Residents of the immediate area did not know that they could come here (to the PHSOB Club). They did not know that the club was open. Now that they can see it [the market], they come and eat at the restaurant and host events. So, I think the interactions are good for both].

Then I asked him to elaborate more on this topic:

> Hulle kom kyk krieket, wat ook vir ons belangrik was want dit was een van die hoofredes hoekom ons hiernatoe geskuif het. Ons het gesien deel van kultuur is sport. Die vrouens loop rond deur die mark en die mans gaan sit en kyk die krieket. Dis interessant om te sien hoe die sport ook 'n effek het op die mense wat kom… daar is byvoorbeeld gereeld 'n krieket dag hier vir die Hoërskole en Laerskole en almal wat dan kom vir die krieket ondersteun ons dan weer.
>
> [They come to watch the cricket, which was also very important to us because it was one of the main reasons why we moved here. We saw that sport is part of culture. The women browse through the market while the men sit and watch the cricket. It is

[6] Interview with managers: 19 October 2021.

> interesting to see how sports also have an effect on the people who come here…for example, there is often cricket days for the high schools and primary schools, and everyone who comes for the cricket then supports us.]

The relationship between the market and the club seems to be beneficial for both, because the market turns cricket spectators into market customers of the club and vice versa. Visitors to the market would visit the club restaurant for a meal or watch a rugby or cricket match on the television at the club after having visited the market. One of the vendors also mentioned in an [7]interview the cricket and the club saying that "what makes the market unique from the other markets we sell at is the little book shop stall in the corner, and the cricket and the PHSOB club. The guys go watch rugby and then the wives and girlfriends can go walk around the stalls". This shows not only the relationship between the club and the market, but also how the market responds to the gendered nature on consumption and leisure practices of suburban residents, where women were doing the buying at the market while men enjoyed the sporting activities.

To understand the appeal of this market to some suburban residents and international visitors, it should also be placed in the context of other consumption and leisure options that were available in the city. From my research, it seems that the market on the sports field offered some residents an escape from the commercial shopping malls and other spaces of consumption that predominate in eastern suburbs of Pretoria. Two women in their early twenties who visited the market said in an [8]interview: "Daar is min geboue of besoedeling [in die mark]" [There is not a lot of buildings and pollution at the market]. Several visitors I spoke to mentioned that this was the case and that this was the reason why they visited, while others made reference to the market as a place where they could "enjoy nature" while spending time with friends and family and buy delicious food and other products. One

[7] Interview with vendor: 6 October 2021.

[8] Interview with two girls: 7 August 2021.

amongst a group of teenagers who were visiting said "it feels a lot more community-based, the Neighbourhoods market feels a lot trendier". She said that this was her first visit to the Hazel Food Market and that she had only been to the Neighbourhoods market before and saw that the two markets were different. By "trendy" she meant that the visitors and vendors at other places wore more formal clothes and enjoyed live bands whereas in this case vendors and visitors wore casual clothes, and the atmosphere was more relaxed at Hazel Food Market.

One of the male teenagers leaned over one of the girls that I interviewed and stated that "it feels a lot like the markets in George"; he mentioned that he has been to a market in George in the past. George is a city located in the Western Cape in South Africa. When I asked him if he stayed in George he said no, he lived in Pretoria. But he visited a market in George that reminded him of the Hazel Food Market: the two markets were strikingly similar. One of the girls in the group stated that "it is something you want to share with someone, coming alone is not as much fun because you can't talk to someone about what you found or bought".

The market was attempting to offer an escape from or alternative to commercial shopping malls and consumption spaces which was also evident in the way in which the market was advertised. On the Google review website, comments were often made about the variety of international food choices available. One visitor to the site wrote a review citing the "great variety of global food". Another visitor to the market described it on Google review as embodying "variety, vibe and super class food items". One visitor stated on Google review that the market was a "relaxed environment with good food and friendly peeps").

3.4 Products, producing and "internal feel" and "community"

This brings us to the products that were offered for sale at the market stalls. As the title of the market suggests, food, crafts and arts are for sale. In my estimation, more stalls offered food and drinks than stalls that offered arts and crafts. I was not able to ascertain exactly why this was the case. Perhaps a form of quality control in terms of the products that were offered at the market were in place, since a manager told me in an interview that they would first source or test the products that vendors wanted to sell at the market and would then decide whether these were "good enough" to be included. What also seems important is the

packaging of products. When products are packaged, vendors preferred to use brown paper bags. At the food stalls, customers were given wooden rather than plastic spoons or forks, communicating awareness of the environmentally destructive nature of plastic. Some stalls made use of bamboo bowls or plates that were eco-friendlier than plastic ones. This awareness was however not shared by all the vendors and was not enforced by managers and owners. As a result, some stalls used polystyrene, plastic and paper in the form of take-away cups or take-away containers. Most of the stalls that made use of plastic, polystyrene or paper were selling coffee, smoothies, burgers, fresh pastries and caramelised nuts. Often fresh produce and breads were placed in plastic bags. So, whereas several of the vendors at the market regarded their products to be eco-friendly, whether in plant-based or organic forms, not all did away with the use of plastic and polystyrene. In an [9]interview, one vender explicitly mentioned their effort to "help protect the environment and live holistically".

The use of plastic and polystyrene was at odds with aesthetic and environment-making at the market, which seemed to want to emphasise "nature" and "natural ingredients", not only in terms of the use of classical aesthetics, but also in advertising that emphasised the "varsheid" (freshness) and "gesondheid" (health) of the products for sale. Health was certainly emphasised, as has indeed also been documented for fresh food markets around the world (Quick et al., 2021:115). Hagen (2021:7) explains that the prettiness of products and how they are presented often increase their appeal among urban consumers, because they reflect natural patterns and will therefore be perceived to be "healthier". In their study on the packaging of foodstuff and how the packaging of foodstuff determines consumers' decisions, Vilnai-Yavetz and Koren (2013:395) found that factors such as colour, design, form and so on can determine the perceived quality of a product and its attractiveness.

The marketing of Hazel Food Market on social media and online platforms was also worthy of consideration. On the market's Facebook page, for example, the words "organic", "fresh"

[9] Interview with vendors: 19 October 2021.

and “handmade” were emphasised. These were taken seriously by owners and managers, as reflected in their interviews. The managers made it clear that they only allowed certain products to be sold those that were “handmade” and “fresh” or “organic”. To manage the supply of products and to ensure that vendors did not experience too much unnecessary competition, the managers also prohibited the selling of too many of the same products. Some of the managers also posted photos of the stalls and products on the market’s Facebook and Instagram pages, thus playing the roles of both managers and marketers. These photos were often accompanied by captions that referred to the Hazel Food Market on a Saturday giving the open hours along with the name of the stalls where the products shown in the photos could be bought.

In our digital and visual age, it is not surprising that visuals play an important part of the marketing of the market. These images do not only market specific products, but also seem to communicate a message about the aesthetics of the market, thus contributing to the environment-making that unfolds at and within it. Scholars such as Legun (2016:6) have shown that visual aesthetics are often prominent factors in the selling of foodstuff and indeed all kinds of commodities. Writing about food products, Legun (2016:5) states that colour, “in food, is part of food language: it has meanings, these meanings can change, but they contribute to a lexicon of experience”. The colourful photographs ranging from fresh green lettuce to deep brown nuts and breads and bright pink pieces of raw meat as well as the fresh white “farm to table” milk and cheese that appeared on the market’s digital platforms, all contributed to presenting the market as a place where consumers could consume “health” and “nature”.

On the Hazel Food Market’s Facebook page one of the vendors stated: “We are proud of the fact that our products come directly from the farm and that they’re filled with goodness and no preservatives, additives, or stabilisers. Our milk is only pasteurized and not homogenized, without additional hormones or antibiotics” (Hazel Food Market a, 2021). This statement was a common statement amongst vendors at the market who sold fresh produce such as vegetables, fruits and meats. The focus on handmade/ homegrown and organic products was clear. Another aspect of the market’s marketing aesthetic was emphasis on food products. Although the market was a market for food, arts and crafts, food dominated the market as

well as its marketing. In my estimation, most posts on the market's Facebook and Instagram pages concerned food stalls and products. Moreover, I observed emphasis on the variety of food products on offer, including the international or even cosmopolitan range of food for sale. Thus, I read posts and saw photographs of food products such as Dutch croquettes, Arabic flat breads and so forth. This aspect of the marketing was underscored by one of the managers in an [10]interview:

> Dit is vir ons baie belangrik om 'n internasionale gevoel te hê, want ons werk met baie van die ambassades en baie van die ambassades is ons klante so ons wil die heeltyd daai internasioanle gevoel by die mark hê... ons reel nou vir November 'n Indonesiese dag so hulle bring vyftien verskillende stalletjies en mense word genooi. En was dit vir 'n Afrika land wat ons 'n modeparade gedoen het so rukkie terug?
>
> [It is very important for us to have an international feel at the market, because we work with a lot of the embassies and many of the embassies are our clients so we want to have/create that international feel at the market…We are arranging an Indonesian day in November so they will bring fifteen different stalls and people will be invited. And was it for an African country that we arranged that fashion show a while back?]

This is a noteworthy aspect of the market because, on the one hand, there is an effort to support local vendors with their local products but, on the other, an effort to bring in international products and types of food that would ensure that tourists frequent the market. The combination of South African and global food products made locally were consumed and enjoyed by South Africans and international visitors. This boosted the flavour, if you like, of the market and its environment-making. To illustrate this point, I recount one episode from my field research one Saturday morning at the market:

[10] Interview with managers: 19 October 2021.

I was sitting on one of the wooden benches enjoying the warm summer's morning sun and sipping my coffee, observing the flow of people and exchange of objects in the market space. As I was sitting on the bench, a middle-aged woman and her two children arrived and sat on the bench next to mine. There were not many visitors at that time, and I assumed it was because it was a very warm summer day. It also meant that the market was not filled with the usual chatter of people buying and selling and conversing. I could not help overhearing the conversation next to me and found, to my surprise, that they were tourists from the USA who were discussing their trip back home to America. At that moment it dawned on me that I often encountered international tourists at the market, yet I seemed to have underplayed this fact in my understanding of the market and its environment-making, including the research questions I had initially formulated. As a local resident, it was perhaps more difficult for me to recognise the international dynamic at the market and its concomitant location; a capital city with many embassies and foreign missions.

In terms of digital platforms, I was struck by silences around the marketing. I was intrigued that scenes or spaces or kinds of persons that I repeatedly encountered at the market were not included in the marketing. Most notably, of course, the car guards operating outside the market, who were clearly also outsiders to the market community. The focus on foodstuffs from various parts of the world involved another element of environment-making. It reveals the desire and plan that the market not only wants to cater for local visitors, but also wants to cater for international visitors. Coupled with that "international feel" was a desire for the market to be neat and well organised, presenting itself as "professional". This was in addition to the image the market wanted to project of being "natural" and "healthy". As I will show in the following chapters, creating such an image of the market required environment-making in which insiders and outsiders were produced, and in which the often wild and chaotic nature of public life on the street was counterposed with the tamed civility of the market community. The 'web of life' was tamed through a process of environment-making in which certain kinds of people were included in the community through the language of care, while other kinds were excluded and portrayed as dangerous outsiders who did not belong there, such as the car guards.

Chapter 4: Race, class and environment-making at the Hazel Food Market

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the history, location, organisation and aesthetics of the market which form the basis of this research. In this chapter I move to a discussion of ethnographic data that I gathered at the market. I also move from description to analysis by using a number of key concepts to contextualise the market. I start with the three key and well-established concepts in South African social science, namely race, class and gender. I then use the concepts of space and place to situate the market anthropologically. Finally, I move on to a discussion of a less well-established concept, namely environment-making. As discussed in Chapter 2, I draw here on the recent writings of Moore (2017).

Because Moore's arguments are new and not well-established, it is important to restate some key points here. Firstly, Moore is writing about capitalism in the context of the Anthropocene, and how the Nature/Culture dichotomy is central to capitalism. Capitalism has a specific way of organising Nature and Culture, including the recognition that Nature, like Labour, is made cheap and ready for exploitation. How this happens varies from environment to environment. Environment-making is a key part of how capitalism organises Nature to be cheap so as to frame it as a resource and make it seem that nature and humans and non-humans are not connected in the 'web of life'. A key part of environment-making in capitalism is the separation of Nature from Culture.

Secondly, thinking about environment-making at the market opens avenues into examining the ways in which it is situated within capitalism, and how its location, aesthetics and organisation create a very specific environment that allows for Nature to be made cheap. Moore explains that environment-making is a process of the making and un-making of connections through means of exchanges and encounters (2017:5). Moore (2017:5) explains further that we make environments, but environments also make us. Offices, markets, airports and golf estates all demonstrate environment-making in different ways and involve

different aspects of environment-making. The concept of environment-making allows us to ask how nature is put to work at the market.

4.2 "Undesirable outsiders" outside the market

It was a sunny winter afternoon at about 12:30. I made my way in my car to the market, turning into Queens Crescent Street. I was excited, because I was to have my first formal interview with one of the vendors. As I got out of my car, a black man wearing jeans and a grey hoodie approached me clutching in his hands a variety of leather belts and wallets. Clearly a street hawker trying to make a living in a society where the unemployment rate was close 40% for adults. He tried to sell me one, but I politely declined and made my way to the market entrance.

While street hawkers are a familiar part of city life in African cities (Mitullah, 2003:3), and indeed in London (Neary, 2022), Paris (Cattan, 2021:2), and New York too (Butz, 2022), in Pretoria's eastern suburbs they only appear at intersections and at sporting or public events, including market days. Judging by newspaper reports (Nthite, 2019), not all residents living in Pretoria East were happy with the presence of informal traders and street hawkers. It was as if residents in the East did not want to be reminded of or confronted by the disturbing reality that was presented by the official statistics regarding inequality and that it had remained racial in nature.

Nodding at the car guards who, for small or no change, watched over expensive cars parked outside the marketplace, I made my way to the entrance greeting the elderly white lady who welcomed and sanitized the hands of visitors every Saturday. She handed me a pamphlet; one I was familiar with, as she had handed me the same one a few weeks before. This pamphlet asked visitors not to pay the "illegal" car guards in the street, informing the reader that the Hazel Food Market was making arrangements to "take care of the issue". In the newspapers and on talk radio, there was a constant debate about whether white and black middle-class South Africans should give money to people begging on streets, how to deal with informal street hawkers, whether to pay or tip informal car guards and what to do with men who were known as "window washers" (Eligon, 2012; Foster and Chasomeris, 2017:2).

In this public debate, car guards were depicted as either a nuisance or as individuals who were seeking a way to make a living. Motorists complained that street hawkers and car guards harassed them and that they made the streets "unsafe" due to increased crime levels and smash-and-grab robberies (Kogsana and Sibiya, 2015). Car guards explained that motorists were often rude to them whilst they were merely trying to make a living and earn a salary (Nktwashu, 2018). Often car guards, hawkers and window washers were seen as "unwelcome" because they were working illegally, and most had not registered to work in specific areas. Others protested that the car guards, hawkers and window washers were contributing to the welfare of the city by creating job opportunities and help keeping the streets safe.

Clearly the market decided to advise market goers not to tip the car guards, perhaps because they had received complaints about market goers about them. In an interview I had with the owner of the market, I asked him about this issue, and he said that it was still a "problem" for them. He [11]stated: "dit is nie ons grond nie, ons het al die metro hier gehad en hulle stel net nie belang nie. Dit irriteer die klante en hulle raak partykeer aggresief met die vrouens en hulle drink. Dit bly maar 'n problem maar dit is moeilik om dit uit te sorteer. Selfs al kom die polisie, hulle laai hulle op, dan is hulle net volgende Saterdag weer hier". [It is not our property, we had the metro police here, but they were not interested. It [the car guards] irritates the clients, and they are sometimes aggressive with the women, and they drink. This remains a problem, but it is difficult to sort out. Even when the police come and take them away, they are back the next Saturday]. When I asked the managers if the clients complained about the car guards, they said that some of the clients had approached them personally to complain. They said that they made it clear to the clients that the car guards did not work for them, they were there of their own accord.

[11] Interview with managers: 18 June 2022.

I walk past the stalls and once again made my way to Skull and Bean, the coffee stall, for my regular medium cappuccino. This had become my fieldwork routine when visiting the market. After having gotten hold of my cup of coffee, I moved to the stall which sold different types and sizes of bird seed ornaments, which buyers could hang in their gardens to attract birds. On my way there, I started rehearsing my introduction for the interview with the vendor as well as some basic questions I wanted to include from the get-go. I am a very shy person, so this was one way in which I could make sure that I did not forget what I wanted to say because of my nerves. Upon approaching the vendor's stall, she immediately remembered me and smiled and exclaimed that she was glad I had gotten myself a cup of coffee. She invited me to sit with her at a white plastic table which was situated across from her stall. She was a middle-aged white woman wearing a jean with a colourful top and wore long curly hair with grey streaks. She asked a middle-aged white man who was with her at her stall, whom I assumed to be her husband, if he would like to join us or if he would prefer looking after the stall. He too was wearing jeans with an oversized beige hoodie, his white hair popping out in different directions as he looked at me over his glasses. He reminded me a bit of the photos I had seen of Albert Einstein. He shook his head and stated that he would stay at the stall. We both smiled and nodded and moved to the white plastic table where we sat opposite each other.

The market was not as busy at that time, and the vendor started to explain to me that their busiest hours on market-day occurred in the mornings. The business tended to quiet down after 12:00. We continued to talk about the delight that comes with looking at birds visiting your garden and the making of bird seed. She explained that she made her bird seed ornaments with a mixture of peanut butter, dried fruit (such as raisins) and bird seed. The point about selling these ornaments to homeowners was that they attracted wild birds to suburban homes. These features had become popular over the preceding five years, and it was not yet clear to me why this had in fact occurred. In Pretoria, you could buy these at Checkers and pet shops like Absolute Pets. And, of course, at the market.

For my parent's generation, birds were a nuisance and sometimes a pet (such as a parrot). As children, they grew up trapping and killing birds for fun. Now, suburban homeowners bought ornaments and food attached to it to attract birds to their suburban gardens. What

was this shift that had taken place over a generation all about? What did it say about the changing configurations of Nature and Culture among suburban homeowners in Pretoria?

I was not able to gather lots of data on this issue, but a superficial reading suggests that homeowners now valued wild birds more because they realised the value that they had as pollinators for gardens. It could also have been that, as residents became surrounded by waves and waves of urban developments such as malls and gated communities (Harrison and Todes, 2022), they felt that "the bush" or "nature" had moved further and further away from where they lived. Bringing nature to their gardens in the form of plants, gardens and wild birds might have been a way for them to deal with their alienation from nature; especially for those who were unable to "get out of the city" for weekend breaks to "the bush" in order to "consume nature" (see Ndebele, 1999:2). For others, it might have been seen as an important feature in a fancy or authentic suburban garden.

During my interview with the vendor, our attention was directed to Queens Crescent Street and, to the market entrance. A police vehicle, a white bakkie with two police officers, had parked in the middle of the road. One of them, a white man dressed in full police uniform, got out of the vehicle and started talking over a large white megaphone. He called all the black men who were acting as car guards in the street to come over to the vehicle. At that moment, it seemed as if a collective hush fell over the whole market, visitors and vendors standing frozen in place, whispering to one another, and glancing at the scene playing off in the street. Fearful of a public spectacle and potential conflict, the middle-class visitors' eyes widened in anticipation.

On the street the dynamic was different. First the car guards seemed to scatter and run away, but then they moved to the police vehicle. A debate erupted between the car guards and the police officer in the street. We were unable to hear exactly what was being said, but the officer demanded that they leave the street. In return, the car guards were shouting at the officer and making visible gestures with their arms showing their disagreement. After what seemed to be a few minutes, the car guards left the street and the police car drove off. Slowly the market came back to life as people started walking again and talking more loudly. I

thought it was curious how the atmosphere at the market changed, because of the public commotion outside.

Even though there was fencing around the property within which the market operated, which "separated" the (private) market from the (public) road, it seemed that there was a connection between the two. The visitors to the market could not take their vehicles, an important asset for suburban residents and a marker of status, inside the property where the market was located; they had to leave these outside. The theft of motor vehicles and of valuable items from motor vehicles were everyday realities of suburban South Africa (Nktwashu: 2018). This was how and why the guards had inserted themselves in order to extract money from car-owning visitors to the market. Of course, the visitors did not have to pay the car guards anything. There was no ticket system or contract in place that regulated this exchange, yet the guards could resort to informal methods of coercion and pleading to extract a small tip from them, even as they legally could not be prohibited from entering.

Perhaps it was the coercive behaviour of the car guards that got some visitors to the market to complain about them. Either way, it was a dynamic that plays out in suburban contexts in South Africa on a daily basis, and these encounters were often racial in very specific ways. It also became clear to me that the entrance to the market was not only meant to be a way to welcome visitors, but also to make sure that undesirables did not enter. The car guards, who were black and poorly dressed and did not carry themselves like middle class residents of the suburbs or like tourists or students, were not welcome.

One morning, I took notice of a car guard entering the market. He hurriedly passed multiple stalls and visitors, clutching his neon yellow vest in hand, and stopped by a young white woman. He spoke to her in a low voice before turning around and speedily exiting. It was a strange moment, and it seemed that I was not the only one who thought so. The surrounding visitors and vendors all took a moment to survey the encounter before going on with their tasks and discussions. What stood out to me was that the car guard took off his vest before entering the market, and when I passed him on the street on my way back to my car, he was wearing it again.

Anthropologist Julia Hornberger, who has done ethnographic research on the South African Police Services, writes in an article: "My police, your police" how two parties to a conflict in Johannesburg each called 'their police' to resolve the conflict in their interest. She recounts the incident as an example of how the police, in practice often did not embody an abstract national law and legal system, was embedded in relationships and communities, while this made it difficult for them to be impartial.

Hornberger (2004:219) states that, in South Africa, police officers are imagined collectively to be a source of power and were thus seen as power brokers to be utilised against those you happened to be in conflict with. It was likely that the owners of the market, who were white, called "their" white police officer to come and chase away the black car guards who worked informally outside. She writes that the police are often drawn into conflicts between two "worlds", each side using them to gain an advantage (Hornberger, 2004:219). In such micro-governing conflicts, conflicting parties make use of whatever resources are available to improve "a bargaining position in contesting valuable resources" (Hornberger, 2004:219). Of course, the option for car guards to call the police to protect them from the market owners or visitors was not available. The use of the police in this instance was highly unequal. Here they were asked to clean up the streets outside the market. Interestingly, it seemed that part of the reason for this request from the market owners was caused by the fact that the car guards were perceived as an embarrassment. On 29 March 2021, a manager of the Market's Facebook page shared a post regarding the guards:

> *Please do not support the illegal car guards, they are not employed by the market. They caused embarrassment on 27 March allowing two customers to park illegally and blocking the entrance to some offices, across the road from the market. These cars were removed by Metro Police and the owners had to pay to have the vehicles released.*
>
> *Please do not pay the guards. We have investigated removing these guards, (illegal immigrants) and we are in the process of involving the community, the club, and the market in this endeavour (Hazel Food Market, 2021).*

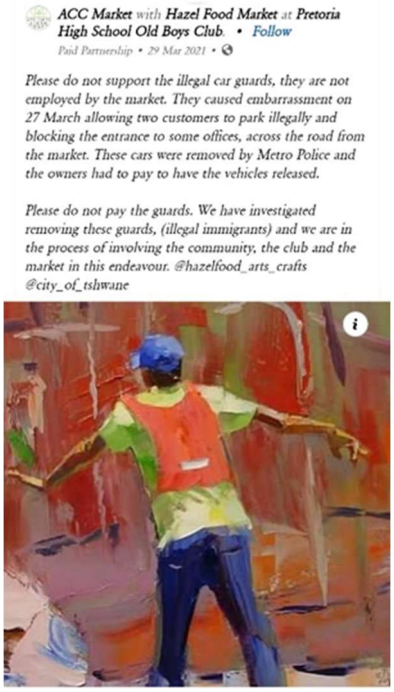

Figure 3 (Hazel Food Market, 2021)

The post made several claims about the guards. They were illegal immigrants, which was unlikely. They were blamed for visitors who had blocked the entrance of a building with their motor vehicles. This, too, was questionable. Car guards knew very well where vehicles should and should not park; their livelihoods depended on it. It is more likely that some visitor parked their motor vehicle there and then, after it had been impounded, blamed the guards for giving them wrong instructions. Visually, the post is interesting, the roughly drawn images shows the back of a car guard seemingly pointing to an open space whilst calling a driver's attention. Whilst looking at the image I can almost hear the high-pitched whistles and imagine the arm gestures that the image is trying to portray. Signalling the image South African drivers have of car guards.

What stood out was that the car guards were not mentioned in any advertisements about the market. The managers of the market shared a post on its Facebook page stating that safe parking was available inside the gated complex next to the market, and in this post the guards were simply not mentioned. Nor did they feature in the branding of the market. The managers of the market were making an effort to disassociate the market from the guards.

Environment-making here included removing that which is deemed impure from the market and the space that surrounds it. Urban scholar Bénit-Gbaffou (2009:56) explains in her paper "Who control the streets? Crime, 'communities' and the state in post-apartheid Johannesburg." that outsiders and insiders (often along racial, ethnic, and class lines) need to be defined in order to control a neighbourhood. What follows then are acts of exclusion by making use of collective devices to control the latter, such as physical barriers that restrict access to 'what remains legally public space' (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009:56).

According to Bénit-Gbaffou (2009:60), such an act becomes a way in which to control the surrounding environment in one way or another. Such acts surface in the case of the car guards, who were expelled from the market to control the environment and keep away that which was deemed to be impure, as indicated. Gates and gate keepers usually prevent "impurities" from entering a market while, at this market, colourful stalls, flags, shaded wooden benches and invitations from multiple food and craft vendors invited those deemed to be "acceptable" into it. It reminds me of suburban homeowners' attempts to lure wild birds to their gardens with birdseed ornaments and bird feeders. Just like homeowners who pick out the right birdseed ornaments to attract the right birds to their beautifully groomed gardens, the managers of the market select the "ornaments" that will attract the right customers to their well-groomed market space.

Environment-making was in this case connected to race and class because the endeavour was to draw in the wealthy and middle-class homeowners and international visitors and restrict access to the poor and 'lower class', including the car guards and street hawkers. Even vendors who sold their labour were welcome at the market by paying a fee for a gazebo spot. Being an ornament to the market, meaning being an object that is used to attract desired visitors to the market, is therefore connected to being able to draw in the 'desirables', while that which apparently chased them away or caused them to leave were deemed to be 'undesirable'.

Durington (2009) explains that every suburban home in South Africa is fortified by high walls, intricate alarm systems, ever-present security services and so on. However, it is not merely the homes that are fortified, but the communities as well (Durington 2009). Gated

communities have become popular in South Africa for the sake of safety and restricting access to the wider public. Such acts are further ways to control the surrounding environment and residents' ways of taking control of their own safety (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009:62). The conditions that direct these gated communities are unique, but they are based upon "a number of factors including racial identity, geography, history, culture, national legislation, and local governance" (Durington, 2009). Urban scholar Richard Ballard (2005:66) explains that territorial defence is embedded in the idea of what 'our place' is all about. This means that "discourse of establishedness sits at the interface between place, identity and power. It is a claim to being native or indigenous to a place" (Ballard, 2005:66).

In South Africa, such forms of establishedness arise and so do conflicts. When influx control was removed from South African legislation, racial groups who had previously been excluded from neighbourhoods were able to roam freely in such areas (Ballard, 2005:67). However, disputes did not end, because conflicts still arose among ethnic, racial and class groups with regard to who had ownership over spaces and who were welcome (Ballard, 2005:67). Longstanding residents (the established) who were not influenced by the influx control systems, continued to see certain ethnic and racial groups as outsiders, resulting in the fear of an increase in crime and the acts of controlling the surrounding environment to keep the "unwelcome" out (Ballard, 2005:67).

In urban South Africa, cleaning the streets from undesirables has a long and awful history. During apartheid, the Nationalist Government used the police force to enforce the hated pass laws and influx control. Influx control centred on keeping cities from becoming work and living destinations for rural black populations, effectively keeping them trapped in homelands where they 'naturally' and 'culturally' belonged (Hidson, 1985:402).

Black people who did enjoy the right to live in the city because they were born there or because they were given a permit, could walk the streets. But if they did not carry their permit (the rightfully dreaded 'dompas') with them, police could arrest them. Also, white suburban citizens could call the police if black people were walking around the street without a clear purpose; this crime was called loitering (Hidson, 1985:403). White homeowners

calling the police to remove black people from suburban streets have a long history in urban South Africa.

Elements of this unfortunately persisted into the new, democratic dispensation. This is in part because police officers are not seen as embodying the state or a new set of laws and ethics but were still seen instead as local sources of power, as Hornberger, (2004:219) argues. Even in Johannesburg, with a range of democratic procedures and pro-poor policies, the Metropolitan Municipality has waged a war on informality on the streets.

Anthropologist Dennis Webster (2019:69) wrote an article on the war on street traders in Johannesburg and discussed the role that aesthetics played in this war. Street traders were taken off the streets by an operation directed by the government, known as "Operation Clean Sweep" (Webster, 2019:64). He argues that a desired aesthetics to some extent shapes who and which activities are allowed to be present on the streets so as to keep them 'clean' (Webster, 2019:74). In similar vein, a part of the environment-making that took place at the market was the erasure of unsightly car guards, who happened to be black, and a huge effort was made not to include them in the visual representation of the market in marketing material, as indicated.

The kind of aesthetic that the owners of the market wanted to produce was one that rendered invisible the unwanted. The owners of the market would go so far as to call 'their police' to assist them in removing the unwanted, as indicated. These are acts of environment-making in the sense that, that which is deemed to be 'unfit' for the market space is excluded.

Moore makes me attentive to how Nature and Culture is organised. Moore and others have written how oppressed groups have historically been positioned closer to Nature and how this has ideologically backed up efforts to colonise, oppress and exploit them. Over the past few centuries, during capitalist expansion, black people had been positioned closer to Nature, through the way they are treated and sometimes ostracised and thus represented as "primitive" and "uncultured". Such racist ideas show how capitalism uses the Nature/ Culture binary. That is also why racist expressions towards black people often involve derogatory terms that position them closer to animals (or specific kinds of animals). That

Nature can be used to express racist sentiments shows how Nature has been made cheap, by excluding ethnic and racial groups from gatherings for example, and ready for exploitation.

The action of 'removing' the car guards from the space the Hazel Food Market and the club was like the clearing made in the bush that the academic writer Njabulo Ndebele (1999:1) writes about in his paper "Game lodges and leisure colonialists". Ndebele explains that South Africa is like a game lodge with its colonialist background and leisurely aspects. He makes use of images of the game lodge to explain how colonialists made space for leisure in the midst of the "chaotic" bush, a space from which visitors could gaze at the chaos from a place of "safety" (Ndebele, 1999:3). He speaks of the perfectly green cut grass in the middle of the chaotic bush, which speaks of the 'dominating' or 'taming' of nature to fit the modern aesthetic of those who were successful in taking over the space (Ndebele, 1991:1). The encounter between the car guards and the market along with the market's reaction to the situation made me wonder about the way in which they were positioned by the market. Are the car guards positioned closer to Nature or closer to Culture, and how does this relate to environment-making at the market, and how nature is put to work?

4.3 The work of nature in making outsiders and insiders

Drawing on wider scholarship, Moore (2017:5) argues that, within the Nature/Culture binary, certain groups, such as women, the poor and ethnic groupings such as blacks are ostracised and pushed to the Nature pole of the binary because they are not seen as fit to be part of Society or Culture. This is a common action that takes place where groups of people are ostracised and shunned from a community and seen as 'unwanted', 'unwelcome', 'illegal' or 'dirty' (Webster, 2019; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009:62). Webster (2019:62, 66) writes that "Operation Clean Sweep" resembles the colonial and apartheid regimes which sought to differentiate social classes among South African populations. In such a way, groups of the population in terms of race, in this case street traders, are located to specific areas where they are allowed to sell their goods and where they are not "in the way" of the market activities.

In this chapter, I discussed the violent exclusions of groups of people who are deemed "undesirable" and seen as a "nuisance", such as the car guards. The market managers try to

maintain a specific aesthetic of the market and put nature to work by creating outsiders while assisting residence to overcome alienation from the bush. In a desperate attempt to maintain the market aesthetic, the managers tried to call the police to remove the car guards. The police were only successful to remove the car guards temporarily. Such actions reveal the outcome of establishedness. In this instance it is illustrated by certain groups who have been established in an area for long enough viewing other ethnic or racial groups as outsiders. The established make use of measures to restrict access of such groups from their property or area of residence. The community inside the market gates seem to protect those who are welcomed and who have access to the market, the private green community. Whilst those who are outside the market, in the street where the cars are parked are pushed into the "wilderness" where there is more 'danger'. Environment-making is evident in such acts of access restrictions. As the managers of the market exclude the 'impurities' or 'wilderness' from the freshly green cut lawn to ensure that the area stays "clean" and "groomed". The 'unwanted' are made invisible through such acts, causing silences to fall on the exclusions and restrictions that take place every Saturday morning. Showing that although legislations such as influx control no longer exists, suburban residents still make use of measures to ensure a differentiation between them and those ethnic and racial groups who are not part of the suburban resident's community.

Chapter 5: Relations of violent exclusions and caring inclusions

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 3 I discussed the history of the Hazel Food Market and the changes it underwent when it moved from its old location to the new one, along with the disputes that followed as a result. The managers of the market chose the new location due to its proximity with many embassies, schools and wealthy suburbs such as Brooklyn, Menlyn and Lynnwood. The focus on such aspects showed that the demographic that the managers wanted to attract were the middle- and upper-class suburban residents, tourists and international ambassadors.

I then discussed the market organisation by analysing the aesthetic of the market in terms of two "sketches". In chapter 4 I discussed how race and class formed part of environment-making at the market. It focused on the presence of the car guards at the market as well as the dispute that arose between them and the managers of the market. I further discussed what was ornamental at the market and how that which attracted the 'desirables' were seen as ornaments, whilst those who pushed them away were seen and treated as 'undesirable'—in this case, pertinently the car guards, as demonstrated. Such inclusions and exclusions form part of environment-making. It created a space where suburban homeowners, tourists and international ambassadors were welcomed to enjoy the leisure of the market, whilst the 'undesirables' were kept at bay. I also showed how important natural products are in creating 'insiders' who are able to overcome their alienation from nature while nature is also put to work to create outsiders.

One Saturday morning, I was turning into Queen Cresent Street, looking for a parking space. I was immediately hindered in my pursuit by two black male car guards arguing in the middle of the road about a tip given to one by a market visitor who had left. The two guards were apparently arguing about who the tip belonged to: one claimed that he looked after the car and that the other one merely helped the driver reverse out of the parking space. Their dispute ended quickly, and they shared the money between the two of them. I was still thinking about the two car guards while I entered the market. The elderly white lady who sat at the entrance,

handed me a pamphlet, discussed in Chapter 4. It stated, as indicated, that the car guards were unwelcome. I was left puzzled, as I was thinking about my observation of the conflict between the guards just before I entered the market. I was further puzzled by how the car guards resolved conflict amongst themselves, in contrast to the way in which a conflict of space was approached by the market owners.

This renewed my awareness of the care that the managers took for the aesthetic of the market. And I thought of my first interview with them. I asked them how they chose which vendor would be allowed to sell their products and how they decided on which products could be sold. They explained that they made sure that the quality of the products was good and considered whether similar products were sold at the market. This discussion was another indication for me of the care that was taken around who and which products were to be included at the market, and whom and what were to be excluded.

The focus of the present chapter is to explore the inclusions and exclusions at the market and how they formed part of the environment-making process. I discussed some elements of this in the previous chapter, and I continue with that line of argument in this chapter. Moore's ideas (2014:287) of environment-making and the oikeos are useful for analysing the data in this chapter. As indicated, Moore explains that environment-making is the outcome of the oikeos, the multi-layered relationship of species and environments (2014:287). His discussion on environment-making directs the focus of this chapter by determining the ways in which the data are analysed. Moore (2017:6) explains that environment-making is a constant process of interactions. Such interactions are directed by access and inclusion and exclusion, as will be seen also in terms of the data collected and discussed in this chapter. For environment-making to be explored as a constant process, I made use of Moore's formulations of the ways in which environment-making takes place. Because Moore explains environment-making as a constant process of interactions, my focus was directed by interactions that took place at the market in terms of exclusion in particular. I adopted this approach when I found out about the ways in which interactions amongst visitors, vendors, managers, car guards, and street hawkers influenced the decision-making process with regards to new products and vendors; also when it comes to how these determine inclusion and exclusion.

Moreover, in this chapter I present data on the exclusion of car guards and street hawkers at the market, and the inclusion of market vendors and visitors and the 'desirables. By means of this label I refer to visitors, vendors, managers and workers who were welcomed by the market to take part in its activities of buying, selling, and roaming through the stalls. I analyse the data by using the concepts of 'violent exclusions' and 'caring inclusions' around guards and hawkers at the market's edges. I discuss the inclusion of visitors, vendors and managers. The focus will be on 'violence' and 'care' and how these are phenomena that are established at the market by means of interactions centred on inclusion and exclusion. These should not be read as binaries, but as concepts that are juxtaposed for analytical purposes to interpret the ethnographic data I present.

5.2 Distancing, isolation, and non-human visitors

One morning, as I walked down the now familiar Queens Crescent Street towards the entrance of the market, I felt a sense of unease creeping up on me. That day I was alone, I had not brought my dog, a friend, or family member along, and it felt uncomfortable. Car guards greeted me and promised to look after my white Honda Ballade as I passed by them, giving them a smile and a nod. I entered the market and greeted the elderly white lady who sat at the entrance of the market, the same lady who had handed me a pamphlet a week before stating that we should not pay the 'illegal' car guards because they were an 'embarrassment' to the image of the market. Most probably this embodied an attempt by the market managers to disassociate its image from the car guards. Yet, on that day, I did not feel welcome, taking a seat at a small white table. A friend passed by me and greeted me excitedly. She immediately asked me who I was waiting for, glancing at the open seat at my table. I smiled and explained that I was alone, and she responded: "Oh, okay, that must be uncomfortable, are you staying long?" I laughed and said that I would probably leave soon, becoming increasingly uncomfortable and aware of the fact that I was alone. A few weeks later, I was interviewing a vendor of the market, and he stated that he had seen me alone at the market a few times and that it did not seem to be that comfortable to me. During the discussion he invited me to come and sit with him and the other vendors if I ever visited the market alone again, so that I didn't have to sit alone at a table. The invitation was welcoming to me, yet it made me wonder why it seemed so unnatural to visit the market alone. And why activities

and actions such as visiting with family, friends and pets, were welcomed and encouraged at the market, while others, such as visiting the market alone and looking after parked cars were treated as unnatural, unwelcome or uncomfortable.

Bénit-Gbaffou (2009:67) explains that individuals or groups who do not live in the suburban area (such as immigrants) perceived as threats by residents in suburbs. Such groups or individuals are deemed to be 'undesirable' or 'unwelcome', because they do not fit in or belong in the suburban area and are seen as outsiders. The residents attempt to 'clean up the streets' by creating ways to keep the 'outsiders' such as immigrants, street hawkers, drug addicts and other 'undesirables' out of their suburbs. Examples of such attempts are gated communities and permanent private guards at each entrance of the suburb so as to "fight urban decay and crime but also chase away unwanted elements" (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009:66). Such thinking is very common among urban residents in South Africa, across racial groups. This kind of thinking may even have informed the decision. To move the Hazel Food Market in 2020, closer to suburban homes and embassies, and given Pretoria's spatial divide, away from townships.

The managers of the market focused on attracting international visitors and giving visitors an "international" experience by selling international foodstuff at the market so as to create a space where different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds would meet. As I wrote in Chapter 3, the demographic profile of the market and the market location as well as the interview with the managers suggest that the managers focused on attracting middle and upper-class local and international visitors. The market was situated in the heart of a suburban area, amidst many embassies, schools, universities, malls, and suburban homes, as indicated. Now, in addition to this, vendors and managers of the market created a setting that catered for social and group activities. Of course, this is what markets have always done; they create social interactions (Garner 2015:186). And in important ways, the social aspects of markets become visible when lone individuals visit markets.

I encountered this during my fieldwork, especially when I visited the market alone. Time spent at the market when I was alone was of a shorter duration when compared to visiting it with friends and family. I interviewed a young woman in her twenties who said that she

would not visit the market alone because it was something she would like to share with her friends or family. She stated that "it is awkward when you come alone, it is something you want to share with someone. It is an experience you want to have with someone. I wouldn't come alone". Thinking back, I remembered that there were many occasions when I felt uncomfortable visiting the market alone. Even taking my dog with me comforted me. I felt like I fitted in amongst the visitors and that no one would feel sorry for me for being there alone. We blended in with the other visitors who also brought their pets to the market, and we often stopped so that my dog, still a puppy, could greet other dogs, giving me a chance to chat with the owners. The aesthetic of the market, as created by the managers, vendors and visitors, reveals that visiting the market was an activity that should be shared with others. This is done by managers and vendors inviting visitors to come with their friends and family to the market, placing focus on bringing people with them. Furthermore, the benches at the market are large benches that can seat groups of people who visit the market together. And lastly, speaking from my own experience, when one visits the market alone, vendors or visitors would invite you to sit with them to keep you from feeling alone. Such inclusions and exclusions, even when it came to one's attitude about visiting the market alone, influenced the environment-making of the market. The market is constructed in such a way that visitors who come to it alone, can't sit alone, because other visitors would ask whether they might share a bench with them. This happened to me a number of times as soon as I was sitting at a bench by myself. This would frequently lead to a conversation. The placements of seats created an area that encouraged public interaction, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 4.

Although the vendors and visitors influenced the market aesthetic, the managers had by far the largest influence around the decision-making in terms of this aesthetic. As discussed in Chapter 4, the managers said in their interviews that they decided on the new location of the market based on the surrounding areas of potential spaces and the suburban neighbourhood. The managers said that they had their target market in mind before choosing a location. As stated, it was middle and upper class local and international customers. Their decision on the location of the market was further based on the best area that would cater to this target market. Vendors subsequently further influenced the aesthetic, as explained in Chapter 4. They had permission from managers to work together on a Saturday so as to help guide the

visitors in order to ensure that all vendors would be exposed to visitors passing by their stalls. This was ensured by aligning the stalls in such a way in which they created a single path for visitors to steer them past every stall. If a lot of vendors were not at the market, the vendors who were present would help the managers re-align the stalls to ensure the setting of the stalls and benches looked neat and welcoming and ensure that stalls were not spread too far apart. During an interview, a vendor explained that when a lot of vendors were absent, those present would work together to ensure that the flow of the market was effective, that is, visitors could pass by all the stalls. What he meant by "flow" is that the walkways created by the alignment of the stalls were arranged in such a way that visitors could easily pass by all the stalls.

The aesthetic of the market was developed even further by allowing the presence of non-human individuals such as dogs and cats. Yes, even cats were welcome at the market. On the Facebook page I found a photo of a visitor and her Bengal cat enjoying the market. One morning, as I was on my way to the market, I decided to take my puppy with me. She was only a few months old and quite attached to me. I decided that it would be a fun outing for the two of us to visit the market together. As we walked around the market, I was surprised to see how many visitors not only approached me to pat my dog, but also how many of those with dogs asked if they could introduce their pet to my dog, because they wanted them to "socialise". The vendors also catered for the pets at the market by putting out water bowls and even selling products such as dog treats and raw rabbit meat for dogs and cats.

In another instance, I observed two separate groups of people: one was sitting across from me at a bench and the other stood a few metres away. The group at the bench had a brown Labrador with them and the group standing a few meters away a sheepdog. The two dogs were intrigued with each other and, as soon as their owners realised this, they moved closer so that the dogs could meet each other. The owners shared a quick conversation regarding their dogs' excitement to make "new friends", and just as quickly ended the encounter by returning to their social groups, leaving the dogs to stare at each other until one of the groups departed. While I was sitting at my bench, cappuccino in hand and looking at the interaction between humans and dogs, I was struck with the familiarity of it all.

Haraway's (2014) words rung in my mind like a clear bell: "it matters what stories tell stories, it matters what thoughts think thoughts, it matters what worlds world worlds". Observing these interactions and listening to the stories exchanged between the people I could not help but feel that I was a special guest invited to a movie premiere before anyone else was able to see it. Being part of the encounter, just by sitting in the same space and seeing my little puppy eagerly pulling on the leash just to greet every visitor who dared pass by our bench at close enough range would be washed with little licks and excited jumps to greet them. Being able to see their reactions, the smiles, the high-pitched greeting we all knew so well when we saw an adorable animal, as well as the stories generated by such encounters, such as vendors sharing stories and advice whilst selling products at the market. All of which were mere glimpses into the world of other individuals and the encounters that tie them to it. This is what Moore (2014:287) refers to as the oikeios, where these encounters, the worlds between humans and non-humans, collide and interact. Shared stories and interactions such as, those that happen between vendors, visitors and their pets at the market, form part of the process of community-making and environment-making. However, such stories and encounters are not accessible to all. Not all individuals in the vicinity of the market enjoyed access to the opportunity to take part in nor encounter the process of story-telling and shared encounters. Moreover, the presence of non-human animals may in fact restrict access to the market.

As I observed the non-human presence at the market, I noted that it comprised mostly white couples and groups who would bring their pets (dogs or the occasional cat) along. I very seldom saw black families, groups or individuals who brought their pets along. This suggests that, within the scope of the surrounding suburban area, more white families seem to visit the market with their pets. I do not have concrete numbers to back up this assertion; my evidence is anecdotal. The market encouraged social interactions among visitors, vendors and non-human participants, but these were restricted, because only middle and upper class local and international individuals had access to it, or those who felt like they belong at the market. The setting of the market caters for groups of visitors and couples, but not so much for individuals to visit the market alone. The environment-making that takes place through inviting the presence of non-human companions into the market, may in fact prohibit some persons from visiting the market.

However, access to the market was restricted soon after Covid-19 had struck. This limited the number of people who were able to visit and sell at the market to a greater extent. For the first few months after the pandemic had come about, the market had a Covid-19 regulation officer who patrolled it to ensure that the lockdown regulations were adhered to by all (see Department of Co-operative Governance, 2021:7). The market was only allowed to take up 50% of its capacity. As visitors entered, they not only had to always wear their masks (which was still a regulation in South Africa when one went out in public) and sanitise their hands. This regulation was mandatory for all businesses who were allowed to sell products during the lockdown period, as stated by the Covid-19 regulations announced by the Department of Co-operative Governance (2021:7). But visitors were also stopped at the gate once the market had reached full capacity and they had to wait for other visitors to leave before they could enter. These restrictions further shaped the environment-making and community making at the market. Social distancing prohibited visitors to sit at the benches. The benches had to be removed during lockdown levels 4 and 5 to ensure social distancing. Therefore, interactions among visitors, vendors and managers were limited. as was the case in many parts of the world, and still may be place in some countries.

The social disconnection and isolation that many people, including myself, experienced during the pandemic, made the market a difficult field to conduct research in. Not only did the regulations create distance, but the fear that the virus generated also impacted on everyone. The loneliness that many people across the world experienced, was also present in my case at times during my field work. One Saturday morning I visited the market and for the first time I did not bring a friend, family member or my dog with me. I was alone. I am a shy person and usually relied on my friends, family, or my dog to encourage me to talk to strangers, even if it was merely the knowledge of their presence with me. They helped me "blend in" with the crowd at the market. On this day, however, I felt like I was sticking out like a sore thumb. With every step I took I felt as if every person's gaze was following me. The thing about the market is, that it is a social space. Yes, people come here to buy and sell foodstuff and other goods, but it is built around social interactions. The importance of those social interactions became evident to me this Saturday morning.

I observed over time that visitors to the market tended to go there in groups; it was a strange thing to see visitors walking around the market on their own. Being alone on that day, then, I couldn't help but feel that every person at the market was thinking that I was either lost or had been "stood up" by friends or a date. My growing discomfort forced me to come up with a solution, and quickly. Suddenly I remembered the silent battle that ensued among visitors for a seat at the limited number of benches. This might work, I thought. Why not use the limited seating to my advantage and claim a bench so that visitors could approach me and ask if they may join me? This could be a good ice breaker for a discussion about my research. I could ask them if they would like to take part in my project, thus also overcoming my fear of approaching and talking to strangers. To my utter delight my plan worked! A white elderly man and woman – I assumed they were married - approached me and asked if they may sit with me at my bench. The man was wearing a baggy pair of jeans with a grey sweater. The woman was wearing a brown suit with large sunglasses and black shoes. Of course, I smiled and welcomed them. The woman sat down across from me, while the man went off to the 'Skull and Bean' vendor to buy them a cup of coffee.

The woman was garrulous, which was a great relief for me. She immediately asked all sorts of questions that created an opportunity for me to tell her about my research and ask her if she would be willing to be interviewed by me. She agreed and, as she spoke, I jotted down notes on my phone, nodding and smiling to show that I was listening and asking an occasional question if I was curious about something. After the interview, her husband joined the conversation and talked to me about Canada, mentioning that he was thinking of moving there for better job opportunities, even though he was no longer of working age. He encouraged me to consider the same. His talk about emigrating to Canada seemed to have been borne out of his frustration with living in South Africa. Upon hearing this, an elderly white woman who sat on the bench behind us and who was eavesdropping, interrupted our talk by stating in Afrikaans that the man should not be encouraging young persons such as myself to leave the country. She was clearly upset. She told the older man that South Africa was the best country to live in. I was wondering why this was such an emotive issue for her: whether, perhaps, she had a son or daughter who was planning to leave without her support. Whatever the reason, an argument ensued in public between the older man and the woman

sitting behind us over belonging and unbelonging among white South Africans and young people in Pretoria, and for young people, in general.

5.3 Making a community of insiders

The existing literature on markets emphasise the importance of markets as social spaces, and on the importance of relationships in making markets work and function well. For example, Abranches (2013:335) states that relationships are built through exchanges and grounded practices that endow them with meanings and lived emotions. Drawing from the data I had collected whilst in the field and from the interviews, I found that relationships determined the attitudes that vendors harboured towards the market. One of the vendors I had interviewed explained that relationships were fundamental to the marketplace, because vendors encouraged and uplifted each other throughout the day, which helped them stay positive and motivated. In all likelihood, the social ties between vendors became more important to them and their businesses during the pandemic and the restrictions placed on buying and selling in public. Foti and Timpanaro (2021:430) argued that relationships based on trust play an important role in the strength and vitality of networks and connections, in the markets in Italy they studied. Foti and Timpanaro (2021:430) argued that relationships create a strong foundation in the construction of food systems and in the interpretation of their dynamics. Therefore, the types and depth of relationships that are formed at the market become a factor that plays a role in the environment making of the market. Relationships allow for a sense of community and openness to arise which creates a sense of familiarity with the market, vendors, and the products.

During time spent in the field, I observed and noticed the efforts by the managers and the vendors to create a community, to build relationships, over and above the contractual agreements that vendors had with the market managers. Through cultivating trust and loyalty, the vendors formed relationships with certain customers, who collectively became the vehicle that encouraged customers to regularly support a vendor. This they did by buying their products and introducing these to potential new customers. I also observed how vendors I interviewed emphasised their relationships with other vendors, illustrated by one vendor who told me that “We are all in this together, I only succeed if the other vendors succeed”. Their reasoning was clear that, if they all worked together to ensure that visitors had a great

experience at the market, then the business will flourish, which meant vendors would also do well. I also saw how vendors would promote products of other vendors to potential customers if they heard the customers are looking for a specific good or service. The relationships vendors created with other vendors also spilled into other worlds, as vendors and visitors would share glimpses of their personal worlds outside the marketplace with each other. This does not mean that there was no competition between vendors.

During an interview with the managers, they said that vendors who sell similar products are typically separated spatially from each other so that their stalls were placed in different locations. This was done to ensure that each vendor was able to attract customers and minimise unnecessary fighting during market day. The managers said that the vendors would often voice their concerns about being in competition with each other. The managers also stated that they had had vendors leave the market because they (the managers) allowed other vendors with similar products to be active there.

Despite the presence of such competition and potential conflict, vendors built strong relationships and got to know each other's life stories, struggles and reasons for selling products at the market. It does contribute to creating a community where vendors support one another. This was evidenced by a white English male who said during an interview with him about why they would often tell visitors at the market about other vendors' stalls that "if one of us doesn't succeed none of us do, we all need the market, so we all need to work to make the market as good an encounter for everyone". A few weeks later I had an interview with two other vendors from the market, a black male and female. When I asked them how they felt about the market and the other vendors, they stated: "it feels like there is a lot of ubuntu in the space. Everyone wants everyone to thrive, there is community". Ubuntu is a term used in many different ways in South Africa, but in this instance, they were talking about care and caring between vendors as a community is being formed.

The managers also play a part in this attempt at creating community in the market, and in the environment-making that results from it. Although I would not say that the managers did not have strong relationships with all the vendors at the market, their care for the success of the market was also directed to the wellbeing of the vendors. By "wellbeing," I mean that

the vendors all received as many chances to sell their products to as much visitors as possible and, if there was trouble, the managers reacted and tried to assist. This ensured that buying and selling happened at the market and that the needs of the visitors were met. The more visitors who were satisfied with the products, the more the popularity of the market grew. Managers and vendors benefitted from this, of course, because it brought in more revenue.

During an interview, a vendor explained that "we only succeed if the market succeeds, for that to happen we need to work together to make sure visitors have a good experience". This statement made me realise that the care shown to each other among vendors and managers was driven by the care for the success of the market. Hence, strong bonds were built among vendors who often worked together to set up their stalls close to one another. The process of environment-making dovetails with the statement by Moore (2017:6) that "we make environments and environments make us". Although the main focus was to work together to improve the market aesthetic and image, strong relationships were formed among vendors, managers and visitors, all of which contributed to the environment-making process of the market.

I want to offer another example of the work done by the social actors in the market. When I asked the managers' permission to interview them, they asked me the names of some of the vendors I had interviewed. When I mentioned them, the managers smiled intently, they mentioned how some of the vendors I had interviewed had struggled during hard lockdown and that they were happy to see the vendors doing better. It made me uncomfortable to talk about my findings regarding the vendors with the managers. I caught myself constantly thinking of what information I could share and what not. After a while, I changed the subject by asking another question in order to derail the discussion about the vendors, because it had started to move towards discussing specific vendors whom I had interviewed. Yet, the managers talked about vendors using the language of care.

It seemed the managers were aware of the struggles in the lives of the vendors at the market. They mentioned some of these as well as the obstacles the vendors had to overcome in their lives. They even spoke of vendors who had to leave the market due to sickness or financial issues caused by the pandemic. During my interview with the managers, I asked them if the

market struggled during the pandemic. They said that some vendors struggled during the pandemic and that they had allowed them to advertise their products on Facebook for online orders. Vendors who had to leave the market were replaced by new ones from a waiting list for an open slot at the market. The managers explained the process to me during my interview with them. Vendors whose products were deemed to be of good quality by the managers were given a slot at the market to sell their products. However, existing vendors received slots first and, if there were any open slots left, these were then filled with new vendors.

The market tried to function as a space where connections and relationships could be made and un-made in the constant making and un-making of its environment. An important aspect of the environment-making at the market involved attempts by various social actors to create a community within the market. This was facilitated by the recognition that vendors and managers shared an interest in growing the market and strengthening the reputation of the market. However, attempts to create community through the language of care within the market, and to create a community of insiders through the language and practices of care, may well create exclusion elsewhere.

5.4 Exclusions and 'violent care'

The scholar Tom van Dooren has made an important contribution to thinking about care and how it produces insiders and outsiders. Van Dooren (2014:293) asks the following questions "What am I really caring for, why, and at what cost to whom?". He asks us to think about how acts of care in one situation may result in acts of effects of violence and exclusion in another. He provocatively named this idea that care should not be approached through intentions, but through its effects, as "violent care". Van Dooren (2014:292) states that to "care for some individuals and species translates into suffering and death for others". He builds on the scholarship of De la Bellacasa (2012:198) who also argues for non-intentional formulations of care and who defines care as "'everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair '"our world'" so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life sustaining web."' Echoing Moore's notion of the 'web of life', De la Bellacasa (2012:198) suggests that to care for something or someone is to inevitably create relations.

Such relations create interdependencies, which are not necessarily rewarding, but creates inescapable engagements with the troubles in interdependent existences (De la Bellacasa, 2012:199). De la Bellacasa and Van Dooren forced me not to romanticise the language of care that actors within the market embraced, but to ask what exclusions may take place as a community of insiders are being made as part of the environment-making at the market.

As I have shown thus far, vendors and the managers use the language of care to build relations among each other given their shared interest in making the market grow. They also demonstrate care towards non-human visitors of the market, by providing water and food to the companions that humans bring to the market. While I could have explored wider forms of exclusion at the market, the confrontations between the social actors in the market and the social actors immediately outside the market, those car guards who operate on the street outside the market, kept coming into my vision when thinking about 'violent care'. The juxtaposition between the attempt to create a community of insiders while at the same time creating outsiders, seem to me a line of argument worth pursuing. This relation between insiders and outsiders also became evident in my analysis of the Hazel Food Market's Facebook page of August 2021. It shared the sad news that one of the vendor's husbands had passed away and gave their condolences to the vendor and her family. In this case, care was shown to the vendors and their family during times of hardship.

Figure 4 (Hazel Food Market, Facebook page, 12 August 2021.)

However, it struck me that the same care is not shown to those who are not deemed as part of the community of insiders. Specifically, such forms of care do not seem to extend to the car guards. While I mentioned earlier the incident of the car guard who entered the market

to speak to a vendor, which indicates that some vendors at least know and relate to car guards, car guards are not included in the community that is being made. Access is controlled to the market, and the managers who sit at the front table not only welcome visitors but also control access. This dynamic became more visible during the peak of the pandemic, when Covid restrictions were stricter, which caused visitors to queue before they could enter the market. During one of my visits to the market, on a very cold winter morning, during the peak of the pandemic, I waited in a queue to enter the market. The market reached full capacity and new visitors could only enter the market when some of the visitors left. I remember I looked around at the car guards, seeing that there were not as many car guards as before the pandemic. It seems that even the car guards were hesitant of being in public spaces due to the pandemic.

All were mandated to always wear masks and regularly sanitise their hands, and spaces were limited to only a certain number of people. Police officers patrolled the market to ensure that health and safety regulations were met by all, and access was restricted even further. A newspaper article written in 2020 stated that individuals who did not follow Covid-19 lockdown regulations would be arrested and put in jail. Vendors suffered due to the limited number of visitors. Sales and income were diminished as a consequence.

Car guards were kept on the borders of the market, they were cut off from the market by means of the large green fence that surrounded the property, which was meant to inhibit unwanted access to the market. The elderly white lady who sat at the gate seemed to play an important role in keeping watch of who entered and ensuring that all visitors sanitised their hands and wore their masks, as expected. The car-guards were deemed to be an "embarrassment" to the management of the market and did not fit into the image that they preferred. The incident I recounted earlier in this dissertation when the police officers showed up and tried to chase the car guards away, also is relevant here. Moreover, as I already discussed, the car guards are never acknowledged in the online marketing efforts, thus effectively positioning them as unwelcome outsiders to the market. While a community of insiders is being created, at the same time outsiders are created, through what Van Dooren called 'violent care'. Interestingly, non-human animals are put to work to assist in the creation of a community of insiders.

Chapter 6: The Aquaponics Couple: Reworking Nature/Culture and care

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5 I discussed the violent exclusions and caring inclusions at the market using the concept of 'violent care'. I focused on how the market excludes some persons such as car guards not only by limiting their access to it, but through framing them as unwelcome outsiders, while non-humans are put to work by creating a community of insiders to the market. In this chapter I make use of data from my fieldwork to introduce and discuss the Nature/Culture binary. It centres on a field visit I conducted to the farm of two of the vendors who sell their goods at the market. These two research participants I call the Aquaponic Couple. They made use of an aquaponics system of their own design to grow all the produce they sold at the market on a Saturday, and elsewhere. The man I call Jack and his wife, Jill.

Little scholarly work has been produced about urban food markets in terms of cheap nature (Moore, 2017:14) in the contexts of the Anthropocene and the Capitalocene. Moore (2017:14) argues that the reality of the Anthropocene forces us to place nature and society within the 'web of life' rather than continue with the Nature/Culture binary that reduces nature to a resource. Moore (2017:14) argues that cheap nature should be placed alongside other matters when considering enterprises. It should be listed alongside food supplies, human labour, energy and raw materials. In most academic scholarship, these inputs are valued under capitalism. Nonetheless, the role of nature as an "input" is neglected by scholars.

Capitalism also cheapens nature by organising it in such a way that it can easily be exploited, and scholars have been ignoring the fact that nature is valuable to the existence of humanity and carries more than just monetary value. Moore argues that the Nature/Culture binary creates the false perspective that nature is somehow located outside of humanity, and, in their turn, societies somehow located outside of nature. Moore (2017:5) suggests a viewpoint of "humanity-in-nature", which brings multi-species connections clearly into focus. This facilitates different thinking regarding urban food markets, for example, where economic and communal exchanges take place and where nature is put to work in certain ways. As I

will show in this chapter, care is also part of contemporary discussions regarding the Anthropocene and about undoing the Nature/Culture binary. I end the chapter by relating care to the way in which the Aquaponic Couple tried to rework the Nature/Culture binary at their farm.

6.2 My visit to the aquaponics farm and learning about aquaponics

It was a cool winter morning in July 2021 as I turned my car into the driveway of the aquaponics farm in Rayton outside Pretoria. I was visiting the farm as part of my fieldwork. I saw rows of large pine trees lining the driveway. As I drove up to the house, I was met by three dogs who ran beside my car all the way until I parked it in front of the main house. One dog was a black-and-white coloured Staffordshire puppy, the other was a Jack Russel and the last one seemed to be a Boerboel mix. They all greeted me with sniffs and licks, after which I greeted the elderly, white couple I had met at the Hazel Food Market and who had invited me to their farm for an interview. They were friendly and welcoming and invited me into their house for coffee and carrot cake.

As her husband and I took a seat at the kitchen table, Jill boiled the kettle on the stove and stacked the store-bought carrot cake squares on a plate before serving us. The smell of polished wood was prominent in their house, as most of the furnishings were made of it. From where I was sitting, I could see stacks of research papers and sketches in their living room, and I assumed these were related to their interest in aquaponics farming.

Aquaponics farming is the use of an aquaculture system in which fish, such a Tilapia, are held and used for farming. Fish are effectively used as a form of labour in such systems. The waste produced by the fish is filtered through a bacteriological system to ensure that the right nutrients, those that the plants need, are circulated through the system. The plants act as a filter by taking up the nutrients in the water with their roots, and the water then goes back to the fish (Barry, 2019). The water is circulated throughout the rest of the water system constantly. The plants are cultivated in two different ways: in a deep-water culture or gravel bed system. Aquaponics mimic natural waterways that contain plants and fish (Nelson Pade, 2022). The main input in the system is the fish food, which they eat to excrete waste (Nelson Pade, 2022). Most of the waste produced by fish comes in the form of ammonia, which is

secreted in the urine in small quantities through the gills (Nelson Pade, 2022). The rest of the waste is excreted as faecal matter, which undergoes a process called mineralisation. This occurs when "heterotrophic bacteria consume fish waste, decaying plant matter and un-eaten food, converting all three to ammonia and other compounds" (Nelson Pade, 2022).

Nelson Pade (2022) explains the working of bacteria within the aquaponic system as follows:

> Nitrifying bacteria, which naturally live in the soil, water and air, convert ammonia first to nitrite and then to nitrate which plants consume. In an aquaponic system the heterotrophic and nitrifying bacteria will attach to the tank walls, underside of the rafts, organic matter, the growing medium (if used) and in the water column. The beneficial bacteria discussed here are natural and will inhabit an aquaponic system as soon as ammonia and nitrite are present.

Bacteria then, it seems to me, also contribute 'labour' in such systems. The sketch below in Figure 9 shows a complete aquaponics system as made by Jack and Jill on their farm. They called their project "the family system" and the installation price was R56 000. The fish were held in large blue tanks, and the water was filtered throughout by means of barrels and open troughs. The barrels contained gravel for vegetables such as tomatoes, whose roots need more structure to grow properly. The water was filtered by means of gravel in the blue tanks. The water also moved from the fish tanks through to the troughs, where other herbs and vegetables could be grown. They did not add any nutrients or pesticides into the system, as these might have caused the fish to get sick and die. The water was circulated by means of water pumps that ran on electricity. They employed a generator that switched on when loadshedding occurred, but they experienced challenges with regard to long power outages, especially when the generator stopped working. The lack of water circulation caused some of the fish in their system to die. Once decomposition set in, a large amount of ammonia was released in the water, which is toxic to fish and plants. They then had to quickly remove the dead fish. On their website, Jack and Jill offered training and business plans (their pricing for a business plan was R1 500.00) to teach people how Aquaponics work. They sold the system as a healthy alternative, while teaching people how to farm sustainably. They sought

to bring aquaponics thinking and systems out of its infancy in South Africa and contribute to sustainable agriculture.

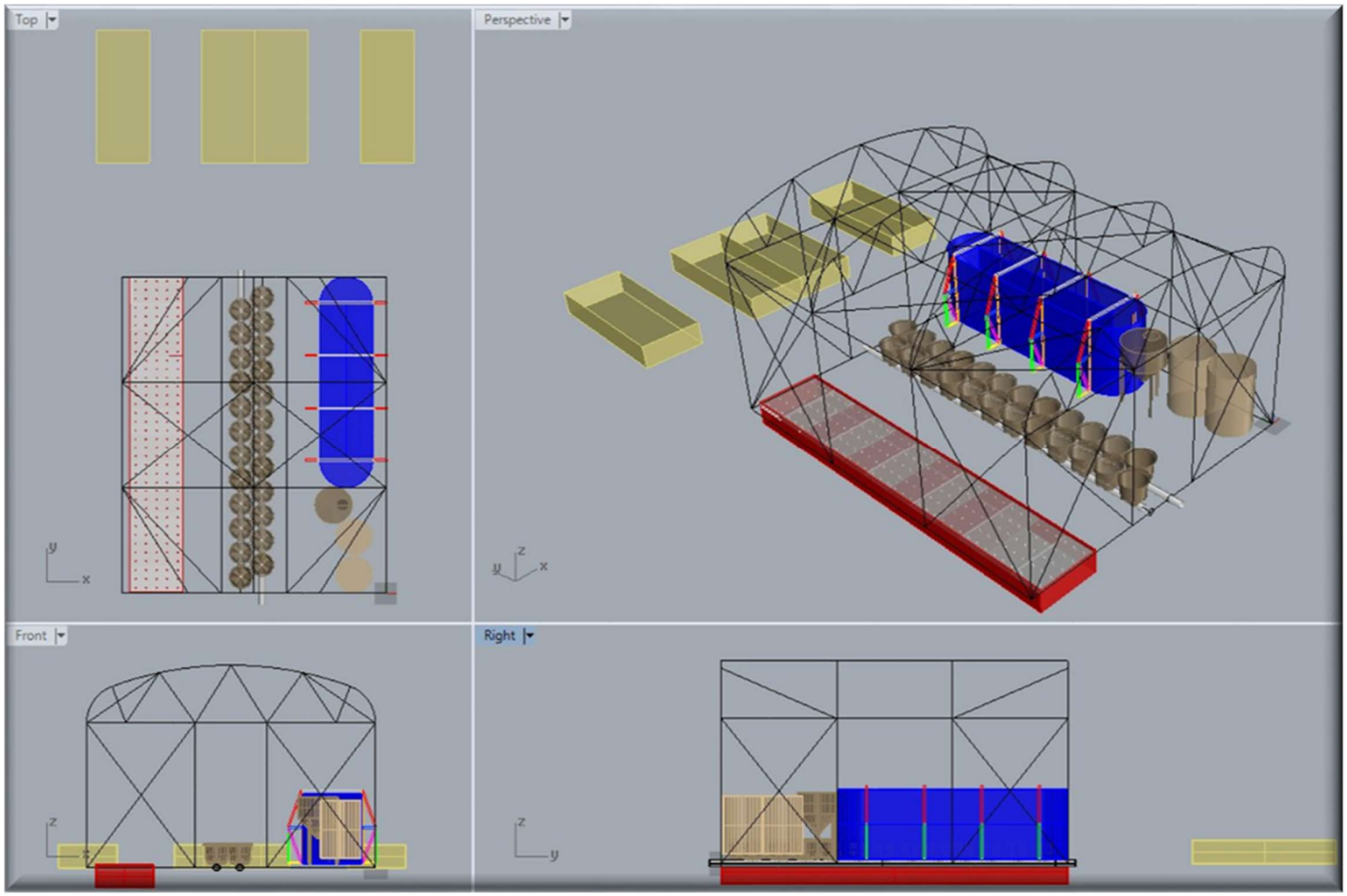

Figure 5 (Grootvlei Aquaponics, 2022)

Jill sat next to her husband and asked to explain the purpose of the interview in more detail. I explained to them that I was busy with my master's degree in social anthropology and provided them with a brief description of the research. They nodded and explained that they were used to requests for interviews because of the work they were doing in aquaponics farming. They mentioned that two days prior, they had an interview with a professor who was conducting research on the health of the human body. At this stage, it became clear to me that they were indeed serious and committed aquaponics farmers, experts of sorts, so much so that they often featured in research. This made me slightly anxious.

In response to my questions, Jack started sharing his life story with me, and he linked it very well with his interest in aquaponics. It became clear that they had told this story before. Jack told me how he became very ill a few years before, and how he was diagnosed with cancer in his oesophagus. The medical doctors told him that chemotherapy was the only option for potential healing. Jack was not agreeable to undergoing chemotherapy, as he felt that it would do more damage than good to his body. Instead, he decided to change what he referred to as his "lifestyle". By this he meant paying more attention to his diet. He started following a "healthier" diet by cutting out processed and fast foods and eating more homegrown fruits and vegetables. Along this journey, he started developing a system of farming using aquaponics to grow fruits and vegetables on the farm. Jack told me that, by changing his diet, his body was healed of the cancer. He was now a strong proponent of the principle that a healthier diet and being more careful of that what you consume determines the health of your body. I was struck by his narrative of falling ill and then overcoming ill-health through new learning and practice, and then becoming a proponent of a new consciousness. As an anthropology student, I have encountered similar narrative structures in the work of Krige (2011:7) regarding fahfee runners and their livelihoods within the Sowetan neighbourhood.

The discussion moved to the Hazel Food Market where we had met first, and Jill started telling me about the relationships between persons at the market. Jack and Jill, of course, were vendors at the market where they ran a stall selling fish and vegetables. She was emphatic about the importance of the social relationships among vendors. Speaking in Afrikaans, she said: "Wat baie sterk is vir ons as verkopers, is jou verhouding met jou mede verkopers". [What is important for us as vendors, is the relationship with our co-vendors]. She continued by saying that "jy bou werklik verhoudinge op wat verby die elke-Saterdag mark gaan" [One really builds up relationships that go beyond only meeting every Saturday at the market]. She spoke about the support structure that existed between the vendors and the importance of the relationships they built with one another. She illustrated this by referring to how vendors looked after each other's stalls and wares when the owner of a stall had to visit the bathroom. Vendors spent considerable time talking with one another while they sat at their stalls waiting for customers. Speaking about the vendor who operated a neighbouring stall, Jill said: "Ek ken al haar pryse en haar stories want jy hoor dit elke Saterdag" [I know all her prices and her stories because I hear it every Saturday]. This

sharing of information among vendors at Hazel Food Market and assisting each other echoed findings made in ethnographic research on how informal street traders or vendors assist one another in the streets of Johannesburg, which Webster calls reciprocity and mutuality (2019:62).

Jack and Jill used the word "sorg" or "care" to describe their relationship with other vendors and in relation to their business. This kind of care informed how they looked after each other's businesses and inquired about each other's sales. Much of the talk among vendors, as discussed in the previous chapter were of course about sales. Unsurprisingly, conflict was also part of the relationships among them. Conflict occurred, for example, when a vendor set up a stall on the wrong spot, one allocated to another vendor. Such conflicts were usually dealt with by vendors: "Ons verstaan mekaar want ons is almal in dieselfde situasie" [We understand each other because we are all in the same situation]. Here Jill was making the important point that the vendors had a shared interest – making a living from selling their wares at a functional and friendly market – and that this reduced conflict amongst them.

Jill then shared with me a story about a vendor at Hazel Food Market who sold Portuguese desserts. This vendor usually started baking her treats to sell at the Saturday market the night before; so as to ensure that they were as fresh as possible. As a result, she did not get much sleep on a Friday night. She therefore fell asleep in her chair at the market. The other vendors knew this and would wake her up and keep motivating her when she was tired. In this way, the vendors showed that they "cared" about the wellbeing of the other vendors, but also because they all needed to maintain good stalls and good sales to make a living. "Care" in this sense was not a romantic notion about helping someone else. Instead, it was an integral part of keeping individual stalls, and the Hazel Food Market as a whole working and functioning well. Caring for other vendors was part of depending on them, which facilitated the making of a living at the market.

The interview then shifted to a discussion about their stall at the market and their wider business activities. Jill and Jack explained that they distributed the products they sold - more about this later - through various means. They sold goods at Hazel Food Market on a Saturday morning, but also sent their products to warehouses, small businesses and even

individual households. The products they sold consisted of Tilapia (the fish within the aquaponic system), tomatoes, Swiss chard, spinach, kale, sage, rocket, parsley, basil, chillies, cucumber, brinjal, baby marrow, patty pans, mint, rosemary, cauliflower, celery and lettuce.

The discussion subsequently shifted to the topic of their products. They explained that they were not only selling their products at the market, but also to warehouses, small businesses, and even families who wanted to buy freshly grown vegetables and fruits. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, they sold their products to two large warehouses. When Covid-19 struck, the warehouses did not order from them anymore. This was caused by restrictions where restaurants had to close during the "hard lockdown". During this period, Covid-19 restrictions meant that all non-essential activities were suspended for 21 days during. Only essential industries such as pharmacies, banks, grocery stores, petrol stations, health care providers, and security services were allowed to function; along with those responsible for the production, distribution and supply of food, basic goods and supply of water, power and telecommunications services, laboratory services and the provisions of medical and hygiene products (Ramaphosa, 2020). During this period, individuals were moreover not allowed to leave their homes except for essential purposes such as buying food, medicine or other supplies and the seeking of medical care (Ramaphosa, 2020). All other shops and businesses were closed during this time.

A study conducted in 2020 on the impact of Covid-19 on small businesses showed that the pandemic caused financial distress among them (Businesstech; 2020). Finfind (2020) submitted a report stating that South Africa had lost a decade's worth of jobs in less than a year and a half due to the pandemic. Finfind (2020) states that 42.7% of businesses closed as a consequence of the lockdown. As is to be expected, the impact it had on employees was significant: an overall 60% reduction of full-time employment was recorded in 2020 76.8% of part-time employment (Finfind, 2020). An article published by *Eyewitness News* stated that small scale farmers, fisheries and traders had encountered losses due to reduced market demand brought about by the pandemic. According to their findings, food price inflation had largely outpaced consumer price inflation since hard lockdown in May 2020 (Palm, 2021).

The Aquaponic Couple developed new ways of selling their products such as online orders, which could be done through their website or by way of email, where families or small businesses could order a certain size box of assorted fruits and vegetables. However, the focus of their business was not to sell the products they grew but to build similar aquaponic systems for companies, families and communities. They did this to challenge the common statement "jy kan nie groot gaan met aquaponics nie" [you can't go big with aquaponics]. Jack often travelled to install aquaponics systems for farmers or small communities. They told me that he had recently visited Namibia where he installed a small community aquaponics system for a farmer, and how interesting it was to see how many animals the system drew in, because they could smell the water miles away.

This part of Jack and Jill's business was supplying farming materials (the aquaponic system and the plants and fish in the system) in different sizes for different needs. They made use of new methods because they wanted to take the aquaponic farming method to a new level, expanding it from domestic production and consumption to large-scale farming. When I asked them who they made these systems for, they simply said: "anyone who has money in the bank".

This can be seen as the commercialisation of aquaponics, because Jack and Jill made use of the aquaponics system to generate an income. Goddeck et al. (2019:5) explains that aquaponic systems have grown in popularity because they offer a sustainable way to produce food that is also "environmentally sustainable". According to Goddeck et al. (2019:6) aquaponics can become more commercialised due to the growing human population in order to ensure global food security. However, with a growing human population, agricultural land is limited due to widespread degradation of land (Goddeck et al; 2019:6).

After the coffee and their explanation about how the aquaponics system works, Jack took me on a tour of the farm. As we stepped out of the house and moved towards the aquaponics system, I could see Jack getting excited, and I asked him if I could take photos of the system. He agreed. And continued to talk about the various benefits of aquaponics, such as those related to health and the fact that the system can be located anywhere, since fertilised soil is

not needed for the growth of the produce. Jack also spoke about the importance of bacteria in the system and how it was its “backbone”: “it all starts with bacteria”, he said.

His passion for aquaponics was clear throughout my visit. Jack seemed to know all there was to know about aquaponics and he even ensured that he taught himself new and innovative ways to make the system better, such as improving the barrel shapes to ensure enhanced water flow. Every morning, as soon as he had woken up, he explained, he took a walk through the system and checked on the plants, the system and the fish. This system palpably had become a very significant part of Jack and Jill’s life.

As I listened to Jack and learned from his knowledge, I looked out over the system in front of me. The greenery that I could see floating on the water comprised different types of vegetables and herbs such as Swiss chard, spinach, kale, sage, rocket, parsley, basil, mint, lettuce, and duckweed. Jack followed my gaze and encouraged me to go closer and inspect the system. I put my hands in the water and was astonished to see how clear and clean it was. Jack even drank some of it. I was shocked: obviously he knew that there were fish faeces in the water, right? But it just showed me the level of confidence, commitment and ownership Jack had in his work and the system. He completely believed in its effectiveness. Jack openly said that he believed that the health of the ecosystem helped him to stay “healthy” amidst the Covid-19 pandemic.

Figure 6 Lettuce in the aquaponic system. (Mulder, 2021)

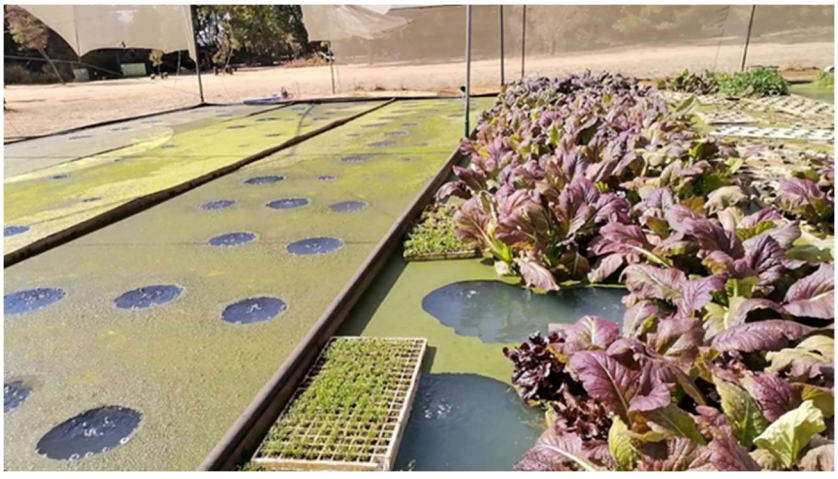

Figure 7 Rows of plants within the aquaponics system. (Mulder, 2021)

Figure 8 Dog drinking water from the aquaponics system. (Mulder, 2021)

6.3 Labour and care in reworking the Nature/Culture binary

I was astonished by the health and size of the plants as they floated on the surface of the water. Walking past the rows of water tanks where different plants were growing, Jack showed me the large barrels filled with Nile Tilapia, a fish species that can be cultivated and eaten as a replacement protein for meat. The fish facilitated the fertilisation of the water. The roots of the different plants filtered the water. As we were walking through the system, one of the dogs drank from it where herbs such as coriander and parsley were floating. Jack would also pick some of the plants and herbs and eat these while he explained the system to me and would encourage me to do the same; and I did. It was so fresh. We then moved to the barrels filled with gravel in which vegetables such as tomatoes were grown. Their roots needed support so that they would not float on the water like some of the other plants; that is why they were planted in the barrels.

Walking through the aquaponics system was an informing and relaxing encounter. The plants floated on the water surface, and I could hear the consistent soothing sound of flowing water through the system. The surrounding yard reminded me of the Bushveld: patches of dry grass adjacent to dirt roads. I could smell the dry winter air, but the distinct smell of water mixed in with it. I experienced a sense of peace as we meandered further down the system, admiring the beauty of the growing plants and fish. It was a serene experience. Jack spoke with passion and excitement about the system and the plants and fish. His excitement about a “healthy ecosystem” was contagious. As he showed me signs of the health of the

"ecosystem", I felt like I was for a moment interacting with it, touching the plants, looking at their leaves and their colour, and smelling the water and looking at the fish.

This was my first visit to such a farm, and the experience taught me abundantly about the use of natural spaces, bacteria and recycling processes to grow farm produce in ways that do not harm the 'web of life' as much as large-scale farming does. This was true especially in relation to the absence of pesticides. My first impression was that the system looked like a large dam or body of water with plants floating on the surface; it did not seem that impressive to me at first. I questioned how clean the whole process indeed happened to be. I hesitated to taste the lettuce when Jack encouraged me to do so. However, after I saw just how clean the water was, I was more willing to test the lettuce.

The visit moreover taught me the value of bacteria. The health of the system relied mostly on these, and they became the farmer's "best friends" in this system. It relied on healthy levels of bacteria. When their levels fluctuated or became unstable, the plants and fish could die. This meant that this ecosystem would no longer offer a healthy living environment. Consider again that such an ecosystem is aquatic, and its core is in fact the bacteria in the water. The bacteria release nutrients and create an environment for micro-organisms such as algae, microbes and zooplankton to grow and live. This increases the health of the system and facilitates the engendering of nutrients given to the plants. The water is circulated all the time throughout the system, and not a single part of it is separate from the others. The bacteria flow freely through it. If there is biological balance in the system, it is healthy.

Jack explained that the ecosystem started with the bacteria and grew from there. He said that he and Jill were also part of that ecosystem because they relied on the produce that came from it. Even the dogs who drank water from it and the occasional pigeon or other bird that would eat the saplings were part of it. For Jack, the ecosystem embraced all who connected, interacted and relied on it, including that which grew and lived in it. His conception of the ecosystem seemed to me to be closer to Moore's notion of 'the web of life' than that of any other farmer I've met. For him the ecosystem included human and non-humans, as well as bacteria.

He led me to where two female black workers transferred the seedlings into the hydroponic system. They further assisted Jack and Jill around harvesting the fully-grown plants and fish for orders. They helped Jack and Jill care for the plants and the system when something went wrong. When fish died in the system, they took them out. I asked him how he ensured that the seedlings grew healthily, and he responded by means of a question: “If I was a seed, what would I need to grow?” This helped him focus on the plants’ needs. He employed only these two people. They couldn’t speak English. According to Jack, they had never been able to speak it. It did not seem to bother him or Jill: they were able to communicate with one another by means of nonverbal cues. For Jack, that was good enough. The women had in fact picked up on one or two English words such as “hello”, and they returned my greeting. Jack and the workers communicated by means of hand movements and signals.

Jack said that, because the aquaponic system relied mostly on the health of the ecosystem, it did not take a lot of work to maintain it. If the ecosystem was healthy, it would maintain itself. And the plants and fish would tell them if something was amiss. They would bring on the necessary changes accordingly. One or two photos taken at the site of the aquaponics system and some of the plants growing there are depicted below.

Figure 9 Workers transferring saplings into the aquaponics system (Mulder, 2021)

Figure 10 Styrofoam pallets used to keep the saplings afloat in the aquaponics system (Mulder, 2021)

Important aspects underlined by the interview included the values of care and relationships. In terms of "sorg", a beautifully strong Afrikaans word for "care," personal and bodily care were emphasised. Jack explained in detail that, by taking care of his body and what he consumed, he was able to change the fate of his health. His body was not placed outside of nature and in culture, but within an ecosystem that combined nature and culture. My research participants also emphasised that vendors would encourage and look after one another to ensure that everyone was doing well at the market, hence underlining the importance of relationships in addition to that of bodily health.

As indicated, this was not the only interview where vendors emphasised relationships with other vendors at the market. The phenomenon calls on further examination, to which I duly return. Finally, as regards care, I was struck by the Aquaponic Couple's cherishing of their ecosystem. By taking care and interacting with it, Jack could see what was needed for its health, posing questions that made him resonate, so to say, with a seedlings point of view. His idea of thinking like a seed and thinking with plants fascinated me.

In part Jack, was able to see what was needed by the ecosystem because he did a course about aquaponics under a well-known mentor in the field at The University of Cape Town. His mentor taught him the fundamentals of maintaining the system, and Jack conducted extensive further research of his own around this. The project started with an interest that Jack held and, as his interest grew, Jill became involved. She was responsible to a greater degree for the administration of their business. She spoke with potential clients and arranged

the needed paperwork and payments. Jill also ran their online orders and assisted in packing these correctly before they were sent to clients.

While Jill thus ran the administration side of the business, Jack was responsible for the maintenance and building of aquaponic systems at other locations. Jack and the two female black workers often worked side by side to harvest and care for their plants. The gendered division of labour in the business was that Jack was responsible for the "hard labour" of building, fixing and maintaining the system, while Jill ensured that paperwork, payments and orders were running smoothly. In addition to doing the "office work", she also seemed to do the "domestic work", since she was the one who made us tea and served the cake.

My research participants talked about care in our interview, and this made me curious about how academics have written about it. One contemporary philosopher, Maria de la Bellacasa, has written about thinking with care, making use of Harraway's statement that "nothing comes without its world". De la Bellacasa explains that care forms disconnections, meaning that individuals cannot care for everything (2012:204). This means that one individual cannot love everyone and everything: when one chooses to care for one thing, one chooses not to take about others (De la Bellacasa, 2012:204). For example, the managers of the market care for the aesthetics of the market and its reputation and therefore disconnects from anything or anyone who does not seem to improve the aesthetics, such as the car guards.

In the case of the Aquaponic Couple, care was shown for a healthy diet and living in an eco-friendly manner. This led to their focus on aquaponic farming. This led to a position where certain aspects received attention, while others were pushed away. They decided not to use herbicides and pesticides, because these would harm the system and their bodies. But this meant that they lost produce due to unwanted pests.

When I asked Jack how he handled bugs or birds who came to eat his produce, he simply shrugged: "let them have what they need, we are sharing". His statement surprised me, because I did not often hear a farmer react to losing some of his produce in such a way. He does not conceive of these animals as pests, or a danger, but as partner with which he is

sharing his life. This response again showed Jack's care for the eco-system, which went beyond the loss of some produce to insects and birds.

I was curious about the ways in which this caring nature of the couple positioned cheap nature and environment-making on their farm and at the food market. On the farm, the focus on care presented different ways in which nature was put to work. For example, as stated, the aquaponic system relies on bacteria to stay healthy. Tilapia were put to work instead of being reduced only to a food source. They played an important role in maintaining the system. This helped to fertilise the water so that the plants would have sufficient nutrients for healthy growth. In turn, the plants replaced oxygen in the water which ensured that the fish would not suffocate. Nature was therefore put to work to grow and sustain the crops and fish that the couple ate and sold for profit. In short, most of the work on the farm was done by the natural system. Nature is working hard on this farm! The only work done by human intervention was the harvesting of fish and crops adding new saplings into the system.

However, nature was cheapened in this system, because it was put to work to make a profit and do so in a manner that suited the standards of the Aquaponic Couple: health and eco-friendliness. The labour of the two black female workers was also cheapened, because it was treated as part of the system, and was supplementary, a kind of add-on, to the work done by the system itself. Nature was reduced to an effort between the natural ecosystem and the two workers to produce the crops and fish. Reflecting on this made me realise that it was similar to the situation at the market, yet also quite different. At the market, access was restricted for car guards and street hawkers, as indicated. At the market, some humans are framed as dangerous and unwelcome, while on the farm even animals that can harm the business are tolerated, while pesticides are seen as harmful and dangerous to bodily health. The market is not situated within a wider ecosystem, whereas the farm is explicitly framed as an ecosystem. At the aquaponic farm, pesticides and herbicides were restricted.

Consider the aquaponics system in this light. It puts an entire ecosystem to work to produce products for human consumption and produce capital from a healthy system (Pollan, 2006:130). But no pesticides, herbicides and other chemicals are used on the products, and this is healthier for the environment, the consumer and the workers. Pollan (2006:128)

illustrates this point at the hand of grass put to work by cattle, chicken and swine farmers. On one such a farm, he found that its success lay in the grass (Pollan, 2006:126). The farmer focused on ensuring that the grass was healthy, then allowed "nature to take its course". Cows grazed the grass, while chickens "cleaned up" after them and fertilised the soil for the grass with faeces. The farmers merely rotated the groups of animals from pasture to pasture and allowed the process to unfold naturally (Pollan, 2006:127).

However, Moore (2017:6) suggests that capitalism is much more than just a monetary construct. It is a way of positioning humanity and nature within the web of life. Moore (2017:9) suggests the term "capitalism-in-nature", which underlines that capitalism changes as nature changes. One is not separate from the other, nor is one lording over the other. Viewed from this angle, the apparent value of caring may actually suggest that humanity has the power over nature to "save" it from being exploited. Ironically, this is done merely by exploiting another aspect of nature to maintain the flow of cash and monetary value. Moore (2017:5) argues that humanity is part of the web of life. This means that not a single aspect of natural being can be disconnected from another, it is just that we often do not see those connections. Yet all forms of life are interconnected and woven into one another.

The farm reminded me of De la Bellacasa writings on permaculture where she writes that humans do not act upon the environment: rather, humanity is part of nature and part of nature at work (De la Bellacasa, 2011:128). This statement resonates with the notion of the oikeios, which is the web of life, of which humanity is part but not necessarily at the centre (Moore, 2016:1; De la Bellacasa, 2011:129). Human natures are therefore not merely restricted to human actors, as the Nature/Culture binary suggests; rather, they are part of interspecies relationships (Kirksey *et al.*, Schuetze, and Helmreich, 2014:2).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Chapter 1 explained the nature of the discussion I wanted to enter into by means of the present project. My focus was to identify the actors involved in environment-making at the market and to unravel the environment-making of the Hazel Food Market by looking at the ways in which cheap nature were present and how relationships were made and un-made through inclusion and exclusion. My initial focus was to look at exchanges at the market, but, during my fieldwork, I found that relationships and the language of care played a significant role in the environment-making at the market and therefore decided to focus on that. The research questions directed the focus of my research. However, some of the questions changed in response to my fieldwork and new data were collected during my time in the field.

Chapter 2 discussed the vast literature regarding these topics, which facilitated an in-depth study of the topics at hand. The methods I used allowed me to retrieve data effectively from the sources that were available at the market. Semi-formal interviews and participant observation were conducted at the marketplace and in one instance outside the market space. The methods were effective for collecting data: however, I found that certain restrictions did hinder my fieldwork, such as the Covid-19 restrictions which caused the market to close for a certain time. Other complications involved the establishment of a good time at which to arrange interviews with the managers and the vendors. The data collected led me to focus on three main topics: cheap nature, environment-making and connections.

Chapter 3 discussed the layout of the market by focusing on elements within its boundaries, such as the seating area, the boundaries of the food stalls and the entrance to it. Moving the market to a new location in 2021 allowed the management to make significant changes. The data I collected in the field revealed that the vendors worked together to determine the stall locations to ensure that all the vendors enjoyed equal opportunity for visits by customers. It was clear that, from its inception, the management focused on the creation of a space for international experiences by making use of a variety of foodstuff from across the globe with a view to food and homemade and homegrown products. The emphasis on such products indicated that the desired aesthetic was to show authenticity. Such authenticity was used to

draw local and international customers who desired something "different" from the local mall or small shop. The focus was on creating a different experience to visitors; however, the market aesthetic was not merely influenced by that which was contained inside its boundaries.

Chapter 4 therefore discussed race, class and the multi-species environment-making that occurred at the market. I focused on aspects that further influenced the aesthetic and how these contributed to environment-making. However, the focus was not restricted to that which occurred inside the boundaries, as indicated, but was extended to those which occurred outside of these, such as the public spaces close to the market. This extended the focus to include the 'chaos' of adjacent Pretoria streets and public spaces, especially in terms of car guards who work the parking spaces adjacent to the market to show visitors open parking spaces. The 'chaos' of the public streets and the neat aesthetic of the market was a juxtaposition worthy of note. Such a juxtaposition allowed me to argue that environment-making occurred inside and outside the market, and produced inclusions and exclusions that resulted from environment-making. Inside the market, certain humans and non-human were welcomed. Dogs and cats were encouraged to roam past the stalls with their owners and were welcomed by vendors and managers as part of the environment-making. However, access was intentionally and unintentionally limited to other people, while some activities were encouraged and other prohibited. In the process, car guards framed as illegal immigrants were positioned outside the market, deemed "unwelcome" and "undesirable", as part of the wild outside. However, the market was open for international visitors and the environment-making was aimed at drawing such visitors to the market. The drive behind the environment-making at the market was to increase business and capital, as is the case with business.

Building on the preceding chapter, in Chapter 5 I expounded the nature of the market community by focusing on both acts of violent care and inclusions and exclusions. It again examined the exclusion of car guards, set against the framing of insiders as a caring community. Care was visible in acts of support among vendors towards one another with a view to ensuring that they all made a profit on their sales. However, acts of violent care were evidenced as well, such as pushing car guards to the side lines of the market so as to ensure

that its aesthetic would not be negatively influenced. The acts of care were therefore not limited to the market's boundaries but were taken into public spaces on its fringes.

Chapter 6 discussed the way in which care was not merely evident in the market but also in the domestic production spaces of vendors. I discussed an interview with and field visit to the Aquaponics Couple and their acts of care with regard to their own health, the ecosystem in which they produce goods, and new ways of doing agriculture that is quite different from monocrop, commercial production. The aquaponics system they experiment with is framed as an ecosystem and nature is put to work in unusual ways to produce harvest for the couple to eat and sell. The couple care for the health of the environment and their bodies and use that care to find a less exploitative way to put nature to work in an eco-friendlier way, in the process reconfiguring that Haraway called "natureculture". The workers on the farm are also put to work to do that which the ecosystem can't, such as planting saplings back into the ecosystem. Further research would be required to study such aquaponics farming systems to explore how Nature-Culture is reworked and whether nature is made cheap in such farming systems. Their experiment did make me aware of how they use the language of care in a way that is different from how care is deployed by the actors involved in environment-making at Hazel Food Market.

Such acts of care are formulated and influence the environment-making of a space such as the market by determining what aspects of the market are focused on. Care determines access and how humans and non-humans are positioned. At the market some humans are deemed as "unwelcome" and measure are put in place to ensure access is restricted, yet on the farm even animals who seem to harm the ecosystem by eating from the harvest are deemed welcome. But herbicides and pesticides are not welcome, due to harm they cause to bodily health. In the Hazel Food Market, nature was made cheap through acts of violent care, as indicated. The car guards were pushed further away from it and such acts of care determined the attempt to tame the "chaotic bush" surrounding the market by cutting it so as to conform to a desired space.

Such acts of care are driven in part by capital. The latter determines how nature is put to work within a market to ensure that nature fits in with its aesthetic, as was found to be the

case at the Hazel Food Market. Pets were allowed to make it feel more like a communal public space, while access was limited for certain individuals.

The Nature/Culture binary is brought into sharp focus by acts of violent care. 'Undesirable' groups such as the car guards are pushed into the wilderness and restrictions are put in place to keep the car guards out of the private green lawns of the market. Such acts puts nature to work to ensure that the aesthetic of the market is maintained and that the 'impurities' are set aside and kept quiet the environment-making at the market was ever-shifting along with the acts of care that moved humans and non-humans around from one pole of the binary to the other. Environment-making at the market is evident in multiple aspects of the activities of the managers, vendors, and visitors. The exclusions and violent care at the market is evident in how managers of the market allow and restrict access to car guards, products, and certain vendors. The care for the market's success causes those to care violently; anything that is deemed as a threat to the market's aesthetic is pushed aside, isolated, hidden and silenced. Ensuring that there are no ties between the "undesirables" and the market.

The history and layout of the market started to reveal the desired aesthetic the market managers are focusing on. When the market moved locations there were determining factors that drove the managers' decision making, which also drive their decision making of the market now. The managers were very selective of the area in which the market should be located, close to a well-developed suburban area that is surrounded by upmarket institutions like embassies, universities, and sought-after schools. The managers did not want the market to be close to any informal settlements as they stated it would not be safe. Here the Nature/Culture binary already becomes evident, where Ndebele's illustration of the clean-cut grass in the middle of the chaotic bush becomes clear. The market becomes like a clean-cut green space, and those who are deemed "undesirable" are pushed into the outskirts of the chaotic bush. The layout of the market and the interactions between vendors and managers reveal the care that goes into where the stalls and seats are placed. This ensures all vendors have equal chances to draw customers to their stalls. Which shows the care that vendors and managers have for each other. Vendors would look after each other's stalls, refer customers to each other and assist in giving advice on how to improve their sales. Their focus is to work together well, to ensure the market does well. The care shown between managers and

vendors further reveals the Nature/Culture binary and environment-making. Those who are deemed welcome are cared for and looked after, whilst the "undesirables" are isolated and invisible. Vendors, the layout of the market, and the products are all ornaments used in the environment-making process to draw customers. Like birdseed ornaments placed in a garden to attract birds. They are carefully selected to fit the customer's interests to ensure the right customers are drawn to the market, namely foreign residents, international tourists, and middle- and upper-class suburban families. The presence of pets at the market is also used as an ornament in environment-making to draw visitors and suburban families with their pets to the market.

The environment-making of the market is influenced by nature made cheap by putting it to work, the Nature/Culture binary, and care. Nature is made cheap and put to work through the use of vendors, pets as ornaments to draw visitors to the market and the exclusion of certain class of people from the markets. The cheapening of class of people positions them in the chaotic bush, with the rest of Nature that is not deemed part of Culture or Society. Such dualism causes access restrictions to the market. Some vendors can't sell their products at the market for reasons that they are not on standard, or their products are similar to products already sold at the market. Environment-making and care creates a space where vendors can sell their products but are also able to get to know each other.

The Hazel Food Market was found to be a living organism: moving, shifting and adapting to stay aligned with capitalist notions. It was found to be a space where environment-making facilitated the collision of worlds and exchanges to connect these. This, in turn, created a network of multiple worlds that flowed into each other, each influencing the next in some way or another. Like a net draped over Pretoria, the connections flowed from the market to multiple areas in the city and around the world, where each individual (human and non-human) took a piece of the market back to their world.

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Appendix A – Approval letter from Faculty Research Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Humanities 100.

19 February 2021

Dear Miss L Mulder

Project Title:	Environment-making, cheap nature and exchange: An ethnographic study of the Hazelwood Urban Food Market in Tshwane.
Researcher:	Miss L Mulder
Supervisor(s):	Dr PFD Krige
Department:	Anthropology and Archaeology
Reference number:	16077734 (HUM022/0920)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 19 February 2021. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof I Pikirayi (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr A-M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Ms KT Govinder; Andrew; Dr P Gutuza; Dr E Johnson; Prof D Maree; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Ngoma; Dr C Rutlergill; Prof D Reyburn; Prof M Soer; Prof E Tollard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalepa

Appendix B – Letters of informed consent and permission letter

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Participants letter of consent

Managers

STUDY TITLE:

Environment-making, Cheap Nature and Exchange: An Ethnographic study of the Hazel Urban Food Market in Tshwane.

Principal Investigator: Lisa Mulder

Supervisor: Detlev Krige

Institution: University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities.

Daytime telephone number: 079 369 4420/ 012 4202496

Dear Mr./Mrs.

The aim of this study is to understand how nature and exchanges contribute to the environment of the food market. By doing so we wish to learn more about how nature is used and formed within environments and see how nature is connected to society and capital. Data sampling will take the form of interviews with indivduals and observation of the market by the researcher (myself). Individuals who are included in the study is any individual who is 18 years and older who is; visiting the market, selling products at the market or is a manager of the market. Individuals who are younger than 18 are excluded from the study.

This study involves answering some questions regarding your participation at the Hazel Food Market. I will therefore, be conducting an interview with you. I will keep the completed interviews in a safe place to make sure that only people working on the study will have access to it. Your name will not be used for the purpose of this study and all participants will be anonymous. This will ensure that your answers are kept confidential (so nobody will know what you have answered).

There is no foreseeable physical discomfort or risk involved. If there are questions that are too sensitive for you to answer, you do not need to answer them.

This study may help environmental and economic scholars and researchers to improve our understanding of the positioning of nature and society and their connections which form our ways of life (etc).

All records from this study will be regarded as confidential. All results will be published or presented in such a way that it is not possible to identify the participants.

Room 8-15, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2595| Fax +27 (0)12 420 xxxx
Email: sanna.sechele@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za

This study may help environmental and economic scholars and researchers to improve our understanding of the positioning of nature and society and their connections which form our ways of life (etc).

All records from this study will be regarded as confidential. All results will be published or presented in such a way that it is not possible to identify the participants.

You will not be paid to take part in the study. There are no costs involved for you to be part of the study.

By giving consent to participate in this study and signing this document you:

1. Confirm that the person requesting my consent to take part in this study has told me about the nature and process, any risks or discomforts, and the benefits of the study.

2. Have also received, read and understood the above written information about the study.

3. Are aware that the information obtained in the study, including personal details, will be anonymously processed and presented in the reporting of results.

4. Are participating willingly.

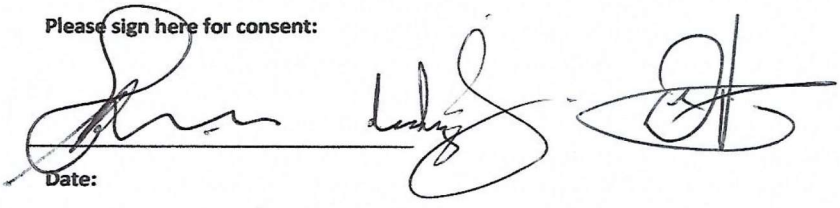
5. Aware that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

If you have any further questions in regards with this study please do not hesitate to ask myself or my supervisor:

Lisa Mulder: lisaqmulder@gmail.com

Detlev Krige: detlev.krige@up.ac.za

Please sign here for consent:



Date:

19 Oct 2021 & 18 June 2022

Room xxx, Humanities Building
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UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Humanities 100
Since 1919

Participants letter of consent

Sellers

STUDY TITLE:

Environment-making, Cheap Nature and Exchange: An Ethnographic study of the Hazel Urban Food Market in Tshwane.

Principal Investigator: Lisa Mulder

Supervisor: Detlev Krige

Institution: University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities.

Daytime telephone number: 079 369 4420/ 012 4202496

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This study involves answering some questions regarding your participation at the Hazel Food Market. I will therefore, be conducting an interview with you. I will keep the completed interviews in a safe place to make sure that only people working on the study will have access to it. Your name will not be used for the purpose of this study and all participants will be anonymous. This will ensure that your answers are kept confidential (so nobody will know what you have answered). As a seller at the market I would like to ask permission to accompany you to the location where you grow/make your products to understand the process more fully. The location I visit where the products are made/grown will not be shared with any individual to ensure the privacy of participants. Please note, you may withdraw from any of the above mentioned requests and have the right to withdraw from the study.

There is no foreseeable physical discomfort or risk involved. If there are questions that are too sensitive for you to answer, you do not need to answer them.

Room 8-15, Humanities Building
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1. Confirm that the person requesting my consent to take part in this study has told me about the nature and process, any risks or discomforts, and the benefits of the study.

2. Have also received, read and understood the above written information about the study.

3. Are aware that the information obtained in the study, including personal details, will be anonymously processed and presented in the reporting of results.

4. Are participating willingly.

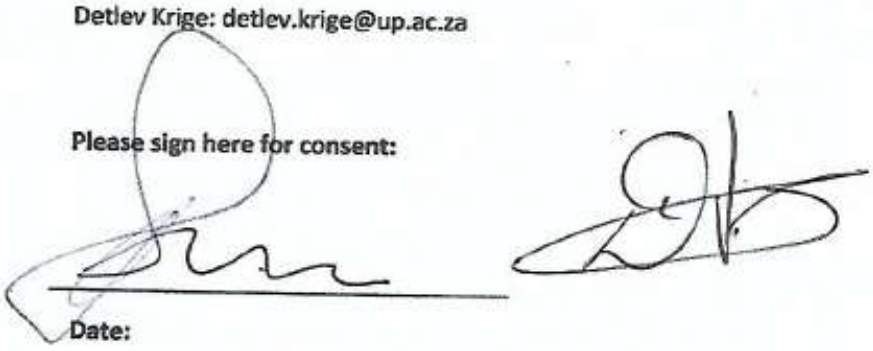
5. Aware that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

If you have any further questions in regards with this study please do not hesitate to ask myself or my supervisor:

Lisa Mulder: lisaqmulder@gmail.com

Detlev Krige: detlev.krige@up.ac.za

Please sign here for consent:



Date:

2021-10-19

Room xxx, Humanities Building
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Email xxx@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za

Kind regards

Lisa Mulder: lisaqmulder@gmail.com / 079 369 4420

Dr Detlev Krige: detlev.krige@up.ac.za

Please sign here for consent:

2020 - 12 - 11

Date:

Room xxx, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 xxxx | Fax +27 (0)12 420 xxxx
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