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Market life and the city (of Vienna)

The social infrastructure of attachment to place

'To come to the market during the market times, just to look and to dream.'

Image 1: Brunnenmarkt, Vienna

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Abstract

In this thesis, the relationship between people and places is investigated through examining how migrants in Vienna create place attachment to food markets in the city. As place attachment is understood as the emotional bond that forms between an individual and a specific space, the theoretical foundation of thesis lies within emotional geography, a sub-field of human geography which examines the relationship between emotions and spatial practices. Place attachment is connected to numerous benefits, including better health and wellbeing, and an enhanced sense of belonging to the local community (Scannell & Gifford, 2017). Thus, in this thesis it is understood that place attachment to food markets can enhance the wellbeing of individual migrants residing in Vienna.

In understanding the market as a space of both physical and social features which contribute to place attachment, in this thesis, markets are looked at through the lens of social infrastructure, as spaces which support social connection (Klinenberg, 2018). The concept of social infrastructure is further theorized through Lefebvre's (1991 [1974]) notion on the social production of space, in that the social infrastructure of the market space is the result of human activity, which continuously shapes how the space develops.

To gain data on how markets perceive and use markets, seven interviews were held with migrants who have lived in Vienna for different periods of time. Additionally, one interview was held with a citizen's initiative which works with the local market, and one with a local market actor. Through a phenomenological approach, direct experiences of those who use markets were gained, and the data was analysed through a thematic approach. The findings elaborate on how the social infrastructure of the market support place attachment. The main findings of the research are that emotional attachments to place are crucial in guiding spatial practices in the city. Through positive encounters, routinised use of markets is established, which further lead to the formation of place attachment. The other main finding is that what strengthens place attachment is the co-creation of the space. Instead of passively being in a structured space, markets enable individuals to be spontaneous, take agency in their use of space, and establish patterns of use according to their physical and emotional needs. Finally, the findings show that markets have the potential to be spaces which enhance citizen engagement and community -action, which can, when mobilized, lead to more inclusive and tightly knit -neighbourhoods.

This research emphasizes understanding the role of public spaces in enabling belonging for different people living in the city, and more specifically, which factors are crucial when developing these spaces further. As such, this thesis contributes on place attachment literature in enhancing understanding of the combination of physical and social features in creating an emotional attachment to place.

Key words: place attachment; public markets; Vienna; social infrastructure; production of space; urban geography; emotional geography

Word count: 19995

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1 Introduction

Throughout history, public markets have worked as spaces where people from local communities come to make trade, buy products, and engage with others. Public markets encompass a mix of economic, social, cultural, political, and environmental relations, and as civic spaces, aim to provide locals with a shared space to spend time in. Public markets are public spaces where food and other products are sold, thus offering economic opportunities for small businesses and entrepreneurs. Markets come in different sizes, offering different products and services, and they play a varied meaning for different people inhabiting a space. With increasing privatization, densification, and commercialization of space in urban areas (Breines et al., 2022; Vigneswaran et al., 2017; Leorke, 2015) public spaces become contested spaces, with vested interests on one side, and the fight for public space on the other. This partly stems from the negligence in understanding the role that public spaces have in constructing inclusive and equitable cities (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015). One of these spaces is the market space.

Public spaces in urban areas are vital for the enhancement of social life in cities. Social life in the city has numerous benefits for urban citizens, as they nurture civic culture, social connection, personal wellbeing, inclusion, and community building (Latham & Layton, 2019; Ouf & El-Zafarany, 2018). While many spaces, such as parks and plazas, are non-commercial spaces, Bell (2017) distinguishes commercial spaces such as public markets as spaces that however are of public nature. While in most cases, governed from above, markets are produced by people and their actions (Hiebert et al., 2014), thus shaping how the market is seen and experienced.

In this thesis, the focus is on examining the role of public markets for place attachment in urban areas, and more specifically, in the Austrian capital of Vienna. As a result of globalization and global migration flows, and as the capital of Austria, Vienna hosts a large diversity of inhabitants, with as many as 43 per cent of citizens having a foreign background. People change the places they inhabit through their values, ways of living, ideas, and cultural habits, continuously transforming the urban landscape. As such, cities are in constant transformation, and thus, so are also markets, and how they are used and perceived.

Once a central location for buying household items, food and other products, the emergence of supermarkets has changed the role of markets in contemporary times. On

one hand, this has led public markets to become spaces where products differ from those sold in supermarkets, but additionally, this portrays how people have other reasons for using public markets, instead of simply as a mean to buy products. In the case of public markets of Vienna, many market vendors have a background of migration themselves, offering products that come from outside of Austria, including but not limited to, products from Eastern Europe, the Balkan region, the Middle East, and Asia. Consequently, these markets often reside in areas in the city with a large migrant population. However, there are also markets in Vienna focusing on other offerings, such as traditional Austrian products, as well as ecologically oriented markets.

The wide variety of markets in Vienna make it a fruitful focus of research in terms of how people experience these markets, what role do markets play in enhancing quality of urban life, and what is the social significance of markets for urban citizens. Adhering to the notion that people experience space in different ways, this thesis examines the relationship between people with migrant backgrounds, and the market spaces they use. The research includes a variety of public markets, and additionally includes ethnic supermarkets.

1.1 Research aim and questions

The aim of this research is to examine how place attachment forms between migrants in Vienna, and market spaces. As place attachment is an inherently emotional relationship to place, emotional geography forms the overall theoretical framework and provides the foundation to how emotional attachments to space guides spatial practices in the city. However, as place attachment is a complex term, to research it, the concept of social infrastructure is used to represent the construction of the market space. Adopting a view of social infrastructure enables to combine physical and social factors of market spaces, which according to Amin (2008), form public spaces, thus contributing to the quality of urban culture and opportunity for civic participation. Understanding how place attachment forms enables understanding how individuals use space, what spatial factors individuals find important, and thus, what might be lacking in those spaces to which place attachment does not form.

Place attachment is a central component in everyone’s life, and as Escalera-Reyes (2020) argues ‘People tend to have an “inherent” desire to belong and to be an important part of something greater than themselves (p. 322). Research shows that the benefits of place

attachment are many: feeling a sense of belonging, deeper attachment to the local community and its development, social cohesion, better mental wellbeing, a more positive outlook on life, and an enhanced sense of safety (Scannell & Gifford, 2017; Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Staeheli (2003) emphasizes the importance of the quality of urban spaces in how one establishes attachment to place. This is the relevance in understanding what kinds of place dynamics contribute to how people exactly form place attachment to certain spaces. What further makes markets, as public urban spaces, fruitful objects of research is how they bring together not the economic activity of selling products, but also specific cultural practices and values into shared spaces (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015). Understanding the dynamics of place attachment and how people create meaningful relationships to place enables understanding what kinds of urban spaces truly serve the needs of citizens. This can thus lead to creating spaces, neighbourhoods, and cities that not mere acknowledge the importance of, but in actuality support the wellbeing of its citizens.

To fulfill the research aim of understanding what supports place attachment between migrants and market spaces in Vienna, the following main and supporting research questions will guide the process of research.

1. How does the social infrastructure of the market space support place attachment?

- What is the social infrastructure of the market space?
- How do emotional attachments guide spatial practices?

1.2 Disposition

In section 2, the foundation guiding the research, emotional geography, is presented. The approach of emotional geography builds upon the concept of place attachment to elaborate on the spatiality of emotions. Next, social infrastructure is presented as the mean of looking at the market as an urban space and its different physical and social components, leading to the empirical component of the research. To conclude on the theoretical foundation, how social infrastructure is constructed is elaborated on through Lefebvre's understanding of the social production of space. In section 3, earlier research on market spaces is presented, to understand where this research lies within the existing literature, and for identifying the research gap which will be addressed. In section 4, the research design enabling the data collection is discussed, and section 5 offers an introduction to the geographical focus of the research, and an exploration of the history

of market development in both the European and the Viennese context. In section 6, the findings of the data collection are presented, and in section 7, the findings of the data collection are discussed in relation to the presented literature. Finally, in section 8, the established research questions will be connected to the outcomes of the research, and final remarks are presented on the connections between market spaces and place attachment.

2 Theoretical framework

This section introduces and explores the overall theoretical framework of emotional geographies, which lays the foundation for how place attachment is approached in the research, further building on concepts of social infrastructure and the social production of space.

2.1 Emotional geographies

What is the spatial context of emotion, and how does affect become something that is materialized? Understood as the emotional turn in geography, emotional geography as a sub-field of human geography began to emerge in the late 20th century as part of the overall humanistic turn, through a criticism towards social sciences for neglecting the role of emotion in how realities are constructed and experienced. Many scholars saw the current, and previous trends, of human geography as passive, technical and objective, limiting the scope and depth of human-environment interactions. Emotions as 'ways of knowing, being and doing' (Anderson & Smith, 2001, p.8) have thus been brought up on the agenda in viewing the relationships humans have to space and place, and how these relationships are formed and shaped (Pile, 2010). In essence, emotional geography focuses on what are the emotions people feel for each other, and for places, and how this emotional attachment guides their relationship to these people and places. Davidson and Milligan (2004) call for an 'emotion-spatial hermeneutics', meaning that 'emotions are understandable— 'sensible'—only in the context of particular places' (p. 524). Wood and Smith (2004) further argue for understanding particular timespaces through how individuals make sense of them through emotions. Thus, different geographical spaces connect to different emotions, which in this case are specified to market spaces. The following concepts explore how emotions are connected to space.

2.2 Place attachment as a spatial concept

The attachments that people form to places are at the core of research into people-place relationships. It is widely recognized that emotional ties are what connect people to places (Ilovan & Markuszewska, 2022, p.5). In its simplest sense, an attachment to place is seen as the result of a process where a place becomes important to an individual (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013). But an understanding of what these related factors are, how they relate to each other, and how they affect gaining an attachment to place is challenging to draw. Attachment to place has different emphases among scholars, such as emphasis

on personal identity, community, or a sense of place. The plurality of the term, or rather the difficulty to gain common consensus of what exactly place attachment means, has led to limitations in terms of creating a comprehensive theoretical framework (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001).

Based on earlier research on place attachment and place-human relationships, place attachment is understood as an affective bond that emerges between people and specific spatial contexts (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Escalera-Reyes, 2020). However, for Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001), this definition is limited in its aims to differentiate between other, similar terms that aim to explain human-environment attachments. With this criticism as the basis, the authors narrow the specific aims of place attachment to be an aspiration to stay close to the object of attachment. However, there the spatial scale of this closeness to the object varies, as it can be understood as an individual home, a neighbourhood, a city, or the state. Further, the authors emphasize that when discussing place attachment, it is crucial to differentiate between social attachment and physical attachment. While these are two different things, often social attachment is given emphasis, through understanding place attachment as something that emerges through purely social relationships, which is the social environment that is embedded in a given space. However, the physical factors, such as the built environment, while often under-emphasized, is crucial when examining how people form attachments to certain spaces. Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) divide place attachment into place dependence and place identity. Place dependence encompasses the ways in which a particular setting serves the needs of the user, and how an individual understands their position in relation to a space, and what is their role in that space. Conversely, place identity is formed based on values, attitudes, and emotions an individual prescribes to a space. Indeed, place identity is further theorized as something that incorporates notions regarding the norms and rules that are inscribed into space. The experiences that one has of a place, and the amount of time spent in the place are both central in understanding the construction of place attachment. Further, both Bell (1999) and Leach (2002) share this view that repetitive acts are crucial to develop a sense of belonging to them.

Many scholars, such as Hay (1998), agree that for an individual to create an affective bond to place, it requires long-term engagement with it. This long-term engagement is often linked to establishing a sense of belonging, which, for Fenster (2005) emerges from continuous spatial practices. This ‘everyday belonging’ comes from familiarity to

different places which hold a function in an individual's life. A crucial part of 'everyday belonging' is constructed through memory. Short-term memory regards daily life practices of using spaces such as streets and neighbourhoods, producing a familiarity of place. Long-term memory extends back to events that took place in specific spaces during one's childhood.

Place attachment receives a lot of interest in place-research due to the social and political implications of it. For example, place attachment has been looked at through what kinds of social ties people have to others within the community, and what kinds of perceptions they have of their living environments. This has shown how attachment to place is stronger among those who have meaningful friendships with others and participate to both formal and informal civic activities. Lack of attachment has conversely been connected to higher levels of stress, health problems and overall discontent with one's quality of life. Thus, place attachment has significant implications to how people see themselves as part of society and participate in it (Tuttle, 2022; Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

It is important to distinguish between this deep and affective bond people have to certain places, and simply respect for, or satisfaction of, a place. Place attachment is sometimes in literature regarded simply as a positive relationship between people and places, lacking emphasis on the deepness, affect, and level of bond that is central in the attachment to a place (Williams et al., 2013, p. 6). Tuan (1974) uses the term 'topophilia' in discussing the affective bond between human and place and uses the term as a framework to examine the diverse relationships that people have with their surroundings through three layers. Perceptions are understood as how an individual, through their different human senses, respond to different phenomena that takes place in the physical world. This is to some degree a selective process, in which some phenomena are perceived, and other are disregarded. What is perceived has different degrees of value for physical survival, as well as cultural satisfaction. People perceive the world in varied ways, and there is no one correct way of perceiving. Attitudes, are more deeply rooted in culture, leading to way to how one interacts with what they perceive. Attitudes develop over time and are formed based on a variety of personal and collective experiences. These attitudes further encompass values that individuals place upon what they perceive. Finally, world views are constructed in combination of one's social and physical setting and portrays the way an individual looks at the world through interpreting it. The world view incorporates perceptions, and is shaped by attitudes, and ultimately affects how individuals behave in

the world, thus shaping the spatial practices of individuals regarding use of public markets as part of their routines (pp. 4-5 & 79).

This section has presented place attachment, a concept meaning the deep and emotional attachment people form to places. The attachment develops through staying close to the space, seeing the value or importance of it. It combines both social and physical aspects of the space, as these features affect the nature of the attachment. In this thesis, this place attachment is looked at through the attachment that urban citizens have with public markets. Thus, place dependence is looked through the reasonings that individuals give for using market spaces, and place identity relates to how values for certain spaces develop, and what kind of behaviour is deemed appropriate for these spaces. This connects to Tuan's three layers to understanding attachment to place, through how market spaces are perceived, how attitudes towards these spaces guide actions within them, with the world views ultimately constructing the role that public markets play in the lives of individuals.

2.3 Social infrastructure

This section outlines what is social infrastructure and how it relates to place attachment. Urban spaces consist of multiple networks and structures, i.e., infrastructures, in place, that jointly affect how and why urban spaces are constructed, transformed, and maintained. How the built environment relates and works together with social and political features are at the core of mapping a social infrastructure of the urban. Underlining the significance of these features implies incorporating different ways of experiencing infrastructure, something that has in the past been neglected (Latham & Layton, 2019; Foroughanfar, 2022). Klinenberg (2018) introduced the term social infrastructure, understanding it as 'the physical places and organizations that shape the way people interact' (p.5). As infrastructure is a central lens through which past political and social approaches can be identified, social infrastructure does not only guide human activity, but further emerge from it (Smedberg, 2022). These spaces include those as public institutions, spaces for sport and child play, gardens and yards, spaces where civic associations operate, and other communal and commercial spaces, such as the market space (Klinenberg, 2018). Looking at place attachment through the lens of social infrastructure enables acknowledging the multiple networks and structures of urban configurations that both enable using urban spaces. Using space can consequently lead to forming an attachment to it.

By highlighting an emerging interest within social sciences to understand the material and the culture as intertwined, Amin (2014) examines urban infrastructure through a social lens as to 'reimagine the city as both a social and a technical arrangement' (p. 31). Amin (2014) argues for three approaches to understanding this reimagination. Firstly, the city is seen as a machine of socio-technicalities, through which basic needs are met. However, these systems are not merely technical or passive, but are intertwined with interests, values, and human inquiry. Secondly, an emphasis is put on critically examining the symbolic meaning of the built environment, and how aesthetics and modernism become detached from functionality. This approach seeks to erode difference, however, consequently contributes to unequal distribution of services in the city. In this sense, the city is made through selective visibleness, within which certain infrastructure is celebrated, while other infrastructure is left invisible. The third approach argues for the human experience in shaping the city. This includes notions such as the how citizens experience the provided infrastructure, or there-lack-of, as well as how infrastructure relates and provisions urban inequalities, in how people may enjoy a fulfilled life. Further, how the city and its different structures are experienced through different human senses are 'seen to shape social behaviour as well as affective and ethical dispositions' (p. 139).

Physical infrastructure intertwined with the lived experience in space is something that also Steele and Legacy (2017) argue for. Thus, physical infrastructure extends to the social in many ways, and cannot be thought of as separate entities, but indeed enforce each other in how they work as the socio-technical infrastructure of the city. As such, an increasing interest in the infrastructure of the urban not only looks at how infrastructure changes the urban landscape, but further how these changes take place, upon which interests (Amin, 2014; Steele & Legacy, 2017).

Public space at the core of social infrastructure is underlined by many scholars. Layton and Latham (2019) see social infrastructure as a mean to enhance social connections and facilitate different activities in places such as public parks. What makes this approach central from a place attachment perspective is that in order to participate in civic activities and public life, as is argued for as a central component in place attachment, public spaces are essential. For example, Melik and Merry (2021) investigate public libraries as social infrastructure, understanding them as public spaces that have a vital role in contributing to the social life of cities, through offering non-commercial activities in addition to their main function, such as language courses and activities for children. Peterson (2023) draws

similar conclusions, arguing for libraries as spaces of everyday encounters, where micro connections may lead to more inclusive multi-ethnic cities. The encounters that take place in the library are also to some extent designed and facilitated, which, Melik and Merry (2021) understand as 'infrastructuring'. As such, libraries are spaces where current shortcomings and challenges that society is facing can be focused on, providing a vital form of social infrastructure. While markets facilitate also non-commercial activities, the concept of infrastructuring becomes central in the case of looking at the multiple networks and ways of being take place in market spaces, supporting community life.

Latham & Layton (2022) distinguish four main approaches to social infrastructure which are currently used within urban geography. The first approach accounts for people as being the infrastructure of the city. This approach disregards the built environment and emphasizes humans and the collective actions that they can accomplish. Humans as the social infrastructure is especially central in cities with poor physical infrastructure and high levels of informal activity, as in this case humans seem to compensate for the poor quality of urban provisioning. The second approach to social infrastructure lies in the social relations that are embedded within the provisioning of infrastructure and physical networks. With this approach, the social relations that take place are not separate, but indeed build around the physical infrastructure. These relations, in the ways they are formed, maintained, and transformed, hold an aspect of power that would not be considered in 'infrastructures that are otherwise presumed to be material, uniform, rational, asocial' (p. 660). This approach emphasises how people as social beings do not act as passive nor detached, but in fact bring their thoughts, values, and ways of being in the world into what they do, ultimately affecting the process and outcome of what is being implemented. This connects to the first understanding of urban infrastructure by Amin (2014) in how people and systems weave together.

The third understanding of social infrastructure is related to social care. As the means of social reproduction, this approach emphasizes both the related physical infrastructure, such as day-care centres, schools and hospitals and other spaces with multiple functions, and the gendered relations that are central in upkeeping the services of these facilities. In supporting those vulnerable in society, these facilities offer the necessary means to survive, and participate in civic society, being crucial in the same ways as the physical infrastructure. The fourth approach emphasizes social life and social connections as the social infrastructure of the city, being enabled through a variety of public spaces, such as

libraries, parks, community halls, and markets. It is the provision of these public spaces which indeed are thought to contribute to more inclusive urban spaces and public life, through the natural way of 'being with others' (p. 663). What makes these public spaces fruitful to research is how the multiple ways that people use these spaces for different purposes enable one to catch a glimpse into how people live their lives in the urban environment, and what kinds of values and desires they have to attain a good quality of life.

The concept of social infrastructure that has been presented here provide the basic ground for how the theoretical understanding of place attachment is translated into empirical practices. What the literature on social infrastructure shows is that the networks of people and places in urban areas cannot be divided into two separate entities, but rather they work together, one influencing the other. This influence hold values, emotional attachment, and human connection, which all affect how these networks are developed and maintained.

What makes the social infrastructure crucial in this thesis is understanding markets as systems of physical and technical features; markets as spaces in the city, regulated by authorities, placed in specific parts of the city, with specific services, but also as systems of social networks, use-values, spaces of difference and interactions. These two ways of approaching markets as systems are connected to each other. In terms of looking at markets as places of place attachment, what is central is how these public spaces are used based on the different values and importance's that they are given by individuals, enabling to see what aspects form place attachment to markets as socio-technological systems.

2.4 Social infrastructure through the production of space

A closer look at how social infrastructure is understood shows how it relates to Lefebvre's (1991 [1974]) understandings of the production of space. For Lefebvre, space is socially produced by humans who habit it, instead of space being merely 'there' for humans to participate in, thus making space a social construct. Space as the product of both physical aspects and social processes is how many understand Lefebvre's notions. Further, how space is produced, is the result of social practices, that entail the social dynamics of any given time. In understanding the dynamics of spatial production, Lefebvre divides the production of space into three distinctive but overlapping layers: representations of space, representational space, and spatial practices.

Representations of space accounts for how any given space is perceived. How space is perceived affects how it discussed and understood. This holds power relations in how the discourse of the space is constructed, by who and in what circumstances. The representations essentially are constructed views of a spatial layout. Further, how these spaces are conceived affect how they are developed or changed (Lefvebre, 1991 [1974], pp. 38-42; Buser, 2012; Leary, 2009). In the case of market spaces, they are perceived in certain ways, and could for example be characterised as public spaces where on certain days and times, people from multicultural backgrounds come to sell food for economic purposes, while showcasing specific cultural practices and products of different locales. Spatial practices account for space which can be observed, often understood as the physical manifestation of how certain spaces are planned. As the materiality of space, it encompasses space as perceived, through entities such as buildings and roads. How space is perceived depends on the way individuals use space and is affected by the material organisation of space. (Lefvebre, 1991 [1974], p 37-42; Buser, 2012; Leary, 2009). In the case of markets, this accounts for the spatial organisation of the market space, the stalls, streets, and ways of moving within the space.

Finally, representational space accounts for space as something that is lived and experienced. How spaces are experienced develop from numerous factors, such as personal values, emotional bonds, and past experiences. Different people in the same physical space experience it in different ways. From these three layers, this is the most personal of levels, understood as the individual experience of being in space, which cannot be directly understood from the outside. (Lefvebre, 1991 [1974], p 37-42; Buser, 2012; Leary, 2009). It is further a central way of approaching the space of the market, as a space which is experienced in different ways by different people.

Lefebvre's understanding of the production of space provides the basis of understanding how the social infrastructure of the market is produced and maintained. These layers are inevitably interconnected: How a space is represented affects who and how it is used, as does how it is experienced, which further lead to how it is perceived by society and those within it, affecting the physical development and changes that target the space.

3 Literature review

There is relatively little research done on place attachment in strictly defined scales other than in the home (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001, such as in markets. Research on markets as social, multifunctional spaces, especially in the context of Europe, is mostly focused on the United Kingdom. This section demonstrates how public markets are understood as public spaces and introduces earlier research that has been done on markets in different geographical locations. Introducing this literature enables placing this research within the wider scope of relations and dynamics that take place within and in connection to markets.

3.1 Understanding markets as public spaces

In studying the potentials of urban markets as enablers of civic culture, Huaita-Alfaro (2015) argues that 'Food is embedded in sociocultural systems from which acquires multiple values in the everyday life' (p.1). How these systems are provided within the city affects how space is used by urban citizens, and further contributes to how the city and its spaces are experienced. The dialectical nature between people and places is at the core of understanding how place attachment develops and looking at these relations opens layers to understanding how people relate to the places they are in. Essentially, what brings sociotechnological systems together are 'the moments and spaces for encountering them the city may offer' (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015, p. 3).

Walzer (1986) distinguishes between two types: single-minded, and open-minded space. By single-minded space, Walzer means spaces that have been designed for very specific uses, often as a mean to go somewhere, merely passing through the space. With inviting limited types of actions and actors, these spaces risk repressing qualities that do not fit in. In this sense, space has a strong role in how people act in different environments, and what is socially accepted behaviour. Open-minded space, however, is designed in a way that it can be used for different things that were not even considered in the planning phase. Here space is left for creativity, agency, and opportunism. Further, these spaces often entail a sense of tolerance and being open to others, due to the multifunctionality of the space. Public spaces of different kinds reside somewhere on this spectrum. Open-minded spaces can also be thought of as 'third spaces', which are spaces outside of the home and the workplace where people can meet each other and enjoy public life (Oldenburg, 1991; Mehta & Bosson, 2010).

Public space and how it is experienced and governed has caught the attention of many authors in recent decades, examining how inclusive 'the public' in actuality is. Staeheli et al., (2009) look at how the public is constructed, and then experienced by immigrants in the United States. Here access to and the use of public space is governed by political and social norms, and when not behaviour does not reflect these norms, acceptance of 'outsiders' is challenged. Thus, while public space may physically be accessible, they are also spaces of conflict and difference. What may be an implication of this is the multiplicity of 'publics' that while share physical space, do not share social norms or a feeling of community. Understanding public space as the arena for social struggle is further emphasized through scholars such as Vigneswaran et al., (2017), who look at how public spaces are made through social encounter, interaction, and political and social struggles, and aims to reclaim urban space.

In this thesis, the nature of markets is explored through looking at what kinds of interactions and activities take place in them, shedding light on what kind of public life they potentially facilitate.

3.2 Previous research on public markets

Watson (2009), while researching markets in the United Kingdom, focuses on how markets, as public spaces, foster social connectivity. By researching eight markets in the United Kingdom, Watson sheds light on the previously neglected aspect of markets as spaces in the urban in which diverse interactions are enacted upon. This negligence has partly been done via substantial focus on other public spaces, such as shopping centers. To gain insight into the embedded social relations that take place in markets, the selected markets are characterized by different cultural and socioeconomic attributes. The study adopts ethnographic observations of different market activities and interviews with vendors, shoppers, and other related public and private actors. Watson divides the nature of social interactions in the marketplace into four different types: 'rubbing along', social inclusion, theatricality/performance, and mediating differences.

'*Rubbing along'* accounts for short interactions, such as a simple gaze, sharing a small space, and short conversations, can lead to a decline in discriminatory behavior, which otherwise risk to flourish in spaces where homogenous groups do not mix with others. Watson emphasizes how the rubbing along can account for interactions between different entities, such as between vendors, but also between vendors and customers, and between

customers. *Social inclusion* as a mean of social interaction focuses on how these marketplaces can indeed enhance the inclusion of others through small gestures and acts of care, such as ‘someone keeping an eye out for you’ (p. 1583). Markets as spaces of social inclusion are also identified by González (2020) arguing that ’marketplaces can become a safe haven for marginalised groups of people’ (p. 887), offering an environment of solidarity and care. Breines et al. (2022) identify care as a central component in the relationships between market vendors and customers, the role of which was enhanced during the Covid-19 pandemic. Market vendors and customers would organise informal short meetings to uphold relationships and look after the wellbeing of each other. Watson (2009) calls this ’everyday multiculturalism’ understood as the ways ’everyday encounters across multicultural differences are enacted’ (p.127), experienced in different ways by different parties, not as a collective feeling. According to the study, marketplaces enact a sense of safety in space, as many of those spending time in marketplaces would enjoy the atmosphere for extended periods of time.

Theatre and Performance accounts for theatrecal-like performances that the market vendors engage in as to sell their produce, such as engaging in light-hearted conversation with passers-by. Finally, *mediating differences* regards the negotiations of intersectional attributes, such as race, ethnicity, and gender, which create cross-cultural relations which are not free from frictions and tensions that take place in these marketplaces. The study by Watson demonstrates the signifcance of the embedded social relations that exist in marketplaces, which affect the market experience and how the market is perceived by the local community.

Fenster (2005) looks at how Bangladeshi people in London gain a sense of belonging on the neighborhood level due to the neighborhood being the space of ‘a network of belonging’ (p. 250) as Bangladeshi people living near each other, with ethnic and cultural services, made them feel more at home. Similar conclusions have been drawn by Olsson (2007) who argues that having access to certain foods enables immigrants to hold onto their ethnic identities, create bonds with locals, and pass traditions to future generations. A sense of belonging was found in repetitive spatial practices of moving within the neighborhood, and long-term memory as a mean to access past events that took place in certain spaces, to be incorporated in the present. Indeed, the role of memory in how the present is perceived, and how emotional affect to place develops, is further emphasized by other scholars, such as Garde-Hansen and Jones (2012). However, this research, while

emphasizing ways to hold one to one's cultural identity, do not discuss the potentialities of use cultural differences to build communities of knowledge-sharing and learning about the difference of cultures in shared urban spaces, or how potentialities of this happening are perceived by locals.

Hiebert et al. (2014) research a market in Amsterdam, understanding it as a space where economy and society intersect. Understanding markets as spaces of commerce that bring together cultural diversity and through it a variety of interactions, the authors seek to further understand what is the role of markets in forming intercultural relationships, if this happens at all, and wether or not they extend beyond the market to the larger society. Markets here are seen as spaces of enhanced diversity in terms of people and products, due to low-barrior entries, and can offer insights into the surroundig dynamics of diversity and encounter. The spatial context is significant, as markets placed in different urban neighbourhoods are to variying degrees understood to be more or less authentic related to the products the sell. Pottie-Sherman (2011) emphasizes this notion of authentic fake, through how authenticity of products sold in market spaces risk ignoring the historical and cultural details, simplifying these features for commercial purposes. Hiebert et al. (2014) find that while interactions based on this collective use of space can promote community, they can also contribute to power-relations between those who merely consume 'foreign' products, and those who face stereotypes and marginalisation in society, in fact enhancing tentions among social groups, also mentioned by Rhys-Taylor (2013), and Pottie-Sherman (2011) as consuming the 'Other' (p.15), and understood as ethnic stereotyping by Busch (2010). Hiebert et al. (2014) argue for market places themselfes as small worlds of 'larger social cultural, political and economic processes and structures' (p. 10).

Like Watson (2009), Hiebert et al. (2014) argue that the almost theatre-like performance that the vendors put on is accepted by the market-goers and contributes to a sense of mutually agreed behaviours and social practices that are speficic to the market spaces. This social factor of markets is further emphasized by Rhys-Taylor (2013), who researches a popular street market in East-London, underlining the scale of social interaction and cultural practices within the market, which shape local dynamics in places that are otherwise left behind in public interest and urban development. Further, as Busch (2010) argues that 'people from different cultures communicate in different ways that are

rooted in their cultures' (p. 74.), markets are certainly spaces where cultures mix, in a sense creating very specific behaviours and interactions confined to these spaces.

Research into the differences between place attachment in urban and rural markets has been done to understand the relevance of the spatial context in the degree to which markets enable a sense of attachment. Here, Watson and Breines (2023) depart from the common impression that urban communities become less centred around community and being-together, when there is a decrease in the provision of public space, leading to an increase in alienation from one another. This is opposed to more rural settings with closer ties among locals due to social and spatial connections. Watson and Breines (2023) research place attachment in one urban and one rural market in England. Understanding place attachment as an 'assemblage of social, material, cultural and affective practices' (p. 130) the authors argue that place attachment can be read in different ways, constitutive of different factors for different individuals and groups. Here the urban market is characterised as multi-cultural, in a low-income area, and is experiencing the threat of gentrification. This risk of gentrification is identified also by González (2020), who argues that certain urban regeneration agendas, and framing markets as tourist destinations, risk the role of markets as low-barrier, accessible and ordinary public spaces for locals. The rural market, however, adopts a more homogenous population and offerings.

The research shows that many of the vendors based in the urban market had been there for years, thus having many connections to other market actors and the local community. For vendors from a migrant background, building a customer base in the market enables creating a sense of belonging to the market space through feelings of having an important role in the market. An enhanced sense of community within the market would stretch into the neighbourhood, being showcased through practices of care for others. As opposed to the urban market, a lesser degree of belonging of market vendors is captured in the rural market, because most of the vendors would change locations daily, disrupting an opportunity to attach to place, with less interactions taking place with marketgoers. While the role of the vendors in contributing to the social space of markets is seen as relatively small, their role in enabling the space for locals to come together is more significant. Attachment to place here is understood as the result of strong social ties between vendors and marketgoers due to the stability and predictability of the market space, as these repetitive activities in space creates a sense of trust and attachment to the community.

As the central function of markets is for people to buy food, what emerges is understanding the relationship and differences between markets, and commercial supermarkets. Focusing on this differentiation, de la Pradelle (2006) argues that the lack of sociability, and the lack of relationship between producers and consumers drive people to use markets. Thus, the space of the marketspace, with inscribed behavioural patterns, enables the customer to have a bigger role, leading to co-creation of space Further, when markets and supermarkets are in close proximity, this can indeed affect how supermarkets organise themselves; either by building up market-like structures, or further aim to detangle themselves from connecting to the market. (Pottie-Sherman, 2011). This exemplifies how markets affect surrounding areas in different ways, depending on local agendas and perceptions.

3.3 Situating the study within previous literature on markets

The research on markets presented here elaborates how market spaces act as multifunctional spaces where a variety of interactions take place.

The main limitation of these presented studies is that they do not focus on the emotional attachment to these spaces by those who use them. Indeed, much of the literature discusses interactions and cultural practices, however they do not discuss how these interactions and practices make individuals feel, which is a crucial factor in how these instances make individuals return to the market. While the different research emphasizes the multifunctionality of market spaces as not just places where people go to buy food, but also as spaces where they spend time, what is not included is how being in the market space feels, why do people feel the need to go to these markets, and what is the relevance of markets within daily practices of urban dwelling. What may indeed cause this limitation in understanding the emotional dimension of marketplaces is that there little research on market activity based on marketgoers, as opposed to market vendors. While place attachment has somewhat been introduced in the case of market vendors, for market goers it remains on a surface level of understanding markets as places where immigrants frequently visit for certain products.

Going beyond merely describing the social interactions that take place in market spaces, what is central is understanding the conditions which enable meaningful interactions to emerge between people (Pottie-Sherman, 2011). Further, connecting market activity to wider social and political dimensions of living among one another in urban space is barely touched upon, upkeeping a detachment between markets, and surrounding urban spaces,

thus ignoring the question of how these interactions and experiences that take place in market spaces translate to the outside. This is a crucial aspect when researching how place attachment to markets enable a sense of belonging on the city-wide scale. While the study by Breines et al. (2022) finds that the social practices of markets are not spatially confined to the market space, arguing that in times of crisis and uncertainty, 'traders' visits carried along the "market spirit" and spatially transformed the social relations of the market to new places, such as to customers' doorsteps' (p. 883), other than in this study of the marketplace, what is essentially missing is something Seamon (2013) calls 'the inward/outward dialectic of place'. Here Seamon argues that 'Place as defined by its inward and outward aspects requires consideration of the possible range of ways in which a place does or does not connect itself with and respond to the larger world of which it is a part (p. 5). Thus, it remains unclear how market spaces connect to the urban space outside of them, and how the experience of space changes within, or outside of, market spaces, and why.

These limitations will be tackled more in-depth in this thesis and are reflected in the research questions (see **Research aim**).

4 Research design

This section introduces the research design which provides the overall structure for data collection and analysis, and additionally includes ethical considerations of the methods used, as well as considerations of the role of the researcher in the research process.

4.1 Data collection and sampling

This research adopts qualitative methods to gain data for attaining the research aim. Qualitative methods include a variety of methods, such as interviews, focus groups, participant observations, and visual analysis (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p. 2; Winchester & Rofe, 2010, p. 5). Unlike in quantitative research, qualitative research is less concerned with numeric data and explaining experiences, and more concerned with understanding different phenomena, its underlying meanings, and how it contributes to the social reality on an individual or collective level (Nassaji, 2020). As the topic of this research is understanding how people from different backgrounds experience shared public spaces, qualitative methods offer a suitable pathway forward in the research process (Graham, 2005 p. 30).

To gain an understanding of how migrants experience the urban space of Vienna, what kinds of markets they use and why, semi-structured interviews are used. This enables discussing specific themes, while allowing the interview to be developed based on the arising discussion. This method enables the researcher to pick up on aspects the participant mentions, develop further questions based on the discussion, and return to earlier topics (see **Appendix 1** for interview questions). Thus, semi-structured interviews are more open to individual interview sessions (Valentine, 2005, pp. 110-111). Semi-structured interviews are further a suitable option when gaining insight into meanings that different migrants give to space, as to not create pre-defined categories or areas of discussion that do not necessarily fit into the life-situations of all participants.

Nine interviews were held to gain insights into social and spatial significance of markets in Vienna. One interview was held with a local citizens' group which hosts activities together with a local market in a Viennese district and organises activities to bring together citizens of the neighbourhood. Another interview was held with a market vendor, who has operated a café in a Viennese market since 2017. In addition, seven interviews were held with migrants who have all been in Vienna for differing amounts of time, ranging from 10 years to 7 months. The migrants come from the following countries:

Romania, Malaysia, Iraq, Pakistan, Germany, The United Kingdom, and Russia. All but two participants come from the capital of their respective country. Coming from a wide array of backgrounds, the participants have moved to Vienna for different reasons, such as for employment, academia, and relationship factors, often overlapping with each other. The participants speak a varied degree of German (for a detailed table, see **Appendix 4**). The combination of interviewing market goers, a market vendor, and a related local citizen group enable to look at the operations of markets from a multi-layered perspective. The identities of all participants in the data collection have been anonymised, as it is the right of the participant to stay anonymous (Stasik & Gendźwiłł, 2018, p. 240), and further makes it more likely for individuals to feel comfortable taking part in any research.

None of the participants have come to Vienna due to displacement. While insights gained from people who have arrived in Vienna due to forced migration would offer interesting notions to how place attachment emerges, in the scope of the research there was no ethical way of approaching said demography. While there is a vast amount of literature on belonging from legal perspectives, in this research such an approach is not relevant.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Phenomenology

The methodological approach to the research lies in the philosophical notion of phenomenology, which explores phenomena in the world thorough how it is experienced by individuals. The strengths of phenomenology lie in how it enables understanding why and how people behave in their natural settings (Seamon, 2007). This behaviour is not something one considers in their daily life, but something that is, in some sense, taken for granted (Buttimer, 1976, p. 281) as it has become a web of habits and daily practices. For example, why and how one uses markets, and what kinds of relations are embedded in market-doing practices, are not something individuals consciously consider, as these practices are, or have become, everyday events. Examining one's behaviour can enable new understandings of the social and cultural aspects directing how one experiences the world (Buttimer, 1976, p. 281).

Phenomenology as the methodological approach is used to attain subjective experiences of using markets, and how using these markets make individuals feel, leading to the forming of place attachments. Adopting a phenomenological approach enables acknowledging that experiences are not only spatially located, but they also transform,

develop, and change over time, affecting the process of place-attachment. Indeed, place attachment through a phenomenological lens has received a lot of interests by human geographers (Banini, 2022, p. vii; Ilovan & Markuszewska, 2022, p. 7). Adopting a phenomenological lens to looking at space means arguing that the physical environment and people that use the space are not separate but construct the place through the experience of it. Thus, space is understood as a complex web of dynamic interactions (Seamon, 2013).

4.3 Thematic analysis

The data from the interviews is analysed with a thematic approach, a commonly used method due to its flexibility and the opportunity to structurally create sub-themes within the overall research objective based on reoccurrances, which in turn enable to answering the research questions (Nowell et al., 2017). A thematic analysis can be constructed through a variety of ontologies emphasizing different understanding of how knowledge is produced. In this thesis, a critical realist/constructivist approach is adopted, meaning that the relationship of the researcher and participant is an interpretative one, and how reality is constructed depends on the socio-cultural context knowledge the knowlegde is produced in. How participants use their words to explain certain phenomena, and how the researcher understands and uses this, produces a specific outcome (Terry et al., 2017, p. 9). This approach is relevant for this study, as all participants, as well as myself as the researcher, come from different geographical and cultural backgrounds. While we share an appropriate level of English, for most it is not their first language. This can lead to understanding and interpreting concepts in different ways.

This research adopts a deductive thematic approach, meaning that the codes are informed by the theoretical framework, and the data will be categorised based on the theory-driven codes. The data gained in this research in analysed in the following six-step process, (Terry et al., 2017, p. 5.);

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report (in this case, the thesis).

The results of the coding process are discussed in the **Findings** -section**,** and the coding process is presented in **Appendix 5**.

4.4 Data collection process and interview structure

The interview with the citizens group was sourced through previous interaction on placemaking activities in Vienna. Through the group, contact details of a market vendor were gained, through the 'snowballing method' (Valentine, 2005, p. 117). The individual participants were sourced from the Facebook groups "Expats in Vienna" and "International Women in Vienna" through a call for participants. This enabled those who are interested in participating to contact me as the researcher, as opposed to asking specific people to participate, who necessarily do not have an interest in doing so. To take part in the study, there were two requirements, those being that the participant must be of non-Austrian origin, and they must use market. The focus of the study is on migrants to understand how place attachment and belonging form when one established themselves in an unfamiliar space in a different urban landscape. No time-requirements for market use were stated nor were there limitations for the types of markets that the migrants in question use, resulting to a variety of markets in different parts of Vienna being mentioned. The market vendor, and the local citizen initiative, are both located in the same district, in one of the most multicultural parts of the city.

The interviews were mostly done in the area that the participant lives in, or in the vicinity of the market they use. The participants were able to choose the location freely in order to raise the level of comfort and willingness to participate. All participants were willing to have the interview in their own neighbourhood, showcasing that a certain level of trust was already established prior to the interview. Two interviews were held over Zoom. While there was no specific target regarding gender inclusivity when sourcing participants, the data represents 60 per cent women participants, and 40 per cent male participants.

After explaining the aim of my research, and presenting my background and reasoning for the interview, the interviews were loosely divided into two parts. The first part focused on the background of the participant, and included questions of time spent in Vienna, the country of origin, what the participant does in their free time, and what are the main challenges the individual has experienced as a migrant in Vienna. The first section is meant to both offer a foundation onto how participants live in and perceive the city, but

further starting with basic questions enables the participant to become more comfortable with the environment and activate their thinking process of how it is to be a migrant in Vienna. In the second section of the interviews, the discussion was positioned more towards the use of markets in Vienna, such as which markets in the city participants use, how often, for what reasons, why do they choose to use these markets instead of chain supermarkets, and what kinds of emotions and experiences are entangled into the market spaces.

4.5 Ethical considerations of methods and sampling

With qualitative research, the aim is not to produce generalisations (Atieno, 2009). While interviews are a useful way to gain knowledge on a given topic, the sample size for this study does not reflect all experiences of those using markets in Vienna, meaning that many topics are left out of the scope of the paper. While the sample does over a diversity in terms of geographic background, gender, and reason for relocating to Vienna, not all personal characteristics are represented. Further, only those who are on social media were approached for interviews, raising another limitation to the scope. To gain validity of the data, participants received transcripts with their answers, thus giving them the opportunity to comment and take out anything they wished to not be incorporated in the analysis (see **Appendix 3**).

Interviews always hold a degree of power relations, as the researcher has the power to move from one subject to the other and is essentially extracting knowledge from the participant (Winchester, 2007). While these power relations cannot completely be eliminated, some steps were taken to diminish these power relations. Interviews were done in one's neighbourhood, to have a comfortable space for the participant, as the situation of being interviewed may already make one feel discomfort and out of place. The interviews were structure around a casual conversation, and it was emphasized how there is no correct answers, and the interview could be stopped at any point. All participants consented to being recorded for their answers, and in case one did not feel comfortable with answering a question, it was stated that they could simply ask to move to the next question (Valentine, 2005, pp. 118 & 122).

The notion of situated knowledge, formulated by Haraway (1988), emphasizes that a researcher cannot attain objectivity in researching, as one always brings one's own thoughts, values, and experiences. In this case, I as the researcher have also lived in Vienna, thus having my own ideas of the markets, the differences between them, and who

uses them, and ultimately my experiences have led me to research this topic. While positionality cannot be eliminated, the following means were taken to address this. Firstly, the interview was formed around open questions, without too much direction on what to discuss. Thus, participants could bring up topics that the researcher did not consider. As the researcher, I avoided commenting on my own experiences, to not influence the participants to answer in a certain way.

5 Historical and geographical context

This section gives a background to the geographical context of the research, Vienna. This section further gives a short introduction to the development of markets in general, as well as in the Viennese context, to demonstrate how these market spaces have emerged and continue to operate in the urban landscape.

5.1 Vienna, Austria

As the capital of Austria, Vienna has a population of more than 1.93 million inhabitants, and is considered the cultural, economic, and political centre of the country. Vienna hosts the largest share of immigrants in Austria, with most immigrants from Serbia, Turkey, Germany, and Poland, in addition to others (the City of Vienna, n.d.) In 2022, Vienna was voted as the most liveable city in the world, based on high scores on healthcare provision, access to culture and economic viability, and the quality of infrastructure, among other things. Indeed, Vienna has been voted as the most liveable city three times in the last five years (Economist Intelligence, 2022). As the biggest city in Austria, and with the statistically positive rankings as a basis, Vienna attracts students, workers, migrants from multiple backgrounds, and those with a wide array of economic, political, and cultural interests, in addition to receiving a set amount or refugees influenced by global conflicts and legislation from the European Union.

5.2 The development of market spaces

The next section introduces an overview the history of market development in a European context, and the current organisation of markets in Vienna in more detail.

5.2.1 The history of markets in a European context

There is no single distinguishable development path to how markets have emerged in Europe. However, their origins are most often traced back to the Middle Ages (Casson & Lee, 2011). Markets, related to a more contemporary form, as covered or otherwise structured markets, can be traced back to the 19th century, reflecting the urbanizing society, and at the time, new commercial structures of buying and selling. Separating market activity from the street, and moving it to its own specific space, was considered to strengthen the notion of market spaces as economically viable, consistent, and efficient. As such, marketplaces could be controlled better by authorities (Guàrdia & Oyón, 2015). While for a long-time market space were to a varying degree either public, private, or

somewhere in between, by the 19th century, most marketplaces in Western cities of Europe were under public administration and could thus be regulated by the state in times of crisis and uncertainty. By the end of the 20th century, highly regulated market systems and networks were custom. The public nature of these market systems was, for the time, rather uncommon and a central component in providing urban citizens with support facilities for everyday life (Guàrdia & Oyón, 2015).

The relevance of markets in different parts of Europe has declined at different speeds, with Northern Europe, and in particular, the United Kingdom, having a more significant decline in market -use than Southern and Eastern Europe (Guàrdia & Oyón, 2015). Generally, areas with low socio-economic characteristics were more likely to sustain and even establish new market spaces, while economically viable areas increasingly focused on the establishment of other types of commercial spaces. Further, as a result of urban planning and land policies, cities with a higher density build environment, and where food distribution in modern means was induced later, were more likely to conserve market halls, while urban areas with high dispersion and a variety of modern food distribution operators were more likely to clear out market halls (Casson & Lee, 2011; Guàrdia & Oyón, 2015).

In the following 20th century, markets already became outdated, and lost some of their significancy to the new urban citizens who preferred grocery stores. With large food chains breaking the direct relationship between farmer and consumer, and changing agricultural practices across the continent, markets began to lose their ground as the mean for locals to buy produce. These changes in food production and retail, and lack of investment into the public built environment but at the same time with significant reconstruction and modernisation aspirations of urban areas, were only increasing in the second part of the 20th century, further limiting the operations of markets. One of the most contemporary challenges that markets are facing is the pressure by gentrification which affects land-use, an increasing tourist-customer-base for some markets, and overall rising operation costs (Guàrdia & Oyón, 2015).

While the role of markets as a service in cities has changes during the last centuries, what is crucial is that markets have served as some of the first, semi-structured or structured, public spaces in the city, which are in theory open to all, no matter their background. They served, in addition to the commercial purposes, as a social space in the city, where people could come together and meet each other, and enjoy the public life of the city.

Indeed, the versatile nature of public markets has not gone undiscovered, as the International Public Markets Conference has for over 35 years organized conferences and activities with a variety of public actors and stakeholders that work on public markets, with their biggest event being the annual global conference for public market professionals, during which 'the potential of market systems as equitable sources of well-being and opportunity' is explored (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.).

5.2.2 The history of markets in Vienna

Image 2: Karmelitermarkt, Vienna

In 1150, the Babenberg royal seat was relocated to Vienna, being the main incubator for the development of Viennese markets. As Vienna began do develop, less than 100 years later it receives the title of a city, which enabled traders who were passing by the city to stop and do trade within the city landscape. As more people moved to the area, the need for markets grew larger, taking up space in the historic city center. Out of the four original markets: Hoher Market, Neuer Market, Am Hof Market and Freyung Market, the latter two still serve as markets today (the City of Vienna, n.d.). One of the most well-known markets in Vienna is Naschmarkt (translation 'night market'), which has operated in the city since 1780s. While it was originally called Kärntnertormarkt, it was renamed Naschmarkt in 1905, and as the biggest urban market, has over 100 stalls, including those selling fruits, vegetables, spices, and bakery products, in addition to a variety of cafes and restaurants (Nachmarkt official website, n.d.).

Indeed, Vienna is home to a large variety of markets throughout its city districts. These markets come in many forms, for example operating daily or only during specific weekdays or seasons, and focusing on ecological factors, providing an ethnic variety of goods, traditional Viennese, or Austrian goods, and operating in inside or outside facilities. Some markets only have stalls which can be stored away, and other markets include built infrastructure, such as small buildings (for example, see **Image 3**). Vienna as the location of study has been chosen due to the spatial allocation of a variety of markets in close proximity to each other and a diverse population in terms of market offerings and market goers.

6 Findings

This section presents the findings of the interviews. The findings of this research have been categorized into five themes, those being: The spatial and visual dimensions of the marketplace; Market activity as a routinized use of urban space; Emotions in space; Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space, and Trust and care relations.

These themes are informed by the theoretical approaches to the study. The process of coding has been done based on the pattern expressed in the **Research Design** -section. After the data was transcribed, relevant data that fit the different themes was first coded with an initial code. Then, these initial codes were grouped together to reflect the final codes which are informed by the theoretical framework. A more detailed thematic analysis process can be found in **Appendix 5**.

6.1 The spatial and visual dimensions of the marketplace

'*Everything is there, and nothing is quite in a perfect place.*'

In this section, the findings related to the spatial and visual attributes of markets spaces are presented, to create an overview of what kinds of markets are discussed in light of the findings. While markets in Vienna are of different sizes, they have the same governance structures. Every market has an association, which enables communication between the market vendors and city officials. When markets want to, for example, host events at the market, through the association they can request funding from the city. Indeed, markets are engaging public spaces, as they bring together actors from a wide variety of sectors. As a commercial space, the main goal of the vendors is to make business. This is something the market actor highlights, stating 'for us working at the market, our job is to sell fish, or to sell bread or to sell something else and not to have a culture party'. However, this does not mean that there is no engagement with the local community. For example, certain vendors choose to take part in a local citizen's initiative, which aims to bring locals together, organising activities related to sustainability and urban regeneration. The area of the market, as a public space, enables opportunities to organise activities such as street markets, discussions, and performances, with sustainability -related themes. Some vendors are more interested than others, as it brings people to, and makes them acquainted with, the market. However, not everyone has the resources to

invest time into participating. As the market actor stating ‘these people do not have time to do other things’.

In the market that the interviewed market actor works in, there are more than thirty vendors coming from over 17 countries, including for example Austrian, German, Croatian, Serbian, Armenian and Turkish backgrounds, truly making it a multicultural market. Unlike some more commercial markets in the city, in this market there are no chain brands, but only small-scale individual businesses with people working long hours, six days a week. The market has gone through many changes, and as the market actor would put it ‘10 years ago, the market was horrible.’ Many of the stalls were closed, and the market saw little activity. What changed? Private investments were made into housing in the area, leading more people to move to the neighbourhood. Further, due to increasing immigration in most European capitals in the last nine years, and as the neighbourhood has a substantial amount of social housing, the cultural diversity has increased. Today, all but one stall in the market is open.

Most markets in Vienna are characterized as mixed markets, with market stall for selling products, and gastronomy, mixed together. This is different to markets in other places, often gastronomy is on the outer parts of the market, with trade in the middle. This enables those visiting the market to come across a variety of businesses in the market space without going through the whole space. While many markets have cafes and restaurants, those that do not, often still have seating spaces, and are situated in open spaces. Holding onto the traditional Viennese café -style, the interviewed market actor aims to create a space that both portrays the historical coffee culture, but also contributes to a market atmosphere, stating ‘This is a traditional coffee house, but as part of the market, we have the wood, we open all the windows in the summertime and it's like market hut’. In this way, the space adapts to the local context of the public space. Furthermore, the traditional layout of market holds connections to the spatial layout of supermarkets, one of which is in the immediate proximity of the market. The market actor explains how 15 years ago, the supermarket reduced the area of fresh counter products, and now, few years ago, they rebuilt the fresh counter, to mimic the market feeling.

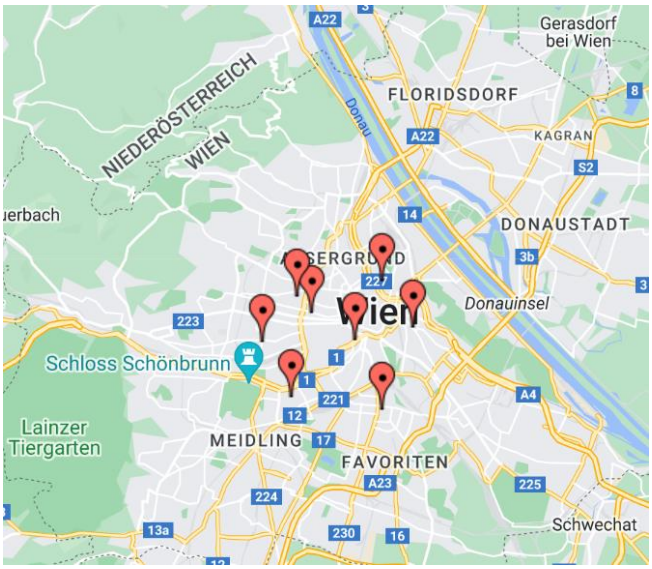

Image 3: Locations of the markets in Vienna which were discussed during the interviews. (Source: ZeeMaps).

The other participants visit a variety of markets in Vienna. Farmers markets, which are favoured by two participants, are often small, with 10-15 vendors, operating on a few days of the week. The other participants favour larger and more internationally oriented markets, those mentioned being Naschmarkt, Brunnenmarkt, Karmelitermarkt, Viktor Adler Markt, Meiselmarkt, Lerchenfelder Bauernmarkt, Rochusmarkt and Meidlinger Markt. The smallest mentioned market in Rochusmarkt, with less than five stalls. Out of these, Brunnemarkt is the biggest market, characterised by one participant in the following way ‘It is a big market, it’s one of the biggest markets in central Europe that is really outdoors, with Afghan, Syrian, Bulgarian, and Greek products. We found one that they have open windows, so I can see that they're really making the sweets fresh.’ Brunennmarkt also has an exhibition space, hosting different free events which are open to everyone, which one of the participants mentioned having visited a few times when they are in the market space. What sets the spatial layout of Brunnenmarkt apart from other Viennese markets, is how it is at the intersection of an ethnic market, and a public square going through a gentrification process, with cafés and restaurants with higher prices increasingly filling up the ground floors of the buildings. With affordable vegetables on one stall, and a café selling more-than-average costing coffee while representing an influential indigenous person of the past, Brunnenmarkt can be characterized as a market where differences face each other.

Most participants mention Naschmarkt, the most famous market in Vienna, as touristy and as a site so see, instead of as a market where they shop. Especially many stalls selling the exact same thing with no originality is seen as a negative. Naschmarkt was characterised by one participant as having ‘lots of brick-and-mortar stores and there's a ton of other stuff that it's kind of fun to look around. But it is so busy that everyone's out of place’. In terms of ethnic markets visited, most of these are located in multicultural neighbourhoods of the city, such as in Simmering, Favoriten, Ottakring and Leopoldstadt.

The main spatial attributes that are given importance by the participants are that markets must be in open spaces and have a layout that it is possible to move around in order to facilitate open enjoyment in space and be within appropriate distance from the home. In terms of visuality, an emphasis is put on that what is offered at the stall, matches characteristics of those selling the product, with one participant stating that representation is crucial. Finally, visual importance was emphasized by a few participants in terms of layout and presentation, with one participant stating ‘Naschmarkt in a purely positive way, one stating that ‘It’s a Turkish one. You know, usually Turkish, they sell vegetables, and their vegetables are always so good. It's fresh, it's beautiful, it's bright, it looks very happy’, and another discussing how one does not have to buy the products, to merely enjoy the atmosphere.

6.2 Market activity as a routinized use of space

‘On Saturday mornings, we have all our breakfast guests here with bags with apples or so. So, you say ‘My weekend starts, So I go, and I buy groceries, and I go for coffee or breakfast’.’

This section presents the routinized use of market spaces that the participants have adopted in Vienna, and how this connects to their former engagement in market spaces in other places.

The market actor distinguishes clear patterns of market use. In terms of their own business, 50-60 per cent of customers are estimated to be regulars, coming to the establishment as a routinized activity. For many, going to the market is an activity taking place on Saturday mornings, as a way to begin the weekend. A gendered pattern can be seen in the use of markets, with men using the market more frequently in the morning, and women using the market after 9 am, after dropping their children off at school. After midday, it is more mixed among visitors, although the market actor does express that men more commonly spend time in the market, while women use supermarkets. The location and spatial configuration of the market makes a difference in who uses it. As the market is located next to a supermarket, those moving in the urban space on the other side of the supermarket are less likely come to the market, the market actor stating ‘The tradition is that they came from the metro station, which is on the other side of the supermarket. They are used to the pattern’.

To understand better how familiar the participants are with markets throughout their lives, the interviews started with a discussion of their previous experiences with markets in different places. All but one participant grew up using markets regularly, ranging from going once a week, to multiple times a week. The degree to which going to the market as an activity was shared or individual, would also vary between participants. While the participant from Romania would go to the market every Saturday with their parents, the participants from both Pakistan and Iraq stated that markets had always been a central part of their lives throughout growing up, not merely as the activity of buying produce, but also as a routinised activity of performing daily life. Fast forward to now living in Vienna, all participants have routinized going to markets and ethnic stores as part of their daily life, often linked to other routines that they have established. What the data shows is that all participants have specific favourite markets that they routinely use, with other markets as the target of additional visits, often for special occasions.

For one participant, going to the market means that the weekend begins, stating that 'I have a routine every Friday morning, because my partner is at home on Friday. We run to the market. It is about three to four kilometres away from home. Going to this market is a thing that my partner and I have, and we really like the routine'. Indeed, the participant continues to elaborate how the market vendors now recognise them due to routinized visits. Thus, going to the market is given a specific place in the weekly routine. Another participant has a similar experience, visiting a specific market every Friday. In general, all participants were able to distinguish a favourite market that they use regularly. The most common reason for favouring a specific market is its geographical proximity to one's home, making the market easier to be incorporated into daily life in the city. A routinized use of the market, in this case, ranges between going twice a week, to twice a month. Going to other markets in the city, in the case of most participants, would be due to previously living in the said neighbourhood, while going to other markets in neighbourhoods in which participants had no former spatial engagement is uncommon. Going to certain markets, which are outside their regular spatial practices, would be due to special occasions for some, with one participant stating 'When we are in the city, we go, when we have some friends visiting us or something like that. There we buy sometimes Turkish sweets'. A shared notion all participants share that even if they get busy or move to a part of the city where there is no market in the neighbourhood, they would still make time to visit markets, at the expense of other activities if necessary. This highlights the importance of the markets as part of the daily life of the urban citizens in

question. Moreover, visits to Asian supermarkets take place more regularly for a majority of the participants.

Planning for the visits to the markets show similarities in how participants approach going to the market. Most have some kind of idea in terms of what they are looking for when they go to the market, and what products they specifically go to buy. However, participants would also emphasise on spontaneity and the possibility to find other products. For example, one participant stated ‘When you go to buy one thing in a specific market, you end up buying other things there too. If not buying, then at least the window shopping I would be doing for sure’, and another that ‘I just go and look around for interesting things, and things that I want, or things that I don't know but can learn about’.

This aspect of finding new things at the market and doing things they did not plan for ahead emerged in all interviews, highlighting how visiting the market commonly would hold a degree of spontaneity. It is this spontaneity which would also mean that the time that participants spend at market varies greatly, and often is difficult to estimate beforehand due to not knowing exactly how the market-experience will unfold. Most participants stated that while sometimes they only have time for a 10-minute visit, this would be a lesser common phenomenon. What is more likely is that they would spend 30-45 minutes, simply going through the market, taking in the market atmosphere, and allowing themselves to roam around without the stress of being fast, further intentionally slowing down their pace when in the market space. One participant illuminates this in the following way ‘So, it could be an hour of just looking around. Or it could be 10 minutes if I'm in in a hurry to just get one thing’. This shows how going to the market is an open activity, often leaving space for impromptu occurrences. Indeed, many of the participants connect going to the market with having a coffee at the market café, or having a meal at the market café, alone or together with others.

6.3 Emotions in space

‘When I’m there, it feels like my place. I feel good here.’

This section presents how emotions are connected to visiting market spaces, and what kinds of emotions being in these spaces evokes.

During the interview, the market actor initiated a discussion on how emotions connect to the things we buy, and to the spaces we buy them in. What they would see is that people

have the need to make emotional connections with the purchase they make. This does not mean that all purchases necessarily hold an emotional attachment. However, the market can have a central role in providing a space where these emotions may flourish. The market actor implies ‘You feel a certain way when you are at the market’, and continues to explain how the market space, as a place for everyone, provides a space where one can move around freely and make connections to different market vendors, selling products from all around the world. These products can evoke memories of the past and work as ways to bring parts of those memories to the present.

How do the participants relate to this notion of feeling a certain way when in the market space? During the interviews, a range of emotions were explored. For all participants, going to markets while growing evoked positive memories of times when families would enjoy public life together, with one participant stating, ‘I loved it, we would go to the market as a family’. Going to the market would be something to look forward to, and for some, entailed an enhanced role of responsibility in taking care of the family’s needs. Further, many comparisons are made to markets in other countries, where the participants have lived during their adulthood. For example, the participant from Russia emphasizes that while public markets in their hometown of Moscow are strictly spaces of buying produce with no other services, public markets in the north of France are completely different, characterizing them as vibrant, interactive, and full of life. Another participant from Iraq shares similar thoughts of times in Portugal, recalling a feeling of happiness when in local markets there.

The data shows that markets which participants use regularly evoke more positive emotions than markets they have either not used, or do not use often. Multiple factors are identified as central factors in making the experience of going to the market a positive one. Firstly, the market vendors engage in a certain type of role when selling the products. Both the Romanian and English participants would discuss how it was difficult to understand the vendors due to their thick German accent, but that this engagement evoked positive emotions in them, with one stating ‘The way they talk, it’s an experience. It’s funny to me and my partner’.

While in other spaces this would be seen as a stressful situation of uncertainty, in the market space however it is part of the experience. For many, the markets they use most often evoke feelings of familiarity and calmness, due to knowing how the market operates

and who is there, and what kind of atmosphere there is to expect. The spatial context of the emotional bond to place would extend past these spaces, as became apparent with the Malaysian participant, who discusses how having Korean and Indian markets within the vicinity of their home makes them feel content in the place that they are living in, stating 'I feel home in this neighbourhood, I love it here'. Participants found it difficult to find specific words to describe how these markets as spaces made them feel, and many found the best way to describe it simply as 'feeling the difference' between being in markets, and in other spaces. One participant stated 'I connect a lot with the emotions when you buy something. There is the importance of buying from those bazaars', which sheds light on how something specific emerges from the act of using these markets, and while these emotions are difficult to put into words, they essentially form the reasoning for returning to the market as a routinised activity. Going to the market is characterised by the participants as a source of joy and excitement. These terms were not used when discussing markets that the participants use less frequently, in which case they would merely be mentioned as spaces where they would pass by if they are already in the respective neighbourhood.

Finally, when discussing the challenges that these migrants have faced in Vienna, the lack of interaction and social connection, as well as racism, were mentioned by some participants as one of the most difficult things to deal with in daily life. This would actively take a toll on their wellbeing. One participant especially mentioned how people in Vienna seem to not understand that racism is in fact a common occurrence, merely thinking that Vienna is a modern city where everyone is accepted. The emotional impact that comes with dealing with racism is high, and markets were mentioned as those spaces in which one could escape the feeling of not fitting into the urban landscape. For the German participant, while they do not experience racism, the marketplace has an important role in 'escaping Vienna', due to a dissatisfaction in how interactions and social encounters are difficult to entertain in the city. Thus, for them, the marketspace enables an important outlet to be in a space of difference, encounter, and vibrant public life. Having the market close to their home was an important factor in their wellbeing and being content.

As the above shows, spaces may evoke positive emotions. However, space can further evoke negative emotions, which is something that many participants mentioned when discussing how they feel in certain spaces. For one participant, while visiting a specific

urban market brought a sense of joy and importance, visiting other markets in the city did not produce the same positive emotions. When visiting Brunnenmarkt, the participant expressed that they do not feel comfortable going there alone, stating ‘I’m very blonde, and a woman. It feels uncomfortable a bit to be there’. Former experiences in the market of male figures staring at them had a lasting effect of discomfort, with the participant not wanting to visit the market again when alone. Further, the spatial layout was mentioned as having its role in making the market seem uncomfortable, being characterised as not having enough space to move freely while keeping personal space. Further, another participant would discuss similar feelings of discomfort, stating that Brunnenmarkt is too much of a busy market where it is difficult to think, due to the fast-paced and loud environment.

While presenting what kinds of emotional attachments people have with market spaces, this section shows how people experience the same spaces in different ways. For some, Brunnenmarkt is their favourite market, while for others, it is a space of discomfort due to unwanted attention, the high level of hecticness, or the spatial layout. What plays a large role in what emotions markets as spaces evoke, is past experiences with markets and the memories that are affiliated with those experiences. Thus, memories have a spatial relevance.

6.4 Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space

‘At the supermarket, it's much easier to get lost in the crow. In the sense that at ethnic spaces, you being there already marks you as some kind of different.’

This section presents the data regarding how going to the market differs from the experience of going to the supermarket, shedding light of what is at the core of making the decision to use specific spaces in the urban to fill one’s different needs. During the interviews, discussions regarding the differences of these two were brought up many times, even when the topic was not initiated by the interviewer.

Interactions that take place in the market space were one of the main topics that came up when discussing why the participants use markets. The market actor would on a daily basis witness how people look for connection when making purchases, understanding this as the 20 per cent of shopping where people want to interact. While the other 80 per cent consists of basic products one simply wants to have at home, there is this other aspect of making encounters while sharing spaces with others. Indeed, the market actor discussed

how in their case, an estimated two out of three people would strive to interact with them when making purchases and wondering around, with more men than women taking part in this. This would lead to the opportunity of unstructured interactions, in the form of asking how their day is going, how the business is doing, and so on. These interactions can be of different depths, ranging from daily catchups to simple and short acknowledgements. Regarding this, the market actor stated, ‘You have the 20% where you want to interact, you want to say, 'make the slice bigger', 'I like the cheese like this.’ I think you go here to interact with others’. Further, as most of the market vendors are actually the owners of their respective businesses, a more intimate connection between the customer and seller takes place. This is not possible in the supermarket.

In a similar sense, many personal interactions could be identified between the participants and the ethnic supermarkets in their neighbourhood. What is mentioned is the importance in knowing their local grocer, and small notions of respect towards one another are enacted to strengthen the relationship. For example, saying hello and thank you in the language of the grocer, or acknowledging the cultural context, are some of the ways to show respect, with one participant stating ‘We always address her as Korean lady, because for Asians, it is not common to ask for elder’s name. We address them as uncle, auntie. I do always make a point to say hi’. In many cases, the interactions would however go further, and many participants would spend time in the space, discussing life, current events, food, and how they are doing. Another participant discussed how they would commonly share chit-chat at the checkout at ethnic stores, sharing the following story ‘A couple of weeks back I was rushing, and I just wanted to find something, and I found an Asian market, going there for the first time. And then I just stayed there for half an hour talking to them. That doesn't happen at Billa, there I wouldn't be having a conversation with the cashier. But when in these ethnic spaces, then yes. The people, I know most of them where I go regularly. I spend quite much time there socializing’. Many interactions like this were shared during the interviews, showcasing how interactions in some ways belong to these spaces, and without them, the experience would be different.

The participants share the notion that going to the supermarket is shopping for convenience. Many have certain expectations for what products belong in which spaces, for example refusing to buy products such as coconut milk or chickpeas at Austrian supermarkets. Going to the supermarket often entails a list of what is needed, it is seen as a chore, and as a mundane, functional, activity. However, going to the market warrants a

different experience. Here, being in the market space is less structured, and more open for socialisation and exploration. For example, one participant shared an experience of finding a certain product, which they had not seen since leaving their home country, an experience which had them in awe.

One participant opened up about how they had in the past tried to interact in a Billa (a supermarket chain), but they were unsuccessful, stating ‘I have tried interaction in Billa, there is a big difference. Usually, non-Austrian people are easier to approach, they like it. Sometimes I say something typical for Muslims, and people are impressed, saying 'wow, you know how to say this and that’.’ For the most part, interactions in supermarkets are non-existent, and are further not expected to take place, which lead some of the participants to see traditional supermarkets as cold and detached. Many comparisons between traditional supermarkets, and markets and ethnic supermarkets were made. One participant discusses how in Billa, there is a feeling of blending in with the crowd, as they see that people are not so interested in the experience surrounding how food is produced or the cultural connotations for its production come from. Simply being in the market space already reflects how the individual is looking for some kind of different experience.

Moreover, markets for many are crucial spaces for certain interactions to take place, being only normalised in specific spatial contexts. For example, one participant discusses how their Austrian partner regularly meets up with their Syrian friends, and together they go to Brunnenmarkt to socialize with each other over a shared meal. The experience of any given part of the market or ethnic store depends on the culture that the use of space stems from. Many of the participants would discuss interactions taking place, regarding the use of ingredients for certain purposes. The participants would both sometimes be the object of the question, but also found that in these spaces themselves asking others was a welcomed activity. This shows how certain spaces may encourage openness, knowledge sharing and learning from one another.

In comparing markets and Austrian supermarkets, the discussion was lastly directed to how the participants would perceive a situation in which these markets would not be accessible to them in Vienna. The findings are clear: not having these markets would be result in a decline in satisfaction with quality of life. Even if the same products that are available in the market, would be available at the supermarket, it is not enough. This shows how the market as a space holds importance to the life of the urban citizen, passing

merely the physical materials manifestations of the market. More specifically, what the participants discuss that they would miss from the market is knowing the social norms of acting in these spaces, the spontaneous feeling that the space gives them, the social interactions that they take part in and the relationships they have, and the openness of the spatial layout of the market. This is illuminated by one participant, stating ‘Since Billa is open all the time, it is more convenient. But it is also very uncomfortable. The supermarket has a different level of service, where you just go in and out’. Thus, when in supermarkets, one has a lesser social role in co-creation of the space, merely ‘getting lost in the crowd’, as one participant puts it. The spatial practices that are part of the market experience are given significant value, as participants place importance in simply having the market there to spend time in, even when they have no specific goal of doing something or buying products. This accounts for walking around and sitting down to have a coffee and watch the market life unravel.

6.5 Trust and care relations

‘I would miss the market because I would wonder what happened to the people.’

This section presents the discussion regarding how relationships of trust and care are produced and maintained in these spaces. For the market actor, it is important to first try to source products that they need for their business, from the market, understood as a way to support the local network of market vendors and, in some sense, to take care of each other. If this is not possible, the next step is to look for the products within the vicinity of the market. Since most people live close to the market, there is a shared understanding of the social significance that the market space has for the neighbourhood.

When discussing the role of the local market with the citizens’ initiative, the phrase ‘social glue’, is mentioned multiple times. By this, the participants mean that public spaces, such as the market, are crucial low-barrier and open access spaces, that enable people from the neighbourhood to come together. This notion of citizens engagement is crucial in forming relations of trust among locals, and it is something both the citizens’ initiative, and the local market, understand. By engaging the locals in different activities, when social interactions take place, they enable forming deeper relationships between different actors, and enhance a sense of community, which will also mobilize locals in wanting to support the market. Indeed, during the interview, the citizens’ initiative tell a story of how during one of the previous joint events, while a café close to the market was not involved, they

saw during the event the impact that it had on the local atmosphere. After, they contacted the initiative, and expressed their interest in joining future activities.

In many instances, the relationships of care would extend past the specific spatial contexts of the market. For example, in Brunnenmarkt, the open space for different artistic and cultural activities is located in the centre of the square. As an extension of the market, where the likelihood of engagement and a larger degree of openness, the centre reflects an aim to have a shared space where people can come together. Moreover, the location of the centre increases the likelihood of stumbling upon on it and exploring spontaneously. A few participants further discus how they would use food to create meaningful relationships with others, as one participant would prepare food for their partner to take to work, and another participant said that they would sometimes share food with neighbours of their building, to showcase food that potentially is something their neighbours have not come across before. As such, the desire to support those they buy food from, would extend to sharing the result with others.

In terms of tourism as part of the market experience, the interviews bring to light that relationships of care are less likely to be established in markets such as Naschmarkt, due to the heavy flow of tourists and difficulty to establish relationships with market vendors. As such, the authenticity of such markets becomes challenged, leading to a decreasing sense of trust. As one participant stated ‘Nachmarkt is too touristy. It has this aspect of not real life; it is too much but not enough’. The same risk of change in perception and thus reality is identified by the market actor, stating ‘You often read in the papers that this market is the new boho market in Vienna. It's completely stupid. We have no bohos, we have no millenials here’, clearly indicating that the aim to promote traditional markets in Vienna, in a new light, can have damaging effects to the already established image of certain spaces.

The participants discus many instances which promoted the relationships of care that are formed between individuals, and markets and ethnic supermarkets. For example, one participant stated how, after the Turkish earthquake in February of 2023, when they came across a Turkish woman in an ethnic supermarket, they made sure to ask how the woman and her family is doing, leading to a discussion which sheds light on how small acts of care take place in shared space. Another story is told regarding how one participant has established a relationship with one vendor, now being able to call them before coming to the market to make sure that they have some specific product in stock, characterising the

relationship as having a ‘certain personal touch’. These relationships of care were apparent in all interviews, with one participant discussing how, if the market ceased to exist, they would wonder what had happened to the vendor. Sometimes when going to the market, a vendor would specifically let them know that they are not coming during the next week. When witnessing linguistic challenges between market vendors and other customers, many participants discussed how they would often jump in to help, something which felt natural to those spaces of enhanced interactions. When one participant had forgotten their bag at the market, they could count on the fact that it would still be there when they returned the next day, and so it was. These acts of care of varying degrees illuminate how relationships form in the marketplace. For another participant, as they had grown up heavily influenced by the market life, this had led them to currently put importance in getting to know actors in their neighbourhood, to establish a sense of people taking care of each other in times of hardship.

For the participants, there is an importance in buying the products from these specific places. For example, one participant discussed how when in markets, they would not investigate where the apples come from. Because already being in that space makes them rely on the source. A relationship of trust has been established regarding the authenticity of the product, due to former experiences, interactions, and encounters. A sense of safety which has gradually been developed between the individual and the space leads one to believe that they are safe there, and in case of a difficult situation, they will be supported by someone, and as one participant would put it ‘The space feels very safe. I can trust that here I am okay’. Another key point is representation, as many participants feel that when selling certain products, it is important to have the representation of the seller to support the product they are selling. This is a crucial factor in trusting that the product is of the quality one expects. This shows how the social aspect is central in creating a sense of trust in the market. While there is no doubt that this trust can be broken, many of the participants reflect that it would not happen so easily, and when encountering a negative experience, it would take multiple instances to make them reconsider using specific markets or specific stall within.

6.6 Reflections on the data

The data that has been gathered through the interviews aims to relfect the views of the participants as objectively as possible. This is actively engaged with by discussing the results with the participants, and transcribing the interviews attentively to not change their

meaning. However, considering reflexivity is a crucial part of the research process. As Terry et al. (2017) note, to some extent, the researcher aims to find specific patterns and themes in the data, which may lead to some aspecst being highlighted more than others. Further, as the deductive approach adops theory as a basis for codecreation, there is a risk that themes are predefined in a narrow sense, and their true potential is not reflected when molded into pre-excisting theory. As such, the results in these findings may not reflect the true views of the participants, a risk which is always present when doing qualitative research with participants. Further, while similarities can be found between the answers of the different participants, the results do not necessarely reflect the views of everyone. Finally, engagement with emotions in research can be a difficult task, as emotions are personal, and participants might not necessarely be comfortable with sharing their emotional attachments. For a deeper analysis, a longer engagement to build trust may enable more opportunities to understand the relationship between spaces and emotions.

7 Discussion

In this section, the results are framed back to the theoretical approaches of the study.

As Ilovan & Markuszewska (2022) argue that emotional ties are what connect people to places, this research strengthens the notion that the emotional ties are what leads the participants of this study to return to the market, time and time again.

Hashemnezhad et al. (2013), argue how place attachment is formed based on an emotional bond to place. The findings demonstrate the different ways that this emotionality is enacted upon. Firstly, it is apparent in the feelings that emerge from going to the market, such as joy, relaxation, and excitement. These emotions were openly communicated during the interviews. The importance of buying from certain spaces evokes an actively emotional connection to that space and time. This emotional connection can also be distinguished through acts of care and trust that build between people and market spaces, even when emotions were not specifically mentioned. Wondering what happens to the market vendors if they are not present, asking how other people, both vendors and other customer are doing, understanding specific cultural norms, and offering insights into the cultural use of products all account for small acts of care towards others and their wellbeing in the shared space, as Gonzales (2020), and Watson (2009) have identified. Relations of trust have been established in the same way, through trusting some vendors to have a certain quality of products through their sourcing and knowing that if you forget your bag at the market, it will be there waiting upon your return. Nearly all of the participants have a strong relationship with using markets in their home countries when they were younger. Fenster (2005) argues that long-term memory, which extends back to events that took place in specific spaces during one's childhood, are a central component in forming a sense of 'everyday belonging', for with place attachment is the mean. What these findings suggest is that a familiarity of place, and thus place attachment may be more strengthened if past experiences with similar spaces have been of importance and positive nature, leading to the use of similar spaces even in different context.

There are different factors that are further at the core of forming emotional attachments between people and places. These factors as building blocks of place attachment are reflected upon below.

Scholars such as Bell (1999) and Leach (2002) argue that repetitive acts and long-term engagement with spaces are crucial to develop a sense of belonging to them. The findings emphasize how for all participants, going to the market is a routinized activity which is by many, given a specific time in their weekly or monthly calendar. Most participants would go to markets weekly, or monthly, and further emphasized that even their daily life gets busier, time will be allocated to this activity. This takes us back to Fenster's (2005) understanding of 'everyday belonging' in terms of short-term memory, which regards daily life practices of using spaces such as streets and neighbourhoods, producing a familiarity of place. The findings portray how going to the market, is for many, embedded in other relations of routines and moving within the city. For example, the market actor and some participants discussed how going to the market is part of initiating the weekend, or that mothers would first take their children to kindergarten, and then go to the market for a coffee. Further, engagement with the market is illuminated by spending extended times in the space, as most participants discussed how they would most often spend extended times in the market, such as half an hour or an hour. While the physical act of shopping what one needs would take less time, engagement with the space and establishing a sense of familiarity would come through simply being in the space with no necessities involved. In sum, spatial practices as routines should not be undermined, as they can be difficult to change when established. This is portrayed in how the market vendor discussed that many locals would never visit the market simply for the reason that they are not used to going to the other side of the large supermarket, even when having lived in the neighbourhood for a long time.

The findings support that the aspiration to stay close to the object, in this case the market, is central for the formation of place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). While the authors conclude that the closeness, is not defined, in this case the relationship is between the home, and the market. This is portrayed through how participants would share their views on their favourite markets, often residing in the same neighbourhood, or in one close by. In most cases, if other markets were mentioned as being important spaces to frequently visit, this is because the participant used to live close to this market and use it frequently, thus a place attachment had already been established. This shows how important geographic proximity is for establishing place attachment, which could be beneficial in urban planning policies and development by focusing on the neighbourhood -level in creating more liveable cities.

Indeed, place attachment can extend past specific places to benefit entire neighbourhoods. For example, one participant mentions feeling ‘at home’ in their neighbourhood, due to not only the wide array of ethnic markets that are available to them, but also the social connects that are born from this (Olsson, 2007). Having these strong social ties to these actors in their community produces positive perceptions of their living space, which in turn makes them understand their local community as a space where people take care of each other (Anton & Lawrence, 2014) strengthening the notion that place attachment has beneficial implications for better localized social involvement. The bond that leads people to use markets and ethnic stores for their food production, which in turn can be shared with neighbours and work colleagues, also signify how place attachment leads to fostering social connection outside these specific spaces. This is the potential of learning about the difference of cultures in shared urban spaces and using cultural differences to build communities of knowledge-sharing.

Williams et al. (2013) discuss the difference between merely positive emotions towards spaces, and an affective bond between people and places. How is this distinguished in the findings? Indeed, many participants discussed how if these markets did not exist in Vienna, or if they did not have access to them, this would have significant negative implications for their wellbeing and contentedness. Simply switching to using other spaces instead would not be satisfactory, as the ‘feeling’ of the market space extends beyond the physical products. As participants discussed that coming across a negative encounter with a product bought from a specific stall would not be enough to change their feelings towards the space, and they would be filling to give more changes before trust is broken, this demonstrates just how strong the role of emotions is for how individuals make decisions of use of space. Indeed, if markets were merely spaces that are satisfactory or ‘nice places’ the lack of access to these would illustrating the affective bond. This further connects to how Tuan (1975) conceptualises topophilia. How individuals perceive the market affects their choice to use the market, while engagement with the space, based on perceptions, develops certain attitudes towards the space. How one’s world view is constructed, is both affected by these perceptions of space, and values that are created towards it. These form the deep affective relationship to place.

As Klinenberg (2018) defines social infrastructure as ‘the physical places and organizations that shape the way people interact’ (p.5), this is seen in how participants reflect on their experiences of the multiple interactions that take place in the market.

These include the interactions between vendors or shopkeepers and customers especially when an initial social connection has been formed, spontaneous encounters with other customers by stalls and shelves in how to use different products, asking the vendor about the produce, and sitting in a market café and watching the market life go by. Market stalls, cafes, and the public space itself, accounts for the physical of the social infrastructure and can be observed by those who use the market, also understood as the perceived space (Lefvebre, 1991 [1974]). Entities such as market associations change the space, through organising activities, and individual market actors change the space through the business they offer. The spatial organisation of the market is mentioned by many participants, as needing enough space move around, being in open space, and having the opportunity to choose between going to a big, or small, market. This shows how the physical factors, which have been under-emphasized in place attachment literature, are thus central in how the space is emotionally related to by the individual. This also affects how the market is experienced by individuals, as the representational space (Lefvebre, 1991 [1974]). As one participant discussed how being in Brunnenmarkt alone would make her feel uncomfortable to the extent that they would not go there alone, and another discussed how these big markets were too loud, making them feel uncomfortable in these spaces, these instances highlight how space is felt, thus showing the degree to which the experience of space affects future spatial practices.

The findings show how the representation of space (Lefvebre, (1991 [1974]), matters. When discussing Naschmarkt, most saw it as a space of mostly tourism, losing touch with the reality of locals going to the market. The discourse around it being the oldest market in Vienna, and a site that must be seen, transforms the use of the space into something that it difficult to relate to, as identified by Gonzales (2020). This risk is also communicated by the market actor, who finds representations of a market as a ‘urban bohemian market’ as damaging to the actual space. Conversely, representations of markets such as Brunnenmarkt as multicultural and vibrant urban spaces exactly lead some to use these markets. Thus, representations clearly influence who uses space, and how through this they change it.

The findings of this study illuminate how markets can be understood as open-minded spaces (Walzer, 1986). Moreover, how public space is used works as an indicator of wider urban dynamics (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015). As one of the participants discussed how to escape the feeling of being in a quiet and highly structured urban space, they would go to

Brunnenmarkt to enjoy the vibrant and international feeling of the market space, this demonstrates the power that public spaces hold as indicators of the things people look for to enjoy life in the city. Space being flexible to its users can combat the difficulties in planning inclusive spaces, which often encounter the challenge of planning for different needs. Indeed, the open-mindedness is a crucial factor in producing place attachment, because it is the opportunity to contribute to the space by being active members in it, which is a central factor in why the participants use markets. Discussing produce with market vendors, moving in the space how one wants, making spontaneous decisions and interacting with others, contribute to being actively involved in the production of the market space. Thus, social infrastructure enables creating new social norms and spatial practices. It is exactly these spontaneous encounters which enable forming positive attachments to markets, thus showing how humans have an inherent need to actively engage in how space is produced. Unlike in supermarkets, where use of space is highly structured and require little active involvement of the user, the very essence of the market space is in co-producing an environment of interaction. Indeed, it is this co-production which the market actor emphasizes that many come to the market for. As the space invites different kind of activity, the social norms more adjustable, thus enabling more people to feel comfortable in the space. As one of the participant mentioned how simply being in these markets and ethnic supermarkets already indicates how the individual is looking for some kind of different experience, it reflects the difference between supermarkets and markets, while they in theory both aim to serve the same needs of people.

In terms of place dependence, the role of the market is clear: it serves the needs of the individual by offering a place where produce can be bought and gives the individual an active role in shaping how this interaction takes place. In a city where many mention that social relationships are difficult to build, the space of the market can work as one mean to establish interaction, however small it might be (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015). The individual, based on the values they attain, decide to go to certain markets and buy from certain vendors, as a result of their place identity. In sum, both place dependence and place identity can be seen as forces which contribute to attachment to place (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000).

While markets are, in essence, spaces of business relations, they are further spaces where many other interactions take place. As the participants highlighted in many cases how markets enabled opportunities for spontaneous interactions that they could not except,

this shows how market spaces have the potential to enable the production of a public life where people are actively involved in the shaping of the civic culture. These are the social connections that Latham and Layton (2022) emphasize in their approach to social infrastructure. Not only can the physical space be 'infrastructured' through making spaces for encounter, but so can also citizen engagement foster social connection. This is what the citizens' initiative highlights, understanding public space as the social glue that holds neighbourhoods together. Having space that is flexible to be appropriated for different means, such as festivals and events is crucial for enhancing civic participation. Indeed, this is what Tuttle (2022) emphasizes, that having social ties to the local community and participation in civic life enhances place attachment. Markets like Brunennmarkt offer this through the accessible cultural venue, but also the simply the openness of market spaces can be enough to appropriate it, as can be seen in the activities of the citizens' initiative. How markets as public spaces promote civic engagement and opportunities to come together further develop the infrastructure itself (Smedberg, 2022), as is seen in how after witnessing a neighbourhood community event, one business owner in the neighbourhood became motivated to take part in future activities, thus opening their doors to new opportunities. The findings highlight that market spaces have potential for local citizen engagement activity and creating community networks, and while in some markets this has been mobilized, the potential remains relatively untapped. Especially, a challenge which remains is how to enable market actors to take part in citizen engagement activities, when there is clearly an interest in doing so, but time and finance -resources hinder taking part.

In sum, the social aspect of social infrastructure accounts for how these spaces enable social acts to be performed. The role this has for place attachment, based on the findings, is compelling.

8 Conclusion

This research has adopted semi-structure interviews as a method to gain insight into how migrants perceive market spaces, what is the role of these markets in their daily life in the urban, and ultimately, how place attachment to market spaces is formed. In order to gain primary data on this, seven migrants, one citizen's initiative, and one market actor were interviewed with a phenomenological approach, thus gaining the direct experiences of those who use markets in Vienna. The participants of the research use multiple different markets in Vienna, ranging from markets with two vendors, to the largest market of the country.

Urban food markets are multi-layered and complex public spaces, within which people and things are in constant motion. Thus, in researching food markets as something which incorporates both people and things, the concept of social infrastructure has been utilized.

Social infrastructure, as 'the physical places and organizations that shape the way people interact' (Klinenberg, 2018, p.5), places value on both the physical, and the social, of any given space. However, in approaching space on philosophical level, Lefvebre's (1991 [1974]) understanding of the production of space is essential in understanding how this social infrastructure is constructed. Thus, social infrastructure is understood as the product of the social production of space. Physically, the market is accessible, it is often in open space, and the vendors are placed next to each other, for customers to go around, and stop where they want to. Opportunities for encounter and exploration arise and means for citizen engagement are established, strengthening the ties to also the neighbourhood, past the market space. What the findings further suggest is that representation of space matter: the discourse of them affects the experience of the space, which has implications for how the market develops, and for who. This is the social infrastructure of the market space.

'Food is embedded in sociocultural systems from which acquires multiple values in the everyday life' (Huaita-Alfaro, 2015, p.1). It is exactly these values, and how they guide urban spatial practices, which have been the object of the study. There is no one simple reason for why people use food markets. Certainly, markets having certain products that one cannot find elsewhere, or wanting to be in an outdoor space while doing one's weekly shopping, are reasons which are easy to distinguish. However, these reasonings enable seeing past the surface-level decisions of living daily life into what kinds of values and

emotional attachments guide individuals towards making these decisions. And this is what leads to discussing the second supporting research question that how emotional attachments guide spatial practices.

Emotions guide the way that individuals use urban space. Indeed, they are at the core of how spatial practices are enacted. Emotions as ‘ways of knowing, being and doing’ (Anderson & Smith, 2001, p.8) can be seen in the ways the migrants of the study live in Vienna and make choices regarding their daily lives. This is reflected through how conscious decisions are made to use public markets. The attachment builds over time, through first positive experiences with space, which leads one to return, as does the closeness of the market to the home of the individual. As the place becomes more familiar through routinized of going to the market and becoming familiar with the space and what is in it, trust builds between the market, and the market goer. They trust that they can feel safe in the place, and it serves their needs. This routinized use also leads to opportunities where acts of care take place, further attaching emotional bonds to places. What also creates an emotional bond to place is past experiences: growing up using markets, and establishing similar routines in new places, reflecting life of the past.

Place attachment, as an emotional bond to place, is supported by social infrastructure in co-creation of space, which is enabled by being actively involved in how the social space of the market is produced. The public nature of the space, with the opportunities for individuals to shape their experience there to create emotional connections, forms the social infrastructure which supports place attachment. And this place attachment is what can hopefully lead to creating cities which are more inclusive and serve both the physical and emotional needs of its citizens.

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All images have been produced by the author (Ulrika Stevens), unless stated otherwise.

Image 3. ZeeMaps. Created on 03/05/2023 at https://www.zeemaps.com/map?group=4694564&add=1

10 Appendices

10.1 Appendix 1. Initial interview questions

How long have you been in Vienna?
How do you spend your time in Vienna?
What challenges do you face (as an expat) in Vienna?
Did you use markets in your home country? Are they common? How are they different from the Viennese ones?
Which markets do you use in Vienna?
How often do you use them?
What products do you look for?
Do you often go alone or with others?
How much time do you spend in these markets? Do you simply go to buy the product or browse around and spend time there?
What kind of market stall catches your interest?
Do you plan what you will buy, or go there to find new things?

If these markets did not exist, would it affect your experience in Vienna?
Do you engage in discussion with any of the market stall workers/other customers at the market?
If you could get the products you get from the market, from Billa, would you be satisfied with just going to Billa?
For what reasons do you use the market instead of traditional supermarkets?
How do you feel when in the market space?
Could you describe the feelings you have when you are in the market? How does the market space make you feel?

10.2 Appendix 2. Post for call for participants

Hello everyone!
My name is Ulrika, and I am currently writing my master thesis in human geography. The topic of my thesis is about (food) markets and belonging, and my focus is on Vienna. Thus, I am looking to interview migrants that (frequently) go to food markets/spend time in these spaces.
The interview would be in English, and last around 45 minutes, towards the end of February. It would preferably take place in real life, but Zoom is also okay. If you or someone you know could be interested, please feel free to pm me or comment down below. I am very excited to learn more about these experiences

Thank you and have a nice day!
Ulrika

10.3 Appendix 3. Note sent to participants for verification of interview data

Dear x,

I hope you are doing good! I wanted to let you know that I have now transcribed your interview. It is attached in this message. Now, if there is something that you would like me to take out (so it is not used in the thesis), or if there is something wrong in the text (I have interpreted incorrectly) you are free to let me know by x date. No specific reasons are needed. I tried to only remove filler words etc., to minimize the risk of changing the meaning of what you said.

Please keep this date in mind as after that time I cannot promise that any part of the text won't be used as part of my analysis. If you know that you want to comment but you know that you cannot make this deadline, let me know and we can work it out. I am sending the document to you as a Word doc., so you can comment directly into the document or send me a separate message, it is up to you.

Also note that you do not have to read the document/send me any comments. I will just take that as a sign that it is all okay for you. Just as a quick reminder, as I said during the interview, all the data for the thesis from the interviews will be completely anonymous.

Thank you again for the interview and wishing you a nice day!
Ulrika

10.4 Appendix 4. Participant profiles

Origin of Participant	**Background**
Local Citizen's initiative	Has been active in a multicultural neighbourhood in Vienna since 2019. The initiative consists of people who live in the neighbourhood, and they organise different activities related to local engagement, urban regeneration, and sustainability.
Romania	The participant left Romania 15 years ago. Has lived in different parts of Vienna and is currently self-employed in health and wellbeing. Lives together with their Austrian partner and speaks German.
Malaysia	The participant left Malaysia in 2018 to further their career in Vienna. Is Chinese Malaysian, which is the biggest minority in Malaysia. Lives together with their Austrian partner. Speaks some German.
Iraq	The participant left Baghdad 20 years ago. Lives together with their Czech-Austrian partner. Speaks some German.
Pakistan	The participant has lived in Vienna for seven years, and before that in another part of Austria.
Germany	The participant has lived in Vienna for 7 months. Moved to Vienna for an internship and is a student. Lives together with their German partner.
The United Kingdom	The participant moved to Vienna for academic reasons in 2017. Lives alone and speaks limited German.
Russia	The participant left Russia 6 years ago and lived in Germany. Moved to Vienna for work together with their Russian partner. Speaks German.
Market actor	Opened the café in the market in 2017, and then opened a pastry shop within the same space in 2022. The market actor is involved in the local citizen's initiative.

10.5 Appendix 5. Coding table

Coding table of interview data (examples of each thematic area)		
		Code 1

Interview extract	**Initial code**	**Final theme based on codes**
This is a business market. I think we are 17 different cultures and we come from different countries and, we have built up our own business. But for us working at the market, our job is to sell fish, or to sell bread or to sell something else and not to have a culture party. The market is divided into three different sections, so those that focus only on trade are not interested in things like this. Others are interested in cooperating because it brings people here. In the future, I think the situation will stay the same. At other markets, they have big brands there. Here it is only small vendors standing the whole day. These people do not have time to do other things.	Explanation of how the market is organised and works with the neighbourhood.	**The spatiality and visuality of the marketplace**
Yes, we buy produce from other sellers. We have exchange, but some others work only alone, so everything is possible.	Explanation of the cooperations within the market.	**The spatiality and visuality of the marketplace**
Everybody has their own business. I think we are more than 30, people here. And we have an organization, which is necessary for the city hall for to give us some money for music for the summer or something. It is not possible that I ask, you need an organization to ask for money for the band, music etc. other related things.	Explanation of how the market association and governance structure.	**The spatiality and visuality of the marketplace**
10 years ago, the market was horrible. Half of the huts were closed. Only in the last 10 years it started to grow. Also, they built a lot of really expensive houses in the area, so more and more people with money started to move here. So, the market started to grow.	How the market space has changed and developed in the last years.	**The spatiality and visuality of the marketplace**
In other cities or other countries, you have often the trade only in the middle, and on the outside the gastronomy. Often you go, there's the market on one side, and you go on the other side of the street and there is the gastronomy. But in Vienna, it is generally a mixed market.	Comparison of the spatial layout of Viennese markets as opposed to in other countries.	**The spatiality and visuality of the marketplace**
Interview extract	**Initial code**	**Code 2**

On Saturday mornings, we have all of our breakfast guests here, with bags with apples or so inside, so you can say, 'my weekend starts, so I go, and I buy groceries, and I go for coffee and breakfast. And I think it's a good combination.	Explanation of routines of how locals use the market as part of their daily/weekly life.	**Market activity as a routinized use of space**
Like 50-60 per cent of customers are regulars. In coffee house, it's really interesting. But normally we have from eight to nine, we open at eight, only men inside, having breakfast. And then from nine to 12 only women normally. And then after lunch it's pretty mixed.	Explanation of routines of how locals use the market as part of their daily/weekly life and comparing between genders.	**Market activity as a routinized use of space**
Most of the people are living, I don't know, one kilometre or 500 meters from here, and so it's like local shopping place, mothers, they come every day outside from the kindergarten, and they drink their coffee here.	Explanation of routines of how locals use the market as part of their daily/weekly life with detail of how mothers use the market space.	**Market activity as a routinized use of space**
The market is for everyone. The café has these specific times almost of who uses them more, but otherwise I think it is quite equal for the whole market. I think that you see more men, and I think in the supermarket it is more women or traditional. The barbecue is something men do more, so for these butchers for example, not so many women go.	Explanation of routines of how locals use the market as part of their daily/weekly life and comparing between genders and their preferences in what market services they use.	**Market activity as a routinized use of space**
We see some people came from the other side to here, but it's only a small part. Many think 'People think 'We have no market; we will go to Spar'. Most people don't use the metro, so it is more of an 'on foot' market.	Explanation of how routines and the spatial layout of the neighbourhood potentially affect who comes to the market and who does not.	**Market activity as a routinized use of space**
Interview extract	**Initial code**	**Code 3**
80 per cent of our daily shopping is food without emotion, such as toilet paper, milk etc. These are the things you just want to have at home	There is a relationship between emotions and the act of shopping at the market.	**Emotions in space**
You feel a certain way when you are at the market as opposed to the supermarket	How different spaces feel.	**Emotions in space**
I loved it, we would go to the market as a family	Feeling of joy in space.	**Emotions in space**
It is a familiar place. When I'm there, I definitely pass by	Familiarity of space makes one wish to return sometimes.	**Emotions in space**

I'm very blonde, and a woman. It feels uncomfortable a bit to be there	Discomfort in certain spaces due to appearance and gender.	**Emotions in space**
Interview extract	**Initial code**	**Code 4**
You have the 20% where you want to interact, you want to say, 'make the slice bigger', 'I like the cheese like this/that'. That is not possible in the supermarket, and this 20%, I think it's the market. You can buy it here. And in 80% of the huts, the owner is inside. You can go there, and you can say "okay, I want this'. And you can ask 'oh, is everything good?' Here we have a Serbian, Croatian and Armenian butcher. I think you go here to interact with others. 80% of our guests will interact with us.	Interactions that take place in the market space.	**Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space**
I think it's the interactive thing. Men are more interactive. Coffee, breer, wine possibilities. It's in the supermarket not possible, here you can do it.	Opportunities for different activities at the market space.	**Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space**
If this market did not exist here, I think most will go to the supermarket. Because of convenience.	Supermarkets as convenience.	**Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space**
There is this 20% of products where I want to look at it, feel the product. I think this is the future of the market. Because I think it's not possible to make it inside in the same way. It makes sense to come to us for this 20%.	Active involvement in the process of buying products.	**Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space**
My husband has some Syrian friends and for them it is important to go together to the market and eat things. I don't go with them.	Specific routines of doing things in certain spaces with certain people.	**Convenience as opposed to active involvement in producing space**
Interview extract	**Initial code**	**Code 5**
I try to buy everything locally at the market, so first I check here and then if not, I buy it somewhere close by.	Choosing to support the local market as opposed to other sources.	**Trust and care relations**
You can ask 'Oh, is everything good?'	Taking an interest in the lives of others as part of market culture.	**Trust and care relations**
You often read in the papers that this market is the new boho market in Vienna. It's completely stupid. We have no bohos, we have no millennials here.	Discussing how the market is perceived by outsiders and how this affects the market actors and their work.	**Trust and care relations**

With the new citizens' initiative, we closed the street and organise some activities. But it is difficult now because people are careful with money. I think we have possibilities, and we have the space with the initiative to have some cooperation.	The market space and culture extending to the local neighbourhood.	**Trust and care relations**
I would miss the market because I would wonder what happened to the people. My husband comes from a farmer family, so he is quite protective about it. Farmers live from this tradition.	Taking an interest in the lives and wellbeing of others as part of market culture.	**Trust and care relations**