

BUILDING SERVICESCAPE CULTURE:  
EXAMINING SOCIAL ORDER, SPATIAL CHANGE, AND CONSUMER EXPERIENCE

by

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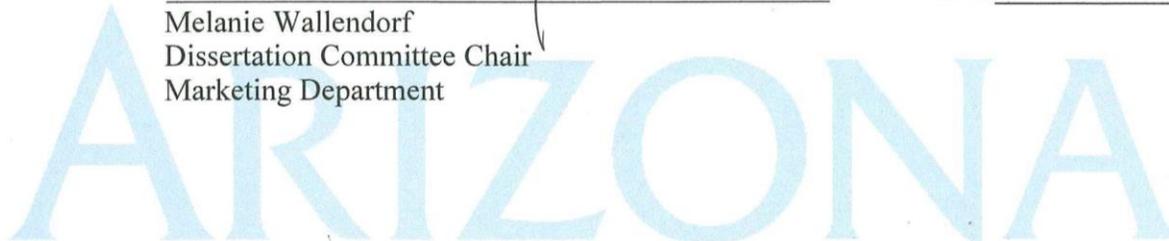
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**DEDICATION**

To my wife, Theresa, and our daughters, Eliza and Dianna,  
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## ABSTRACT

Many mixed-use retail areas feature publicly-accessible spaces that facilitate community-oriented activities, such as craft fairs and concerts, alongside more conventional market-oriented activities, such as shopping and dining. Mixed-use development is growing rapidly by blending residential, commercial, and community uses and facilities within pedestrian-friendly sites. However, marketing theory and practice do not yet offer the conceptual or practical tools needed to understand how consumers and service providers interact in these emerging spaces.

This dissertation examines the complex processes of spatial and social interaction that unfold over time in mixed-use retail centers. It does so at multiple levels. The first chapter examines how both consumers and service providers shape the social order that guides action within a mixed-use space. The second chapter studies how consumers experience the varied and heterogeneous blend of activities occurring within a mixed-use retail environment. The third chapter proposes a spatial analysis of the ways that farmers' markets, which frequently serve to anchor mixed-use developments by facilitating both community- and market-oriented activities, shape urban social and economic change over time.

Results demonstrate the ways that service providers and consumers use physical spaces to manage conflicts and shape patterns of activity over time. In a mixed-use retail environment, service providers and consumers utilize the physical environment to stabilize a social order that favors their own activities. However, any resulting order must still allow for multiple and often conflicting activities in order to maintain a perception of authentic participation. This perception masks underlying power relations and inequalities that structure the mixed-use environment. Achieving and maintaining this perception involves a delicate

balance, in which social and economic power is deployed at the risk of alienating the creative, community-oriented people and activities that can distinguish a mixed-use retail space from its competitors. Results also show that, in mixed-use environments, consumers draw upon multiple cultural logics to understand how to act and how to interpret experiences. Co-present, heterogeneous activities can complement or conflict with each other, depending on ways that consumers employ cultural and material resources to construct their experiences.

The final chapter builds a conceptual model and proposes an empirical examination of the ways that consumption sites shape urban change over multiple decades and across urban areas. It contributes to gentrification theory and to marketing and consumer research by studying the influence of farmers' markets on multiple factors shown to influence gentrification. Taken together, the three chapters of this dissertation foreground the role of space and place in sociocultural consumer research and contribute theory that can guide future spatial research in marketing and consumer behavior.

## INTRODUCTION

“Space itself may be primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience... The spatial organization of human society is an evolving product of human action”

(Soja 1980, 210).

“The actions of mass consumption are among the most powerful and pervasive place-building processes in the modern world. By purchasing or consuming products, people participate in the construction of their everyday environment” (Sack 1988, 643).

The physical environment surrounds and shapes all human behavior. In turn, human actions, including consumer behavior, shape and are shaped by physical spaces and the individual meanings and social relations that emerge through spatial experiences (Soja 1980). Prior studies in marketing and consumer research typically treat space as a background context rather than a primary analytical concept (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2017). Research that examines space more explicitly primarily focuses on how the physical environment shapes consumer behavior and experiences (Bitner 1992; Joy et al. 2014; Rosenbaum and Massiah 2011; Turley and Milliman 2000). However, this represents only one side of the “socio-spatial dialectic” (Soja 1980). The other side—consumers shaping space through their behavior—remains relatively unstudied and misunderstood. This dissertation builds knowledge around this undertheorized aspect of consumer culture. The chapters

presented here foreground the role of physical space in consumer behavior and market systems by studying how consumer practices both shape and are shaped by their material environments.

### **Consuming Space**

As the quotations that introduce this section describe, space is a social construct. While physical space has important material properties, space also acts as a social and cultural entity that shapes society in ways distinct from its material form. The sociocultural nature of space is not a new concept, although a recent “spatial turn” (Warf and Arias 2009, 1) in the humanities and social sciences has renewed theoretical attention on the subject. More than a century ago, Marx and Durkheim both conceptualized the physical world as simultaneously material and social (Järvikoski 1996). Marx (1887) argues that ownership and exploitation of physical space is a means for concentrating power and stabilizing social order. Durkheim (1912/1995) theorizes that societies organize and interpret the physical, natural world in ways that mirror the social order governing their relationships. However, as cultural and sociological theories developed from these early roots, the role of space fell into the background.

Inspired by the work of urban theorists and cultural geographers, space is reemerging as an important focus of study (Warf and Arias 2009). The dual nature of space, as both a social and material entity, is a common thread that connects many contemporary definitions and theories of place and space. Cultural geography makes the distinction between physical and social space most clearly, drawing upon Tuan’s (1977) concept of space and place. *Space* is a raw, material, geological location in the physical world that becomes symbolically

meaningful to people as they experience it and endow it with a “sense of *place*” (Tuan 1977, 171, italics added). Some research argues that capitalist development and consumerism erodes the capacity of places to anchor meaningful human connections, rendering them “placeless” (Maclaran and Brown 2005; Relph 1976) or “non-places” (Aubert-Gamet and Cova 1999). Other research makes less of a prescriptive distinction between places and non-places, but still foregrounds the ways that the capitalist market shapes the social construction of physical spaces. Marxist spatial theory maintains that society and space are inseparable, tied together through spatial arrangements that define the dialectic relation between human action and a social structure (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1980). This dissertation does not focus on the conceptual distinction between place and space, but follows these important traditions in treating all space as socially constructed. Through this dissertation, the term “space” is always used to denote a socially constructed material environment, and specific references to the material properties of space are noted rather than drawing on any particular definition of “space” or “place.”

Market forces play a powerful role in the social construction of space. While pre-industrial societies centered around public spaces that facilitated communal interactions, contemporary capitalist societies prioritize impersonal exchange relationships (Tönnies 1887/2001). Community interactions are guided by logics centered around reciprocal exchange and collective benefit, while market exchange is guided by logics of efficiency and individual advantage. Prior research demonstrates how tensions between market and community logics unfold in both brand- and location-based communities (Kozinets 2001, 2002; Muñiz, Jr. and O’Guinn 2001; Schau, Muñiz, and Arnould 2009). The market’s focus on maximizing efficiency and profitability can lead to the displacement of many communities

from their spaces (Harvey 1978). This dissertation specifically examines how conflicts between market- and community-oriented practices shape the social and material order of publicly accessible market spaces, as well as the spatial arrangement of consumer practices in these spaces.

All three chapters adopt a practice theory perspective to examine the social construction of market spaces and spatially-organized behavior in them. Practices are routinized patterns of human action, such as eating dinner or commuting, which shape and are shaped by cultural and material resources available in the environment surrounding them (Nicolini 2012; Shove, Pantzar, and Watson 2012; Warde 2005). Through human use and involvement, each space becomes a “practiced place” (de Certeau 1984, 117), transformed symbolically and physically by human practices. The practice theory approach differs from perspectives on space as a behavioral stimulus, which are common in environmental psychology and services marketing research (Altman 1975; Bitner 1992; Brüggem, Foubert, and Gremler 2011; Low and Altman 1992; Orth and Wirtz 2014). While sociocultural consumer research has frequently examined space as a background contextual factor, research still must more explicitly examine spatial processes in marketing and consumer culture (Castilhos et al. 2017). This research aims to contribute a conceptual model of spatial change and consumer practice, as well as to extend and develop existing practice theories by analyzing them in a spatial context. All markets and consumer practices take place somewhere. Even online practices rely on access to sociocultural and material resources that are tied to physical spaces. The blurring of lines between market and community practices and spaces in contemporary consumer society (Debenedetti, Oppewal, and Arsel 2014; Firat and

Venkatesh 1995; Thompson and Arsel 2004) make studying this spatial conflict both theoretically and practically important.

Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of the relationship between consumer practice and space. Chapter one examines social order in market spaces. A multi-year ethnographic project demonstrates processes by which consumers and producers influence the evolution of market spaces over time. Through their consumption practices, consumers can creatively subvert the social order of a market space through their community practices, while producers can achieve an organic, co-created servicescape by permitting these subversive tactics. Chapter two studies individual consumer experiences in market spaces that facilitate heterogeneous practices. Consumers draw upon multiple cultural logics to understand how to act within a heterogeneous practice context, as well as to construct their experience within that context. Heterogeneous practices can both complement and conflict with each other when they overlap temporally and spatially, depending on ways that consumers employ cultural and material resources to construct their experiences. Chapter three uses historical spatial data to analyze sociocultural and economic changes in urban neighborhoods over time. This chapter proposes a study that will examine how urban farmers' markets shape the economic development and social change that leads to gentrification. Taken together, these chapters conceptually put space at the forefront of sociocultural consumer research and contribute theory that enables future spatial research in consumer culture theory, urban development, and retail servicescape management.

## **I. ORDERING MARKET SPACES: LONGITUDINAL SPATIAL CHANGE IN SOCIAL ORDER AND CONSUMPTION PRACTICES**

### **Introduction**

The Plaza's courtyard, a small outdoor enclosure surrounded by twelve retail shops and restaurants, buzzed with activity. Farmers' market shoppers lined up at a temporary vendor table to fill baskets with vegetables and fruit, in front of a row of mailboxes where a grey-haired resident of an adjacent townhouse checked her mail. Several parents sat at dining tables near the center of the courtyard while their children roamed unsupervised. A pack of five children, between eight and ten years old, wandered together between tables as they talked. Two younger boys, between five and seven years old, carried small square magnets, stopping at every metal object in the courtyard to try sticking them, before running off to a new location. A hired musician, a young white woman in her early twenties, played an acoustic guitar and sang soft, folksy songs into a microphone under a large tree in front of a Latin American-themed antique shop. In the opposite corner of the courtyard, a young Hispanic man, about the same age, played his own guitar. He sang loudly in Spanish with a group of eight people who ate dinner from The Plaza's Mexican restaurant. In the center of the courtyard, I could hear a blend of both musicians as I watched people shop, eat, drink, talk, and play.

This fieldnotes vignette illustrates the complex mix of heterogeneous consumption practices that can blend together in mixed-use retail developments. Combining spaces for living and playing with spaces for working and shopping, retail developers strive to recreate

the lively atmosphere of a public plaza or town square (Hardwick 2015; Steuteville 2017). These combinations however, create new opportunities for creative use (and mis-use) of space by consumers, as well as the potential for conflicts between competing uses. Chapter one examines these processes by answering the following research question: how does social order form and evolve in market spaces that facilitate heterogeneous consumption practices? Practices are routinized patterns of activity comprised of the sociocultural and material resources that enable their performance (Andreas Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 1996; Shove et al. 2012; Warde 2005). Arrangements of these resources shape trajectories of human action. In this way, systems of practice comprise a network or system that links macro-level social structures with micro-level patterns of human behavior (Warde 2014). This chapter examines how consumers and producers of space arrange important cultural and material resources that shape the performance of consumption practices in market spaces over time.

Managers and developers typically design material environments for use in specific, profit-generating consumption activities (Bitner 1992). Yet research and everyday experience show that consumers creatively mis-use mundane objects and spaces that seem, in a market context, clearly demarcated as vehicles of economic exchange. For example, consumers use restaurant tables as office desks (Griffiths and Gilly 2012) and shopping malls as fitness centers (Sandikci and Holt 1998). The importance of these mundane yet subversive practice performances has largely been overlooked in consumer research, since the structuring power of market institutions tends to limit consumer creativity within predictable, market-oriented boundaries or trajectories (Kozinets 2002; Kozinets et al. 2004). However, the persistence of practice heterogeneity in market spaces highlights the tenacity of alternative logics of social organization that stand in opposition to the market logic of efficient economic exchange (de

Certeau 1984). This chapter examines the persistence of heterogeneous practice performances within a market-oriented space, as well as the processes by which these practice performances can shape the social order of market spaces. Conceptualizing social order as a system of practices (Schatzki 2001b, 2002), the study asks how spaces governed primarily by market logics shape and are shaped by the performance of heterogeneous practices over time. Chapter One contributes spatial theory of consumer practice that builds on the work of de Certeau (1984) and facilitates a more holistic conceptualization of consumer behavior and social order in market spaces. Through ethnographic research, this study aims to connect micro-level phenomena like individual behavior with the meso- and macro-level structures that shape and are shaped by these behaviors.

A deeper understanding of social order as it shifts and evolves in market spaces has both conceptual and practical importance. Prior work has examining consumption practices primarily focuses on performances of individual practices rather than their role in shaping or reproducing a social order (Warde 2014). Additionally, studies that conceptualize the connection between practices and social order focus their primary attention on processes by which institutionalized meaning structures influence the adoption and reproduction of particular practice performances (Arsel and Bean 2013; Maciel and Wallendorf 2017). Still undertheorized in consumer research is a bottom-up theorization of the ways that practice performances feed back into the macro-level structures that govern a social order. This chapter builds upon prior theory and research to develop a consumer culture theory that can better explain the role of heterogeneous, often subversive, consumption practices in the social order of market spaces.

Retail and service managers conventionally strive to regulate the social order of physical retail and service environments in ways that control and maintain brand image and customer profitability (Baker, Levy, and Grewal 1992; Dion and Arnould 2011; Turley and Milliman 2000). Pursuing this end, early servicescape research views the physical environment as a factory where employees produce and package service experiences for customers (Bitner 1992) or as a theater where employees and customers perform service interactions (McGrath, Sherry, and Heisley 1993). However, some servicescapes transcend a pure market orientation (Rosenbaum et al. 2007). Additionally, increasing numbers of postmodern servicescapes facilitate the participation, individuality, and creativity of consumers in ways that make strict management of social order more challenging (Griffiths and Gilly 2012; Kozinets et al. 2004). Practitioners can gain a more nuanced understanding of servicescape management in these emerging environments “by capturing the motivating social and cultural contexts of retail patronage and purchase behaviors” (Arnould 2005, 89) through research attuned to the study and analysis of social order as a cultural phenomenon.

## **Theoretical Framework: Social Order and Theories of Practice**

### *The Role of Social Order*

A social order is a set of shared rules and understandings, both implicit and explicit, that guide human behavior in regular or patterned ways within a particular social context. The study of social order has remained a central theoretical concept since the emergence of sociology as an independent field. Weber (1949/1968, 1922/1978) sought to uncover the underlying social orders by studying the shared meanings and beliefs that provide motivations

and rules that influence human action within groups, classes, and societies. Durkheim (1893/1933, 1912/1995) argued that human beings have an innate desire for group solidarity, and that social order stems from a collective consciousness that binds groups together. Patterns and regularities of human organization represent “products of collective thought” (Durkheim 1912/1995, 9) that enable the formation and reproduction of social order. These ideas marked a turn toward explicitly *social* theories of social order, moving away from the materialist theories of social order developed in the Marxist tradition (Marx 1887; Marx and Engels 1846/1960).

In recent decades, however, a growing body of social scientific theory has begun to re-examine the material dimensions of human experience. One strain of research has been influenced by the work of Miller (1987), whose theories outline the processes by which material things shape and give meaning to consumers’ lives, just as consumers shape and give meaning to their things. Physical things—from houses to blue jeans (Miller 2010a)—play a crucial role in the development of social order, as they “help you gently learn how to act appropriately... we are ourselves grown up and matured in the light of things that come down to us from the previous generations” (Miller 2010b, 53). Related streams of theory in anthropology similarly argue that things have social lives, interdependently tied to personal, collective, and societal uses and values (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). Studying the “social life” of objects (Appadurai 1986) has enabled explanations of the value that individuals or groups hold for particular objects. This perspective has been used productively in consumer research to study consumer relationships with their things, focusing particularly on the symbolic nature of objects (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989; Lastovicka and Fernandez 2005; Levy 1959; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). While acknowledging that

individual consumers' activities and beliefs are influenced by broader social values and relationships, prior research tends to use the social object lens to focus upon consumer behavior and meaning making at an individual level.

A second theoretical movement attempts to move beyond meaning-based models of human-object interactions by emphasizing the interconnected, relational nature of social and material life (DeLanda 2006; Latour 1996; Law 1992). This materialist perspective is exemplified by Actor-Network Theory (Latour 1996; Law 1992), which conceptually endows both human and non-human with equal agency, or the capacity to produce effects. This shifts the analytical focus of social order away from shared meanings that shape individual and collective action, reframing order as a continually evolving set of relations between human and non-human actors. The materialist approach (DeLanda 2006; Latour 1996; Law 1992) turns its primary attention toward connections and relationships between actors. Decentering the consumer subject as merely one of many agentic entities represents an important ontological breakthrough, allowing researchers to examine consumer behavior within the networks of material relationships that facilitate it (Martin and Schouten 2014; Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013). Research following the materialist tradition conducts a meso-level analysis of social order, focusing on the connections and interactions that construct a network of individual actors.

Third, following a neo-Marxist tradition, Lefebvre (1991), Harvey (1973), and others (Soja 1980; Zukin 1982, 1995) conceptualize space and place as the physical realization of social order. Powerful actors and institutions control the production of space, and the spaces they produce feed back into society by shaping trajectories of human activity and ensuring social continuity and cohesion (Lefebvre 1991). Thus, space is a socially constructed and

constraining force. As Castells (1979, 115) explains, “the whole social problematic is born by the indissoluble union of [space and culture],” and this space-culture dialectic forms the basis of the materialist analyses of social order. Contemporary research examining the geographies of consumption follows this theoretical tradition (Goodman, Goodman, and Redclift 2010). Analyzing relations of spatial production uncovers the role of power in creating, maintaining, and reproducing social order. This lens focuses most closely on processes by which consumption is structured by macro-level forces, including institutions such as the state and the market.

These three theoretical traditions provide opportunities for the study of consumer culture at particular levels of analysis, but they focus less attention on the interplay between elements of social order at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. However, connecting macro- and micro-level processes by explaining how they shape each other is critical for developing a theory of social order in physical market spaces, where a higher-level order is imposed on a space that is in turn used by individual consumers.

Theories of practice provide an analytical frame that helps to link macro-level structures, such as social hierarchies and institutional arrangements, with micro-level phenomena, like individual behaviors (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Giddens 1984; Nicolini 2012; Rouse 2007). Practice theories, as meso-level theorizations, “seek to examine the interactions between micro-level phenomena (e.g. the personal, situational, performative) and macro-level processes (e.g. related to institutions, social relations, political economy)” (Mylan and Southerton 2018, 1136). Combining a practice theory perspective with ethnographic inquiry allows the study of “consumers as intentional actors with personal projects that are embedded in their sociocultural life worlds... [using] resources provided by firms in the culturally,

socially situated practices of their everyday lives” (Arnould and Price 2006, 254).

Analytically, theories of practice facilitate this examination of social order as it forms and evolves through the interactions between people, places, and things. The study of social order is central in theories of practice. Social orders comprise a system of practices that stabilize social activity around integrations of material resources (e.g., places and things), sociocultural resources (e.g., meanings, emotions, motivations), and embodied doings (e.g., habitus, competence) (Bourdieu 1977; Schatzki 2001b; Shove et al. 2012). However, the process by which social activity at the micro-level feeds back into and shapes social order at the macro level has not been thoroughly examined empirically (Warde 2014). A reconceptualization of de Certeau’s (1984) theory of spatial practice specifically enables a focus on the processes of social order development and change within consumption practices enacted over time in market spaces. Through this theorization, this research specifically examines how performances of consumption practices challenge or affirm the primacy of a capitalist logic of exchange within market spaces. The following sections will expand on these concepts, making the case for a theory of spatial practice that extends prior work on consumption and its role in space, place, and market institutions.

### *Theories of Practice*

Theories of practice make several conceptual contributions that enable the study of the mutually constitutive nature of individual human action and wider social structures. Practice theories are more a family of related perspectives on social phenomena than a unified theory, but they are connected in their acknowledgement and examination of the co-constitutive nature of human action and the social and material structures that facilitate that action

(Nicolini 2012; Rouse 2007; Warde 2005). Practice theories provide a lens with which to view patterns of human action that are reproduced through the integration of “bodily patterns, routinized mental activities—forms of understanding, know-how... and motivation—and above all, objects... that are linked to each other” (A. Reckwitz 2002, 254–55).

In addition to conceptually bridging the agency-structure divide, theories of practice also turn analytical attention away from individual human actors and toward the resources that enable patterns of action. Practices are reproduced through repeated performance, which involves the utilization and integration of the various components that facilitate and shape patterns of individual action. In theories of practice, these components have been conceptualized in various ways: as rules and resources (Giddens 1984); as meanings, materials, and competences (Shove et al. 2012); as objects, doings, and meanings (Arsel and Bean 2013; Magaudda 2011); as capital, field, and habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1984); as “a pool of understandings, a set of rules, and a teleoaffective structure” (Schatzki 2001b, 61); or as knowledge, discipline, and material bodies (Foucault 1978, 1982; Fox 2000). While conceptual differences exist, these components can be conceptually grouped into three broad categories that include some form of sociocultural resources (e.g., meanings, rules, teleoaffective structures, knowledge), embodied understanding (e.g., doings, competences, understandings, habitus, discipline), and material resources (e.g., objects, bodies, materials). This chapter draws on the analytical power and simplicity of the model proposed by Shove et al. (2012), using meaning, competence, and material to refer to the sociocultural, embodied, and material components that are integrated during the performance of a practice. Shove et al. (2012) follow Schatzki (Schatzki 2002) in developing a material practice theory that

responds to conceptual and philosophical developments in materialist theories of social organization and agency (DeLanda 2006; Latour 1996).

A third contribution of contemporary practice theories is the conceptualization of social order as a system of practices comprising a particular arrangement of the components that are required for continued reproduction of these practices in society (Schatzki 2001b). As Warde (Warde 2014) describes, “A strong theory of practices will insist that structural characteristics are nothing other than the effects of the intermingling of many practices.” However, in empirical studies utilizing the lens of practice theory, researchers have tended to focus on individual performances of practices, neglecting the potential of practice theory as a meso-level analysis that connects the micro- and macro-level forces that characterize a social order (Mylan and Southerton 2018; Warde 2014). Consumer research is no exception. While practice theories have proved fruitful in providing more holistic explanations of consumer behavior than prior cultural theories allowed, most studies have not focused on the role of consumption practices in the development of social order.

Prior consumer research looks primarily at the development of specific practices and the consumer experience of performing them. Studies of a range of practices, from music consumption to do-it-yourself construction, have outlined the processes by which materials, meanings, and competences come together to enable the formation of new practices or the reproduction of existing ones (Magaudda 2011; Shove et al. 2007; Watson and Shove 2008). Studies have also explored the ways that consumers make sense of important meanings that are affected by changes or disruptions in the material resources that are part of a particular practice (Canniford and Shankar 2013; Dion, Sabri, and Guillard 2014; Phipps and Ozanne 2017). Woermann and Rokka (Woermann and Rokka 2015) provide an analysis of the

phenomenological consumer experience of meanings, materials, and competences being either aligned or misaligned within specific practices. Additional studies have conceptualized the development of consumer competences that enable new practices to emerge, often through collective integration of practice elements (Epp, Schau, and Price 2014; Schau et al. 2009; Seregina and Weijo 2017; Thomas and Epp 2019). While this research explains what practices are and how consumers experience performing them, it does not provide an explanation for how practices connect with or influence social order.

Several studies have begun to move in this direction. Getting closer to studying social order as a system of practices, Epp and Price (2010) show the agentic influence that a singular object can exert upon the assemblage of practices, objects, and spaces that make up the social order of a family. Thomas, Price, and Schau (2013) conceptualize a process by which consumers can come together around shared material resources, enabling the formation of a social order that includes heterogeneous and sometimes-conflicting ways of performing the practice of running. However, these studies' contributions lie in their connection of meso-level relationship and assemblages with micro-level practice performances. The empirical and conceptual link to macro-level social order is left largely unexplored. Gollnhofer, Weijo, and Schouten (Gollnhofer, Weijo, and Schouten 2019) show how consumers collectively forge a new object pathway that enables a system of food distribution practices that challenge mainstream market structures. However, they stop short of conceptually connecting alternative object pathways with shifts in a broader social order that includes structures of governance and shared meaning.

Studies of taste regimes provide perhaps the most holistic empirical examinations of social order as a system of consumption practices. Arsel and Bean (2013, 900) build a theory

of the taste regime as a “discursively constructed normative system” that shapes the ways consumers create a system of practices that defines their design tastes and ways of living in their homes. Consumers assemble material objects that align with meaningful discourses promoted by a taste regime, in order to enable desirable forms of competence or doing. Extending this theory, Maciel and Wallendorf (2017) focus on the processes by which a taste regime structures craft beer consumers’ development of a set of embodied competences that enable successful integration of meanings and materials through practice performance. They also situate the system of consumption practices within a broader social class structure that has shaped consumers’ habitus before they begin to adopt the taste regime. Explaining these processes through a material practice theory lens (Schatzki 2001b; Shove et al. 2012), meaningful consumption experiences emerge from a system of practices that form the taste regime. This system is socially constructed both by macro-level structures of meaning and by individual consumer use of practice-relevant competences and material resources. Conceptualizations of taste regimes theorize the relationship and interdependency between broader social structures and individual practice performances. However, they focus primarily on the structuring role of macro-level discursive meaning systems and the ways that consumers assemble materials and develop competences within these regimes. The process by which individual practice performances feed back into, and potentially reshape, macro structures remains undertheorized in consumer research.

While conducting an empirical investigation that covers the whole system of practices at micro, macro, and meso levels is perhaps beyond the scope of any individual study (Warde 2014), this chapter works toward this goal by studying the relationship between practice performance and spatial structures. Physical space is not only a material resource that can be

consumed and integrated with other practice components. Space also represents a reification of macro-level social structures (Lefebvre 1991). By making social order more concrete, quite literally, physical space provides an analytical opportunity to empirically unpack the dialectic interactions between the practice performances and the social orders that make up consumer culture. Additionally, Shove et al. (2012, 133) argue that “places are defined by practices,” and that competition between practices for material and sociocultural resources shapes the nature of future practices and social arrangements. By undertaking this analysis, this research aims to develop a theory of spatial practice that informs a more holistic understanding of how individual consumer practice performances are shaped by and can reshape market-oriented spaces. To do so, this chapter employs de Certeau’s (1984) theory of spatial practice, which conceptualizes both the structured and structuring nature of consumption practices in market spaces.

#### *De Certeau’s Theory of Spatial Practice*

De Certeau’s theory, formalized in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (de Certeau 1984), pushes against theories of culture that provide consumers with little individual agency other than as passive receptacles of a social order that they merely reproduce through their everyday lives. He specifically criticizes Foucault and Bourdieu for methodologically and conceptually glossing over the heterogeneity of everyday consumption practices. By giving primacy to the historical construction of apparatuses of power (Foucault 1977, 1982) or the development of an embodied, unconscious disposition (Bourdieu 1977, 1984), de Certeau argues these theorists assume that behavioral and linguistic patterns necessarily imply an objective social structure that controls and represses alternative modes of action and language. While Foucault

acknowledges the persistence of subversive practices within a dominating social order, “It remains to be asked how we should consider other, equally infinitesimal, procedures, which have not been ‘privileged’ by history but are nevertheless active in innumerable ways” (de Certeau 1984, 49). Conceptualizing these dominated procedures is de Certeau’s primary theoretical objective. He makes the argument that people enacting their everyday “procedures,” or practices, including the subjects of Bourdieu’s own ethnographic studies, “do not ‘apply’ principles or rules; they choose among them to make up the repertory of their operations” (de Certeau 1984, 54). This argument parallels the case made by Swidler’s (1986) toolkit theory of culture. However, the novelty of de Certeau’s theory lies in its explicit conceptualization of the role of material resources, such as physical spaces and objects, in addition to the cultural resources that consumers draw upon as they enact their everyday practices. Given the primary focus of this research on social order in market spaces, de Certeau’s theory provides a particularly useful theoretical lens. Prior empirical research in consumer behavior has not used de Certeau’s theories as a primary analytical lens, so the following sections introduce and discuss his fundamental ideas in this section.

De Certeau focuses his analytical attention on observations of the seemingly mundane ways that individual people refuse to follow patterns of behavior that have been laid out for them by existing social orders. Viewing culture metaphorically as a language that organizes possibilities for interaction, de Certeau conceptualizes consumers as speakers who play with formal meanings and grammatical rules to create a range of phrases and expressions that often have subversive meanings within a particular context. For example, the indigenous peoples in the Americas took the “received language” of Christianity, taught and imposed by European

colonial powers, and modified its function by fusing it with indigenous beliefs and traditions to create “a song of resistance” (de Certeau 1984, 18). As de Certeau describes:

More generally, *a way of using* imposed systems constitutes the resistance to the historical law of a state of affairs and its dogmatic legitimations. A practice of the order constructed by others redistributes its space; it creates at least a certain play in the order, a space for maneuvers of unequal forces and for utopian points of reference. [...] Innumerable ways of playing with and foiling the other’s game [...] characterize the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations. (Emphasis in original)

The “ways of using” that consumers construct can enable them to gain some degree of autonomy and creativity within a space structured by macro-level sociocultural forces. Consumers make creative use of cultural and material resources—meanings, materials, and competences—which are available as they perform individual practices. De Certeau’s theory of mundane consumer resistance enables this chapter’s analysis of spatial practice, although he also theorizes resistance in linguistic, mass media, and other contexts.

Differing from contemporaries who emphasize the role of the production of space in structuring human action (Harvey 1973; Lefebvre 1991), de Certeau focuses on the role of the creative, subversive consumption of physical space by its users. De Certeau (1984) argues that physical space is shaped and reproduced through two distinct processes. On one hand, powerful actors and institutions enact *strategies* that construct, arrange, and order space in deliberate ways. Strategies, such as the construction of paved paths in a city park or the erection of walls separating properties or nations, represent a victory of time over space. Through such strategies,

producers of space exert their power to establish or maintain ownership over space. They isolate themselves from a continually evolving sociocultural environment by creating a physical permanence to the order they wish to impose. Strategies attempt to establish a spatial arrangement that can keep a certain social order relatively stable over time.

On the other hand, *tactics* are “an art of the weak” (de Certeau 1984, 37) and represent opportunistic acts by consumers of space who attempt to gain, at least temporarily, some benefit or advantage within spaces or structures set in place by others’ strategies. A tactic, such as pedestrians cutting across a lawn between park pathways or youths spraying graffiti on a wall, is not necessarily a permanent victory over spaces controlled by strategies. Rather, it is a clever use of time within those ordered spaces. De Certeau (1984, 98) explains:

If it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further), then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities. In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform, or abandon spatial elements.

A tactic operates within the realm of possibility laid out by strategy. It must “play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power” (de Certeau 1984, 37). Tactics are bounded by “interdictions,” such as a wall—analogous to Gibson’s (2014) concept of “affordances,” which describes the capacity of physical spaces and objects to facilitate various uses or activities. However, tactics also render the trajectories of human action unpredictable, as consumers improvise within the resources and places available to

them. Tactics subvert strategies by creating surprises, taking advantage of available resources, and being where they are not expected (de Certeau 1984).

The central ideological conflict playing out between strategies and tactics lies in the tension between logics of the capitalist market and other logics that evade the market's rational, reductionist ideals—such as those of gift giving, religion, and art (de Certeau 1984). Practices embody and reproduce institutional logics, which are systems of values, beliefs, and norms that provide a structure that “both regularizes behavior and provides opportunity for agency and change” (Thornton and Ocasio 2008, 102). Social change emerges in the conflicts between competing logics, as they play out through individual practice performances (Barley and Tolbert 1997). Institutional logics are a social structure of meaning that provides a shared macro-level practice resource for consumers to draw upon. Identifying the institutional logics behind practices helps to identify the meaning structures that operate and compete within a social order.

Market logic reduces human relations to their capacity to produce surplus material value through exchange, assessed through the lens of self-interested profit accumulation (Arnould 2007; Friedland and Alford 1991; Illouz 1998). A strategy operationalized following a market logic represents an attempt to regulate social interactions as exchanges between abstract individuals “according to the code of generalized equivalence constituted by money” (de Certeau 1984, 27). However, tactics are “a practice of economic diversion [that] is in reality the return of a sociopolitical ethics into an economic system” (de Certeau 1984, 27). De Certeau describes these economic diversions as evidence of the persistence of a social order organized outside of the capitalist market system. These alternative “sociopolitical ethics,” such as the gift-giving systems illustrated by Mauss' (1966) *potlatch*, survive through

tactics on the periphery of a market-oriented society. In other words, consumer tactics temporarily subvert the dominance of market logics through practices that draw upon conflicting institutional logics. The tactical process thus sets up a competition over practice resources, particularly scarce material resources used by consumers with different embodied competences and drawing upon different meaning structures.

Conflicts between market and non-market logics are central phenomena in consumer culture theory research (Dolbec and Fischer 2015; Mars and Schau 2017; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013) and in the geography of consumption (Goodman et al. 2010). De Certeau's theory enables an empirical study of the physical reification of these alternative logics in market spaces. Particularly salient to the study of social order in the context of mixed-use retail are logics of community interaction, which guide behavior based on ideals of close interpersonal relationships and the development of a collective consciousness (Tönnies 2001). By examining the evolution of consumption practices and social order within mixed-use market spaces over time, this chapter aims to explain how competition between market and community logics play out through mundane consumption practices. In doing so, the chapter also asks whether and how market spaces can act as community spaces.

These goals, however, require pushing the conceptual limits of de Certeau's theory. The temporary nature of de Certeau's tactics leaves consumers relatively powerless to effect any lasting change upon the a social or spatial order. A strategy produces physical structures that reify macro-level meaning structures, such as particular ideologies or institutional logics. In doing so, strategies "conceal beneath objective calculations their connection with the power that sustains them from within the stronghold of its own 'proper' place or institution" (de Certeau 1984, xx). This reification of social order provides a form of permanence, essentially

grounding practices within a rigid set of material resources. Tactics, on the other hand, cannot have the capacity to exert a lasting influence of physical space in de Certeau's current conceptualization:

A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalize on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances. The "proper" is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time—it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized "on the wing." Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into "opportunities." (de Certeau 1984, xix)

If power equates to the capacity to dominate, capitalize, and fully control social and physical space, then tactics endow consumers with very little transformative power. However, this chapter studies more explicitly the processes by which consumer tactics might exert a form of power that shapes or reshapes the trajectory of practices and the social order they reproduce. De Certeau acknowledges, for example, that colonized people have transformed European rules and resources into hybrid religious and cultural forms through their everyday practices. A conceptual possibility thus exists for consumers of physical space to similarly refashion a socio-spatial order in their own image, through their creative, improvisational use of available practice resources. Tactical use provides a spatial process by which alternative consumption practices, guided by community logics, might influence the evolution of social order governed by market logics. By examining the way that consumers participate in the evolution of a social order through their tactical use of a strategically-designed retail

servicescape, this research extends de Certeau's theory of spatial practice and generate insights relevant to the spatial study of consumer culture and the practice of servicescape management.

### **Study Context and Methodology**

The study of social order as the product of strategic design and tactical performance of consumption practices requires a context where multiple practices, guided by both market and community logics, overlap in time and space. I study the formation and evolution of social order through an ethnographic analysis of a mixed-use New Urbanist retail center. This site provides a market space that facilitates a wide range of practices that share material resources but diverge in their reliance on market and community logics. The New Urbanist context provide an ideal case study of both practice heterogeneity and opportunities for tactical consumer creativity. The following sections outline the relevance of this context and the procedures followed by data collection and analysis methods.

#### *New Urbanist Retail Spaces*

Following the Second World War, American public spaces, such as town squares and public markets, fell into disrepair as a "mass consumer economy" (Cohen 2004, 236) took hold. Clean, modern, economically efficient suburban shopping malls, which were segregated away from the chaos of the city, replaced socially interactive mixed-use public spaces (Sandikci and Holt 1998; Staeheli and Mitchell 2006). These modern retail servicescapes favored efficiency, profitability, and control over the interactivity and participation inherent in

the town square. While consumers still find ways to creatively (mis)use shopping malls (Sandikci and Holt 1998; Underhill 2004), the capacity afforded in these servicescapes for free speech, access, and use remains limited through profit-motivated control (Staheli and Mitchell 2006). Even postmodern shopping centers, focused on producing immersive consumption experiences, produce highly captivating and highly regulated market spectacles that tend to pacify consumers' experiential appetites (Borghini et al. 2009; Dion and Arnould 2011; Kozinets et al. 2004). Critics argue that suburban development, combined with the non-participatory designs of modern and postmodern retail, lead consumers to live increasingly separated and passive lives (Staheli and Mitchell 2006). In this view, shopping malls hint at the end of public space and political participation in American consumer society (Sandikci and Holt 1998).

In the 1990s, a design philosophy labelled New Urbanism emerged in the United States, advocating for dense, mixed-use developments reminiscent of pre-suburban town squares. These developments include spaces for residential, commercial, retail, and recreational activities. Proponents of New Urbanism advocate that it “addresses many of the ills of our current sprawl development pattern while returning to a cherished American icon: that of a compact, close-knit community” (Katz 1994, ix). The official Charter on New Urbanism (Congress for the New Urbanism 1999), proposes four design principles as the foundation of development: (1) diversity in neighborhood use and population; (2) facilitation of pedestrian, public transit, and automobile transportation; (3) accessible public spaces; and (4) incorporation of local history, environments, and architecture. While the number of developments designed strictly under the tenets of New Urbanism have been somewhat limited, aspects of the emerging philosophy have gained popularity among mainstream

commercial and residential developers. Inspired by the design philosophy of New Urbanism, a wide array of new retail service environments incorporate some of its principles. Massive mixed-use developments like Hudson Yards in New York City and upscale “lifestyle centers” such as The Grove in Los Angeles have been designed to accommodate a range of consumption and experiential possibilities (Hardwick 2015; Nonko 2018). As Giorgio Borroso, a prominent retail architect, describes in a trade journal article (Asch 2014), mixed-use retail centers blend market and community functions:

To be relevant today, the belief of maximizing dollars per square foot... needs to be replaced by a sense of discovery, variety and a willingness to sacrifice potential sales floor square footage in favor of enrichment of ‘public spaces,’ such as gardens, fountains and playgrounds... favoring a non-linear, complex center of different activities that mimics the intermix of uses of an urban environment, a “surrogate city.”

The architect advocates for retail spaces that incorporate “public spaces” that promote playful, socially interactive uses and activities. The statement that social activities in these spaces replace prior revenue streams implies that these non-commercial activities may conflict with market logic. However, developers make the case that blending market and community spaces may actually allow retailers to compete effectively by delivering a vibrant, participatory consumer experience that modern online and big-box competitors cannot mimic (Gose 2018; Gunning, Jeffrey, and Kimes 2018; Hardwick 2015). Recent industry data (ICSC 2019) show the construction of new, mixed-use lifestyle centers growing while construction rates for new conventional shopping malls continue to decline (see figure 1).

Figure 1: New Shopping Center Construction in the U.S.



New Urbanist spaces focus particularly on fostering a sense of community, encouraging the formation of personal relationships and shared ideals (Tönnies 2001). In doing so, New Urbanist retail environments strive for two seemingly conflicting goals: producing well-managed, profitable consumption experiences and facilitating co-created, participatory social interactions. Blending consumption practices guided by the market logic of impersonal exchange and other practices guided by a more personal logic of community interaction creates the potential for conflict within the social order of a market space.

Research on the social impact of New Urbanist development has been limited, with studies primarily focused on design principles and economic development. Some studies have detailed processes by which New Urbanism, a development tool promoted by primarily middle-class Anglo Americans, belongs to “a suite of postmodern cultural forms that seek both economic colonization and a type of cultural inculturation” (González and Lejano 2009, 2959). This study makes a powerful case for the power of development strategies, in de Certeau’s terms, that overpower the tactical practices of working-class Hispanic residents. In terms of its impact of neighborhood demographics, New Urbanism appears to function as a

tool of gentrification (Markley 2018). However, prior research based on demographic change and economic development has not examined how micro-level practices shape the lived experience of New Urbanism in everyday life.

This research conducts a longitudinal ethnographic analysis of a New Urbanist retail servicescape, focusing on interactions between people and places that blend market- and community-oriented practices. The focal site, referred to hereafter as The Plaza, is a small retail center with twelve permanent tenants that opened less than four years before the start of participant observation. It is the centerpiece of a master-planned New Urbanist neighborhood, still under construction on vacant land in a gentrifying, predominantly Hispanic and working-class neighborhood. Subsequent sections of this chapter identify this neighborhood as Douglas Gardens, a pseudonym. Douglas Gardens comprises approximately one square mile and nearly 8,000 people within two miles of the city's downtown core. Based on the 2010 U.S. Census, sixty-three percent of Douglas Gardens' residents identify as Hispanic. A local magazine article published shortly after The Plaza opened praised its developers for "creating a community" through the neighborhood's dense, pedestrian-oriented streets and open spaces where neighbors can meet and interact. Planning documents show that The Plaza's developers initially hoped their projects could form a bridge between the historic Douglas Gardens neighborhood and the downtown core of the city.

The Plaza's tenants occupying indoor spaces in buildings that surround a central outdoor courtyard. The current and former tenants of The Plaza form an eclectic mix of high-end boutiques and restaurants blended with more affordable shops offering traditional Mexican desserts and baked goods. The Plaza has a regular seating capacity of approximately 240 people, including 150 seats in the outdoor courtyard; thirty in an indoor market hall,

shared by multiple vendors; and the remainder inside two of the seven food service businesses. The majority of The Plaza's outdoor and market hall seating is shared by multiple retailers and food service providers. A weekly farmers' market operated by a local food bank brings an additional layer of heterogeneity in both merchants and customers. This mix of retailers, service providers, shared spaces, and customers provides the ideal conditions for studying the ways that a configuration of heterogeneous practices evolves within a market space over time. Data collection and analysis focuses on The Plaza during the weekly farmers' market, in order to examine a defined space and time in which a localized culture or social order can form and evolve (Fine 1979; Fine and Fields 2008).

### *Ethnographic Analysis of a Market Space*

Ethnographic insights obtained through participant observation provide the primary source of data for this inquiry. Following the standard of a "multi-instrument" approach to ethnographic fieldwork (Wolcott 1999, 44), I gathered data across a range of sources and formats, including field notes, photographs, and archival data. Additional qualitative data, including in-depth interviews, photographs, and digital archives allow for triangulation across a range of view points to uncover strategies, tactics, and changes observed in social order and spatial arrangements over time.

Participant observation included forty-one months of data collection at The Plaza (see table 1). To gain a nuanced and well-rounded perspective of social interaction and market exchange at The Plaza, I conducted a range of activities during participant observation. This involved observing market events and interactions; participating in shopping and dining activities; volunteering as a cashier and produce vendor at the weekly farmers' market; and

conducting informal interviews with retailers, customers, managers, and farmers' market volunteers.

Table 1: Ethnographic Data

Data Source	Description
Participant Observation	Field notes from The Plaza (300+ pages documenting 200+ hours over four years) - 1844 coded interactions between: - Consumers (444) - Service providers (180) - Consumers and service providers (528) - Researcher and consumers (246) - Researcher and service providers (268) - 190 informal interviews with: - Consumers (102) - Service providers (76) Field notes from comparative sites (56 pages) - 11 Farmers' Markets - 4 Retail Food Courts - 2 Local Industry Conferences
Photographs	Made by researcher: - 638 photographs (The Plaza only) Obtained online: - 231 photographs (The Plaza only)
Neighborhood Participation	Four years living in Douglas Park - Frequenting neighborhood businesses - Participating in neighborhood meetings and events
Archival Data	- 37 newspaper articles - 10 official planning and zoning documents - 115 total pages

Taking on multiple roles provided access to various facets of The Plaza's social and spatial environment. For example, gathering ethnographic data when accompanied by a toddler daughter enabled observations and interactions with children and families who may have been less visible or accessible (Fernandez 1987; Levey 2009; Nichter and Nichter 1987), particularly as a lone adult male observer. Participating as a volunteer vendor created opportunities to see consumption practices from the vantage point of a service provider. Recruiting informal interview participants beside booths and tables operated by the food bank

afforded a better understanding of the perspectives of lower-income consumers who were often less proactive and passionate about sharing their experiences than many loyal middle-class customers of the farmers' market. Ethnographic field notes of observations, interactions, and informal interviews with consumers, service providers, and managers provide the most central source of data. These data best document "culture in action" (Swidler 1986, 273), as they privilege observations of actual behavior over verbal reports and reflections (Burawoy 1998).

Formal, audio-recorded interviews with twenty key informants supplement participation observation activities. These include twelve consumers and eight service providers (see table 2). These key informants represent ideal-typical consumers and service providers who regularly performed practices that emerged as important to The Plaza's social order during the collection and analysis of participant observation data. Interviews with two administrators provided insight into management strategies and reactions to consumer tactics within the servicescape over time. Administrators include the owner of The Plaza and the manager of the farmers' market, each interviewed twice during the course of ethnographic data collection. Conducting interviews with the same manager at different periods of time built an understand of how they perceived changes at The Plaza over time. Additionally, participating in neighborhood meetings and collecting ethnographic data at comparative sites—including other farmers' markets and retail centers—helped to contextualize observations at The Plaza within the broader cultural environment.

Table 2: Interview Informants

Pseudonym	Type of Informant	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	Education	Primary Consumer Practices Performed at The Plaza
Donald	Consumer	70-79	White	Retired Butcher	High School	People watching
Marilyn	Consumer	70-79	White	Retired Medical Staff	Some college	People watching
Kelly	Consumer	30-39	White	Stay-at-home mother	Some college	Produce shopping
Jolynn	Consumer	40-49	Hispanic	Marianne	Undergraduate Degree	Produce shopping
Marissa	Consumer	50-59	White	Retired Natural Therapist	Undergraduate Degree	Produce shopping
Dave	Consumer, Resident of The Plaza	60-69	White	Retired Professor	Graduate Degree	Dining, Drinking
Carla	Consumer	60-69	Hispanic	Teacher	Undergraduate Degree	Dining, Drinking
Victor	Consumer	60-69	Hispanic	Retired City Administrator	Undergraduate Degree	Dining, Drinking
Katie	Consumer	30-39	White	Non-profit Employee	Unknown	Dining, Drinking, Produce Shopping, Children Playing
Megan	Consumer	40-49	African American	Legal Consultant	Graduate Degree	Produce shopping
Alice	Consumer, Resident of The Plaza	70-79	White	Real Estate Agent	Graduate Degree	Dining, Drinking, Produce Shopping
Amy	Consumer, Volunteer	30-39	White	Teacher and School Counselor	Undergraduate Degree	Children Playing, Produce Shopping
Evelyn	Manager (Farmers' Market)	30-39	White	Non-profit employee	Graduate Degree	N/A
Natalia	Manager (The Plaza)	40-49	White	Retail Developer	Undergraduate Degree	N/A
Zac	Service Provider (Coffee shop)	20-29	White	Food Service Employee	Some college	N/A
Candice	Service Provider (Deli)	30-39	White	Food Service Employee	Unknown	N/A
Mandy	Service Provider (Deli)	20-29	Hispanic	Food Service Employee	Unknown	N/A
Tiersa	Service Provider (Farmers' Market Vendor)	20-29	White	Non-profit employee	Undergraduate Degree	N/A
Tess	Service Provider (Farmers' Market Vendor)	20-29	White	Entrepreneur	Unknown	N/A
Liz	Service Provider (Farmers' Market Vendor)	20-29	White	Entrepreneur	Unknown	N/A
Mary	Service Provider (Restaurant Owner)	40-49	White	Restaurant Owner	High School	N/A
Janet	Service Provider (Retailer)	60-69	White	Retail shop owner	Undergraduate Degree	N/A

During participant observation activities, written and audio-recorded jottings served as memory cues and a record of interactions, with verbatim conversations documented whenever

possible. Typed field notes, created promptly following participant observation, expanded on these jottings. Field notes eventually included more than 300 single-spaced pages (150,000 words) of text. These typed field notes document over 2,800 observed interactions and 370 informal interviews that ranged from two to ninety minutes. In addition to participant observation activities documented in written field notes, numerous informal visits to The Plaza as a consumer and a resident of Douglas Gardens, built social relationships and provided additional context that aided the analysis of ethnographic data. Following standard ethnographic procedure (Burawoy 1998; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011), analysis of field notes occurred continuously and iteratively. This process began with open coding, labeling field notes excerpts using nVivo qualitative data analysis software and noting patterns that emerge. These patterns informed subsequent field work, searching for both negative and confirming cases and striving to more clearly define and understand patterns in the data. Regular discussions with an advisor familiar with ethnographic research methods and sociocultural theory added insight from an outside perspective that informed ongoing data collection and analysis activities.

The ethnographic data collection process also included making more than 350 photographs that documented practices across space and time. An additional 300 photographs published on public social media accounts owned by The Plaza and its permanent tenants, as well as online consumer review sites, supplemented researcher-created photos. Collection of these secondary visual data prioritized images that documented The Plaza during the years prior to personal participation. This extended the temporal reach of the visual analysis to include the entire seven-year operation of The Plaza. The purpose of these photographs is to provide a second lens through which to document and analyze the spatial relationships

between the heterogeneous consumption practices observed at The Plaza. Visual analysis began by ordering photographs temporally and spatially to provide a high-level analytical perspective, from which patterns can be discovered and assessed with a more fine-grained coding and analytical process (Collier Jr and Collier 1986). Following the initial sorting process, photographs were coded and analyzed to find patterns in practice performances. This revealed changes in the strategic configuration of the servicescape and its tactical usage over a multi-year period.

## **Results**

Analysis of the full set of ethnographic data identifies four processes that contribute to the formation and reproduction of social order in a market space. First, spatial management strategies and creative consumer tactics compete for time and space in The Plaza. On one hand, top-down design strategies shape potential trajectories of consumer behavior. On the other, tolerance and encouragement of subversive consumer tactics fosters a participatory environment that legitimizes market control over the space and masks underlying social inequalities. Second, the social order between strategies and tactics is maintained through a passive management strategy labelled “the dance of the market,” which balances temporary market disruptions with profitability. Third, when consumer tactics gain sufficient visibility and legitimacy, a process of market inversion turns over control of the social order from market to community logics. This allows temporary consumer tactics to prompt more lasting changes in The Plaza’s social order. Fourth, through a process of market domination, managers and service providers strategically redesign community spaces to discourage consumer tactics and establish the dominance and precedence of market exchange practices.

However, in The Plaza, consumers continue to perform tactics that subvert the new order imposed by market domination.

The first results section describes the interplay between spatial managerial strategies and creative consumer tactics. The second section outlines the steps and outcomes of the dance of the market. The third and fourth sections explain how social order can shift through processes of market inversion and market domination, respectively. In all data presented, names and identities of informants and locations have been anonymized. Brief demographic information about informants is provided in parentheses.

### *The Space Between Strategies and Tactics*

*Spatial management strategies.* Retail and property managers employ multiple strategies to arrange the physical space of The Plaza in order to encourage desirable actions from consumers. Strategies include the presence or absence of lighting, bicycle racks, flooring materials, doors, music, protective structures such as roofs or umbrellas, and many other design features. Strategies delimit and distinguish ownership over spaces from which “the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships... becomes possible” (de Certeau 1984, 35). The strategic design of space is a form of behavioral control that stabilizes a social order around predictable patterns of action. This is accomplished by limiting The Plaza’s available objects and spaces to material resources that align with desirable consumption practices. At the Plaza, strategies establish an environment that facilitate a specific a range of activities while setting boundaries that limit other uses. A first-person, ethnographic description of a typical consumer path into The Plaza’s interior courtyard during the weekly farmers’ market illustrates a sample of these spatial strategies. Figure 2 illustrates the strategies described.

After parking my car along a nearby street, I walk northward to The Plaza and its Spanish colonial-style buildings. On the way, I cross a street onto the block where The Plaza sits, joined by half a dozen other people arriving from vehicles parked on the street or in the gravel lot across the road. We pass through an aisle formed by produce vendor tables and tents, which are set up on either side of a sidewalk that runs along one of The Plaza's outer walls. Lines of eight to ten people have formed in front of several of these vendors, and it takes conscious effort not to walk into other customers as I navigate the relatively narrow passage. Half way along the sidewalk, I see a large opening in The Plaza's white stucco wall, an entrance framed by a twelve-foot-high, hand-made wrought iron gate under a terracotta tile roof. The gate is open to provide an eight-foot-wide passage through a breezeway leading to an interior courtyard. Once I step into the breezeway, Latin music from loudspeakers mounted on the ceiling's exposed wood beams directs my attention to a queue of people waiting to order Mexican food from a restaurant window. As I continue walking, I see tables and chairs of various colors and sizes spread throughout the courtyard, where dozens of people sit and stand—eating, drinking, talking, or just watching and waiting. Now I hear a banjo player singing into a microphone on the other side of the outdoor courtyard and a dog barking from the opposite direction. While I take in the scene, a four-year-old boy almost runs into me as he chases his older sister.

Strategies at The Plaza involve a combination of affordances, or the capacity of the physical environment to facilitate or “afford” a range of possible actions (Gibson 2014). Strategies also construct and maintain boundaries, which denote regions or territories of control (Sack 1986). This ethnographic description illustrates strategies that shape both

affordances and boundaries by manipulating accessibility, mobility, aesthetics, and ambience within The Plaza. Although a public transit station exists across the street, most consumers drive personal vehicles to The Plaza. An abundance of on- and off-street parking one to two blocks away affords this practice for active and mobile consumers, while limited availability of the farmers' market's only handicap-accessible parking spot proves a barrier for others. Other strategies, such as parking lot construction and street infrastructure, influence consumer accessibility by primarily facilitating automobile transportation in the urban and suburban areas surrounding The Plaza.

Figure 2: Sample of Spatial Management Strategies at The Plaza



Spanish Colonial Revival architecture conveys cultural distinctiveness



Decorative gate forms a physical and symbolic portal into a separate world



Crowded sidewalk limits mobility



Open space and live music encourage social interactivity

Strategies also influence mobility within The Plaza. The sidewalk aisle formed by two rows of vendors creates a limited range of walking and queuing trajectories. This facilitates efficient purchases of produce while hindering slower, more meandering locomotion during busy times. I observed and talked to consumers with strollers or wheelchairs who struggled to pass through this congested area. Kelly (40s, white, consumer interview) says, “I do feel ‘in the way’ a lot with my stroller and stuff because there's just not a whole lot of space [...] but I'm not about to carry [my infant son] around for the forty-five minutes that we're there.” By affording certain forms of action, strategies engender a sense of being “in the way” or out of place for consumers enacting alternative practices. An aisle of sidewalk vendors unambiguously communicates the market exchange functions of that space. Retailers and other service providers routinely use similar strategies as they “identify desirable customer and/or employee behaviors and the strategic goals that the organization hopes to advance through its physical facility” (Bitner 1992, 62).

The description above also illustrates the types of boundaries laid out by strategies at The Plaza. Doorways and gates shape access and mobility by strategically allowing entry, while at the same time marking physical and symbolic boundaries. The main entrances into The Plaza remain open whenever employees are present, typically from around six o'clock in the morning until midnight. But even through open doors, aesthetic and ambient cues maintain a sociocultural boundary between the servicescape and the outside world. Spanish Colonial Revival architecture and Latin music blend with contemporary furniture and light fixtures to signal an environment designed for culturally-informed middle-class consumers who derive “aesthetic pleasure” from a complex “cultural ambience” (Arsel and Thompson 2011, 803). Points of entry into highly experiential servicescapes act as strategic “portals leading away

from everyday experiences into created worlds of consumer fantasy” (Kozinets et al. 2004, 662).

Strategies can combine both physical and symbolic elements to construct boundaries. Mary (40s, white, manager interview) co-owns a high-end restaurant located in one corner of The Plaza’s courtyard. Unlike other restaurants at The Plaza, which share sets of tables in the courtyard and market hall without clear boundaries demarcating ownership, Mary’s restaurant maintains a twenty-foot open space between its restaurant patio and the rest of the courtyard. She reinforces this boundary by placing reservation signs and place settings on tables, claiming them as her property. She explains:

Customers see [the courtyard] as a whole, so they’ll tend to move tables where they like. So, chaos can kind of reign [...] We have reservations on those tables so we can't have someone pick it up and walk away with it because someone else thinks they're gonna sit on it later. We pre-set the tables to make it uncomfortable for people to think that they should sit there.

In this way, Mary’s strategies facilitate the actions of users she considers legitimate, while acting as a physical and social barrier to illegitimate use by others. Through her place setting strategy, Mary is staking a claim, as a producer of space, that the tables reside within a territory of market exchange. Her strategies represent a triumph—or an attempt at achieving one—of market logic, prioritizing profitable consumption practices. Managers and service providers at The Plaza strategically design spaces to encourage or discourage specific kinds of consumption activities. A curated antique shop adjacent to The Plaza’s inner courtyard encourages a quiet browsing pace for consumers who enter, set aside from the busy walkways of the courtyard, through crowded narrow paths between tables of fragile artifacts. Ambient

acoustic music at a coffee bar in the market hall encourages customers to sit and stay, sometimes for hours, while drinking beverages and working or socializing.

Design strategies shape not only the physical actions of consumers, but also the social and symbolic meaning of the space itself. This strategy is similar to the way luxury retailers stage large-scale branded works of art to convey their “aesthetic ideology” (Dion and Arnould 2011, 513). Strategies appeal to embodied competences, which enable consumers to understand intuitively how to use the servicescape’s material resources to perform meaningful practices. These competences shape which practices consumers will perform in a given social or spatial circumstance, as well as how consumers perform them (Shove et al. 2012).

Victor (60s, Hispanic, interview) grew up in Douglas Gardens, less than half a mile from The Plaza’s current location. He and his wife, Carla, worked in and retired from middle-class jobs in elementary education and local government, and they enjoy spending time and money at The Plaza about once a month. But, Victor says, many Hispanic families in the neighborhood “have their favorite places to go to. They don’t find [The Plaza] very exciting: ‘Oh that’s for the rich people, people from the East Side, white people.’” Victor and Carla cannot find the precise words to describe the feeling or atmosphere that makes some of their friends uninterested in The Plaza. Yet a cultural barrier exists. At The Plaza, frequent observations note that regular customers of the Mexican bakery often enter and exit quickly through the shop’s back door, avoiding a full entrance into the servicescape presented in the courtyard and other retailers. An interaction recorded in field notes with Mike (Hispanic, 50s) and Rosy (Hispanic, 80s), who sell homegrown plants at the farmers’ market, illustrates a sample of these symbolic, cultural boundaries.

I brought up the topic of The Plaza's courtyard design. Mike asked Rosy, winking at me, "Rosy, do you shop at the market?" She answered, emphatically, "No! I shop at Costco. And Walmart." She told me that she enjoys shopping at El Tendero, a Latino supermarket. "It's all from Mexico. But I'm from Mexico! I grew up there! What do you call that... expensive type of vegetables?" "Organic," Tony said. "Yes. I grew up on organic [...] Then they started using DDT and killed all the bees. And the people!" Mike says that he only occasionally goes into The Plaza's courtyard, but "Rosy never goes in there, though. She just sits out with the plants." But Mike had not been inside the courtyard frequently enough to remember what it looked like before the recent design.

The Plaza and its weekly farmers' market represent an expensive, unattractive form of consumer culture that is foreign to Rosa's cultural heritage. Even without erecting an impermeable physical barrier, symbolic boundaries demarcate The Plaza as a market space for Anglo-Americans with middle-class competences. This is a sufficient demarcation that many working-class Hispanic consumers are not drawn into the servicescape.

Symbolic and physical boundaries are not always clear-cut at The Plaza, however. In much of the courtyard, the servicescape exudes a more chaotic and ambiguous mix of boundaries and affordances. Live music during farmers' markets encourages interactive activities such as dancing or singing. Fifteen distinct styles of tables and eight styles of chairs are used within the Plaza's shared consumption areas, where open spaces and unclear differentiation between seating areas and farmers' market spaces contribute to many new customers wandering around for several minutes, as if lost, after entering The Plaza during the weekly farmers' market.

Some consumers welcome this ambiguity. Minnie (60s, white, field notes), a retiree living in the Southwest during the winter months, says that The Plaza is the perfect farmers' market venue because "the inner courtyard just slows down people's paces. People just wander around." Arlene (60s, Hispanic, field notes), a semi-retired caregiver, attends the farmers' market regularly to socialize with two close friends. She says, "The pace is relaxed and friendly [...] it's the way people used to do things." Arlene volunteers with organizations that organize community celebrations of Mexican-American and Native American culture. She reminisces about the neighborhood "fiestas" that she enjoyed as a child and says that The Plaza on farmers' market day reminds her of that atmosphere. For Arlene and Minnie, The Plaza's courtyard creates an opportunity to drift into a decelerated pace of life. However, this opportunity for deceleration arises amid a chaotic mix of creative consumption activities with the potential to "[interrupt] the reverie of deceleration" (Husemann and Eckhardt 2019). Practice heterogeneity also threatens the efficiency of market exchange and introduces practices guided by logics other than those of the market.

*Creative consumer tactics.* Despite spatial management strategies, consumers often make opportunistic, tactical use of The Plaza's spaces. The unclear boundaries and multiple affordances of many of its design features, such as common spaces and shared tables, contribute to widespread creative use. Consumers move tables and chairs into locations that provide more shade or configurations that accommodate larger groups, families bring toys for children to play with in the courtyard, and adults use tables as office desks or reading nooks. The following field notes excerpt demonstrates this frequent occurrence particularly well:

Molly and her two-year-old son, Josh, were in the courtyard again today with Josh riding his balance bike [...] Another table in the inner courtyard was occupied by a

Hispanic family with three children between 5-10 years old. The top of the table was covered in Lego bricks and three plastic tubs full of Legos. A few pieces had slipped off the table or between the table's cracks and onto the floor.

These two families use the material resources available in a market space to enact practices that do not follow market logics. Play is more closely aligned with a community logic. It represents a break from the rational, functionalist focus of the market and provides consumers with a perception of momentarily escaping its power (Kozinets 2002; Kozinets et al. 2004; Seregina and Weijo 2017). Tactics like these demonstrate a seemingly limitless supply of creativity at The Plaza (see figure 3): children swinging around tree trunks, people leaving dogs tied to handrails or chairs, farmers' market vendors tapping into a restaurant's power supply, homeless persons soliciting bus fare donations, and adults and children riding their bicycles inside the crowded courtyard. Like the eclectic mix of shops in the festival mall studied by Maclaran and Brown (2005, 316), The Plaza "conveys a social ambivalence that evade[s] categorization."

The Plaza's ambiguity, particularly on farmers' market day, enables a broad range of opportunistic and unpredictable usage. It becomes a "playspace" (Maclaran and Brown 2005, 315) that embraces the contradictions between market exchange and social interactivity, conveying warm and authentic ambience. Mary's table setting strategies, described in the previous subsection, speak to fine dining competences embodied by some consumers. However, observations in The Plaza show that these affordances and boundaries are frequently misinterpreted by other consumers who read books or work at these tables or who bring food from other restaurants to eat at them. Mary says she has seen consumers at her tables "eating a taco from another restaurant and drinking a 7-Eleven Big Gulp (purchased

off-site), which just doesn't feel appropriate.” The heterogeneity of consumer competences, shaped across a diverse range lifestyles and practices, holds both the capacity to promote conformity and the potential for creativity within market spaces laid out by strategic design.

Figure 3: Sample of Consumer Tactics at The Plaza



Children using tree as playground equipment (note the hand-polished bark)



Adult using restaurant table as work desk



Families using courtyard as picnic area and playroom



Consumers using courtyard as a park

Children, whose malleable competences are still developing, exhibit the widest range of tactical behaviors at The Plaza. Adults, whose embodied consumer competences tend to be more fixed or regulated, make notably fewer creative uses of space themselves. However, adults permit a range of creativity among the children at The Plaza. Some parents eating at

restaurants and forbid their children from getting out of the dining chairs and running out with other children who are playing tag or ring-around-the-rosy. Other parents eat and drink together casually, seemingly oblivious to their children who are chasing each other around The Plaza's courtyard, asking other diners and shoppers questions, and showing off their belly buttons. Through these allowances, adults consciously and unconsciously socialize their children to develop and perform certain consumer competences within the market space.

*Consumption tactics as a path to legitimation.* Given their potential for disrupting market-oriented practices, why do tactics persist within a space that is controlled—economically and socially—by norms of market exchange? In The Plaza, regular performance of subversive tactics legitimizes the deployment of market logic to order a space that hosts heterogeneous consumption practices. Despite its sometimes-chaotic outcomes, much of the ambiguity within The Plaza's design is strategic. In planning documents, The Plaza's developers state that they envision a mixed-use urban neighborhood with “programmatically diverse” in aesthetic design and “town center” activities that include playing, living, working, and shopping. Developers also claim that the goal of this mix of uses is to physically and culturally link the predominantly Hispanic, working class neighborhood surrounding The Plaza with the rapidly redeveloping downtown core of the city. The owner of The Plaza, Natalia (40s, white, interview) says that upon entering The Plaza, “You're in an architectural area that is relevant to the [local] area and you recognize the culture and diversity.” In addition to paid consumption activities, like shopping or restaurant dining, she permits and often encourages unpaid social and community activities like picnicking or free concerts.

Most community activities—including regular farmers’ markets and craft fairs—do not generate direct economic benefits for The Plaza or its permanent tenants. But, Natalia explains, “they generate a lifestyle for people living in the neighborhood. They come here instead of going to the park.” Natalia aims to provide a marketable experience for not only The Plaza’s customers, but also residents of The Plaza District’s upscale rowhouses and future apartment buildings. However, this New Urbanist community’s target market of middle-class, socially progressive consumers want to experience this lifestyle without perceiving themselves as contributing to gentrification. Many Plaza District residents strive to feel integrated into the wider community of Douglas Gardens. Describing The Plaza District where he lives with his wife, Dave (70s, white, interview) says:

We’re all liberal. The politics here are pretty uniform. There’s a lot of university people, a lot of teachers, our neighbor has a bio-tech guy who was born in Douglas Gardens [...] The people in the low-income sections, they're wonderful. They come over occasionally. One of our dogs got away and they caught it. And so my wife, she’s all embarrassed because [the dog] had pulled out of her collar or something. The guy said, “Well, here. Take this leash. I don't need it anymore.” I don't know if you’ve found out about [Douglas Gardens], in general. It's very friendly.

Mike values social interactions with lower-income neighbors in Douglas Gardens, and he later describes similar experiences with local customers and service providers in neighborhood retail stores outside of The Plaza. Social interaction and intra-community participation serve to legitimize the social class privileges in heterogeneous communities (Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012). This is important for the economic and cultural success of The Plaza District, where home sale prices are more than double the zip code’s median. Many

of The Plaza District’s residents symbolically integrate themselves into the broader neighborhood through participation. Pattie-Mae (60s, white, field notes) walks from her nearby rowhouse to buy produce and drop off food scraps at a compost service provider at The Plaza each week during the farmers’ market. When I introduced myself as living in Douglas Gardens, she responded quickly, “Oh, we’re Douglas Gardens too.” At neighborhood association meetings, residents from The Plaza District frequently outnumber other Douglas Gardens residents. Over several years of participation, the relatively higher-class residents shifted from introducing themselves as residents of The Plaza District to residents of Douglas Gardens, illustrating an attempt to overcome a sense of their outsider position within the community (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Representative Homes in Douglas Gardens



Permitting and encouraging temporarily subversive consumer tactics also sets up a community-building festival experience at The Plaza. Societies have long sanctioned festivals as “a safety valve” (Bradford and Sherry 2015, 132) that releases tensions that threaten social order by encouraging participation in playful, creative activities that implicitly or explicitly celebrate prevailing values or institutions (Falassi 1987). Festivals permit such creative consumption acts temporarily, as a bounded period of play that serves to reinforce the permanence of a dominant social and economic order (Bradford and Sherry 2015; Kozinets 2002; Peñaloza 2001; Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012). The desire for a utopian escape from the market helps to explain the persistent popularity of festival malls (Maclaran and Brown 2005) and the revival of town-square-style spaces in contemporary retail developments.

The Plaza requires this festival environment to stabilize its tenuous cultural and geographic position. The market space rests between a middle-class, Anglo-American culture and a working class, Hispanic culture that historically predominated the surrounding neighborhood. Downtown revitalization projects that displaced long-time Hispanic residents over the preceding decades remain fresh in many Douglas Gardens residents’ memory. Events like the farmers’ market and its accompanying consumer tactics, which temporarily subvert norms of market exchange, facilitate a performance of diversity and community that can distract from or diffuse potential conflicts.

The mix of restaurants and retail shops within the Plaza is a strategy with similar motivations. Small-scale bakeries run by Mexican-American entrepreneurs sell inexpensive treats and desserts across the courtyard from a handmade clothing boutique and a high-end American fusion restaurant. Vivian (Hispanic, 30s, field notes) resents developers who capitalize on increasing property values to “flip” older homes in the neighborhood

surrounding The Plaza, where she and her family have lived for three generations. Rising home values and property taxes threaten to displace her, along with many of her friends and family. She recognizes the role that The Plaza's New Urbanist community plays in gentrification, but Vivian says she enjoys the retail space itself. Speaking about The Plaza, she says, "I like it. I love that our *panadería* [bakery] is there, and we go to the farmers' market." Vivian worries that some of the developments built after The Plaza don't fit into the neighborhood as well, but she feels included as a consumer of The Plaza. Attempts to forge a festival-like link between the diverse cultures represented in the surrounding neighborhood appear to work, at least in part. Based on participant observation data, Hispanic consumers comprise between fifteen and thirty percent of The Plaza's consumers on farmers' market days, an increase from the ethnic mix observed during The Plaza's normal operating hours. Service providers at The Plaza make similar observations, which they shared during informal interviews.

A market logic reduces social class distinctions to less personal economic relations. This shift in focus allows positive social interactions to forge temporary bonds between community members from different socioeconomic positions. Following a market logic, the tolerated persistence of subversive consumption tactics within The Plaza maintains a feeling of community that stands apart from mere economic exchange. This process serves to mask deeper socio-cultural inequalities by focusing attention on a market festival of consumer diversity and practice heterogeneity. However, maintaining a vibrant, participatory festival atmosphere requires a form of day-to-day negotiation and organization of strategies and tactics that differs from conventional retail management strategies. The following section introduces this process.

*The Dance of The Market*

We drive to The Plaza, and that's when the dance begins. The dance of the market. It's different every week, and there is very little that you can count on being the same [...] Usually I have to move the tables around every week in the space. That's part of the Tetris of setup. A lot of times, I try to get the tables moved prior to vendors getting there if they're in [the restaurants'] spaces [...] We just need to be in the space to talk about it and talk about what's going to happen [...] There are no set-in-stone rules for the space, which is awesome and sucks [...] I swear, one time, I got to market, moved the table, went and did something, and I came back and someone had moved it back there.

(Evelyn, 30s, farmers' market manager interview)

Evelyn manages the weekly farmers' market through what she calls "the dance of the market," which typifies a management style that permits tactical use while maintaining the priority of market exchange. She spends the majority of her time at The Plaza resolving conflicts between the strategies that aid permanent tenants and the tactics creatively enacted by consumers and temporary farmers' market vendors. The dance of the market involves three steps, which Evelyn's actions exemplify.

First, Evelyn tolerates consumer and vendor tactics, such as moving tables back and forth, even when they temporarily hinder farmers' market set-up or retail and restaurant activities. The ambiguity of The Plaza's boundaries and affordances creates an "awesome" social atmosphere, which sets it apart other retail centers in the city. Evelyn later describes The Plaza as "a retail space where you don't have to have a financial transaction and [can] still feel welcome and still access services." Feeling welcome involves a sense of belonging,

which the capacity to personalize The Plaza's servicescape provides. Bolting tables and chairs to the floor, for example, would reduce the potential for the individual creativity that can engender a sense of participation and build a community within The Plaza. To allow this, the guiding logic of the market must loosen its grip sufficiently to permit community logics to gain access to the space through consumers' creative tactics.

Second, the dance of the market involves rearranging the physical place following tactical disruption. Evelyn tolerates tactical changes in furniture layouts, but she also works to re-establish a social order that facilitates market exchange once consumers have abandoned their tactical activities. Tactical uses of space like these are typically temporary in nature. Rearranged furniture, spilled Legos, or bicycle-riding children eventually cease, and performances of other practices take their place. This allows the employees and volunteers responsible for cleaning and maintaining The Plaza to re-order the servicescape. Back-and-forth negotiations between strategies and tactics require material and spatial rearrangements that reset affordances and boundaries, previously improvised upon by consumer tactics, to align once again with the social order required or the continuity of market exchange. Tactics remain temporary subversions.

Third, Evelyn mediates conflicts between tactics and strategies through personal social interaction, rather than legal or economic force. She says that the ambiguity at The Plaza also "sucks," in that each potential conflict requires her to "be in the space to talk about it," rather than appealing to economic contracts or other impersonal market relationships. Evelyn expends great effort, for example, to personally locate the owners of vehicles parked illegally in farmers' market stalls, rather than exert her legal right to call parking enforcement officers. She called only twice in two years managing the farmers' market and, she adds, "only once

has it actually resulted in a ticket because one of the other times, [the car owners] were able to move it.” Favoring social negotiation over legal or economic relationships maintains the authentic and friendly atmosphere that DeBenedetti et al. (2014, 912) find generates “a set of unique, irreplaceable, and genuine experiences [that] leads participants to go beyond marketplace characteristics of the setting.” In this section, I conceptualize the dance of the market as a process whereby a market space maintains a balance between legitimacy-granting social interactivity and profit-making market exchange.

Managers and employees working at The Plaza’s permanent shops and restaurants similarly enter into the dance of the market by (1) temporarily tolerating consumers’ transgressive tactics, (2) rearranging tactically-repurposed spaces back into an order that facilitates market exchange, and (3) negotiating practice-based conflicts between market and community logics through interpersonal communication. Rick (40s, Hispanic, field notes), owner of the Mexican restaurant says, “We have people who will come and sit down with their laptop on one of these tables, and they’ll just sit there for three hours [...] The servers just let them be and do what they need to do.” Like service providers in coffee shops that attempt to create a welcoming, social atmosphere by permitting non-commercial uses of space (Griffiths and Gilly 2012), Rick and his employees do not have an explicit policy excluding non-market-oriented forms of activity. Tolerating tactics avoids confrontations and builds up an image of a welcoming, social space.

Managers and service providers also deal with obstructions to regular market exchange spatially, through the rearrangement of the space to adjust or maintain boundaries or affordances. The Mexican restaurant, for example, installed queue line barriers to guide line formation after growing numbers of customers frequently blocked the main entrance into The

Plaza's courtyard. This relatively soft strategy permits continued market exchange without dramatically reducing affordances for tactical uses of the space. When consumers move outdoor tables and chairs into shaded regions of the courtyard, employees move them back into place strategically at the end of the day. When children use farmers' market leaflets to make paper airplanes, which they toss across the courtyard, servers from the Mexican restaurant sweep up any remaining debris after the families leave. Reinstating a market-oriented social and spatial order after tolerating these tactics permits social interactivity and consumer participation without permanently ceding market space.

When social negotiation is required to resolve conflicts between market and other practices, service providers, managers, and customers still tend to show patience toward consumer tactics. Cloe (20s, white, field notes), a barista working at a café and bar located inside The Plaza's communal market hall, says, "We do what we call 'training the customer.'" This involves "being consistent" about where customers should queue, where customers pick up beverage orders, and where baristas tell customers to leave dirty glasses and dishes. Like Evelyn, Chloe utilizes subtle social and spatial strategies to maintain her ability to sell goods and services. However, they also work to tolerate and even facilitate the continuation of the tactics that The Plaza's strategic ambiguity affords.

Many consumers respond favorably to the social interactivity that the dance of the market necessitates in their own actions. A field notes excerpt exemplifies the dance that consumers of The Plaza often have to engage in with each other:

Tanya and Caleb (30s, white) and their two-year-old daughter sat at a four-person table in the inner courtyard at 5:15pm. They had food and multiple bags spread over the table, and they were each drinking a bottle of Kombucha. They brought these items

from home, although they also ate some food out of a foil wrapper from a farmers' market vendor [...] The market was busy, and I asked Tanya if it was hard for them to find a table today. "There was a gentleman sitting here, and we asked if we could sit down. There weren't any other tables," Tanya said. But she quickly added, "When there aren't very many tables you have to sit by other people. It's more like socialism as opposed to individualism."

Tanya relishes the social interactivity required to navigate the busy courtyard filled with people enacting heterogeneous consumption activities. Born in the former Soviet Union, Tanya's choice of words ("socialism") may point to a sense of nostalgic idealism (Brunk, Giesler, and Hartmann 2018) that is different than the sentiments shared by American consumers at The Plaza. However, her attempt to describe a feeling of sociality or collectivism that differs from the efficiently-managed, McDonaldized servicescapes common in the contemporary United States (Ritzer 1996, 2008) is shared by many consumers at The Plaza. The informal, passive management style of dance of the market enables this interactivity. Consumers often step up to remedy disorder themselves and enable their own practices. Gladys, (white, 60s, field notes) regularly asks The Plaza's coffee shop for a wet rag to clean other consumers' spilled coffee or ice cream from her own table in order to prepare it for her own use—typically sitting and talking with friends for three or more hours during the busy farmers' market. Consumers likewise negotiate the use of tables through informal agreements and discussion. Large groups of consumers regularly ask occupants of tables with extra seating for permission to move "their" chairs to another location, for example. Consumers also offer tables to other people in the courtyard. In one instance, a woman (Hispanic, 50s) and a wheelchair bound man (white, 50s) called after a young mother (white,

30s) who was pushing a stroller. They offer their table to her, with the woman running across the courtyard after the young mother when she initially did not hear their offer.

Informal, socially-negotiated agreements guide interactions between service providers in The Plaza. Multiple restaurants share the responsibility for cleaning the communal seating areas in the courtyard and indoor market hall. Customers frequently order food or drinks from one business and consume them near another, including many people who wait for the Mexican restaurant to serve and clear their food and dishes at a bar operated by the coffee shop. During the first three years of fieldwork, no formal agreements existed to mandate particular service providers' maintenance and cleaning duties. Amelia (20s, Hispanic, field notes), a server at the Mexican restaurant told me, "The coffee shop's pretty good about bringing our dishes to us. We get some of their coffee mugs as well. Everyone just kinda tries to do their part." After I related my observation that their restaurant often acts as the primary caretaker of the courtyard's common areas, Breanne (30s, Hispanic, field notes), another server at the Mexican restaurant, said, "We have the lion's share of the mess, so we do the lion's share of the clean-up." Sharing cleaning and maintenance responsibilities in an informal manner, without a contract to stipulate specific activities, maintained a perception of social interactivity even between service providers, who try "to do their part."

The fragile social order maintained by the dance of the market continually faces the threat of disruption when these three approaches—tolerating tactics, rearranging spaces, and negotiating conflicts—fail to mitigate conflicts between strategies and tactics. For example, The Plaza installed mailboxes directly behind the area where a vendor, Whitney (30s, white, field notes), had set up her produce tables at the farmers' market for years. Soon, residents of the adjacent New Urbanist community complained to the property owner that Whitney's

tables blocked access to their mail. While helping Whitney set up, I observed Natalia, The Plaza's owner, ask her to "scoot the whole operation down." Natalia's request would require that Whitney move her tables into the uncovered courtyard, where direct sunlight would compromise the fresh fruits and vegetables. Rather than surrender to the market authority of the owner, however, Whitney brought Natalia into the dance of the market by initiating social negotiations. After a few minutes of discussion, recorded in field notes, the two began to compromise:

Seeing Whitney's lack of enthusiasm for the idea, Natalia added that they didn't have to do it now, but she asked if they could move the tables next week. Whitney noted that, after everything had already been set up over the past two hours, "It might be hard today." After Natalia left, Whitney told me, "I was like, 'I'll talk to people. I'm nice.' I don't know why she didn't like my idea..." [Next week] Whitney rearranged the coolers and cashier table in order to keep the area directly in front of the mailboxes clear but avoid moving the produce table into the courtyard and out of the shade. "This is my solution," Whitney told me, smiling. She said that she thought it worked pretty well and avoided moving the produce table.

Utilizing the dance of the market allows Whitney to gain temporary advantage over the space, but it also allows Natalia to avoid upsetting the socially-negotiated balance that The Plaza maintains. Toleration, spatial rearrangements, and informal social agreements help to provide the perception of a servicescape that is not wholly controlled by impersonal economic relationships. Whitney's temporary solution remained in place indefinitely, though each week involves continued toleration, rearranging, and negotiation with residents who continue to access their mail. The dance of the market provides a dynamic process whereby a

servicescapes can resist the pull to become fully marketized—a situation where “interaction is not directly regulated by patterns of cultural value” (Fraser 2005, 452), but by impersonal economic relations. Instead, by regulating its activities at least partially through norms of social interaction, The Plaza maintains a sense of sociocultural authenticity, which is a consumer perception that a market space is organized by alternative logics aside from those of the capitalist market (Debenedetti et al. 2014; Maclaran and Brown 2005). This authenticity enables the continuity of The Plaza’s legitimacy, which is required to socially sanction its market-oriented order within the broader community—including Douglas Gardens. The dance of the market is necessary because legal ownership and economic force alone are not sufficient to claim social ownership, which is a “recognized right” (Rudmin 2016a, 203) to use economic or material resources. Maintaining social ownership rights is particularly important for The Plaza, given its owners’ plans for future New Urbanist development in the area.

No neutral strategy exists in the production of The Plaza’s space. Some actors always gain an advantage, often at the expense of others. Even affording complete control to consumer tactics can favor some consumers whose actions may come to dominate those of others. Without a perpetual dance of the market, the dynamic social order maintained in a market space continually shifts over time, either toward marketization or toward its opposite: market inversion.

### *Market Inversion*

The social order of a market space is governed by norms aligned with market logics, such as efficiency, profitability, and impersonal commodity exchange. Alternative logics,

such as those of community or family, always coexist within marketized spaces (Fraser 2005), but practices oriented around economic exchange receive primacy within the social order of these spaces. In The Plaza, practices organized by community logics compete for time and space with market practices. During the dance of the market, tactics subvert market logic only temporarily before market order is restored. However, over time, creative consumer tactics can gain sufficient power to invert the social order of a market space, turning market logic on its head through the reproduction of a system of practices organized by community logics. To introduce this process, labelled “market inversion,” this section follows a narrative that documents the process as it unfolds at The Plaza.

At the beginning of participant observation, The Plaza’s courtyard contained a large grassy area as its central feature (see figure 5). Amy (30s, white, consumer interview), a farmers’ market volunteer who began attending the farmers’ market weekly as a customer with friends who have young children, explains:

It was a different dynamic when it was grass. A lot more families came with their kids, young kids, and the kids would just play and dance to the music [...] We all sat on the stairs and watched all the little kids dancing and playing. This is when it wasn’t as big and busy as it is [now]. They could never keep the grass alive because people would walk on it.

Individual tactics, including dancing to live music and playing in the grass, made no lasting impact on the physical servicescape or its social order. Each playful act “takes advantage of ‘opportunities’ and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings” (de Certeau 1984, 37). However, the collective impact of playful, tactical activity in The Plaza’s courtyard reshaped the physical environment by trampling and

killing the grass. Tactical use foiled multiple attempts by property management to replant and maintain the lawn. Over time, the parents, children, dogs, and dog-owners who attended The Plaza created a new physical space in the courtyard. Despite having several upscale boutiques, a high-end restaurant, and a wine and cheese bar, The Plaza became a purchase-optional public playground—complete with a well-trampled lawn.

In reaction, The Plaza's property managers spread straw and straw bales over the courtyard's bare lawn prior to a holiday event. Initially meant as a temporary fix before paving the entirely courtyard over, the straw remained in place for four months. Children used the straw bales as playground equipment and dog owners let their canine companions play on the straw-covered ground. Many children and parents remember the straw as their favorite playground feature at The Plaza, and the new space drew new crowds. As more and more people used the courtyard as a playground, this created an energy that became a draw for other patrons, who watched and experienced the social, interactive environment. Hesitant about destroying the playground by paving over the courtyard area that had become such a popular draw for families, the property managers decided to replace it with pea gravel instead of paving stones. Natalia, one of The Plaza's owners, says that "the gravel was just to be temporary. I think we had a wedding or something. We just couldn't have it look like shit." The gravel remained for another year, with children and parents further turning it into their own space on farmers' market day. Supplementing the material resources available at The Plaza, families brought toy shovels and dump trucks. Some used empty plastic cups from drinks and desserts to build gravel sandcastles. Other children and dogs lay down and rolled around in the rocks.

Mariana (40s, Hispanic, field notes), who lives in the surrounding neighborhood with her husband and three-year-old daughter, says that the park-like courtyard setting “created a spirit” that exuded “human essence” and facilitated meeting new people and “building relationships” with them and with the space itself. As playground practices took over, some parents even began to care for the space as if they were partial owners, cleaning up spilled trash cans and offering suggestions for the courtyard design to managers and employees. Consumers in brand communities often take responsibility for a brand through their collective actions, leading to the emergence of brand-relevant meanings and practices that may diverge from firms’ original intent (Kozinets 2001; Schau et al. 2009). Over several months, a new community formed in the courtyard, and market actors at The Plaza began to respect the boundaries of the gravel play area. Restaurant customers and servers walked considerable distances to avoid passing through the gravel play area, a frequent observation during participant observation. These market actors ceded space from the controlling influence of the market. The weekly performance of playground practices at The Plaza, which were enabled by a lack of market domination and an availability of useful market resources, allowed for the reproduction of a social order outside the logic of the market. Newcomers became socialized into the practice of play at The Plaza, as the following field notes excerpt describes:

Katie (40s, white) was sitting on the courtyard steps with her aunt who was visiting from New Jersey. Katie’s two-year-old daughter, Zoe, was playing in the gravel when she saw Sophie, a three-year-old young Hispanic girl, holding a cup of chocolate mint ice cream and dragging a stuffed toy dog by a ribbon tied around its neck like a collar and leash. The two of them walked the dog back and forth on the brick walkway above the gravel courtyard while the adults watched. Next, they began to cover the little toy

dog in a pile of gravel. Eventually, several other adults, mostly young parents, joined us on the steps. [...] A blonde-haired two-year-old girl, Hazel, was reluctant to join the other kids playing in the gravel. Her grandmother (50s, white) took her by the hand and started playing with the kids. Hazel eventually began playing on the fringes of the larger group.

Figure 5: Illustration of Market Inversion at The Plaza



Grassy common area affords play, picnicking, and park-like practices



Tactics collectively transform the space as consumers trample the grass



Temporary materials (straw) facilitate increased tactical use (play)



Management cedes market space, enabling a new social order

Following the lead of other adults in the courtyard, I encouraged my own toddler daughter to play at The Plaza, sitting in the gravel with the children and adults and helping to

construct piles of rocks. Observing this behavior repeatedly in others and gaining social acceptance from the other adults and children in The Plaza made the new social order that formed in courtyard more salient to me as a researcher. As the gravel area become known as a space for children and parents to gather and play, norms guiding behavior there changed as well. Adults not only tolerated children's playful tactics, but actively socialized their own children into participating. Sitting on the steps talking, parents encouraged their children to play—even bringing beach toys from home and modelling playful behavior while sitting in the rocks themselves. By bringing together novel combinations of materials and meanings, consumers create a system of practices that conforms to competences not typically performed in market spaces. A new social order, guided by norms of social interaction and reciprocity rather than market exchange, become dominant within this space during the weekly farmers' market. The new order inverted market logic by deploying a new community logic, which became a legitimate source of power that could organize consumer practices in the space.

Market inversion is enabled by three key processes. First, physical transformations of space emerge as a material outcome of tactical use. Market inversion requires the capacity for consumers to keep tactical gains in the form of physical changes to arrangement or nature of a market space. Demonstrating this potential for a tactic to “stockpile its winnings” (de Certeau 1984, 37) extends de Certeau's theory by conceptualizing a spatial process through which social order can change as a result of consumer—rather than producer--actions. Collectively, tactical patterns of action shift the spatial resources that are available for subsequent practices in market spaces. Second, tactical users socialize each other into a set of shared norms and embodied understandings that guide social interactivity in a community space. These new meanings and competences form a new social order as patterns of tactical performances

become normalized. Third, market actors who have economic power over the space (e.g., property owners, service providers) recognize the new order and allow it to take place. While these market actors hold the power to physically alter the servicescape, they do not control the everyday activities within the gravel play area or the social order that governs these activities. Under these conditions, the social order of a market space shifts beyond the rules and strategies laid out by the original producers of the space. A gradual, evolutionary shift in the arrangement of space and activity establishes a new, although still dynamic, social order organized around logics of community.

### *Market Domination*

The new community space in The Plaza's courtyard had a problematic side as well. The activities in the gravel directly conflicted with market-oriented practices. Bruce (60s, white, field notes), a regular farmers' market consumer who reads the newspaper and talks with adult friends while drinking coffee in the courtyard, says, "It was just a dirt pit [...] Is it just for kids?" Restaurant and café customers like Bruce complained about the dust and about occasionally getting hit with bits of gravel thrown by over-zealous children. The gravel play area also left The Plaza with less usable space to rent out for weddings and other events. Restaurants and cafés, which had become busier with the new crowds that gathered over the past year, were short on table space. Natalia, The Plaza's owner, describes her strategic reaction and some of its outcomes:

We wasted a lot of time on trying to think of a solution that was somewhere in between grass and just bricking it in. In the end, we did what we had always said we

should: ‘We should just brick that in.’ [...] It was really funny, people’s reaction, because a lot of parents were like, ‘This [the gravel] is great,’ because they thought it was a giant sandbox. Then there were parents that were like, ‘I don’t want my kid playing in that litterbox.’ Then there were parents that were super disappointed when we got rid of the gravel. Even when we put up the fence to do the work, we put up, ‘Please pardon our appearance’ signs. And somebody wrote around on all the signs—like, I just spent two hundred dollars putting the damn signs up—and someone writes, ‘I hope you’ll keep it kid friendly,’ on every single sign. So, parent graffiti happened!

Natalia and her business partners deliberated for a year about how to respond to the new social order represented by the “giant sandbox.” A compromise “between grass and just bricking it in” represents a management strategy similar to the dance of the market, permitting tactical use while ensuring relatively unhindered market exchange. However, the dance of the market does not provide full, predictable control over a market space. Instead, Natalia paved the inner courtyard with bricks and moved dining tables into the formed community play space. This strategy sets clear boundaries and unambiguously affords market-oriented activities such as shopping and restaurant dining ahead of child’s play. By strategically adjusting affordances and boundaries, Natalia also avoids reliance on social, economic, or legal force and coercion to re-establish a market-oriented social order at The Plaza. Immediately following the paving of the play area, Cooper (40s, white, field notes), The Plaza’s operations manager, pointed out, “I’ve already seen fewer kids tripping. And maybe it’s not such a good thing for kids to be throwing rocks at each other.” Market domination prioritizes cleanliness, safety, and control over heterogeneity, variability, and spontaneity. “Parent graffiti” represents a tactical response to market domination. However, without the

capacity to exert a lasting physical impact on the place, these consumers cannot permanently invert a courtyard dominated by a spatial management strategy that prioritizes economic exchange.

Many different practices guided by market and community logics blend together at The Plaza, and additional consumer tactics prompted other forms of market domination. One farmers' market vendor plugged an extension cord into an electrical outlet in a restaurant kitchen, running it past other vendors, across the main pedestrian walkway, and into her tent. The Plaza's management and permanent tenants tolerated this tactic for several months, until one day the vendor found the cord unplugged and the kitchen door locked, resulting in the vendor and operations manager shouting at each other over the disagreement—as reported to me by a farmers' market employee. In my observations, consumers and farmers' market vendors typically meet market domination with acceptance or quiet tactical misuse, as discussed in the following section, rather than revolt. Shouting represents a tactical response, similar to “parent graffiti” in its symbolically aggressive but materially powerless position. However, market domination also threatens the participatory festival environment from which The Plaza benefits.

Mariana (40s, Hispanic, field notes), the consumer quoted earlier describing the old courtyard as having a spirit of community and sociality, is saddened by the newly paved courtyard. She says, “I think The Plaza lost this spirit. Now, they created more and more coffee shops, and they lost that spirit [...] If you don't know someone, you don't say anything [to them].” Mariana used to go to The Plaza for dinner with friends almost weekly. But, following the courtyard redesign, she rarely visits. I documented the disappearance of other families from the servicescape, at the same time as restaurants and coffee shops became

busier. Flora (30s, white, field notes), the mother of a young child, told me after the courtyard construction, “We’ll come for shopping, but we won’t stay and play. We used to just come and stay for hours. We would tell people just to meet us there and we’d hang out.” Market domination makes The Plaza a more efficient space where consumers could “come for shopping,” but ignores the indirect benefits of consumers who “stay and play.”

These indirect benefits are enjoyed by many consumers without children or dogs, who enjoy the social atmosphere created by the playful courtyard space. Following the courtyard paving, some consumers felt that the new space and fewer children diminishes the overall value they experience in the servicescape. Donald and Marilyn spoke worriedly in the weeks following the redesign of the courtyard. Marilyn said, “The kids are lost. They don’t know where to go [...] This is gonna change the whole flavor of the market [...] Where are the kids going to play? They love the gravel” (Field notes). Through market domination, The Plaza effectively manages market exchange within the courtyard, but its management takes for granted the complex mix of practices and consumers that maintain its legitimized position as a market space anchoring a broader community. This position involves a complex, co-creative interdependency between strategies and tactics.

Through market domination, informal, flexible agreements, like those shared by restaurant and café employees for cleaning the courtyard, become increasingly codified over time. As The Plaza grew more crowded, bathrooms became dirty and often inadequately stocked with towel paper and towels. Sticky residue from spilled drinks or trash from finished meals went uncleaned on courtyard tables while paying customers searched for places to sit. After six years of informal cleaning agreements, during the final year of data collection, tenants signed a formal contract outlining cleaning and maintenance responsibilities for The

Plaza's common areas. The Mexican restaurant formally agreed to clean common area floors and tables during operating hours, with financial compensation from the other tenants, while a contracted company provides nightly cleaning services.

Marketization, or the process by which social and cultural activity is segregated away from or reduced to economic exchange (Fraser 2005; McAlexander et al. 2014), pulls The Plaza toward stricter and less personal modes of control. Through this process of market domination, the utopian playspace succumbs to the pressure of economic or legal control (Kozinets 2002; Maclaran and Brown 2005), preventing the emergence of a lasting public space where community and market activities are not separated into separate spheres (Weintraub 1997). This, in turn, threatens to destabilize the social and cultural legitimacy of The Plaza among consumers within the surrounding neighborhood. One resident at a neighborhood meeting villainizes the impersonal market as “waves of cash from California and Chicago” that transform her neighborhood without concern for social relationships or cultural heritage. The Plaza's festival atmosphere, which brings together a diverse community and contributes to the social and economic value of the New Urbanist development, is challenged by the segregating forces (Castilhos and Dolbec 2018) of market domination.

### *Beginning a New Dance*

Even following the courtyard paving, sufficient ambiguity remains for consumers to make tactical use of The Plaza's space. Instead of shovels and buckets, children bring bicycles, toy cars, dolls, and other objects to play with on the newly paved surface and its dining tables. While construction workers put finishing touches on the newly paved courtyard, fieldnotes record that “A three-year-old boy carried a large toy monster truck up the steps to

the top level of the courtyard and started pushing it, with his hands on the roof, leaning into it and running along the bricks” (Field notes). Four months after the courtyard was paved, the following field notes observation illustrates the re-emergence of tactical use:

The courtyard had significantly more open space today than it did in the weeks prior. The table that normally sat in the southwest corner of the inner courtyard was somewhere else. A musician sat there performing instead. This left a 10-by-20-foot space open, surrounded by dining tables and the steps to the upper courtyard. Kids ran around in circles and danced in this space while parents and others watched from the periphery. The children also found a larger open space between the inner courtyard and the high-end restaurant, which opened up as farmers’ vendors took down their tables and tents. Kids chased each other between and within these open spaces, running up and down the walkway behind a nearby tree to get between these paved play areas.

When sufficient space and other material resources afford tactical use and play, the newly paved courtyard continues to function to some extent as a festival playspace. Live music affords dance, open space affords running, and The Plaza and farmers’ market managers still invite tactical use. One children’s performer attracts a particularly large audience of families during the farmers’ market. Most of these consumers leave after the performance without purchasing anything, using The Plaza as a public space for gathering and play instead of as a retail servicescape. These festival-like events and activities (figure 6) help to re-establish consumer perceptions of an authentic sense of place by blending market and social activity. The Plaza enters once again into the dance of the market.

Figure 6: Re-entering the Dance of the Market



The persistence of the dance is both consumer- and producer-driven. The Plaza strategically invites community practices by offering free musical performances and other community events. Consumers bring life to market spaces by using them in creative, unanticipated ways. However, a gradual pull toward market domination grows stronger through increased efforts by managers and service providers to control The Plaza's social order. Market domination is a spatial form of marketization (Brunk et al. 2018; McAlexander et al. 2014). A growing prevalence of legal contracts and economic arrangements for tenant and vendor rights and responsibilities is one manifestation of this pull. Strategies to limit or separate tactical, playful use through servicescape redesigns represent another manifestation. Natalia, The Plaza's owner, expresses ambivalent feelings about the trend toward marketization that she observes in her own development project:

It's a really diverse market district, because really a good market district should have something for everybody that lives in the community—all socio-economic backgrounds, cultural backgrounds. Everyone should be able to go there and be able to

participate. It shouldn't be, it's not meant to be super high end, although over time that's something that happens naturally, I think, a little bit. [...] [A New Urbanist advocacy group] told me that. They said over time these places tend to turn more higher end.

Pursuing both market and community-building goals simultaneously requires developers like Natalia to facilitate often-conflicting consumption practices. When tensions arise between these heterogeneous practices, market logics direct the organization of a market space to more efficiently facilitate economic exchange. Strategies of market domination limit the resources available for consumers to perform practices guided by community logics, a small-scale process of exclusion that mirrors gentrification occurring in the wider neighborhood. Natalia and other proponents of New Urbanism perceive marketization as “something that happens naturally.” This perception arises because market logic shapes arrangements of space and other material resources in ways that quietly favor increasing profitability of economic exchange. These arrangements represent particular economic and social relationships that the market, rather than nature, reinforces.

However, the dance of the market differentiates market spaces from more purely commercial servicescapes. This is a critical function that allows The Plaza to participate in the creation of social and cultural value for the residential and commercial properties in the surrounding communities. Economic and legal force would likely ensure the eventual development of The Plaza and the residential and commercial developments it anchors, but the market does not guarantee social legitimacy. Market domination displaces creative tactics that lead to the organic formation of new community practices, such as play. This may reduce The Plaza's legitimacy among the working-class consumers, who have largely refrained from

protesting the gentrification of Douglas Gardens. Market domination also threatens to diminish the legitimacy of The Plaza among its primary target market: politically progressive middle-class consumers who want to buy coffee and homes near The Plaza without a perception of supporting gentrification and exclusion. The dance of the market creates a festival space that supplies an exciting mix of heterogeneous practices and people, maintaining an attractive sense of place for the contemporary middle-class cultural omnivore (Cutts and Widdop 2017; Lizardo and Skiles 2013). However, the dance of the market requires surrendering some market control and risking losses in profitability in order to maintain this diversity. Despite stated intentions, managers of market-oriented servicescapes, like The Plaza and its restaurants and cafés, tend to avoid outcomes that jeopardize stable and profitable exchange. The pull toward market domination, whether intentional or incidental, hinders the ability of market spaces to become places that can potentially anchor a diverse and inclusive community. Market logics shape community formation in ways that prioritize short-term profitability over the cohesion of heterogeneous practices and people within a community.

## **Discussion**

The processes theorized in this paper contribute conceptually and practically to several areas of research. First, the indirect cultural and economic benefits of creative, tactical consumption activities highlight the social and market value of public spaces. Second, market inversion conceptualizes a novel process of social change through consumer-driven spatial transformation. Third, lessons from these processes provide sociocultural tools that can aid developers and managers of brick-and-mortar servicescapes. Additional research could further

examine these insights and address limitations in the current study, particularly by conducting deeper examination of the development of social class-based consumer competences that influence strategic and tactical practice trajectories.

### *The Value of Public Spaces*

Contemporary Western societies, governed by a wide-reaching capitalist system of economic relations, are characterized by a tendency toward marketization (Brunk et al. 2018; McAlexander et al. 2014). This involves the segmentation of society into market exchange relationships, which can be controlled and quantified, and social relationships, which either become commodified and marketable over time or segregated into private spaces such as the home. Historically, public spaces enabled market and social activity to remain relatively intertwined, as both are required for the sociable interaction of people in society (Weintraub 1997). The results of this study demonstrate that market and community practices continue to overlap in contemporary market spaces, leading to potential conflicts. The dance of the market provides a conceptual tool for understanding this grey area between market and community activity as it appears in twenty-first century American culture, decades after many communities abandoned traditional public squares in favor of suburban residences and shopping malls. Nostalgia for these lost public spaces (Sandikci and Holt 1998; Staeheli and Mitchell 2006) will not bring them back. American culture and places have shifted far enough that a new concept of public space may be necessary to reinvigorate social life at a time when modern retail efficiency and post-modern retail spectacle (Kozinets et al. 2004) are the norm.

Gentrification, or urban redevelopment that displaces relatively poor incumbent residents, typically finds most success in neighborhoods where market and social

infrastructure have been chronically disinvested (Smith 1996; Warde 1991). Without social infrastructure such as schools, community centers, and vibrant town squares to anchor urban communities, developers can more easily convert neighborhoods into privatized venues for market exchange, such as restaurants, retail shops, gated communities, and luxury condos. However, without space for community participation, residents have are fewer spaces for unstructured social interaction. Public spaces, normatively, erase the artificial boundary between market and social activity in human life, enabling them to perform the important function of holding communities together through periods of cultural and economic change. Children play a central role in fostering social interactivity at The Plaza, just as children's practices have a major impact on trajectories of neighborhood change. For example, individual and community-level disinvestment in public schools and other spaces where children of diverse backgrounds interact exacerbates the social and economic effects of urban gentrification (DeSena Judith 2006). Moreover, the economic boost that gentrification provides to urban neighborhoods does not translate into improved public infrastructure to support interactions between children (Keels, Burdick-Will, and Keene 2013). Children, who are not fully socialized into the artificial boundaries between market and community practices, act as a glue that holds communities together through their creative, playful, tactical practices. The dance of the market enables market spaces to carry out this mixing and balancing act by blending practices guided by market and community logics. Informal social and spatial modes of negotiation, rather than economic or legal force, maintain this delicate balance. By resisting the pull toward complete marketization, the dance of the market may promote more inclusive market spaces and urban developments.

Studies of festivals (Belk and Costa 1998; Bradford and Sherry 2015; Peñaloza 2001), which are temporary celebrations of diversity combining market and social activity, provide a rich set of insights to guide future research in this area. However, festivals can also focus around a narrow set of cultural tastes or ideals (Shaw and Sullivan 2011), and research should address the potential for festival spaces to both bring together and divide communities over time. Future studies should explore how the presence of festivals and public spaces shape the development of urban areas over time. The third chapter of this dissertation proposes such an examination of farmers' markets. Urban changes such as gentrification often take place over decades, so additional research must look beyond the relatively short three-year period investigated by this longitudinal study of The Plaza.

#### *Social Change Through Market Inversion*

Subverting the power structures that shape consumer behavior typically involves either temporary, symbolic emancipation (Kozinets and Handelman 2004) or an organized, revolutionary challenge to the established order (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). As de Certeau (1984) describes, subversive tactical actions alone typically do not make a lasting impact on an existing social order. Prior research theorizes that a force of social or physical resistance must take place in order to shift power over the production of space (Blomley 2004; Lefebvre 1991). Market inversion presents an alternative process by which the collective physical and social impact of individual consumer tactics can gain spatial, and then social, advantage over a market space. Through market inversion, social order can shift organically through the relatively unorganized, tactical practices of consumers. Although processes of market domination align with the theories developed by de Certeau

(1984) and others (Harvey 1973; Lefebvre 1991), market inversion introduces a novel and important mode of social and spatial change in market spaces.

A parallel concept is the “social nonmovement,” which refers to “the collective actions of noncollective actors” (Bayat 2009, 15). Marginalized people, dispossessed of space and power, can take tactical advantage of available space and resources. These creative tactics comprise a set of “shared practices [...] whose fragmented but similar activities trigger much social change, even though these practices are rarely guided by an ideology or recognizable leaderships and organizations” (Bayat 2009, 15). These “shared practices” involve making creative use of available resources for the performance of daily life, such as illegal parking and informal outdoor retailing. Although similar to de Certeau’s (1984) tactics, social nonmovements have led to relatively permanent transformations of places and social orders. Bayat (2009, 16) writes:

These masses of largely atomized individuals, by such parallel practices of everyday encroachments, have virtually transformed the large cities of the Middle East and by extension many developing countries, generating a substantial outdoor economy, new communities, and arenas of self-development in the urban landscapes; they inscribe their active presence in the configuration and governance of urban life, asserting their ‘right to the city.’

Common spatial management strategies, produced to facilitate particular market activities, also afford certain forms of tactical use. Thus, unintended “parallel practices” can emerge in market spaces. Like citizens who transform Middle Eastern cities, consumers can reconfigure the social and spatial order of The Plaza and other servicescapes through patterns of tactical practice performance. The right to the city is a concept introduced by Henri

Lefebvre (Purcell 2002) arguing for the co-creation of urban spaces by their inhabitants. Building on Lefebvre's ideas, Harvey (2003, 939) asserts that "the right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire." Bayat conceptualizes a subtle, non-revolutionary means for consumers to assert their right to reshape market spaces. Consumers may not be able to escape the market (Arnould 2007; Kozinets 2002), but through a practice-based dance between market and community logics, they may be able to reshape the social orders that govern market spaces. Additional research should examine how long these organically-formed social orders can persist and determine the conditions that allow for their sustainable co-existence alongside more dominant, market-oriented orders. Research in emerging markets or cultural contexts outside the historical reach of the Western capitalist market may provide particularly insightful answers to these questions.

The data collected and analyzed for this chapter do not dive into consumers' lives and practices outside of The Plaza sufficiently to enable a deep analysis of how social class-based meanings and embodied competences transfer between spatial contexts. Differing understandings and competences between working- and middle-class consumers, for example, shape the ways that they understand and perform leisure practices (Weinberger, Zavisca, and Silva 2017). Market institutions typically encourage specific forms of practice by providing resources that align with the meanings and competences commonly socialized into a specific social class. Higher education institutions provide material and cultural resources that appeal to potential students based on the values and embodied competences engrained during their socialization in working- or middle-class families (Allen 2002). Market spaces such as The Plaza similarly provide material resources that may align more closely with the meanings and

competences embodied by consumers from particular social class positions, hindering spatial integration across class lines. Comparing the consumption practices of middle-class and working-class consumers across different market spaces could provide an understanding of how social class-based meanings and competences align with spatial and material resources to enable or hinder practice performances. Future research is needed to more fully conceptualize the social class dimensions of practices and practice resources in market spaces.

### *Sociocultural Tools for Servicescape Management*

Results point to three tools that retail developers and service providers can use to manage servicescapes. While research has shown that creative, tactical uses of market space are common and impactful in servicescape experiences (Griffiths and Gilly 2012), the three-part framework presented in this section represents the first articulated strategy for managing consumer tactics.

First, managers can facilitate co-creation. This is most appropriate when consumer tactics provide substantial indirect benefits, such as the development an attractive social atmosphere. A market space with material and cultural features that consumers co-create through their tactical uses of the space becomes a unique and personalized environment that is difficult for competitors to replicate. Many consumers value the “gritty authenticity” (Zukin 2011, 164) left behind in neighborhoods and market spaces as evidence of their past use. One literary critic complains that an absence of dirt or grime in the ultra-ordered market spaces of Singapore renders the city a capitalist simulation instead of a messy, but meaningful, reality (Gibson 1993). A co-created servicescape sacrifices control for the opportunity to gain social

authenticity. In a postmodern market, authenticity and uniqueness is often more valuable than efficiency and predictability (Aubert-Gamet and Cova 1999; Firat and Venkatesh 1995)

Second, managers can separate community and market practices into segregated spaces, where each form of action is separately afforded and bounded. Separation may be most effective and appealing when the indirect benefits of consumer tactics are low and the costs of free riders, who come to play and socialize without buying anything, are high. Costs may include damage to goods or facilities or disturbances to paying customers. McDonald's restaurants use this strategy in separating children's PlayPlaces from dining areas, just as The Plaza's high-end restaurant separates its tables from the courtyard's more chaotic common areas.

Third, managers can dominate the servicescape with clear and unambiguous affordances and boundaries that prioritize marketing exchange and discourage social activity. When a retailer offers relatively standardized products or services that appear to benefit little from consumer tactics, market domination represents an appealing short-term strategy. However, without affording the individuality of consumer tactics, market domination also generates a service experience that is more easily commoditized and replicated by competitors.

These three strategies have important implications for the management of mixed-use and New Urbanist developments, as well as other servicescapes where customers and service providers are afforded latitude for creative use. Ambiguity and openness to consumer tactics can foster an authentic-feeling atmosphere that differentiates a servicescape in ways that are difficult to match, generating pleasant surprises co-created by the interactive activities of consumers and service providers. Allowing consumers to alter the servicescape through their

creative use of space can generate uniquely positive service experiences, while efforts to maintain a stable and controllable social order can counteract the value co-creative potential of a servicescape. By discouraging tactical, social activity, servicescapes risk losing their most creative consumers in the short term and their ability to differentiate themselves from other service experiences in the long term.

## II. CONSUMER EXPERIENCES OF PRACTICE HETEROGENEITY: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF VALUE CO-CREATION

### Introduction

The activities taking place within sites of consumption are often varied and heterogeneous. Many cafés allow not only paid consumption of coffee and food, but also the territorial occupation of tables and chairs for work, study, and social gatherings (Griffiths and Gilly 2012). City parks can provide space for sports events, exercise and leisure activities, political protests, homeless encampments, and other potentially conflicting uses (Mitchell 1995). Even a suburban shopping mall may simultaneously host a variety of people who are “shopping to buy, browsing, eating, walking for exercise, socializing, and video/movie watching” (Sandikci and Holt 1998, 306). Chapter one of this dissertation examines how social order emerges from such varied practice environments. This chapter seeks to understand how consumers construct service experiences when their own practices occur in the same space as other consumers’ heterogeneous practice performances.

Prior research on consumer experiences typically studies customer perceptions of and responses to interactions with service providers (Klaus and Maklan 2011; Lemon and Verhoef 2016; Verhoef et al. 2009) or other customers (Colm, Ordanini, and Parasuraman 2017; Stephen J. Grove and Fisk 1997). Similarly, much servicescape research tends to treat the physical environment as a factory where desirable service interactions and customer responses are produced by the firm through the design of environmental stimuli (Bitner 1992; Rosenbaum and Massiah 2011).

However, consumers' lived experiences in market spaces are a complex, phenomenological outcome that represents value created through interactions among people, places, and things within a service environment (Helkkula, Kelleher, and Pihlström 2012; Vargo and Lusch 2016). Some of these activities involve direct economic exchange, others do not, and still others involve a blend of exchange and other functions. This chapter examines how heterogeneous consumption practices shape consumer experiences when these practices overlap in physical space. The research extends servicescape theory of experience beyond models of stimulus response and customer-firm dyads. It also contributes to value co-creation theory by conceptualizing more clearly how co-present but non-collaborative consumption practices shape the emergence of experiential value for consumers. The chapter builds this contribution by examining the co-creative processes by which value emerges through practice-based interactions among consumers, service providers, and the physical environment when the activities of these actors are not collaborative in nature.

New service conceptualizations challenge firm-centered models of value creation. Service-dominant logic argues that value is always a participatory, co-creative process that emerges through interactions between customers and service providers (Dong and Sivakumar 2017; Vargo and Lusch 2004). This growing body of theory reconceptualizes value as a sociocultural construct rather than an economic output. Instead of being something produced for consumers, "value is idiosyncratic, experiential, contextual, and meaning laden" (Vargo and Lusch 2008, 7). Value is only realized during the use or consumption of a product or service (Vargo and Lusch 2016) and is perceived by consumers as "an interactive relativistic preference experience" (Holbrook 1998, 5). Often, value is co-created through the coordinated or collaborative practices of a consumption community, including both consumers and service

providers (Kelleher et al. 2019; Kozinets 2001; Schau et al. 2009). However, the co-presence of other practice performances can also influence the value that emerges for different consumers performing their own sets of practices (Griffiths and Gilly 2012; Thomas et al. 2013).

Value is “a function of the interaction between subjects, or between a subject and an object [...] and resides in the consumption experience” (Echeverri and Skålén 2011, 353). As such, value is experienced individually, and in both negative and positive ways, as consumers interact with multiple actors involved in the provision (or destruction) of a service (Tax, McCutcheon, and Wilkinson 2013). Thus, the creation of consumer value always arises during the performance of consumption practices (Grönroos and Voima 2013). Consumption practices are patterns of activity shaped by the integration of objects, meanings, and competences that enable their performance (Shove et al. 2012). The phenomenological perception of this integration of practice elements constitutes the consumer experience. Woermann and Rokka (2015) show that when practice elements align well, consumers have meaningful and desirable embodied experiences, such as the flow achieved during the flawless performance of ski jumping. On the other hand, misalignments or conflicts between practice elements lead to suboptimal temporal experiences of rush or drag during the performance of a practice (Woermann and Rokka 2015).

Practice-oriented thinking also calls for a novel, practice-based examination and conceptualization of value co-creation within servicescapes. Research examining consumer experiences within servicescapes typically focuses on the facilitation of a single overarching consumption practice (Arnould and Price 1993; Dion and Borraz 2017) or a set of practices guided by an overarching cultural logic (Borghini et al. 2009; Kozinets et al. 2004; Thompson

and Arsel 2004). However, as market spaces break from standardized services and layouts (Aubert-Gamet and Cova 1999), consumption practice heterogeneity plays an increasingly important role in servicescape theory and management. For example, consumers working or studying at coffee shop tables can reduce the positive value experienced by consumers eating or drinking in that servicescape (Griffiths and Gilly 2012), and parents pushing a stroller can disrupt the schedule and routines of commuters riding a crowded tram (Echeverri and Skålén 2011). In other words, certain configurations of practices in a servicescape may facilitate the co-creation of positive value for some consumers, while inducing negative value to emerge for others. This occurs through the mere co-presence of practice performances, regardless of any coordination or collaboration between practitioners.

This research examines the ways that value is co-created as a consumer experience of the interactions among people, places, and things involved in the performance of heterogeneous practices within a servicescape. The chapter follows the conceptual foundations laid out by both service dominant logic and theories of practice, specifically Swidler's (1986, 2001a) toolkit theory of practice. It examines how value emerges through the co-presence of heterogeneous practices. The chapter draws on online reviews and survey-based customer experience data, which add depth of experiential insights to the ethnographic data presented in the first chapter. These data examine the lived experience of consumers within a space that facilitates heterogeneous consumption practices. Results show that practice heterogeneity can generate both unexpected conflicts and serendipitous complementarities in consumer servicescape experiences. These experiential differences are shaped by the ways that consumers draw upon cultural and material resources to enact and interpret their own practice performances within a servicescape.

## **Theory Development: The Cultural Construction of Consumer Experience**

Contemporary theories of practice provide a lens for viewing value creation as it emerges for consumers during their experiences. A practice is a pattern of human action that arises from the integration of multiple resources—including the embodied skills required for doing the practice, the psychological and sociocultural meaning linked to it, and the places and things that facilitate it (Arsel and Bean 2013; Schatzki 2001a; Shove et al. 2012; Woermann and Rokka 2015). A practice includes the material resources that facilitate social and economic exchange, as well as the cultural resources that guide the ways consumers put these materials into action to create value (Holttinen 2010). At a macro level, social practices are the fundamental units that comprise and sustain markets (Korkman, Storbacka Kaj, and Harald 2010). At a micro-level, consumers use available practice resources to do what makes sense to them in a given context (Schatzki 1996). Cultural resources, such as shared meanings and values, shape the ways that consumers use material resources and their own embodied competences to perform a consumption practice (Arsel and Bean 2013; Holttinen 2014).

Practice theorists have examined the ways that cultural and material resources shape patterns of action. However, research and theory has placed less conceptual attention on the ways that these resources influence understandings and interpretations of action. This represents the individual experience of value-in-practice, or what service-dominant logic would call value-in-use (Vargo and Lusch 2004, 2016). Schau, Muniz, and Arnould (2009) show that collective practices developed between members of brand communities lead to the co-creation of value for both brands and consumers. Similar processes play out in other “collective consumption contexts,” where “multiple consumers, and optionally multiple other actors such as service personnel, are co-present [...] and coordinate with one another”

(Kelleher et al. 2019, 122). Thomas and Price (2013) conceptualize how heterogeneous, non-collective practices can generate complementary value for consumers as they coalesce around material interdependencies. However, these studies focus their primary attention on the creation and performance of practices, rather than the consumer experience of performing practices. Recent service marketing research has begun to examine consumer experiences of value from a practice theory perspective (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012), but additional research is required at the level of individual, phenomenological experiences of value in practice performances. The following section outlines a theory of consumer experience construction that draws upon Swidler's (1986, 2001a) toolkit theory of culture and practice.

### *Cultural Toolkits and Repertoires*

Performing a consumption practice integrates material objects, embodied competences, and cultural resources (Shove et al. 2012). At the individual level, meaning also emerges during the performance of a practice as an embodied and contextual understanding of the experience (Phipps and Ozanne 2017; Woermann and Rokka 2015). Shared cultural meanings shape everyday practices, but these ideas, beliefs, and norms do not objectively exist as static ideologies or structures. Rather, meanings emerge, gain their significance, and obtain their power through practices that reproduce and reshape them (Giddens 1984; Sewell 1992).

Swidler's (1986, 2001a) toolkit theory of culture argues that people's actions do not follow static or universally shared values or motivations. Instead, people make use of cultural resources opportunistically as they figure out how to act and how to interpret action. Cultural

meanings include the ideas, beliefs, norms, and expectations that guide action along relatively stable trajectories (Caplow 1984). These cultural resources provide the “symbolic vehicles of meaning” (Swidler 1986, 273) that people use to guide and make sense of their own and others’ actions. People “[use] culture in a remarkably dynamic way, constantly linking culture and experience” (Swidler 2001a, 56) as they actively use cultural tools to interpret experiences and understand how to act.

Swidler provides a theory of practice that focuses analytical attention on cultural meaning without discounting the structuring and facilitating role of materials and embodied competences. The cultural resources that a person has at their disposal depend on a repertoire they have developed over a lifetime of action and interaction. Rather than approaching each potential consumption experience with a set of stable, value-oriented expectations that must be satisfied, consumers “come to value ends for which their cultural equipment is well suited” (Swidler 1986, 277). Using the metaphor of musical repertoires, Swidler (2001a) explains that people develop a set of capacities as they learn to draw on and apply cultural tools, as a musician learning and practicing a range of skills. People can use different parts of their cultural repertoire to respond to the various contexts they encounter, analogous to a skilled musician whose vast repertoire enables her or him to move between baroque, classical, jazz, gospel, or other styles depending on the context of performance.

Providing a more explicitly cultural example, repertoires of love similarly draw upon multiple meanings of love that exist in society (Swidler 2001a). These shared meanings, as cultural tools, help to explain why people take different trajectories of action in their social and romantic interactions. Holding on to the idea of love as a choice instead of a commitment tends to lead people to take certain actions, but also shapes the ways that they understand their

own and others' actions (Swidler 2001a). Culture thus provides a framework for understanding how people construct their experience of performing a practice. Consumer experiences can only be understood with respect to the cultural meanings that shape and construct those experiences. Different consumers may experience the same practice performance in different ways. It is important to understand consumer experiences from this perspective, because it adds sociocultural depth to theories and measures of customer experience that focus on the satisfaction of consumers' prior expectations (c.f., Lemon and Verhoef 2016; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry 1985).

Conceptualizing culture as a toolkit does not mean taking the stance that human beings are completely agentic and free from the structuring influences of institutions or other powerful social forces. As Swidler (2001a, 24) notes, "People are often 'used by' their culture as much as they use it." Cultural repertoires enable agentic, creative responses to novel contexts, but they also structure the strategies of action that are available. Social structures reinforce systems of meaning that give shape to shared modes of action and interpretation (Arsel and Bean 2013; Bourdieu 1984, 1998; Maciel and Wallendorf 2017). Institutions provide a rich set of cultural tools that consumers can deploy through their practices (Swidler 2001b), but institutions also structure the systems of shared meaning that encourage stable patterns of action within groups or societies. More material practice resources, such as available space or physical objects, also structure strategies of action (Schatzki 2001b; Shove et al. 2012).

Institutional theory and practice theory share many philosophical and conceptual ideas (Lounsbury and Crumley 2007). Both perspectives acknowledge a duality in which systems of meaning and systems of action co-construct each other (Barley and Tolbert 1997; Mohr and

Duquenne 1997). Practice theorists tend to focus on systems of action, as they identify the elements that enable and shape practices (Nicolini 2012). Institutional theorists focus more on identifying the underlying meaning structures, or logics, that act as a latent cultural force organizing patterns of action and thought along relatively stable trajectories (Friedland et al. 2014; Thornton and Ocasio 1999).

Both practice theory and institutional theory focus their analytical attention on macro- and meso-level practice systems. However, these systems still shape individual practice performances by influencing patterns of action and providing a lens for consumers to understand these actions. As Swidler (1986, 2001a) theorizes, people act and make sense of action by using available cultural meanings. People's lives get disrupted or "unsettled" (Swidler 2001a, 89) when they encounter unsettled times, during which a range of heterogeneous ideas and practices compete for legitimacy. When people cannot use their repertoires intuitively through established strategies of action that they follow during "settled times" (Swidler 2001a, 170), people must use cultural tools more consciously and reflexively. In these periods, people actively use cultural tools, including institutional logics, "to organize new strategies of action and model new ways of thinking and feeling" (Swidler 2001a, 94).

Institutional logics link material practices and symbolic constructions (Mohr and Duquenne 1997), by providing a common meaning structure that shapes actions and allows for interpretation of them. By identifying these institutional logics, research can better categorize and analyze the various meaning structures that influence consumption practice performance and the creation of value through consumer experience. A defining characteristic of the capitalist market is the dominance of logics of value-in-exchange. Market logics reduce human relations to their capacity to produce surplus material value, assessed through the lens

of self-interested profit accumulation (Illouz 1998). Products, services, and even people are commodified and exchangeable within a monetized system.

Market logics are organized around norms of efficient economic exchange, commodifiable objects, choice maximization, and consumer-centricity (Cohen 2003; Greenwood et al. 2010; Thornton and Ocasio 1999). Institutions such as families, communities, states, and religions, traditionally follow logics that are different from those of the market (Friedland and Alford 1991; Thornton and Ocasio 2008), and tensions between market and other logics shape cultural conflicts that emerge in many consumption practices (Dolbec and Fischer 2015; Mars and Schau 2017). Gift-giving systems, following norms of reciprocity and inalienable property (Giesler 2006; Mauss 1966) provide just one example of a logic where value resides in social rather than economic relations. Additionally, the continued existence of singularly valuable objects (Karpick 2010; Kopytoff 1986) shows that forms of valuation and interaction other than market logics still have a powerful influence on social life in contemporary societies. However, as market logics encroach on more aspects of social life (Hochschild 2011), consumptive and productive activities often become marketized even in traditionally non-commodifiable arenas of social life (Polanyi 1957), such as the arts (Dolbec and Fischer 2015), families (Epp and Velagaleti 2014), the state (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), and religion (McAlexander et al. 2014).

In personal interactions outside the home, people often deploy market logics alongside logics of community. Community logics are best conceptualized in the meanings and values embodied by Tönnies' (1887/2001) ideal of *Gemeinschaft*. This ideal of community represents the dominant forms of social organization that structured relationships prior to the emergence of the market economy (Polanyi 1957). Tönnies (1887/2001) differentiates these

ideals from those of a newly emerging industrialized market, which is the dominant force governing the impersonal, mechanical institution of civil society, or *Gesellschaft*. The logic of community has many dimensions, including ideals such as gift-giving or environmental sustainability. These community ideals seek the greater good of a collectivity rather than the maximization of individual benefits. To enable analyses of consumer service experiences, the results presented in the following sections categorize this range of non-market ideals under the umbrella concept of community logics. Community logics are organized around norms of empathy, kinship, reciprocity, personal relationships, collective consciousness, and shared responsibility toward communal ideas and resources (Tönnies 1187/2001). As particularly salient cultural tools, community and market logics enable both quantitative and qualitative analyses to identify the cultural meanings that consumers use to construct experiences in market spaces. These logics shape the repertoires that consumers bring into each unique service context. The following sections describe the methodological procedures and conceptual insights of this examination.

## **Overview of Studies**

This chapter asks the following research question: how does the co-presence of heterogeneous practice performances shape consumer servicescape experiences? Two studies examine how the heterogeneity of co-present practices shapes consumer experiences. The first study, a quantitative analysis of a “sketch map” survey (Boschmann and Cubbon 2014; Brennan-Horley and Gibson 2009), statistically tests the relationship between observed practice heterogeneity and consumer reports of servicescape experiences. The second study, a qualitative analysis of open-ended survey responses and online consumer review data, dives

more deeply into the cultural processes through which practice heterogeneity shapes consumers' servicescape experiences.

A sketch map, used in both studies, provides an explicitly spatial window into the lived experiences of consumers in their environment. Sketch maps are hand-drawn maps made by research participants to represent their experiences in a physical space (Boschmann and Cubbon 2014). This method traces its roots to Lynch's (1960) pioneering work using sketch maps and in-depth interviews to analyze individual and cultural differences in the ways people perceive and experience urban environments. However, sketch maps are conceptually distinct from methods grounded in behavioral geography and environmental psychology, such as mental maps (Gould and White 1974; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, and Qiu 2001) and spatial syntax (Bafna 2003; Hillier and Vaughan 2007; Penn 2003). These more behaviorist approaches attempt to connect spatial configurations with the cognitive structures that represent them in the human mind, often with the aim of using mental maps to predict future behavior. Sketch maps, as distinguished by Boschmann and Cubbon (2014), focus on collecting and analyzing individual representations of space to uncover the the sociocultural structures and influences that shape these representations. Sketch maps arise from critical and participatory research in human geography (Dunn 2007; Elwood 2006; Schuurman 2006), which seeks to acknowledge and give voice to individuals and groups who are often marginalized by the production of scientific maps used for planning and urban development.

Methodological developments in human geography have brought the use of GIS technology into studies of culture and everyday life in order to represent the lived experiences of research participants in geographically-referenced space (Kwan 1999, 2002; Pavlovskaya 2006). This use of GIS not only provides a powerful graphic illustration of research data, but

also allows for spatial and statistical analyses of differences between the experiences of individual participants. Kwan (2008), for example, uses oral history interviews and GIS analysis to visualize and analyze the spatial barriers and emotional trauma experienced by Muslim women in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Brennan-Horley and Gibson (2009) use sketch maps and in-depth interviews to locate creative activity within a city.

The sketch map method provides a methodological bridge between traditional GIS analyses, which typically represent rational scientific perspectives, and the lived experiences of consumers. The use of a spatially referenced base map enables comparisons across the lived experiences of many different people. This base map necessarily imposes a scientific spatial order that may reduce the sociocultural nuance of human relations and experiences. However, critical and feminist geographers argue that combining qualitative methods with appropriate social theory and GIS tools can give new voice to perspectives and experiences that are otherwise marginalized or overlooked (Knigge and Cope 2006; Kwan 2002). Sketch maps extend the reach of ethnographic research by providing spatial depth that ethnographic observations of behavior cannot provide on their own. In the qualitative study present later in this chapter, data from online consumer reviews of the same servicescape context complement and extend the reach of sketch map data to more fully analyze the servicescape experience.

Data collection focuses on customer experiences that take place at The Plaza, a small outdoor retail center described in the first chapter of this dissertation. The Plaza blends together spaces and activities that facilitate multiple consumption practices. The Plaza's servicescape has included a wide range of consumption sites over its eight-year operation. These include an open-air courtyard, free weekly concerts, a farmers' market, clothing and footwear boutiques, an antique gallery, a yoga studio, a community kitchen, bakeries serving

Mexican cakes and pastries, an ice cream shop specializing in regional Mexican desserts, a flower shop, a specialty coffee bar, a modern central Mexican-inspired eatery, a wine and cheese bar, a bike shop, and an upscale American fusion restaurant. This heterogeneous mix, enclosed within a relatively small geographic space, provides ideal conditions for studying the ways that heterogeneous practices shape consumer experiences within a servicescape. The following sections describe the procedures and results of the quantitative and qualitative studies separately.

### **Quantitative Sketch Map Study**

#### *Hypotheses*

To understand how consumers construct an experience of co-present practice heterogeneity, the quantitative measures and analyses described in the following section statistically test two hypotheses. The actions of other consumers in a servicescape have a substantial impact on service experiences (Colm et al. 2017), particularly when the actions of other consumers differ and potentially conflict with a consumer's own activities (Stephen J Grove and Fisk 1997). This understanding leads to the following hypothesis:

- H1: Heterogeneity of co-present practice performances will negatively influence a consumer's overall servicescape experience.

Prior research, described in the preceding sections, provides evidence that logics of the market often conflict with logics of community (Kozinets 2002; Schau et al. 2009). While these logics often co-exist in practice, the underlying ideals of one logic can hinder the full realization of the other. In other words, the co-presence of market and community practices

requires a compromise between the two cultural logics. In this study, market practices are defined as practices that have economic exchange between consumers and service providers in the immediate servicescape as their focal point. Community practices are those that focus primarily on developing personal relationships between other people either inside or outside the servicescape.

Market practices typically predominate in market spaces such as The Plaza, which are built around for-profit service providers. Thus, market practice performances will generally outnumber community practice performances in these contexts, even when a substantial number of non-market practices are co-present. Ethnographic data presented in chapter one support this observation empirically. This intuition leads to an assumption that a higher ratio of market to community practice indicates lower practice heterogeneity. Conversely, a lower market-to-community practice indicates higher practice heterogeneity. Servicescape research provides evidence that community-oriented servicescapes tend to facilitate a fairly wide range of practices that help develop personal relationships and a positively valued sense of community identity (Debenedetti et al. 2014; Price and Arnould 1999; Rosenbaum et al. 2007). Expecting that consumers who draw upon community logics in their own practice performances will experience the co-presence of heterogeneous practices more favorably, these intuitions and research lead to the following hypothesis:

H2: Performance of community-oriented practices will decrease the negative impact of practice heterogeneity on a consumer's overall servicescape experience.

In other words, the influence of practice heterogeneity depends on the complementarity of the cultural logics guiding performed and co-present practice

performances. A quantitative sketch map survey spatially and statistically examines these proposed relationships between practice heterogeneity and cultural logics.

### *Procedure*

A sketch map survey was administered at The Plaza with the assistance of four undergraduate students and one graduate student trained in the method. These research assistants received a VISA gift card as compensation for their time. The survey took place on-location during and immediately following the operating hours of The Plaza's weekly farmers' market, which is the time when the highest degree of heterogeneity in practice performances occurs. Prior to administering the survey, four farmers' market customers participated in a pilot test. During the full survey, five student research assistants recruited survey participants as they left The Plaza. After completing a survey with a participant, research assistants were instructed to invite the next consumer who exited The Plaza to participate, and to continue inviting each subsequent consumer until successfully recruiting a participant. I supervised this survey process. Volunteers stood at The Plaza's four exit points. Each consumer who participated received a five-dollar token, redeemable for purchases from any vendor at The Plaza's farmers' market.

Participants used an iPad loaded with a digital base map of The Plaza to draw their path through the servicescape. Survey volunteers asked open-ended questions about each consumer's experience at The Plaza, both at a general level and at the more specific level of individual practices they reported performing. The survey and consent form were available in Spanish in addition to English, and two research assistants spoke conversational Spanish. All participants chose to take the survey in English. Responses to open-ended questions were

audio recorded and transcribed. These transcripts comprise over 23,000 words describing consumer experiences at The Plaza on farmers' market day. Participants also reported the time they arrived at The Plaza, in addition to standard demographic information (see Appendix B for full survey instrument).

### *Measures*

*Dependent Measures of Consumer Experience.* Two measures of experience provide quantitative measures of consumer experience outcomes. First, consumer experience is measured using a ten-point Net Promoter Score (NPS) scale question. This question asks participants to rate their likelihood of recommending the experience at The Plaza to a friend. Some research criticizes the NPS for lacking the granularity and nuance important for guiding marketing strategy (Keiningham et al. 2007). However, research and marketing practice indicate that the one-question NPS can predict customer satisfaction almost as well as more complicated metrics (Reichheld 2003). For this reason, the sketch map survey employs the NPS as a simple, intuitive, quantitative measure of consumer experience.

Second, consumer experience is also measured by coding survey participants' qualitative reports of their experiences as either positive or non-positive (i.e., negative, neutral, or ambivalent). This coded measure reflects the valence of participants' overall experience, based on responses to open-ended questions about participants' overall experience and practice-specific experiences. For example, a consumer experience that includes both positive and negative dimensions is coded as non-positive, due to the ambivalence of the overall experience. The majority of survey participants only reported performing one or two practices at The Plaza. Thus, data are insufficient to compare individual practice experiences

between participants. For this reason, the NPS measure and the coded valence measure both represent consumers' overall experience at The Plaza. The NPS measure and coded valence measure correlated positively and significantly with each other (Pearson's coefficient = 0.309;  $p > 0.01$ ), providing evidence of convergent validity between the two measures.

*Independent Measures of Practice Heterogeneity.* Practice heterogeneity is measured as the ratio of market exchange practices to community relationship practices that occur within a survey participant's personal space during the time that they remained at The Plaza. Photographs of actual (observed) practice performances and survey participant sketch map paths form the basis of this calculated measure.

Panoramic photographs of all public consumption locations in The Plaza, made at fifteen-minute intervals during the survey, document the spatial distribution of actual practice performances. These photographs exclude indoor spaces managed by individual retailers or restaurants, as these spaces tend to facilitate a narrower range of consumption practices (e.g., shopping, dining). Based on practice categories identified during the collection and analysis of ethnographic data presented in chapter one, eight practices are included in the analysis and coded as either market or community oriented (see table 3). nVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software assisted in coding practice performances observed in the panoramic photographs. Each performance was labeled as one or more of the eight practice categories. Observations of a consumer performing multiple practices simultaneously (e.g., drinking a beverage and listening to a musical performance) are coded as two performances. Conversely, two consumers performing a single practice together are coded as one practice performance. Each practice performance coded in nVivo was also georeferenced using QGIS 2.18 software, an

open-source geographic information systems application that can be customized to run the data management and analysis packages required to calculate the practice heterogeneity measure. Points were created to represent each practice performance. These points were assigned latitude and longitude coordinates relative to georeferenced points on a high-resolution satellite image of The Plaza. The final set of coded observations includes 2,339 georeferenced practice performances over twelve time periods (see table 3 and figure 3). The total number of observed practices only counts a performance once, even though many performances that took place over multiple time periods were coded separately for each period of time.

Table 3: Coded Practice Performances

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Number of Observed Performances</b>	<b>Primary Cultural Logic Orientation</b>
1. Shop at Farmers' Market	351	Market
2. Drink a Beverage	330	Market
3. Eat a Meal or Snack	738	Market
4. Play with Children or Dogs	89	Community
5. Watch Music Performance	32	Community
6. Work or Read	124	Community
7. Shop at Retail Store	18	Market
8. People watch	50	Community
9. Socialize	386	Community
Other Practice <sup>1</sup>	221	-
<b>Market Practices</b>	<b>1,437</b>	-
<b>Community Practices</b>	<b>681</b>	-
<b>All Practices</b>	<b>2,339</b>	-

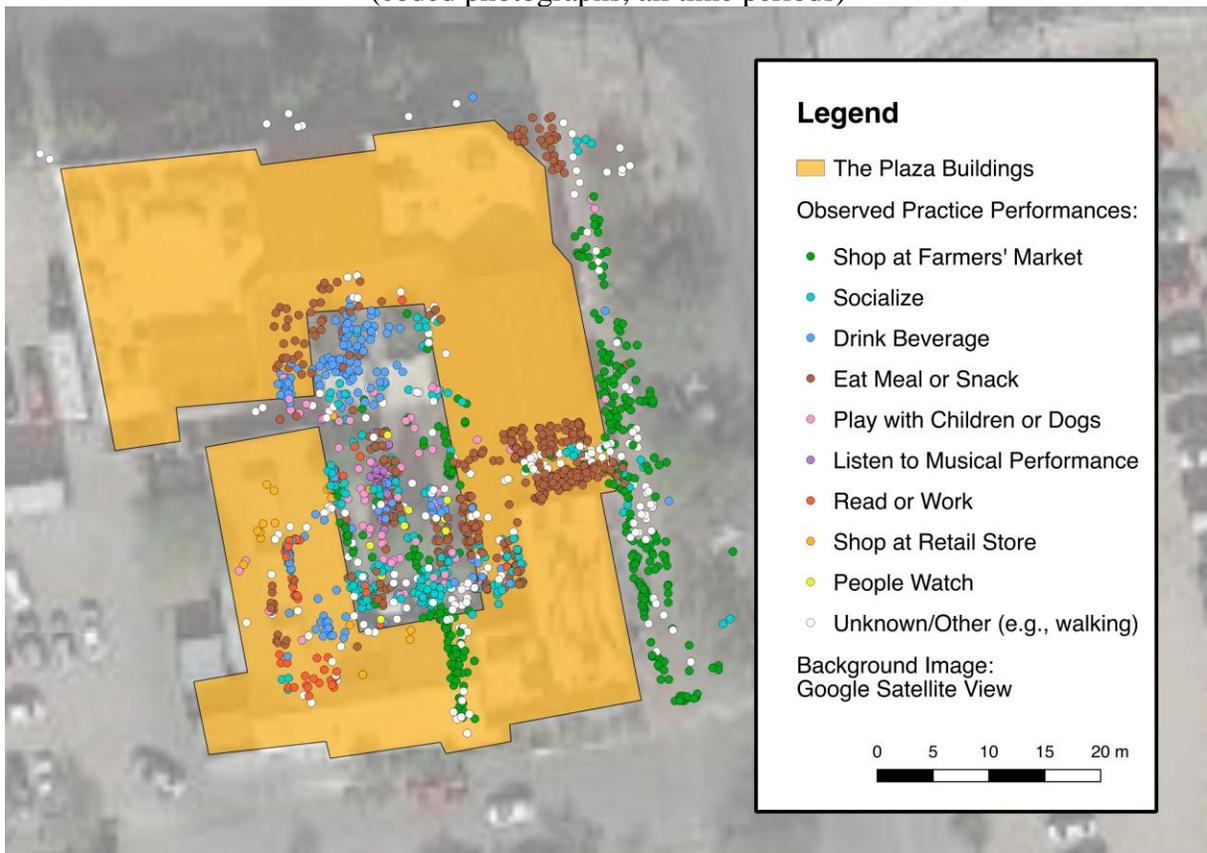
A measure of practice co-presence is calculated based on which practices performances occurred within each survey participants' personal space. Paths drawn by

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<sup>1</sup> Other Practices primarily include non-identifiable practices (e.g., a person walking without any visual indication of practice performance, such as a grocery bag or coffee cup) and a small number of practices that do not fit into the eight main practice categories.

participants were converted into spatially-referenced vector line files. These paths were then imported into QGIS, which calculated a fixed-distance buffer of three meters surrounding each path. The resulting path shapes account for a two-meter personal space radius, a social distance in which interpersonal influences between strangers are most powerful (Altman 1975; Hall 1990), plus a one-meter margin of error.

Figure 7: Locations of All Practice Performances  
(coded photographs, all time periods)



The final practice co-presence measure was calculated as the average ratio of market practices to community practices. To standardize this practice heterogeneity measure, the ratio uses the density of market and community practices within each participant's personal space polygon (i.e., number of practice performances divided by personal space area), rather than raw practice counts. These practice density ratios are averaged between all time periods

during which a participant reported being at The Plaza (see Appendix A for visual explanation of the process).

*Moderating Measure of Reported Practice Performance.* Survey participants verbally described their practice performances to research assistants, who reported these responses by selecting the appropriate practice(s) from a list of eight practices—the same list described in the section above. The dissertation author then cross-checked these selections using transcribed responses to open-ended questions, correcting any missing or mis-identified practice performances. These practice performances were also coded based on whether they were oriented primarily toward either market- or community logics, using the same criteria as the practice heterogeneity measure. The final practice performance measure is a dummy variable that indicates whether or not a survey participant reported performing any community-oriented practices. The performance of multiple community-oriented practices does not necessarily represent the invocation of multiple community logics. Since the measure merely indicates the presence of community logics in practice performances, a dummy variable provides the simplest and most appropriate reflection. A value of one indicates that a participant reported performing at least one community-oriented practice, while a value of zero indicates that a participant reported only performing market-oriented practices.

### *Sample*

Eighty-three people participated in the survey (46% response rate). Five farmers' market vendors or volunteers took the survey by mistake, as well as one consumer who was just entering The Plaza. Analyses do not include these six participants, leaving a total sample

of seventy-seven participants (see table 4). The final sample is 69% female, with a median age of 45 (mean=46.8), based on the mid-points of the age range scales used in the survey.

Table 4: Demographics Summary of Survey Participants  
(n=77)

Demographic Attribute	Number	Percent	Demographic Attribute	Number	Percent
<b>Age</b>			<b>Occupation Class</b>		
18-29	18	23%	Higher Managerial and Professional Occupations	8	10%
30-39	12	16%	Lower Administrative and Professional Occupation	26	34%
40-49	9	12%	Primary and Secondary Education	11	14%
50-59	15	19%	Creative Occupations (Artists, Musicians, etc.)	4	5%
60-69	12	16%	Routine Non-Manual Worker	9	12%
70-79	7	9%	Skilled and Unskilled Manual Worker	4	5%
80+	1	1%	Student	7	9%
Unknown	1	1%	Other	8	10%
<b>Gender</b>			<b>Home Distance to The Plaza (from zip code central point)</b>		
Male	16	21%	Local (same zip code)	23	30%
Female	53	69%	Less than 3 miles	13	17%
Other/Unknown	8	10%	3-5 miles	9	12%
<b>Race and Ethnicity</b>			6-9 miles	7	9%
White	49	64%	10+ miles	12	16%
Hispanic or Latina/Latino	11	14%	Out of state	5	6%
Black or African American	3	4%	Unknown	8	10%
Asian	1	1%	<b>Prior Experience at The Plaza</b>		
Native American	2	3%	3+ times per month	33	43%
Other/Multiple Races	9	12%	1-2 times per month	20	26%
Unknown	2	3%	A few times per year	7	9%
<b>Education*</b>			Once or twice	8	10%
High School Diploma or GED	5	6%	First time	9	12%
Some Post-secondary Ed.	16	21%	<b>Consumption Companions</b>		
Undergraduate Degree	21	27%	Alone	39	51%
Some Graduate School	5	6%	Group of Two	29	38%
Graduate Degree	26	34%	Group of Three or More	9	12%
Unknown	4	5%	With Children	6	8%
			With Dogs	3	4%

\*No participants had less than a high school diploma/GED

The gender composition was more uneven than is typical among consumers at The Plaza, although women often represent more than half of farmers' market shoppers. Aside from gender, the demographic composition of the survey sample is approximately equivalent to the typical range of consumers observed during ethnographic fieldwork at The Plaza during farmers' market. The gender imbalance could be due to sampling bias (e.g., survey volunteers unconsciously preferring to approach women) or non-random differences in the ways that men and women responded to survey recruitment. Children are also typically more prevalent at The Plaza during the farmers' market than they are in accompanying survey participants. Consumers with children may be more likely to decline recruitment attempts, due to the challenge of multitasking monitoring children with survey participation.

Sketch map survey participants are predominantly white (64%), educated (67% with an undergraduate degree or higher), middle class consumers. Participants reported their occupations verbally, and their positions are categorized in table four based on common social status indexes (Connelly, Gayle, and Lambert 2016). Additional categories for students (9%) and primary or secondary educators (14%) were also added, as these represented a substantial proportion of participants. Overall, survey participants reported high education levels and relatively high-status occupations, in contrast with the surrounding census tract. Median household income for this tract is \$25,000 and only 23% have at least a four-year degree, based on U.S. Census Bureau estimates. More than half of participants visit The Plaza one or more times per month. These consumers' extensive past experience at The Plaza indicates that many may already have a cultural repertoire well-developed for this particular service context. The cultural resources these consumers have, including knowledge and in-group understanding, are common within the relatively privileged educational and social class

positions of typical farmers' market customers in the United States (Alkon 2008; Brown 2002). These particular demographic characteristics inform survey analyses and results.

### *Results*

*Descriptive statistics.* Survey participants reported very positive experiences in the servicescape, based on both coded responses (mean = 0.9; SD = 0.31) and the NPS measure (mean = 9.7; SD = 0.79). This lack of variation skews the dependent measures extremely positively, which is problematic for finding statistically significant differences between these experiences.

However, results do show that The Plaza and its customers experience practice heterogeneity in the servicescape, and that practice co-presence follows patterns that align with market and community orientations. Summarizing practice performances reported by survey participants, only one or two practices were performed on average (mean = 1.6; min. = 1; max. = 5; SD = 0.94) and participants spent an average of 39 minutes at The Plaza (min. = 0:04; max. = 2:24; SD = 0:31). Fifty-nine participants performed the practice of farmers' market shopping (77%). Three other practices also appeared somewhat frequently, including drinking a beverage (17%), eating a meal or snack (23%), and people watching (16%). Table five summarizes the co-performance of these practices, showing that participants tended to perform market practices together (e.g., shopping at the farmers' market and eating a meal). However, participants also performed community practices (e.g., playing and people watching) alongside market practices. Fifty-five (71%) survey participants reported performing only market practices, five (7%) performed only community practices, and eighteen (22%) performed both.

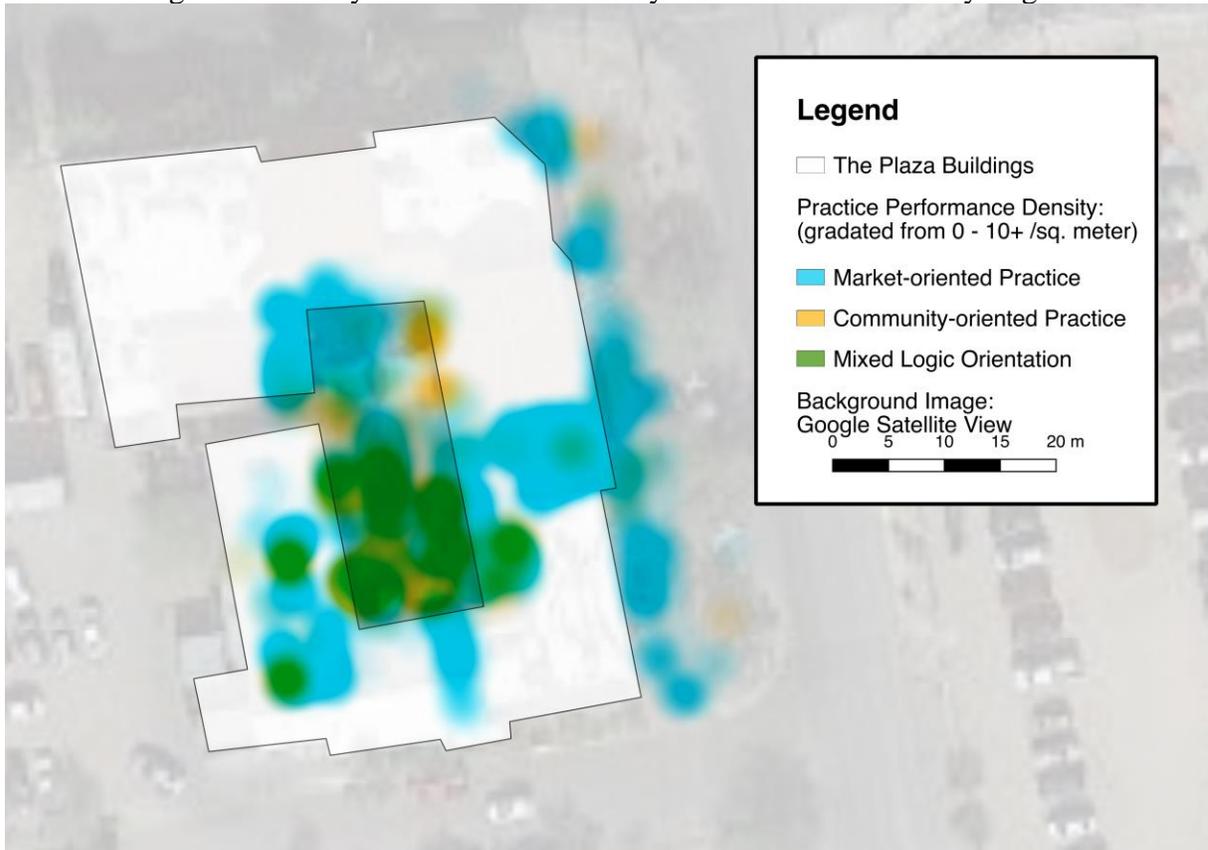
Table 5: Sketch Map Survey Reported Practice Co-performance

Practice Performance	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Other
1. Shop at Farmers' Market	59	-								
2. Drink Beverage	13	8	-							
3. Eat Meal or Snack	18	10	4	-						
4. Play with Dog or Child	4	3	0	1	-					
5. Watch Music Performance	7	5	3	2	0	-				
6. Work or Read	2	1	0	0	0	0	-			
7. Shop at Retail Stores	7	5	0	2	0	0	0	-		
8. People Watch	12	8	4	5	1	3	0	3	-	
Other Practice	5	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	-

Data also demonstrate a relatively high degree of observed practice heterogeneity occurring within survey participants' personal space. Practice density statistics across all personal space areas reflect a relatively low overall density of all practices taken together (min = 0.01/square meter; max = 0.19; mean = 0.08; SD = 0.032). This may be because density statistics include all areas that a participant's path reported traveling through, including many spaces located away from service providers and other consumers (e.g., walking to the parking lot). Within personal spaces, co-present market practices predominated, although a high standard deviation indicates substantial variation in the ratio of co-present market practices to community practices (mean = 3.50; min = 0.70; max = 18.00; SD = 2.584). The market-oriented nature of the servicescape means that a co-present market-to-community practice ratio of less than one is not likely. Only one participant's personal space showed a market-to-community practice density of less than 1.0. Figure seven illustrates the spatial distribution and overlap of market- and community-oriented practice in The Plaza during all twelve observation periods. Co-presence of market and community practices occurs most frequently in the central courtyard of the plaza, market practices predominate in the restaurant, retail, and farmers' market vendor areas located on the periphery of The Plaza. Exploratory analysis of

correlations between independent, dependent, and demographic variables were also conducted but did not provide clear patterns to support or refute the proposed hypotheses. Results of these supplemental analysis are included in Appendix A.

Figure 8: Density of Practices Guided by Market and Community Logics



*Causal Models.* Two regression models separately estimate the effects of practice heterogeneity on each dependent measure of consumer experience. Both models test practice heterogeneity as an independent variable, as well as the cultural logic orientation of reported practice performance as a moderator. This moderation is included in the model as a term representing the interaction of practice performance logic orientation (a dummy variable indicating whether the participant performed a community practice) and average ratio of co-present market and community practices. An OLS regression model tested the predictive

power of practice heterogeneity on the NPS-scale measure of consumer experience. A logistic regression model tested the effect of practice heterogeneity on the binary, coded consumer experience responses (0=negative, neutral, or ambivalent; 1=positive). Table six summarizes the estimates of these regression models. None of these causal relationships proved to be statistically significant. Thus, the results fail to disprove the null hypothesis associated with H1, that practice heterogeneity has no effect on consumer experience. Likewise, the model estimates fail to disprove the null hypothesis associated with H2, that the cultural logics guiding survey participants' community practice performances have no moderating impact on experiences of co-present practice heterogeneity.

**Table 6: Regression Tests of the Effect of Practice Heterogeneity on Consumer Experience**

<b>Predictors</b>	<b>NPS Scale Measure of Consumer Experience</b>	<b>Binary Coded Measure of Consumer Experience</b>
	<i>OLS regression estimates</i> Beta coefficient (SE)	<i>Logistic regression estimates</i> Beta coefficient (SE)
Practice Heterogeneity ( <i>PH</i> )	-0.03 (0.04), $p = 0.45$	0.64 (0.65), $p = 0.30$
Performance of Community Practices ( <i>Comm</i> )	-0.62 (0.44) $p = 0.16$	1.43 (2.07) $p = 0.49$
<i>PH * Comm</i>	0.11 (0.11) $p = 0.33$	-0.09 (0.73) $p = 0.23$

### *Discussion*

Failure to statistically confirm any of the proposed relationships between practice heterogeneity and consumer experience has several potential explanations. Low variation and a positively skew in both consumer experience measures would hinder the models' ability to detect change in these experiences. Additionally, practice heterogeneity may appear to have little effect on consumer experience simply because its influence depends on factors that are not captured by quantitative survey measures. For example, the influence of another

consumer's co-present practice performance may depend on timing, duration, and intensity of the performance, as well as other factors that are unrelated to a co-present performance's cultural logic orientation.

Further, the frequent performance by survey participants of both market and community practices demonstrates that these practices are co-performed by consumers as often as they are observed or experienced as performed by other consumers in the same space and time. It is likely that a single practice, such as drinking coffee with a friend, is guided by multiple cultural logics that a consumer may draw upon during his or her performance. Developing an understanding of consumer experience construction requires analytical and methodological attention on both the cultural and material influences that shape human experience. Because of the complex, culturally constructed nature of service experiences, quantitative analyses often fall short in their explanations of these phenomena. Richer, interpretive analyses of qualitative data can disentangle some of the processes that shape consumer experiences of co-present practice heterogeneity. The following section describes the procedures and results of a qualitative study designed to complement the quantitative study just presented.

## **Qualitative Consumer Experience Study**

### *Research Questions and Objectives*

An interpretive examination of qualitative sketch map data enables a more culturally sensitive analysis of the ways that consumers construct experiences than is permitted by statistical methods. The qualitative study also draws upon secondary data, including online

consumer reviews, to broaden the research sample and add variation of experience. Similar to the quantitative study, this interpretive analysis asks how consumers construct experiences of servicescape practice heterogeneity. However, the qualitative study focuses its attention on identifying the cultural tools consumers draw on and the ways that their cultural repertoires shape experiences of practice heterogeneity in service contexts.

### *Data*

Qualitative data come from audio-recorded and transcribed responses to open-ended questions in the sketch map survey, as well as written accounts of consumer experiences reported in online reviews. These online reviews provide an external perspective given by consumers not directly influenced by interactions with a researcher. Online review data include 4,240 consumer reviews on four online review platforms (Yelp, Facebook, Google, Trip Advisor) with pages dedicated to The Plaza, its weekly farmers' market, and five of its individual tenants. These reviews span the same four-year time period as ethnographic data collection and are largely positive in valence, with an average rating of 4.5 stars out of 5. Reviews describe The Plaza itself, the weekly farmers' market, and five businesses with online review profiles. These reviews also include many negative and ambivalent experience descriptions, adding important variation to the primarily positive experiences reported by participants of the sketch map survey. These reviews were obtained by exporting online review pages as text and images saved in PDF format. Twenty-eight of these reviews were written in Spanish, and these were translated into English using Google Translate.

Ninety-six of these reviews, comprising over 3,800 words, directly describe experiences at The Plaza during its weekly farmers' market. These reviews of The Plaza

during the farmers' market provide reports of experiences that are most comparable with those reported by participants of the sketch map survey. However, reviews of The Plaza outside of the weekly farmers market add important variation of experience—particularly in 283 negative reviews rated by consumers as either one or two stars out of five.<sup>2</sup> Many consumer reviews do not clearly differentiate between the elements of their experience attributed to the farmers' market, The Plaza, or its individual retailers, so the inclusion of these additional reviews is particularly useful for this study context.

### *Coding and Analysis*

Analysis of qualitative data includes several procedures. Each level of analysis is also shaped and contextualized by the insights gained during the ethnographic study presented in chapter one. Transcribed experiences reported by survey participants were coded in three steps using nVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software. First, all practice performances were coded, using the same eight practices analyzed in the quantitative study. Coding included practices that a participant reported performing themselves or being performed by other customers or service providers around them. Second, the topics of each response were coded into five categories: products (e.g., food, drink, merchandise), services (e.g., service provider responsiveness, kindness), the physical environment (e.g., ambience, aesthetics, access), and price. These four categories follow prior conceptual and empirical work measuring customer experiences in retail and restaurant settings (Ryu and Han 2010; Verhoef et al. 2009). A fifth

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<sup>2</sup> Facebook recently changed its numerical rating from a standard 5-star scheme to a binary yes/no recommendation system, which is not searchable by rating score. Negative reviews were manually sampled from Facebook, rather than relying on a numerical 2-star cut-off.

topic category, descriptions of other customers outside the participant's own group, was also coded. Third, the overall valence of the reported experience (positive, negative, neutral, or ambivalent) was coded. This final code is the same as used to construct the binary measure of experience in the quantitative study.

Coding of online reviews that explicitly mention The Plaza during its farmers' market followed the same process used during the coding of transcribed survey responses. While the entire collection of reviews was reviewed and examined, the detailed coding process was used on the set of ninety-six reviews that specifically describes The Plaza during the weekly farmers market. To code for variation of experience, 126 of the negative reviews (over 7,100 words) were coded by practice, topic, and valence of experience in the same detailed manner as farmers' market reviews. After approximately one hundred reviews, further coding at this level of granularity provided only repetition of the patterns of experience already coded, indicating theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss 1967). At this point, detailed coding continued only for reviews that reported a high level of heterogeneity in practice performance and experience. Results emerged from iterating between granular comparisons of practice frequencies, quantified through detailed coding, and identifying patterns in experience construction holistically within survey responses and review texts.

### *Results*

Interpretive analyses of survey and online review data identify the ways that consumers use cultural tools to develop a repertoire for service interactions. This repertoire enables consumers to respond to service contexts, which helps them understand how to act and shapes their understanding of the experience. These results apply Swidler's toolkit theory

of culture and practice to a servicescape context, but they also extend the theory with the concept of flexible and rigid repertoires. Three subsections develop these insights.

*The Consumer's Service Repertoire.* Cultural logics help consumers to make sense of the contexts they encounter. By drawing on these logics as tools, consumers can understand how to act and interpret their experiences. Consumers enter a servicescape armed with “cultured capacities” (Swidler 2001a, 73), which are a set of cultural tools that they learn to use over a lifetime of practice in a range of service experiences. These capacities make up a consumer's service repertoire, which is a practiced toolkit for responding to service experiences. Delaney, an online reviewer, illustrates a cultural service repertoire that draws primarily upon market logics in describing The Plaza:

Not really my kind of farmer's market. There weren't very many vendors, and those who were there were mostly overpriced. I did like an essential oil booth with high quality essential oils at a decent price for pure essential oil.

She constructs her experience based on a farmers' market shopping repertoire that prioritizes market logics of efficiency and choice maximization. A service context with a small number of available produce vendors limits the capacity of her repertoire to guide a meaningful consumption practice. Conversely, the high quality and low cost provided by the essential oil vendor's products align well with a market logic of economic efficiency. Delaney constructs an experience based on an alignment of service repertoire and service context, rather than feelings of expectation and satisfaction. While Delaney may be satisfied with one vendor's price and quality, her service repertoire conflicts with other resources available in the

servicescape context. Because of this, she understands The Plaza as “not really [her] kind of farmers’ market,” compared with other contexts that better match her service repertoire.

Consumers use their service repertoires to “move among situations, finding terms in which to orient action within each situation” (Swidler 2001a, 30). A survey participant (Brandy: a white woman in her 50s, who is a retired engineer) says that during The Plaza’s farmers’ market, “I feel like I’m buying from my neighbors. [It’s] much more personal. If I go to Safeway, I buy organic because they’re strangers. But, when I come here, I don’t care [...] It’s more friendly and intimate.” While Brandy participates in market exchange practices, the sense of connection she feels to the farmers’ market vendors invokes community logics that shift her away from a typical grocery shopping service repertoire. She compares the farmers’ market to a supermarket like Safeway, where market logics emphasize the importance of standardized product quality signals such as organic certification. A sense of kinship and common experience between “neighbors” invokes a community-focused service repertoire, while a less personal, mass-market exchange between “strangers” at the supermarket invokes a repertoire oriented primarily around market logics. Both market and community logics operate in the service repertoire that Brandy enacts at The Plaza, but the symbolic and material resources in that servicescape lead her to draw more upon community logics to guide her own practices and interpret her experience.

Service contexts “call up” (Swidler 2001a, 33) different parts of a consumer’s service repertoire, as they assess which repertoires might be appropriate and how to enact them. In servicescapes that facilitate heterogeneous consumption practices, service repertoires help consumers make sense of a range of service and consumption possibilities. A survey participant (Richard: a white man in his 20s, who has an undergraduate degree and is

currently unemployed) uses a repertoire for socializing with his friends to guide his actions at The Plaza. Discussing his experience at the farmers' market, he says:

People were great, much more open space than the retail places I go to [...] [There was] lively, celebratory, music. I prefer this for sure. [...] I saw a lot of people I know, had a lot of conversations. People seem happy and, yeah, conversational. I will also hang out at some coffee shops or at my house, or at friends' houses.

The “lively, celebratory” servicescape at The Plaza invokes a repertoire that typically guides Richard's community practices of “hanging out” with friends in coffee shops or homes. He does not deploy a more conventional shopping repertoire that would align with the other retail servicescapes he is familiar with. Although he reports in his survey that he purchased produce at the market, Richard draws primarily on logics of community in the repertoire he brings to the service context. This blend of market and community logics filters the experience of practice heterogeneity in a way that foregrounds the communal nature of his interactions with service providers and other customers who are “happy and conversational.” By providing resources that align with community-oriented service repertoires, such as open space and conversational vendors, The Plaza can act a “third place” (Oldenburg 2001), where community connections form outside of work and home (Karababa and Ger 2011; Rosenbaum et al. 2007).

A service context can invoke multiple parts of a consumer's service repertoire, particularly in response to heterogeneous and co-present practices. Consumers often blend multiple cultural logics together to form strategies of action that seem intuitively appropriate to them in a heterogeneous service context. Erik, an online reviewer, writes that The Plaza is a “cool place to hang out, chat with some friends, and sip on some coffee. Live music some

nights, farmers' market every Thursday, and awesome dining options with [the Mexican restaurant] and [the upscale restaurant].” He draws multiple logics from a repertoire that guides his own performance of heterogeneous practices, including socializing, drinking coffee, shopping, listening to musical performances, and dining out. Logics of market exchange play a background role to community logics in the portions of his repertoire that he enacts. The market exchanges involved in purchasing a cup of coffee or plate of food merely facilitate the formation of community relationships.

In addition to guiding action, consumers' service repertoires also shape the ways they construct the meaning they experience in service interactions. Veronica, an online reviewer, writes a positive description of her experience at The Plaza:

What a fantastic community resource! As I walked into The Plaza I was greeted by tables and tables of fresh vegetables and fruits [...] There were families lingering about in the center chatting with friends and listening to live music. I'm excited that this place is open in the evenings on Thursday, and an extra little nugget of goodness is by shopping locally [at the farmers' market] you are also supporting the food bank!

The Plaza's servicescape includes many consumers performing a wide range of practices—from shopping for produce to attending a concert to socializing with friends. Drawing primarily on community logics, Veronica constructs her experience of practice heterogeneity as positive and enjoyable. Groups of people interacting in the center courtyard, as well as public events such as musical performances and the farmers' market, foster a feeling of communion between people. The formation of community requires the development of a collective consciousness and a sense of moral responsibility toward the community and its members, which are often expressed and maintained through shared rituals

and traditions (Muñiz, Jr. and O'Guinn 2001). The cultural meanings required for an ethics of community influence not only Veronica's behavior in The Plaza, but also her interpretation of experiences within that servicescape. The market exchange practices involved in the produce shopping help to instill a feeling of collective responsibility, which she takes by supporting the local food bank that operates the farmers' market. Musical performances and other regular events provide community traditions that enable Veronica to develop a sense of community belonging that filters her experiences within The Plaza. Rather than organizing around a particular brand, Veronica and other consumers use the practice resources available in The Plaza to form a physically-bound community that mimics the organic, personal, pre-industrial ideals of *Gemeinschaft* (Tönnies 1887/2001). A service repertoire that foregrounds community logics enables Veronica to construct her experience of practice heterogeneity as a pleasant communal interaction, even in the co-presence of market and community practices.

Consumer experience emerges from contextual combination of action and interpretation, guided by the alignment of a consumer's service repertoire with the cultural and material resources available in a particular servicescape. In Swidler's (2001a, 178) terms, "The specific components of a cultural repertoire, and the parts of that repertoire that are invoked in any particular setting, are linked to distinctive institutional structures." Institutions, particularly the market, provide cultural logics that consumers can draw upon creatively. However, institutional structures shape these logics and arrange them in ways that influence how consumers develop and use of their service repertoires. Thus, consumer experience is always a culturally constructed phenomenon. The heterogeneity of practices in The Plaza make this particularly salient, since consumer experience in this context is often difficult for consumers to articulate in terms of expectation and satisfaction. Consumers may not know

what to expect and often find each novel combination of practices surprising. However, the multifaceted service repertoires that consumers develop over a lifetime of consumption practices enables both experience and action to emerge in context, merging past experiences with present situations.

*Unsettled Service Templates.* As consumers use their service repertoires in a range of situations, they develop a capacity to anticipate service contexts and the cultural tools best suited for them. Over time, consumers' service repertoires become adept at deploying particular sets of cultural tools routinely within service contexts they encounter regularly. This routinized combination of repertoire and context leads to the formation of a cultural service template that consumers follow intuitively and automatically. As in "settled times" (Swidler 2001a, 170), consumers can automatically and intuitively follow a settled service template when they enter standardized service contexts for which their service repertoires are well suited and well-practiced. Consumer review data show that settled templates most often guide practice performance and experience within service contexts with relatively little practice heterogeneity. As one online reviewer summarizes following a disappointing dining experience, "The sign of a good restaurant is consistency. You are only as good as your last meal." Inconsistency impedes consumers from efficiently following a routine cultural service template, and service providers typically strive to build and maintain consistency of experience to avoid uncertainty and unpleasant surprises for their customers (Bolton et al. 2014). As in settled times, "The available cultural resources make it easier to put together some strategies than others" (Swidler 2001a, 104). Servicescapes that facilitate a fairly

uniform and homogenous range of practices, such as many restaurants, enable consumers to perform consumption practices intuitively by following a settled cultural service template.

Consumers can also develop a routinized or settled cultural service template through their past experiences in more heterogeneous service contexts. A survey participant (Andrew: a white man in his 60s, who is a retired senior manager) demonstrates and describes a settled cultural service template particularly succinctly. Andrew attends the farmers' market at The Plaza at least once a month, and on the day of the survey he performed only one practice there: shopping for produce. He comes to The Plaza with a specific plan of action, and his description reflects an experience of successfully accomplishing his objectives:

In a word, it was perfect. There's no hassle. People are always polite. You're dealing with real people who care. It's like, these people grew these in their yard or wherever [...] [My favorite seller] is the least friendly vendor. But I don't care. She had the product that I like.

Andrew's experience reflects a settled cultural service template. His service repertoire, which draws upon both market and community logics, has developed over time to match a service context that includes a regular set of vendors who sell produce grown and handled with appropriate care. Regular participation in the servicescape maintains and strengthens his produce shopping service template, which further focuses his subsequent consumption practices in the same service context. Although other survey participants report a range of heterogeneous practices that shaped their experiences, these co-present practices have little influence on Andrew's own practice of produce shopping. A cultural service template focuses Andrew's servicescape performances around produce shopping. Nothing in the service

context impedes the deployment of his routinized service repertoire or provides a “hassle” that destabilizes the settled cultural service template that he follows.

With a settled cultural service template, it is relatively straightforward for consumers to assess and describe service quality in terms of expectations and satisfaction. In these contexts, standardized measures may capture the consumer experience fairly well (Lemon and Verhoef 2016; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry 1988). In many service contexts, consumers may find the alignment between their service repertoires and the servicescape’s resources intuitively clear. Mass consumption contexts, such as fast food drive-throughs and discount supercenters, facilitate a limited range of practice resources and serve customers who are often well-practiced in these standardized environments. In these contexts, consumers can often construct a clear set of expectations for service providers to satisfy.

However, as in unsettled times (Swidler 1986, 2001a), consumer service repertoires sometimes do not align well with the service context. Consumers take cues from their environment, including the practices that other consumers perform, to help them understand how to act in a service context (Bitner 1992). Practice heterogeneity creates a service context that makes the applicability of routine service repertoires ambiguous, unsettling the cultural service templates that consumers have developed through previous service experiences and anticipate following in future situations. In these contexts, consumers must create new strategies of action by drawing more explicitly on available cultural resources, including logics, ideologies, rituals, and symbols. Without a settled cultural service template, consumers cannot simply follow intuition or common sense in applying their service repertoire.

An unexpected co-presence of practices guided by conflicting cultural logics can unsettle a cultural service template. Troy, an online reviewer, describes his experience of

heterogeneity in terms of unwanted, conflicting consumption practices invading the space of his own practice of restaurant dining:

Nothing there worth the trip. Just several tiny shops with very small inventories of things you probably don't need. The wait just to order food was ten minutes, and the dining area was full of filthy dogs lounging amongst the tables. The property management should not allow dogs onto this property. I refuse to eat with filthy dogs.

The servicescape described here diverges from Troy's restaurant dining service template in several ways. At first glance, the long wait and small retail inventory appear to represent a typical misalignment of service expectations and experience. While not pleasant, Troy can still understand and interpret these service failures within a settled service template. However, the co-presence of dog-walking practices, more typical of a city park than a restaurant, unsettle the cultural service template Troy relies on in service contexts like The Plaza. Drawing on market logics of efficiency and customer centricity, Troy's service repertoire does not facilitate a smooth and pleasant practice performance experience (Woermann and Rokka 2015). Instead, the co-presence of conflicting practices disrupts his consumption practice, which is guided by market logics drawn from his service repertoire.

In service contexts where practice heterogeneity occurs, consumers often have to develop new service repertoires on the fly in order to engage with service providers and other consumers. A participant in a pilot test of the sketch map survey (Max: a white man in his 60s, who is a furniture maker) frequently purchases a cup of coffee and sits in The Plaza's inner courtyard, listening to live music and watching the other people who also occupy the space. Max says that the city where The Plaza is located "has a wonderful mix, and so you see a little bit of everything [here at The Plaza...]. It's not knowing who you'll meet or who

you'll run into and what you'll talk about. That's the fun." Over time, Max learns a new cultural service template that aligns community-oriented parts of his service repertoire with the varied and heterogeneous environment of The Plaza on farmers' market day. He describes how he likes "to stop and talk to people and find out what's going on," and ask them, "What's your story?" Drawing primarily on logics of community, he constructs an experience where "the fun" of his practices lies in an opportunity to perform empathy by seeking to understand people different from himself. Unsettled cultural service templates often require consumers to draw novel combinations of cultural logics from their service repertoires in order to understand and respond to a heterogeneous servicescape. The next section discusses the capacity for consumers to adapt their service repertoires for unsettled contexts.

*Rigid and Flexible Consumer Repertoires.* Hector, a survey participant (a Hispanic man in his 20s, who is a technical drafter), comes to The Plaza regularly with friends and family. However, until the day when he participated in the survey, he had never attended the farmers' market. He describes his experience:

We were gonna go to the pastry shop. Didn't even realize all this [farmers' market] was going on [...] It was good. Couldn't complain [...] Definitely a creative bunch of people. Definitely more than we expected, so like I said, we probably stuck around a little longer than we expected to.

Together with his significant other, Hector spent over an hour at The Plaza, listening to music and watching people in the courtyard. The co-presence of a range of practices other than his own means that Hector had to draw his service repertoire in new ways. Creatively shifting strategies of action to perform unplanned practices, Hector and his partner deviated

from their anticipated practice to participate in the surrounding heterogeneity. Using a logic of community, he constructs his experience of purchasing and consuming pastries and drinks as enhanced by the practices performed by other farmers' market consumers. In this way, The Plaza provides a pleasant surprise, shaped by a novel combination of Hector's flexible service repertoire and the servicescape's heterogeneous practice environment.

Service repertoires shape the ways that consumers respond to unplanned practice heterogeneity that disrupts a settled cultural service template. When a consumer responds to these surprises by drawing on cultural tools that do not align with the new service context, the experience can be unsettling. Lydia, an online reviewer, writes sarcastically:

Parents, take note. The Plaza is the perfect place to bring your kids, turn them loose and let them scream their lungs out. Think of it as kind of a dog park for hyperactive children. Anything goes! So, your rugrats are throwing a tantrum next to someone who was trying to enjoy a nice meal outside? Not your problem, right, 'cuz that's what parents do here.

The reviewer experiences the presence of children playing wildly, alongside her practice of eating at a restaurant, as invasive and offensive. At a playground or "dog park" Lydia might employ a repertoire more tolerant of loud behavior by young child. However, the service context invokes cultural logics that focus her attention on the ways these children and parents disrupt her dining experience. In her service repertoire, cultural templates for playground behavior cannot align with templates for a paid restaurant service context. Few service repertoires may be able to construct the co-presence of a toddler tantrum as a positive experience. Adding a tantrum to a heterogeneous mix of servicescape practices creates a

surprise, but one that rarely is pleasant. However, the salience of this conflicting practice is shaped by the cultural tools the consumer brings to the experience.

Different repertoires shape different experiences of the same servicescape. Online reviewers mention children often, but rarely focus on their presence or their practices as a primary source of conflict. Another online reviewer, summarizes the sentiment shared by many others that, “Children are in abundance with their parents looking on. There is an old time, magical feeling to the whole scene.” Other reviewers and survey participants similarly describe community practices such as child’s play, free concerts, and demonstrations by community organizations as adding a feeling of authenticity to otherwise market activities and spaces. A survey participant (Holly: a woman in her 20s, who is a theatre student) describes some elements of the servicescape that generate this feeling for her:

I love farmer’s markets a lot, and I think it's just so... like people, and lots of things. And you see lots of interesting people. It definitely feels more authentic than other retail places. You know? [...] I went into a store and the woman who was running it was very friendly and chatting with another customer about their children. And that was sweet.

For Holly, the heterogeneous mix of “interesting people” and “friendly” social interactions invoke a logic of empathy that is common to ideals of community. Holly came to The Plaza planning to shop at one of the clothing boutiques, but she doesn’t mention price or products in her description of experience. Instead, the community-oriented aspects of her service repertoire shape an experience that focuses on relationship building and personal interaction. This repertoire is flexible enough that the crowds at the farmers’ market complement rather than conflict with her retail shopping practice. The cultural tools in

consumers' service repertoires enable them to draw upon a range of servicescape resources to perform their practices and construct their experiences.

A flexible service repertoire also allows consumers to draw upon and apply a diverse set of cultural logics to a service context. A survey participant (Brandy, a white woman in her 20s, who works as a development director) says:

Everyone was friendly and familiar and busy. I have to wait at both places, which is great. I don't mind it. I'm happy that people are buying things here [...] The music was great. I liked the variety of it. It's just like a very—I like the community feeling. I feel like I run into people I know, and just everyone is very friendly even if you don't know them. If you're waiting for something at a vendor or for a drink, everyone was just kind of like nice to each other, which I think in a big city doesn't always feel possible. It feels more like a small town.”

Drawing community logics into a practice of market exchange gives Brandy the flexibility to adapt to the servicescape. Brandy constructs her long wait to buy produce as a positive community-building experience that provides her with time to meet new people and connect with old friends. She also feels part of a broader community that includes farmers' market vendors, and she celebrates the market success that long lines of shoppers indicate. Conventional wisdom views waiting and queuing as inherently negative consumer experiences, and prior research recommends various strategies for reducing wait times or redirecting consumer attention away from the experience of waiting (Carmon, Shanthikumar, and Carmon 1995; Hui, Dube, and Chebat 1997; Nie 2000). However, consumer perceptions of waiting are always constructed in context (Miller, Kahn, and Luce 2008; Wang, Hong, and Zhou 2017). Understanding that consumers apply different cultural logics as lenses to

interpret their experiences and apply their service repertoires provides a richer framework to explain the ways that consumers use shared meanings to understand a market practice of waiting. Increased time in lines reduces exchange efficiency, but, constructed through the lens of community logic, consumers experience lines as opportunities for relationship building.

More rigid service repertoires, associated with settled cultural service templates, make adaptation to unexpected practice heterogeneity more challenging. For example, a survey participant (Tonya: a white woman in her 20s, who is the manager of a coffee shop) describes the farmers' market as having some "very positive" aspects. However, she speaks about her overall experience as "a little overwhelming... just busy." Tonya attended The Plaza to find a place to talk with her friend, who came with her. She says, "We hung out at the tables there [... but] I felt distracted and overwhelmed, so we decided to walk out of the market so that we could actually—we just wanted to chat and not be distracted." Her friend (Christy: a woman in her 30s, who is an herbalist) expresses similar sentiment. Although she reports her experience purchasing produce at the farmers' market as very positive—ten out of ten on the NPS—she describes her overall experience as less positive—eight out of ten on the NPS—due to their conversation being overwhelmed by farmers' market activity. Dropping out of the nine- to ten-point NPS range represents a substantial decrease in a customer's opinion of their service experience (Reichheld 2003), particularly given the prevalence of very high NPS ratings in the sketch map survey. Tonya and Christy attempt to follow a cultural service template that quickly becomes incompatible with the range and number of other practices performed in the same space. A rigid repertoire shapes their response to and understanding of the experience. Rather than adapt and change practices, they exit The Plaza and search for a servicescape that better aligns with their repertoires.

Settled service templates and rigid repertoires help consumers develop clear expectations for how to act and interpret standardized service experiences. However, flexible repertoires that draw upon a range of cultural tools enable consumers to respond to the unsettled contexts arising in the co-presence of heterogeneous consumption practices. Practice heterogeneity in a servicescape makes unanticipated experiences possible by providing novel combinations of practice resources that consumers can match with their own cultural repertoires to construct a unique cultural service template. Whether consumers construct the surprises generated by practice heterogeneity as pleasant or unpleasant depends on their capacity to use their service repertoire to adapt to the context.

### *Discussion*

This chapter contributes a more holistic understanding of the sociocultural factors that shape consumer servicescape experiences. These conceptual developments also point to more holistic and effective strategies for managers to design, configure, and operate servicescapes that facilitate the co-creation of positive consumer experiences. In this section, I discuss these theoretical and practical contributions, as well as the current study's limitations and the potential avenues remaining for future research.

A contemporary focus on consumption practices as assemblages of meaning, materials, and embodied competences (Arsel and Bean 2013; Maciel and Wallendorf 2017; Magaudda 2011; Schatzki 2002; Schau et al. 2009; Shove et al. 2012) has enabled theoretical progress toward explanations of behavior that go beyond consumers' individual lived experiences (Askegaard and Linnet 2011). This growing body of research brings to light the multi-level networks and systems of people and resources that enable or constrain individual

practice performances, and which often remain obscured in studies fixated upon individual action and experience. This chapter makes the case that re-integrating individual processes of meaning-making into studies of consumption practices remains important. Examining how consumers use culture to construct individual experiences can bring to light important micro-level phenomena, while still “being attentive to the *context of contexts*: societal class divisions, historical and global processes, cultural values and norms” (Askegaard and Linnet 2011, 396). Woermann and Rokka (2015) take this approach as they examine individual experience construction through a practice theory lens, exploring how the integration of objects and embodied competences leads to individual consumption experiences. This chapter focuses on the ways that consumers integrate institutional logics into their performances of and reflections on consumption practices.

A practice theory approach to consumption experiences facilitates the development of individual-level theory that avoids “micro-level bias” (Giesler and Fischer 2017, 4) by acknowledging and incorporating the macro-level social and economic forces that structure individual experiences. Consumers draw upon existing cultural logics, which they use as meaning-making lenses to construct their unique experiences. Rather than conceptualizing experience as a psychological construct, Swidler’s (1986, 2001a) toolkit theory of practice enables an individual account of the connection between macro-level cultural logics and micro-level action and experience. Institutional logics exist in practice (Mohr and Duquenne 1997) and comprise interdependent patterns of both action and meaning (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Institutional logics shape and are shaped by patterns of individual action (Barley and Tolbert 1997; Greenwood and Suddaby 2006).

Research shows multiple ways in which consumers use institutional logics as practice resources. Consumers draw upon existing institutional logics to construct their identities (Press and Arnould 2011), resist oppressive institutions (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013), and perform practices that can reshape the structures that their actions are embedded within (Dolbec and Fischer 2015). Changes to institutionalized practices often result from conflicts between competing institutional logics (Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli 2015; Zajac and Westphal 2004). However, Swidler (2001a) theorizes that the cultural meaning structures conveyed by institutional logics also provide resources that consumers draw upon to make sense of their own and others' practice performances.

The concept of a service repertoire applies cultural insights from Swidler's theoretical work to servicescape contexts. This enables a more holistic understanding of the ways that consumers understand how to act and interpret service contexts, moving beyond customer expectation-satisfaction paradigms. A service repertoire demonstrates how consumers use culture actively in performing consumption practices and constructing service experiences. Consumers cannot always passively follow settled cultural service templates, because institutions cannot provide complete blueprints for action and interpretation that match every possible service context. These "problems of action" (Swidler 2001a, 158) mean that consumers must develop new strategies of action and understanding using available cultural resources. Studying cultural meanings within the institution of marriage, Swidler (2001a, 158) finds that the "unsettling issues that love raises stimulate the production of multiple—sometimes overlapping, sometimes coherent—theories to meet the irresolvable contradictions of institutional incompleteness." Consumers creatively draw upon multiple logics to make sense of their individual lived experiences and fill meaning gaps left incomplete by existing

institutions. Studying lived experiences means that researchers “must look not only at what goes on inside individual psyches but at the larger contexts that govern action” (Swidler 2001a, 160), connecting individual meaning-making processes with broader institutional structures. Summarizing the toolkit model of culture, Swidler (2001a, 178) explains:

Institutions structure culture, then, by creating the dilemmas in response to which individuals develop culturally mediated life strategies and by creating the situations in which people invoke one or another part of their cultural repertoires.

In the context of heterogenous practices and servicescapes, the institution of the market permits the co-existence of market and community logics. The presence of community logics and practices in market spaces draws attention away from the totalizing power of the market in contemporary society, giving consumers a perception that their practices transcend a pure market orientation. Markets for artistic products provide another example of an ongoing coexistence between market logic and alternative institutional logics (Becker 1982; Dolbec and Fischer 2015). Such contradictions unsettle routinized cultural service templates and require consumers to draw upon multiple logics as they make sense of heterogeneous and often conflicting practices in market spaces. However, the structure of the market allows and encourages The Plaza and other mixed-use or New Urbanist developments to capitalize on community practices. Ultimately, these servicescapes profit from the authentic community atmosphere that these non-market practices co-create.

This chapter extends Swidler’s work to develop a cultural model of consumer experience construction, showing how individual consumers deploy cultural resources to interpret practice performances and construct their own experiences. The co-presence of market and community practices in a servicescape draws attention to these conflicts and can

leave consumers feeling unsettled about appropriate courses of action and suitable frameworks for interpretation. Results demonstrate that the flexibility of a consumer's service repertoire enables or constrains their creative deployment of resources in response to unsettled service contexts. The flexibility of a service repertoire depends on access to both cultural and material resources, as well as the development of a robust cultural toolkit. For example, overcoming prior economic or health challenges shapes a flexible repertoire that may help some people be "better equipped culturally and psychologically to deal with the challenges of aging than those less accustomed to hardship" (Abramson 2015, 99). While the data presented in this chapter do not provide a view of past experiences that shape consumer service repertoires, prior experiences still influence the flexibility and adaptability that consumers bring into new service contexts. Future research could study how prior practice performances and cultural toolkit development shapes consumer responses to novel service contexts.

Consumers are not completely free agents who can draw from an infinite range of cultural tools. Institutions like the market, "provide templates for the organization of particular cultural packages" (Swidler 2001a, 179). Market and community practices reside within institutions that make the use of particular logics more or less resonant with the performance and experience of these practices. The prevalence of market logics in online reviews of retail and dining establishments illustrates the resonance of market logic within spaces where the service context is more standardized or routine. Clearly demarcated boundaries between spaces for market and community practices facilitate the development of a settled cultural service template that consumers can more readily anticipate. However, the presence of both market and community logics in consumer reviews and survey responses discussing less clearly demarcated spaces illustrates how consumers must draw upon multiple

logics when a servicescape context is more unsettled and heterogeneous. Results from chapter one show that the culture of a servicescape can shift and re-stabilize through the spatial organization of consumption practices. Chapter two defines a process by which consumers experience practice configurations that are not fully settled or stabilized, drawing upon their individual cultural repertoires to interpret the co-presence of heterogeneous consumption practices. Taken together, these chapters show a process by which community logics and practices help to co-create an atmosphere that masks the market forces that structure economic and social relationships within a servicescape. Through these processes, a servicescape can sell the perception of community that its consumers help to co-create.

The qualitative results presented in chapter two have important implications for service marketing and value creation theory. Service-dominant logic conceptualizes value co-creation broadly, involving all actions taken by customers, service providers, and others that lead to or facilitate the experiential value that end consumers gain through the use of a product or service (Vargo and Lusch 2016). However, contemporary research on value co-creation focuses primarily on contexts in which “significant coordination effort” (Ostrom et al. 2015, 138) is expended by firms or consumers to collaborate, compete, or otherwise actively engage with one another to generate economic and experiential value. The value-creating role of unplanned and unorganized interactions between actors has received only limited attention (Griffiths and Gilly 2012). While research has examined value-creation as a result of “unintentional, unplanned, haphazard, and onetime actions” (Figueiredo and Scaraboto 2016, 218) of multiple actors, these individual actions still require the coordination and orchestration of a networked consumption community in order to generate meaningful value (Scaraboto 2015). The qualitative study’s results explain the process by which unplanned and un-

orchestrated, yet still co-present, practice performances shape the creation of value experienced by consumers. This chapter theorizes value-creation as “an interactive relativistic preference experience” (Holbrook 1998, 5) that is constructed by consumers using cultural tools provided by institutional logics.

Accounting for the structuring role of institutionalized meanings and values also begins to resolve some of the conceptual challenges introduced to value creation theory by service-dominant logic. Some scholars criticize S-D logic’s all-encompassing concept of value co-creation as both too broad and “too simplistic to allow for theoretical development or practical decision making in any meaningful way” (Grönroos 2011, 280). In other words, if every firm or consumer action is inherently value co-creative, how can researchers narrow the concept’s scope sufficiently to identify or study it? One way to focus the analysis of value co-creation processes is to locate and examine the institutional logics used to shape the creation and experience of that value. Cultural meaning structures like market and community logics enable the integration of heterogeneous practices into interpretable individual experiences. Consistent with S-D logic’s call for system-level theorizing (Vargo and Lusch 2016; Vargo, Maglio, and Akaka 2008), a toolkit approach to experience construction draws attention to the systems of meaning, materials, and embodied competences that structure value co-creation.

For practitioners, these concepts underscore the fact that servicescape value co-creation is a process outside the direct control of service providers and managers. Firms and service providers exert an influence indirectly by facilitating specific configurations of practice performance through servicescape design. A stable servicescape leads to a settled cultural service template. Servicescape designs, however, are always open to interpretation by consumers who use market spaces and interpret practice co-presence in unanticipated ways,

co-creating both serendipitous complementarities and unpredictable conflicts. Value co-creation can occur outside explicitly collaborative contexts, but it involves more than mere co-presence of consumers or their practices. Institutions provide a framework that tacitly orchestrates heterogeneous actions into coherent sets of practices, and the logics of these institutions provide cultural tools that organize the ways consumers interpret these actions.

Future research should extend these results both empirically and theoretically. Additional research could explore ways that servicescape design might influence consumers to draw upon either market or community logic, depending on which would shape a more positive consumer experience in the servicescape. This would also help to better conceptualize which cultural logics consumers draw upon in what situations. Institutional theory describes these types of decisions as emerging in-situ, as people make individual choices that are embedded within social and cultural structures that tend to point down a particular institutional trajectory (Friedland et al. 2014; Zukin and DiMaggio 1990). However, the micro-level processes by which this occurs remain undertheorized (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Swidler (2001b, 2001a) also leaves open-ended the question of how or whether some cultural or material elements control or structure others in practice. Further research and theory should more clearly define the processes by which consumers draw upon the logics that match their particular consumption contexts.

## **Conclusion**

Despite the limitations of the quantitative study, this chapter builds a novel concept of service experience construction that contributes to both marketing theory and practice.

Practice heterogeneity exists in many service contexts. The postmodern trend toward

personalized and authentic retail and service environments (Aubert-Gamet and Cova 1999; Griffiths and Gilly 2012; Kozinets et al. 2004) means that practice heterogeneity will likely increase. Understanding the influence of co-present but non-collaborative consumption practices will remain an important research priority. The service repertoire concept accounts for past and anticipated service experiences without reducing cultural and social influences to customer service expectation-satisfaction models. Future research can develop additional insights to better understand the culturally constructed aspects of service experiences.

Additionally, larger and more heterogeneous databases of consumer reviews in mixed-use spaces could enable a clearer specification of the particular combinations of institutional logics and practice performances that lead to experiential conflicts and complementarities. Further spatial data collection and analysis service experiences, with more variation, could also contribute toward this understanding. While the sketch map survey employed by this chapter introduces a novel method to marketing and consumer research, shortcomings in the data collected (e.g., limited participant heterogeneity, small sample size) limit its ability to provide a formal quantitative model of spatial experience construction. Additional research could address these limitations by collecting data in more heterogeneous or demographically diverse retail contexts, and by utilizing better measures of practice performance location (e.g., GPS tracking) to improve measurement. Linking cultural theory and marketing practice by drawing upon both formal, quantitative models of culturally constructed behavior (Breiger 2000) and more conventional interpretive methods for sociocultural analysis will prove a fruitful challenge for consumer research.

### III. CONSUMPTION, PRODUCTION, AND GENTRIFICATION: THE ROLE OF FARMERS' MARKETS IN URBAN CHANGE

#### Introduction

Cities provide a wide range of consumption opportunities through a system of spaces and service providers. A broadened perspective of services marketing and consumer behavior views the “city as servicescape” (Chin 1998, 596). The city servicescape includes a spatial configuration of sites that enable the paid or unpaid performance of practices in a community—from eating a meal to taking a walk. Cities are complex market systems and living examples of the structures and dynamics shaping consumer behavior in market societies (Askegaard and Linnet 2011; Giesler and Fischer 2017). The physical environment of the city shapes and is shaped by a constant cycle of human activity (Soja 1980). However, the city’s physical form also “emplaces diverse temporary power arrangements that, by virtue of their physical instantiation, allow for the crystallization of particular configurations of relations over time” (Castilhos et al. 2017, 11). Understanding the spatial relations in a city opens a window to the often hidden social and economic structures that organize a society.

Spatial distributions of practices, including the elements that constitute them, create what Shove et al. (2012, 132) call “uneven landscapes of possibility.” Physical spaces and objects always have specific “affordances” that differentially facilitate access to and uses of space (Gibson 1979/2014), which shapes the possibility for different groups of people to engage in various practices. This physical order tends to reproduce practices along fairly stable trajectories (Lefebvre 1991). However, as configurations of practices change, they can also “remake space” (Shove et al. 2012, 133) over time, shifting access and affordances within

a city. This chapter presents a research proposal that asks how changes in the social and material elements of a city servicescape influence urban social and economic change over time.

Processes of social and spatial change typically unfold over a longer time than the three-year period analyzed by the first two chapters. However, consumption practices still shape many long-term shifts through the material and cultural resources they bring together. This chapter proposes to study spatial change over two decades and across multiple urban areas by examining the influence of farmers' markets on factors shown to influence gentrification. Farmers' markets comprise a collection of growers or vendors selling locally produced agricultural goods, often on a seasonal or temporary basis. They differ from farm stands, which typically include only one grower or vendor, and public markets, where permanent vendors sell a wider range of both agricultural and non-agricultural products. Farmers' markets are culturally important sites that some researchers link to gentrification, a process of physical, economic, and demographic change in urban areas (Cox 2015; Zukin 2008).

Over the past two decades, farmers' markets have been positioned as key actors in a wider movement towards healthy, environmentally sustainable, and socially responsible alternatives to industrial, mass-market agriculture and food retail (Thompson and Coskuner - Balli 2007). These socially responsible consumption opportunities also enable consumers to practice and display high cultural capital through their distinctive shopping choices (Huddart Kennedy, Baumann, and Johnston 2018). Consumer research has examined the varied practices occurring in farmers' markets (McGrath et al. 1993) and the ways that farmers' markets act as key sites for the construction and negotiation of meaning across actors in an

ideologically-motivated food production and distribution system (Alkon 2008; Mars and Schau 2017). However, the role of farmers' markets in shaping urban social and economic change remains understudied. Additionally, despite the sociocultural and economic impact of gentrification in contemporary Western cities, marketing and consumer research has not examined how gentrification unfolds over time. This proposal contributes to both of these gaps, building a conceptual model and providing an empirical demonstration of the way that consumption sites shape urban change. This study asks the question: how does the presence of farmers' markets in an urban neighborhood influence the social and economic forces that contribute to gentrification? This chapter proposes a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) study to examine how the "landscapes of possibility" (Shove et al. 2012, 132) afforded by farmers' markets shape socioeconomic change in urban areas. Following the completion of this dissertation, data collection and analysis will commence. The following sections outline the prior research and theory that conceptually link consumer behavior, farmers' markets, and gentrification.

### **Consumption and Urban Change**

The ways people consume things, services, and places shape and are shaped by their external environments, as the previous chapters demonstrate. Consumers shape their physical and cultural environments as they buy things, inhabit spaces, and construct narratives about their experiences. Producers, such as brands or real estate developers, shape consumption opportunities as they create and give consumers access to objects, places, and symbols. In urban environments, the economic and sociocultural changes associated with gentrification bring all of these consumption and production factors together. Gentrification is a process

through which people of relatively high social and economic status displace the lower status residents, culture, and physical amenities of an urban neighborhood (Lees 2015). After decades of disinvestment, many urban neighborhoods that once housed factories and working-class homes have transformed into trendy retail zones and upscale residential areas.

Gentrification is one of the most recognizable and impactful shifts that has occurred in U.S. and other Western cities over the past three decades. Importantly, gentrification “simultaneously raises issues of, on the one hand, property, production and profit, and on the other, group life-styles and consumption patterns” (Warde 1991, 283). Since gentrification involves forces of both production and consumption, it is the ideal context for studying the role that consumption plays amid multiple factors in shaping long-term spatial change.

Gentrification has significant social, cultural, and economic outcomes. Social impacts include home loss and displacement for existing residents as an outcome of escalating rents, evictions, property taxes, and pressures to sell (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Smith 1996). Cultural impacts include physical and cultural changes to neighborhoods, which enable particular patterns of everyday life and provide significant sources of consumer identity (Otero 2010; Shaw and Sullivan 2011). Economic impacts involve investment and profit for both commercial and individual construction and renovation projects, as well as financial hardships for long-term residents coping with the rising cost of living—most notably housing prices and property taxes—in gentrifying neighborhoods (Gibson 2007).

Despite the substantial impacts of gentrification, after decades of academic research and urban experience, the processes leading to it are still not well understood (Hwang and Sampson 2014; Ley 1986). Part of the confusion stems from competition between consumption- and production-driven explanations of the causes of gentrification. Some

scholars argue that gentrification primarily stems from production-driven forces such as commercial real estate development. Smith's (1979) influential "rent gap" theory argues that gentrification occurs as commercial developers move economic capital into inner cities to take advantage of attractive investment opportunities. When the gap between current and potential rent revenues on urban properties grows high enough, capitalists invest in that potential by developing these properties into high-income residences and businesses. The high rent gaps present in many chronically disinvested U.S. inner cities provide a large economic incentive for redeveloping urban neighborhoods, leading to gentrification in many of these areas (Smith 1979, 1996). This economic argument builds on Marxist work developed by Harvey (1978) and Lefebvre (1991). Through this lens, urban redevelopment is a manifestation of the capitalist necessity to reorganize working-class communities in ways that benefit the bourgeois capitalist class and release surplus value that is "locked up" (Harvey 1978, 124) in aging physical structures and neighborhoods.

However, production-oriented theories of gentrification can overlook important social and cultural factors that influence capital investment and consumer demand. For example, Hwang and Sampson (2014) find that, despite attractive rent gaps, gentrification does not occur in neighborhoods with particularly high proportions of African American residents—a pattern the researchers find is correlated with middle-class perceptions of disorder. Additionally, state support systems, such as public housing and community participation and resistance, also act as impediments to gentrification (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Ley and Dobson 2008). Research must account for the social, cultural, and political factors that influence gentrification.

Another body of research points to consumption itself as a primary driver of gentrification. Zukin's work (1982, 2008; 2009) argues that middle-class consumers who shop and live in disinvested urban neighborhoods create a cultural environment that makes possible the commercial property investments of larger-scale gentrification projects. Individual consumers also purchase urban properties and renovate them independently, redesigning a neighborhood on a small scale that becomes noticeable as increasing numbers of middle-class consumers carry out similar renovations in working-class neighborhoods (Warde 1991). The everyday consumption practices of these new residents reshape the culture of the neighborhood. Artists and educated but culturally marginalized consumers often move into industrial and working-class neighborhoods seeking affordable housing and the freedom to perform alternative lifestyles and practices (Smith 1996; Zukin 1982). Mainstream middle-class consumers pursuing distinctive experiences and lifestyles come to urban neighborhoods for their "gritty authenticity" and unique cultural amenities, curated by the artists and "creative entrepreneurs" who moved in before them (Zukin 2011, 164).

Gentrification is a spatial realization of the middle-class taste for authentic and self-enhancing experiences (Zukin 2011), which define a significant facet of contemporary Western consumer culture (Maciel and Wallendorf 2017; Weinberger et al. 2017). For example, the presence of distinctive local boutiques in many gentrifying neighborhoods

enhances the quality of life of the new urban middle class, including the new black middle class [...] while making the poor of every ethnic group feel insecure.

Boutiques "mark" an area as safe for commercial investment that will upgrade services and raise rents. (Zukin et al. 2009, 48)

Once a neighborhood becomes culturally “safe” for middle-class consumers, investors and real estate developers can capitalize on consumption-driven urban transformations through commercial development in economically poor but culturally-rich neighborhoods. Middle-class consumption activities shape urban redevelopment alongside producer-driven projects, rather than acting merely as “the icing on top of a cake which has as its prime ingredients capital and labour” (Harvey 1978, 113). A complex combination of production and consumption drives gentrification, which has become a global issue affecting cities around the world (Lees 2016; Shin, Lees, and López-Morales 2016; Wu 2016).

Despite the social, cultural, and economic impacts of gentrification in contemporary consumer culture, relatively little marketing and consumer research examines this phenomenon. Some research examines consumer culture in sites that play key roles in the cultural and economic redevelopment of urban areas, but without drawing analytical attention to the role of the broader cultural and spatial context of gentrification. Quirky urban coffee shops “fashioned around counter-cultural symbols and bohemian atmospherics” (Thompson and Arsel 2004, 632) shape the culture of urban neighborhoods and act as markers of gentrification (Papachristos et al. 2011). The renovation of a locally-celebrated festival mall represents, in one informant’s words, “the blatant commercialization of the British colonization of Irish high Streets by UK chain merchants” (Maclaran and Brown 2005, 318). Some middle-class black consumers attempt to counteract the racial stigma attached to predominantly black working-class neighborhoods by participating in their gentrification (Crockett 2017). However, these prior studies focus on micro-level meaning making and narrative construction, rather the broader sociocultural and economic context that shapes consumption within their neighborhood contexts. Other studies examine economically

depressed and socially marginalized neighborhoods (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013), but without a broad enough spatial and temporal frame to analyze consumption and urban development patterns that unfold over decades and across entire cities and neighborhoods.

Sociocultural research on servicescapes, while often acknowledging social and historical context, primarily examines specific locations or servicescape formats (Bitner 1992; Rosenbaum and Massiah 2011; Sherry 1998) rather than the complex interplay of multiple consumption sites that drive urban spatial change. An important exception is Chin's (1998) conceptualization of the "city as servicescape" (Chin 1998, 596), which demonstrates how clusters of market and community spaces shape inner city consumers' everyday lives. However, similar to other research, the study focuses primarily on individual-level consumption experiences rather than city-level processes and outcomes. This dissertation chapter contributes to theory and practice in both marketing and urban planning by proposing an examination of the link between consumption sites and the city servicescapes in which they are embedded. To make this contribution, the research proposes to study farmers' markets—a particular type of consumption site that represents the small-scale, alternative consumption practices that often prompt neighborhood cultural shifts linked with gentrification. The following section describes two competing hypotheses about the role of farmers' markets in gentrification, based on prior studies, which the proposed research project will examine.

### **Farmers' Markets and Urban Development**

Farmers' markets have grown almost exponentially in number across the United States for the past thirty years (USDA 2016b). These markets remain a small subset of U.S.

agricultural trade, with less than two percent of U.S. farms currently participating in them—generating only \$711 million in sales, compared to the nearly \$400 billion market for U.S. agricultural products (USDA 2016a). However, in spite of their relatively small direct economic impact, farmers' markets have a cultural impact and indirect economic influence that is potentially much larger.

Contemporary urban planning thought leaders describe farmers' markets as “an engine for community life” and a key ingredient in New Urbanist policy and planning strategies (Project for Public Spaces 2013, 1). Numerous urban redevelopment projects include farmers' markets. The winning proposal to redevelop downtown Tucson's Ronstadt Transit Center, for example, includes a farmers' market as a central feature (Swaim Associates Ltd. 2015). Researchers have observed a positive correlation between farmers' market locations and gentrification (Cox 2015), but without establishing a causal order.

Zukin (2008) finds that farmers' markets provide opportunities for middle-class consumers to perform shopping practices that they perceive as authentic and distinguished from mainstream, mass market product acquisition. The people who gentrify urban neighborhoods “are united by their consumption of authenticity. And, over time, this norm of alternative consumption becomes a means of excluding others from their space” (Zukin 2008, 745). Zukin describes this process unfolding in New York City, where a farmers' market in Union Square altered consumption practices and commercial development:

When it began, with 10 growers, in 1976, it was “loose and informal,” even “ramshackle,” according to one of the market managers [...] Tourists as well as local residents and foodies began to visit the Greenmarket when well known restaurant chefs praised the market in interviews with the press, publicizing how to shop at the

farm stands to create seasonal specialties. [...] Most Greenmarket shoppers to whom I have spoken praise the products' quality and variety rather than their local roots. Some like the social atmosphere of the space—"the whole feeling of community" that they see in the space on market days. [...] But the farmers' market has taken a hit since Whole Foods Market, a three-story branch of a national supermarket chain specializing in "healthy" food, opened across the street in 2005. [...] Many food shoppers find it easier to consume the supermarket's more familiar form of authenticity. [...] With the combined effect of both cases, shopping around Union Square becomes a more exclusive taste. (Zukin 2008, 736–38)

The Union Square Greenmarket rose in prominence as taste experts celebrated its distinctive products and "authentic" servicescape. The "ramshackle" farmers' market itself had insufficient economic resources to capitalize on its new social status. However, it built a cultural foundation for large-scale developments marketed at middle-class consumers, who sought a distinctive lifestyle constructed around an exclusive set of consumption practices (Peterson 1989). Shaw and Sullivan (2011) find that community art markets and festivals in Portland, Oregon, can similarly exclude residents who lack the tastes and cultural capital embodied by the predominantly white, middle-class consumers who gentrify historically black neighborhoods. Grocery chains that offer distinctive ingredients and specialty products, such as Whole Foods and Trader Joe's, are also associated with increases in neighborhood property values (Zillow 2016). These commercial servicescapes often capitalize on cultural preferences and amenities set in place by the small-scale, organic gentrification of urban servicescapes. Smaller scale retail servicescapes, such as clothing boutiques and farmers' markets, can initiate the cultural and economic work of gentrification (Zukin 2008; Zukin et al. 2009) as

pioneers in what Smith (1996) calls the “urban frontier.” However, because these studies involve interpretive analyses of specific neighborhoods, no consensus has yet emerged among scholars on a generalized model of consumption and gentrification (Hwang and Sampson 2014). While not conclusive, the argument developed by Zukin and others explains that farmers’ markets augment both production- and consumption-driven forces of gentrification by anchoring a city servicescape that serves an exclusive set of high-status consumers and their distinctive tastes.

In contrast to this view, other research suggests that farmers’ markets may mitigate forces of gentrification. The motives prompting new farmers’ market openings have shifted over the past three decades. While earlier markets stressed the importance of farmer livelihoods, markets opening after 1990 tend to emphasize their community building potential (Stephenson 2008). Stephenson (2008), whose research tracks the long-term success and failure of farmers’ markets in Oregon, credits rapid growth in the number of farmers’ markets to a new focus on the ways that “farmers’ markets help to form a bond among community members and strengthen local economies” (78-79). Others propose farmers’ markets as a partial solution to the food accessibility problems encountered by individuals and families living in poor urban neighborhoods (Payne et al. 2013). Another study finds that farmers’ markets “allow residents to reassert control over local resources and economic behavior” (Bubinas 2011, 155). This research on farmers’ markets in economically depressed post-industrial cities in the U.S. Midwest finds:

The [farmers’ market] is a visible signpost of a rekindled civic vitality [...] The market allows citizens of diverse backgrounds and beliefs to come together in common cause,

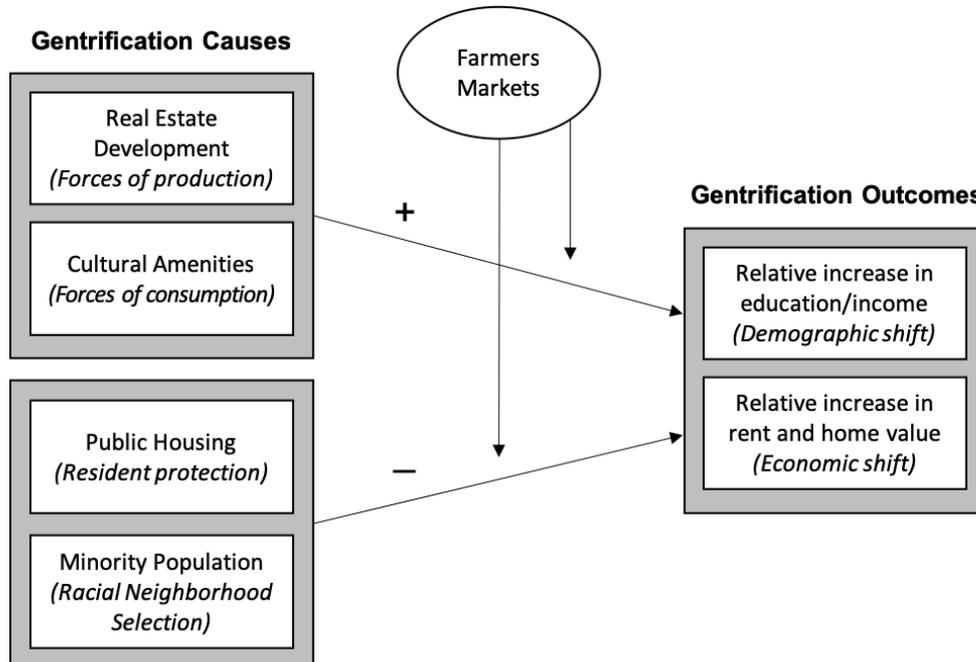
provides a forum for the contestation of political and social issues, and affords a voice to smaller segments of the community. (Bubinas 2011, 165)

By making citizens of diverse racial, ethnic, economic, and social class positions—including both new and long-term neighborhood residents—visible to each other within a single consumption site, farmers' markets may break down cultural barriers between these heterogeneous consumers and their practices. Bubinas (2011) also explains that farmers' markets can give voice to marginalized consumer groups and promote the types of activism and community participation that can prevent commercial redevelopment and gentrification (Ley and Dobson 2008). Zukin and Kosta (2004) find that a street on New York City's Lower East side maintains servicescape and resident diversity by actively maintaining the heterogeneity of its retail landscape, even as shops and residents in surrounding areas are displaced through commercial gentrification. Farmers' markets are themselves highly heterogeneous in their products, prices, customers, and ideological positions (Mars and Schau 2017). Some of these differences occur based on the demographics of neighborhood populations (Alkon 2008). As a heterogeneous servicescape, farmers' markets may mitigate forces of gentrification by promoting community participation through increased visibility and accessibility to a diverse cross section of neighborhood residents.

The proposed model puts two competing hypotheses to the test, developed based on the research outlined above. On one hand, farmers' markets may augment forces of gentrification by contributing to the cultural and economic exclusivity of a neighborhood's new middle-class residents and gentrified city servicescape. On the other, farmers' markets might mitigate these forces by facilitating interactions among social classes and providing opportunities for community participation and activism. It is likely that each hypothesis may

hold true in different contexts and at different times, and the proposed research anticipates and accounts for this. A conceptual model (figure 8) illustrates the relationships hypothesized and examined.

Figure 9: Conceptual Model of Farmers' Markets and Gentrification



As prior research shows, four predictors influence gentrification. Two hypotheses predict that these relationships will hold in the proposed model:

- H1a: Real estate development and cultural amenities will increase neighborhood gentrification rates.
- H1b: Public housing and minority population will decrease neighborhood gentrification rates.

The proposed model will test the direct effects of these predictors. It will also examine the competing hypotheses regarding the influence of farmers' markets on gentrification:

- H2: Farmers' markets will augment (mitigate) the effects described by H1a and H1b.

The spatial data and statistical analyses in the proposed study aim to disentangle farmers' market effects from the effects of other established factors, including residential and commercial development, consumption amenities, racial and ethnic composition, and state-sponsored neighborhood support. A statistical model examines how the presence of farmers' markets moderate the effects of the social and economic forces that lead to gentrification.

Disagreement among theories of gentrification and a lack of empirical evidence across urban contexts currently leaves the potentially augmenting or mitigating roles of farmers' markets up for debate. It is possible and even likely that each seemingly competing hypothesis explains gentrification at different times and for different neighborhoods. Additionally, most consumption-focused studies of gentrification draw on qualitative, ethnographic analyses of specific neighborhoods. Because of this, extant research is limited in its capacity to offer a more general theory of consumption and gentrification that explains urban change across a wide range of spatial and temporal contexts. Analyses are complicated further by neighborhood characteristics, which vary widely across and within urban areas and over time—including before, during, and after gentrification. The proposed model accounts for neighborhood differences and temporal changes in its attempt to articulate a nuanced explanation of the role that role farmers' markets play in gentrification. The following section proposes the data and analyses required to make these inquiries.

### **Proposed Research Process**

The research proposed in this chapter uses several spatial data sources, including farmers' market locations and neighborhood socioeconomic attributes, to compare the

competing hypotheses outlined in the previous section. Specifically, the proposal tests whether the presence of a farmers' market augments or mitigates gentrification.

As described above, no single factor causes gentrification. It is a complex social, cultural, and economic phenomenon that involves wide-reaching systems of people, power, and capital. For this reason, this proposal avoids the overly simplistic task of proving whether a relatively small-scale institution such as a farmers' market can *cause* gentrification.

However, as the work of Zukin and colleagues demonstrates (Zukin 2008; Zukin et al. 2009; Zukin and Kosta 2004), small-scale restaurants and retail shops play a substantial role in shaping the culture of urban neighborhoods, increasing their attractiveness to real estate investors and middle-class consumers. This research examines the moderating influence of farmers' markets on gentrification, accounting for other significant causal factors. The project includes developing a geodatabase of features that represent each of these factors.

#### *Data and sources*

The study analyzes neighborhood demographic, economic, and cultural change occurring between the 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. decennial censuses. Neighborhood data come from four secondary sources: (1) neighborhood boundary files, demographic information, and economic characteristics collected and compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau; (2) locations of retail establishments obtained from ReferenceUSA, a business database company; (3) subsidized housing unit counts available through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; and (4) neighborhood boundary files created and published by Zillow, an online real estate database company. Farmers' market data come from two secondary sources: (1) locations of Certified Farmers' Markets published by the California

Department of Food and Agriculture; and (2) nutrition assistance participation of farmers' markets, published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Table seven summarizes these data and their sources.

Data from the U.S. Census Bureau for 2010 and 2020 (scheduled for release in 2021) come from the annual American Community Survey (ACS), which is a detailed demographic and economic survey of a representative sample of U.S. households. The Census Bureau uses the ACS to estimate census tract characteristics that are more detailed than the basic population counts conducted by the Decennial Census. In 2000 and prior years, these demographic and economic data were collected on a long form of the Decennial Census questionnaire by a randomly assigned subset of respondents. The U.S. Census bureau also publishes census tract geometry, updated for each decennial census.

The ReferenceUSA database of current and historical businesses provides business names and locations that GIS software can convert to georeferenced points and count within each individual neighborhood. ReferenceUSA is a business database firm with licensing agreements with many university libraries, making its data available to researchers associated with both the University of Arizona and the University of Massachusetts. Its business directory includes location and contact information for businesses operating in the United States, which it verifies by contacting business owners. Historical data are available for every year beginning in 1997.

Public housing information at the census tract level is available in a database managed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The HUD database tracks many types of housing units that receive federal subsidies, including households receiving vouchers or other rent subsidies, as well as units in publicly- and privately-owned

low-income housing projects. Data are currently available for 1970, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2004-2008, 2009, and 2018. For measure consistency, this chapter uses the public housing count taken two years prior to each census year within the study period: 1998, 2008, and 2018.

Table 7: GIS Research Data and Sources

Data	Original Format	Usable Format	Conversion Process	Source	Location
Census Tract Geometry (1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	N/A	US Census Bureau	<a href="https://www.census.gov/geographies.html">https://www.census.gov/geographies.html</a>
Census Tract Demographics and Economics	CSV	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	Join to census tract shapefile (GIS function)	US Census Bureau (Decennial Census and Annual ACS)	<a href="https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml">https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml</a>
Business Locations (1997-2019)	CSV	ESRI Shapefile (Point)	Geocode addresses	ReferenceUSA	<a href="http://www.referenceusa.com.silk.library.umass.edu">http://www.referenceusa.com.silk.library.umass.edu</a>
Public Housing Units	CSV	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	Join to census tract (GIS function)	US Department of Housing and Urban Development	<a href="https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/assthsg.html">https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/assthsg.html</a>
Neighborhood Boundaries	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	ESRI Shapefile (Polygon)	Proportional allocation: Divide all tract-level data among neighborhoods	Zillow (Released under Creative Commons 3.0 License)	<a href="https://data.opendatasoft.com/explore/dataset/zillow-neighborhoods@public/information/">https://data.opendatasoft.com/explore/dataset/zillow-neighborhoods@public/information/</a>
California Certified Farmers Market Locations (1997-2019)	CSV; PDF	ESRI Shapefile (Point)	Geocode addresses	California Department of Food and Agriculture; UC Davis	Multiple CDFA and UC Davis historical webpages archived at <a href="http://web.archive.org">web.archive.org</a> ; eventual collaboration with CDFA or UC Davis will fill in gaps.
Farmers' Market Nutrition Program Participation	CSV; PDF	ESRI Shapefile (Point)	Join to farmers' market shapefile	USDA Farmers' Market Nutrition Assistance Program	Multiple USDA historical webpages archived at <a href="http://web.archive.org">web.archive.org</a> ; eventual collaboration with USDA will fill in gaps.

Zillow's comprehensive neighborhood database, compiled from multiple secondary and primary sources, includes spatially referenced geometry files for over 7,000 neighborhoods in 150 U.S. cities (Zillow 2008). It is the most comprehensive neighborhood

geometry database available to the public and includes all Californian regions identified by a recent nationwide study as gentrifying or eligible to gentrify (Maciag 2015) based on Freeman's (2005) gentrification methodology, which is described in the next section.

Farmers' market data include all markets certified by the California Department of Food and Agriculture (CDFA). Since 1979, California has been the only U.S. state to require all farmers' markets to pass through a state certification process. The result is that California has accurate and complete location and operation information for all Certified Farmers' Markets. Other public databases of farmers' market locations, including those compiled by newspapers and the USDA, are less accurate and only partially complete, since data are typically provided voluntarily by market managers. California also provides a particularly useful context for this study due to its size and its geographic and demographic diversity. California is the largest agricultural producer in the U.S. and also has the highest volume of farmers' market sales (USDA 2016a). Additionally, gentrification in many Californian urban areas began to accelerate during the late 1990s and early 2000s (González and Lejano 2009; Maciag 2015; Parker and Pascual 2002), somewhat later than similar patterns in older eastern cities. As this study examines gentrification occurring between 2000 and 2020, California is likely to include neighborhoods along a wide range of the gentrification process during these time periods, from early consumer pioneers to near-complete displacement. This variation is helpful for analyzing how farmers' markets shape the gentrification process at different stages.

USDA databases of farmers' markets provide information on markets authorized to accept coupons provided to low-income women and families with young children through the WIC Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP). The FMNP is a widely-used and long-

running national program offering financial assistance to farmers market shoppers, established by Congress in 1992 (USDA 2000). Participation in the FMNP is voluntary and requires market managers to opt into the program through a formal process (USDA 2017). For this reason, FMNP participation indicates a level of active support for local lower-income residents, providing an indicator of a farmers' market's level of engagement with long-term neighborhoods residents who tend to have lower social status (e.g., education and occupation) and economic positions (Bubinas 2011). These data are available beginning in 2007 through online archives. If the USDA is not able to provide data for earlier years' participation upon request, participation from 2000-2006 will be assumed the same as 2007.<sup>3</sup>

### *Proposed measures*

Following Wyly and Hammel (1996) and Freeman (2005), this study uses data available through the U.S. Census Bureau to track changes associated with gentrification outcomes. The analysis covers gentrification that occurs between the 2000, 2010, and 2020 censuses. All outcome and predictive measures described are calculated at the neighborhood level, based on the Zillow neighborhood boundaries database, since gentrification typically occurs at a neighborhood level. Neighborhoods are also more stable and meaningful units than census tracts, which shift boundaries every ten years based on population change. For this reason, the proposed analysis will be conducted at the neighborhood level, with census tract-level data proportionally allocated to neighborhoods based on relative area. The model only

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<sup>3</sup> Obtaining original data from the USDA will be a priority. For fiscal year 1999, the USDA authorized 1,591 farmers' markets to accept FMNP coupons (USDA 2000), a number that grew substantially for FY2007, when 2,345 authorized markets operated across the U.S. (USDA 2008). Filling these gaps will strengthen data and analyses.

includes neighborhoods eligible to gentrify. To be eligible for gentrification, neighborhoods must meet the following criteria (Freeman 2005):

1. Be located in an urban area, as defined by the 2020 census;
2. Have a median household income less than the median of the urban area;
3. Have a higher proportion than the urban area median of housing older than twenty years.

Definitions of gentrification, while somewhat varied, agree that its outcomes comprise both demographic shifts (e.g., higher status residents replacing lower status residents) and economic changes (e.g., new physical infrastructure and higher housing costs). Based on prior methodological work (Freeman 2005; Hammel and Wyly 1996), the model calculates gentrification rates between census periods using the following Census/ACS-based measures:

1. Percent change in residents with at least a four-year college degree, relative to the percent change occurring across the urban area during the same period<sup>4</sup>;
2. Relative percent change in mean household income;
3. Relative percent change in mean monthly rent;
4. Relative percent change in mean house value.

Table eight summarizes the variables included in the model, which are described in more detail in this section. The model uses a composite gentrification rate as its outcome variable, although supplemental analyses will also examine effects for each individual outcome. The composite gentrification rate is the sum of these four individual measures. Income, rent, and house value measures include mean values in order to better capture

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<sup>4</sup> All four gentrification outcome measures are calculated relative to overall change in the urban area. For example, if an eligible neighborhood experiences a 5% increase in rent while the wider urban area sees an 8% increase, the relative percent change in rent for that neighborhood would be -3%.

changes that occur at the high end of a neighborhood's distribution, indicating increasing economic inequality common to neighborhoods in early stages of gentrification. While race and ethnicity feature prominently in contemporary debates about urban gentrification, research shows that changes in social status (e.g., education, income) more accurately identify gentrifying neighborhoods—although social status often correlates with racial and ethnic identity. Additionally, the particular racial and ethnic groups displaced by higher status people vary by the location of a neighborhood or a city. Utilizing changes in educational attainment to identify gentrification also captures important shifts in neighborhood social status that do not always correspond with changes in income (e.g., the arrival of artists or non-profit employees with relatively high social status but low incomes). The study analyzes gentrification during three time periods: 2000-2010, 2010-2020, 2000-2020.

Rates of gentrification also change as neighborhoods pass through different development stages. For example, as a formerly working-class neighborhood becomes predominantly middle-class, its rate of gentrification will decline as opportunities for additional demographic and economic change decreases. To account for this issue, neighborhoods will be classified into four categories: (1) eligible but not gentrifying, (2) early-stage gentrifying, (3) mid-stage gentrified, and (4) late-stage gentrified. Cut-offs for these categories will be determined based on neighborhood demographics and rates of gentrification observed between 1990-2000. The proposed model will be used to analyze the influence of farmers' markets both within and across these categories. Comparisons within neighborhood categories will provide a nuanced analysis of the role of farmers' markets in gentrification, as well as demonstrate how the influence of farmers' markets changes over the gentrification cycle.

Table 8: Variables in the Proposed Model

	Name	Description	Source Dataset (See Table 7)	Time Period
Outcome Variables (DVs)	Gentrification Rate	Sum of four variables below:	N/A	Current census year (e.g., 2010 for the 2000-2010 period)
	Education	Relative % change in residents with four-year degree or greater	Census Tract Demographics and Economics	Prior census year (e.g., 2000 for the 2000-2010 period)
	Income	Relative % change in mean household income	"	Prior census year
	Rent	Relative % change in mean rent	"	Prior census year
	House Value	Relative % change in mean house value	"	Prior census year
	Change in Gentrification Rate	% change in gentrification rate	N/A	2020, compared to 2010
Predictive Variables (IVs)	New Construction	Proportion of housing less than 20 years old	Census Tract Demographics and Economics	Current census year
	Cultural Consumption	Density of cultural consumption amenities	Business Locations (Coffee shops, clothing boutiques, art galleries)	Annual count for 13 years prior to current census year (e.g., 1997-2009 for 2000- 2010 period)
	Public Housing	Proportion of publicly subsidized housing units	Public Housing Units	Prior census year
	Non-white Residents	Proportion of Hispanic and non- white (not Hispanic) residents	Census Tract Demographics and Economics	Prior census year
Moderating Variable	Farmers' Markets	Density of farmers' markets on or within neighborhood boundary	California Certified Farmers Market Locations	Annual operating day count for 13 years prior to current census year

Prior research identifies several factors that predict gentrification in a North American context. In the model that this research tests, four independent measures represent factors widely accepted as either stimulating or impeding the process of gentrification. First, the model uses real estate development in the neighborhood as a predictor of urban gentrification (Blomley 2004; Lees 2015; Smith 1979). Following Freeman (2005), the model uses a census measure of housing age to calculate a proxy variable for real estate development, which is the proportion of housing constructed within the past twenty years. Using housing constructed

within the past twenty years accounts for gentrification effects induced by development that occurred at the beginning and throughout the ten-year intercensal period.

The second causal variable is the density of cultural consumption amenities located in the neighborhood. A consumption landscape that contributes to gentrification typically includes clothing boutiques (Zukin et al. 2009), art galleries (Smith 1996; Zukin and Kosta 2004), and coffee shops (Papachristos et al. 2011). The cultural amenities variable includes the number of years that each women's clothing store, art gallery, and coffee shop operated on or within a neighborhood's boundary. For example, if two coffee shops operated in a neighborhood within a ten-year period—one from 2001-2010 and the other from 2004-2008—the cultural amenity count would be fourteen. This count is divided by neighborhood area to create a density measure. In the proposed geodatabase, a site located within 1,500 feet of a neighborhood is considered to be on its boundary. This distance captures all cultural amenities within two city blocks, using Los Angeles' block structure as a baseline (City of Los Angeles 2017). A two-block distance is consistent with gentrification patterns, which typically cluster with adjacent or nearby blocks (Smith 1996; Zukin 1982).

Third, the model measures the proportion of housing units in each neighborhood that are publicly subsidized, using census tract-level data on public housing units available through a database published by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The public housing variable includes all forms of state-assisted housing. Public housing offers a level of protection for lower income incumbent residents of urban neighborhoods, and it often also carries a social stigma that discourages potential investors and middle-class gentrifiers (Ley and Dobson 2008).

The fourth predictive measure is the neighborhood proportion of non-white residents, including residents who identify as non-white (including mixed-race and Hispanic) and Hispanic residents who identify as white. Research demonstrates that investors and middle-class consumers, who are predominantly white, tend to be slower to gentrify neighborhoods that have high proportions of non-white residents (Hwang and Sampson 2014).

The farmers' market variable counts the number of days that a farmers' market is open on or within the boundary of each neighborhood, using the same boundary definitions as the cultural amenity variable. The variable used in the model is a density measure, calculated as the number of operating farmers' market days divided by the area of the neighborhood. For example, if a neighborhood hosts a twice-weekly farmers' market for twenty-four months (104 weeks) during a ten-year period, it has an operating day count of 208. Farmers' markets often draw customers from adjacent and even distant neighborhoods (Mack and Tong 2015), but farmers' markets outside of a specific neighborhood would not likely have a substantial impact on its gentrification—whether by inspiring commercial development or encouraging community participation. Whether or not a farmers' market draws consumers from near or far away, its presence will influence gentrification most notably in its immediate neighborhood, rather than in adjacent areas. For this reason, the model only counts markets located within or on the boundaries of each gentrifying or potentially gentrifying neighborhood, regardless of whether its residents shop at or participate in outside markets (e.g., Crockett and Wallendorf 2004). Research does not suggest that farmers' markets will have an independent effect on gentrification that is stronger than any of these four established factors. However, the studies reviewed in the previous section suggest that farmers' markets may moderate these factors' effects, as the conceptual model presented here describes.

Supplemental analyses will test how farmers' markets participating in the FMNP shape the process of gentrification differently than non-participating markets. This allows an assessment of whether differences in individual farmers' market characteristics have an impact on gentrification. Bubinas' (2011) study suggests that active support for low income consumers, represented by FMNP participation, will have a mitigative influence.

## **Analysis**

Based on the proposed variables and conceptual model, an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression will test these hypothesized effects on gentrification. While the proposed models use geographic data, the spatial relationships between independent and dependent variables do not change over time. Instead, all variations in these measures occur within defined, static neighborhood areas, which eliminates the need for a geographically weighted regression model (Brunsdon, Fotheringham, and Charlton 1996).

The first step in the analysis involves running the regression model without the moderating farmers' market variable. Next, interaction terms are calculated to account for the moderating influence of farmers' markets. These interaction terms equal the product of the farmers' markets variable multiplied by each predictor, individually. A likely correlation between farmers' market locations and other predictors of gentrification (Cox 2015; Zukin 2008), potentially creates multicollinearity problems that violate the assumptions of an OLS regression model. To counteract this issue, the model uses standardized interaction terms, which are calculated by multiplying the z-scores of farmers' markets with z-scores for each of the four predictors. This ensures all terms have a mean of zero. The complete model includes four predictor variables, the farmers' market variable, and four standardized interaction terms.

Equation one represents this regression model, which tests how the effect of each gentrification predictor changes based on the density of farmers' markets on or within the boundary of the neighborhood. Table nine defines each term. After interpreting the results of this model, additional analyses can be conducted, including a comparison the effects of farmers' markets that support low-income residents in their communities, measured by their participation in the FMNP. The model will first analyze all neighborhoods together, but will also be run separately for different categories of neighborhoods (eligible, early-, mid-, and late-gentrifying) to conduct a more refined analysis of what kinds of areas and markets produce which effects. Other analyses, described in the discussion section, are also possible.

#### Equation 1: Proposed Regression Model

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 M + \beta_6 M'X'_1 + \beta_7 M'X'_2 + \beta_8 M'X'_3 + \beta_9 M'X'_4 + \varepsilon$$

Table 9: Variables in the Proposed Regression Equation

Term	Definition	Term	Definition
$Y$	Gentrification rate (DV)	$M$	Farmers' market variable
$\beta_0$	Constant (Y-intercept)	$M'X'_1 - M'X'_4$	Interaction terms for standardized farmers' market and predictor variables
$\beta_i$	Estimates for predictors	$\varepsilon$	Error term
$X_1 - X_4$	Predictor variables (IVs)		

#### Discussion

The proposal described above aims to contribute both conceptually and substantively to the current understanding of consumption, gentrification, urban development, and farmers' market management. Market forces shape city servicescapes and the lives of the consumers who inhabit them, and research must continue to examine urban contexts from this broader

perspective. Consumer behavior plays a key role in gentrification, as it gathers people into places that facilitate their consumption practices. Consumption shapes the culture of these spaces and often enables the production of city servicescapes that encourage gentrification. Knowledge of how particular consumption sites, such as farmers' markets, shape these forces provides a deeper understanding of the processes of urban change themselves.

Marketing and consumer research can contribute greatly to the study of urban development. Gentrification and other socioculturally and economically impactful challenges are important subjects of inquiry, both for their practical relevance and their conceptual importance (Price, Arnould, and Moisio 2007). Research is beginning to realize the theoretical importance of space and place in both marketing strategy (Tracey et al. 2014) and consumer culture (Castilhos et al. 2017), and future research should continue examining spatial phenomena. The study proposed in this chapter aims to develop marketing and gentrification theory by examining competing hypotheses and clarifying previously studied relationships. The study also intends to provide knowledge and tools that urban developers, city planners, and farmers' market managers can use to improve the success and equity of their work.

Additional analyses can provide further insight and uncover additional nuance. Future research could include data from cities outside California. A nationwide study of urban areas, using the USDA's databases of farmers' market locations, could establish the generalizability of the proposed model's results. Comparisons between California's Certified Farmers' Markets and USDA-listed markets within California would help interpret the results of a nationwide study with respect to the original Californian model. This nationwide study would also allow for an examination of the effect of state- and city-level farmers' market regulation. There is wide variation in regulatory strategies across the U.S. For example, states aside from

California exert little regulatory control over farmers' markets other than enforcing food safety laws, and the City of Chicago operates its own farmers' markets in competition with privately-operated markets. Future research could examine how these regulatory differences shape urban development. Additionally, using archived newspaper listings to code historical farmers' market descriptions, another model could address the role of branding and ideological focus on the influence of farmers' markets. The size of a market, whether by area or number of vendors, would also affect its capacity to shape gentrification, but current data do not capture market size or composition. More detailed data on market size, sales, and vendor characteristics could provide additional market-level differentiators.<sup>5</sup>

The proposed model does not capture important actions or characteristics that may precede the four predictors included in the model. For example, small-scale renovations of historic homes may precede and influence new construction investments. These data would be available through public records requests for construction permits from individual city and county governments. Future analyses may include these or other data. The success of the proposed model will determine whether the effort and funds to obtain these data would be worthwhile. The geodatabase and model created for the study proposed in this chapter acts as a foundation for multiple supplemental analyses and further research over the coming years.

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<sup>5</sup> The California Department of Food and Agriculture declined to provide this project with any data upon receiving my public records request, although making new contacts at the CDFA might open this door in the future.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The chapters in this dissertation constitute an explicitly spatial examination of consumer culture and experience. The material environment plays a central role in the development and evolution of markets and consumer practices, and the results of these three studies contribute several concepts and ideas that better explain these processes. Contributions fall into three main categories. First, space anchors consumer practices by acting as a material bridge between social structures and individual action. Second, consumer practices have the capacity to reshape space and social order. Third, community practices are a necessary component for the social sustainability of market spaces.

### **Space as Anchor for Social Practices**

Debates regarding how to define, measure, and identify culture have yet to be settled, despite decades of research and theory (Abramson 2012; Jepperson and Swidler 1994; Kaufman 2004; Patterson 2014). Many prominent theories view culture as embodied within individual human actors, whether as shared meanings (Durkheim 1912/1995; Lakoff 1987) and motivations (Vaisey 2009; Weber 1946), or as competences and taste structures learned through socialization (Bourdieu 1984) and interaction (Mead 1964). Another perspective argues that culture is simply a set of symbolic and material tools or resources that people make use of in ways that makes sense given the context of their actions (Swidler 1986, 2001a). In this sense, culture may not reside anywhere, but appears as patterns of action or sentiment that arise in response to particular relations of power (Marx and Engels 1960; Williams 2006) or patterns of resource accessibility (Schatzki 2001b; Shove et al. 2012).

From either perspective, culture cannot be measured or discovered as an independently existing entity. At best, researchers can glimpse it as reflected in objects and actions that they carefully observe and interpret (Geertz 1973). Given this challenge, asking what culture *is* may be less analytically useful than asking *where* culture is most fruitfully observed and examined. As Swidler (2001a, 206–7) states, “If culture is everything [...] we need to differentiate the culture concept to explore which kinds of cultural elements organize others, and which control particular kinds of social processes.” Understanding “what anchors cultural practices” (Swidler 2001b, 83) should be a primary objective in the sociology of culture. Physical space provides a material context that organizes and anchors practices, while also enabling practice change. Space bridges between the individual, cognitive aspects of culture (Lizardo and Strand 2010) and the networked structures that form social order in groups and societies.

Theories of practice align with this view of space as both a cultural bridge and a cultural anchor. However, practice theories that explain the mutual constitution of culture and practice typically remain at the abstracted macro level of society (Giddens 1984; Shove et al. 2012) or the conceptually manageable micro level of individual action and small group interaction (Fine 1979, 2012). Practices, however, always take place somewhere (Shove et al. 2012). Nicolini (2012, 6) adds that, “Practices, in fact, literally put people (and things) in place [...] As a result, practices and their temporal and spatial ordering (i.e., several practices combined in a particular way) produce and reproduce differences and inequalities.” Cultural logics gain their power over practice as people draw upon or “place” them in real material contexts. Spatial structures bear the material footprints of past practice performances, which anchor social practices to a stable trajectory built held relatively constant by the dominant

spatial arrangements of material resources. Conversely, cultural logics become susceptible to change depending on how they align with the spatial structure people place them into. As practices reshape space, the logics that comprise a culture or institution evolve as well. Even sweeping, revolutionary cultural change requires an accompanying spatial and material reorganization to ensure its sustainability (Marx and Engels 1848/1951). Chapter one explains that social order changes as cultural logics compete for time and space through consumer practice. Chapter two outlines a process by which consumers draw upon cultural logics as a lens to interpret the spatial arrangement of their own and others' practices. However, until these practices take place, materially, these cultural interpretations and transformations cannot occur. Culture, rather than being an independent entity, may simply represent a flow of logics and practices emplaced within a particular spatial and temporal context.

These concepts and ideas require further examination and theorization. Future research could explore whether and how practices that are less anchored to physical space, such as virtual community practices, evolve differently from geographically emplaced practices. The internet still requires material resources to support its virtual structure, but this structure allows ideas and information to spread without physical barriers that otherwise slow cultural change. Additionally, studies should attempt to examine cultural change at multiple levels of analysis, linking action and meaning at micro, meso, and macro levels to better conceptualize the forms and processes of spatial and social change.

### **Reshaping Space and Social Order Through Practice**

A practice theory perspective conceptually connects heterogeneous, individual practice performances with the broader social and cultural structures that organize them. This research

draws attention to the role that micro level performances play in maintaining and reshaping social order, which involves arrangements of both cultural and material resources. Chapter one demonstrates that consumer practices can also collectively reshape physical space in ways that subvert an existing social order. Chapter two shows how the spatial arrangement of practices shapes the meaning of experiences as interpreted by consumers. The capacity for consumers to actively use and reshape market space and cultural meanings is central in both of these insights.

Having the capacity, or the perceived capacity, to creatively reshape the environment changes the ways that consumers experience their practices. A creative capacity is important to the development of a community, where members share not only a sense of identity and belonging but also active roles as participants (Kozinets, Hemetsberger, and Schau 2008). To feel connected to a consumption community, consumers must feel that their actions impact the community in real and lasting ways. When a firm refrains from limiting or co-opting the capacity of consumers to create new meanings and practices associated with a brand, it enables the formation of deep brand relationships and communities (Kozinets 2001; Muñiz, Jr. and O'Guinn 2001; Schouten and McAlexander 2002). When a firm tries to control or manage a brand community with a heavy hand, consumers often feel angry and alienated, become less loyal, or even redirect their creative energy to work against the firm (Parmentier and Fischer 2015; Schau et al. 2009). In other words, true co-creation requires the capacity for consumers to keep part of what they create, something that de Certeau (1984) conceptualizes as impossible for subversive tactics in market-controlled space. However, rather than securing gains through coordination within a unified consumption community, this dissertation argues

that a tactical use of space can “stockpile its winnings” (de Certeau 1984, 37) through collective but uncoordinated impact in spaces that permit long-term tactical use.

Co-creative consumer activity “becomes inseparable from production” (Kozinets et al. 2008, 342) not only in online information networks, but also in more material spaces. Consumers perceive a space that is co-created through subversive, uncoordinated tactics as more real and authentic than mass-produced servicescapes or experiences. While a branded retail experience can bring consumers into a brand’s narrative (Borghini et al. 2009; Kozinets et al. 2004), active participation in the creation of a market space serves to more sustainably counteract negative perceptions of the market practices that govern a servicescape. Chapters one shows that the messy, sometimes chaotic nature of co-creation (Fisher and Smith 2011) and co-created spaces promotes participation between consumers and the servicescape. Chapters one and two both demonstrate how consumers often perceive this chaos as valuable and desirable—signs of a unique and authentic market space. Practice theory, like service-dominant logic, draws no conceptual distinction between producers and consumers or their actions (Vargo and Lusch 2016), making it a useful lens for future studies of co-creation. Additional research should further explore the theoretical complementarities between these perspectives, drawing on practice theories to develop more socioculturally nuanced theories of value co-creation.

### **The Role of Community Practices in Market Spaces**

The presence of subversive consumer tactics puts the profitability of market spaces at risk. However, as chapters one and two demonstrate, achieving a balance between community and market practices in for-profit servicescapes has both economic and social benefits.

Importantly, the presence of community practices provides social legitimacy to market spaces. Dominant discourses on property in contemporary Western societies center around legally instituted rights (Rudmin 1991) that, in a capitalist market, equate to control by economic means. However, legal ownership does not always translate into a socially recognized right to use a space (Mitchell 1995; Rudmin 2016b; Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). Community practices provide a way for market spaces to gain and maintain social legitimacy among members of the communities they aim to serve.

Spaces that are socially legitimated through community practices are often perceived by consumers as authentic or real (Debenedetti et al. 2014). Authenticity in a marketing context might be effectively conceptualized as the ability of a brand, service provider, or market space to maintain social legitimacy through means other than economic relations of exchange. Cultural logics, including the logics of the market and of community, give consumers a means to understand and interpret the social legitimacy of a brand or servicescape. As chapter two describes, authenticity is a consumer experience or perception rather an attribute of a brand or servicescape. Thus, market spaces can only achieve an authentic image through continued co-creation, a process that the dance of the market conceptualizes in chapter one.

Community practices are also at the heart of the position, examined in chapter three, that farmers' markets may mitigate the effects of gentrification by increasing participation and interaction between diverse neighborhood residents. This outcome depends on whether farmers' markets can help to create inclusive communities, rather than serve only exclusive existing communities. Simply branding a farmers' market or urban redevelopment project as community-oriented will not likely succeed. Without real practices that foster a diverse

community, market spaces cannot maintain social legitimacy among disenfranchised groups. While some developers may push ahead without authentic community buy-in, they run the risk of alienating marginalized community members who, as Hanauer (2014) predicts, might eventually rise up with their metaphorical pitchforks to revolt against the ruling capitalist class. Additionally, the desire for authentic experiences among middle-class consumers, combined with increasingly prevalent discourses valuing multiculturalism (Veresiu and Giesler 2018), mean that exclusionary strategies may become less marketable even to economically attractive consumer segments. Although far from a prescription for the social and economic inequalities of the contemporary market, this research provides a conceptual framework and several practical tools to encourage more equitable and inclusive retail and urban servicescape.

**APPENDIX A: SPATIAL AND STATISTICAL ANALYSES**

Figure 10: Locations of Market and Community Practice Performances

(coded photographs, all time periods)

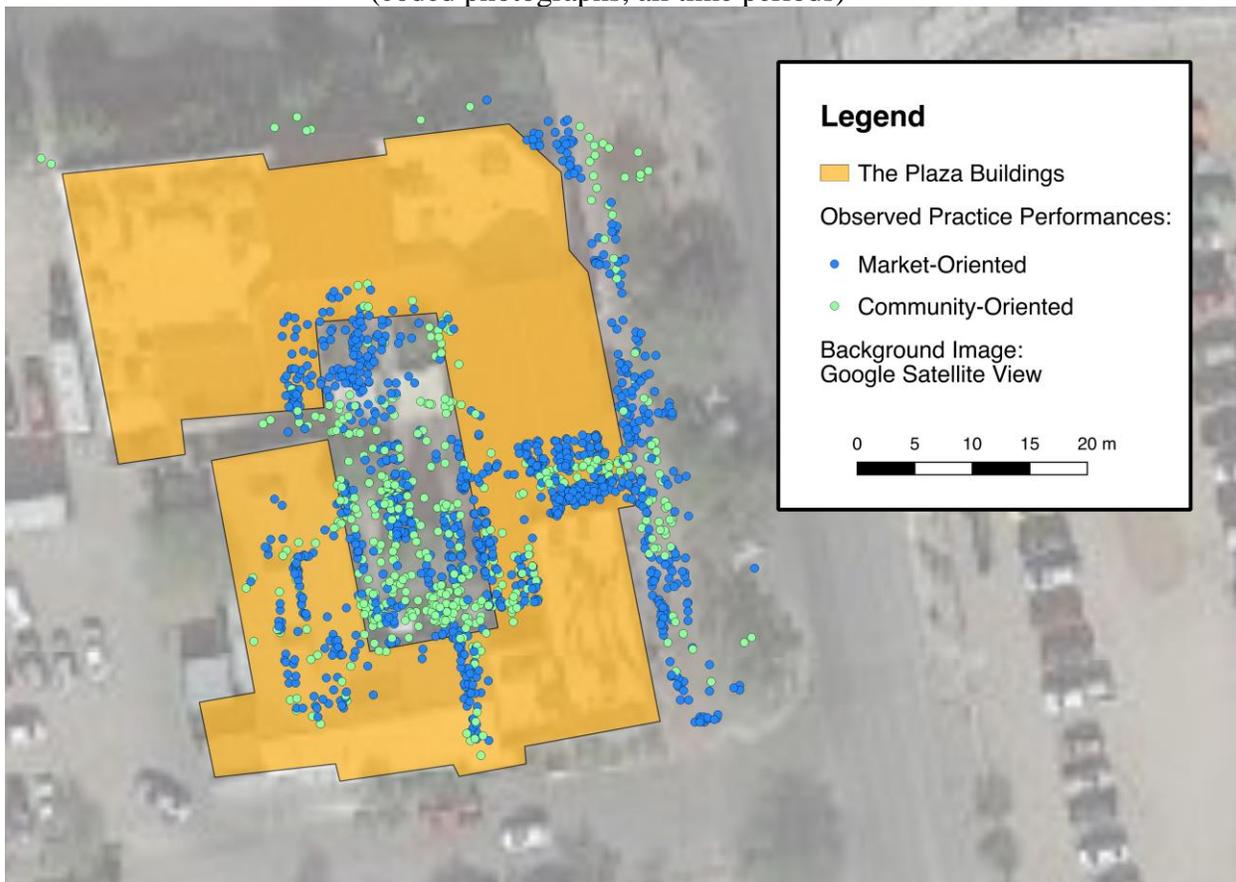


Figure 11: Practice Density

(coded photographs, all time periods)

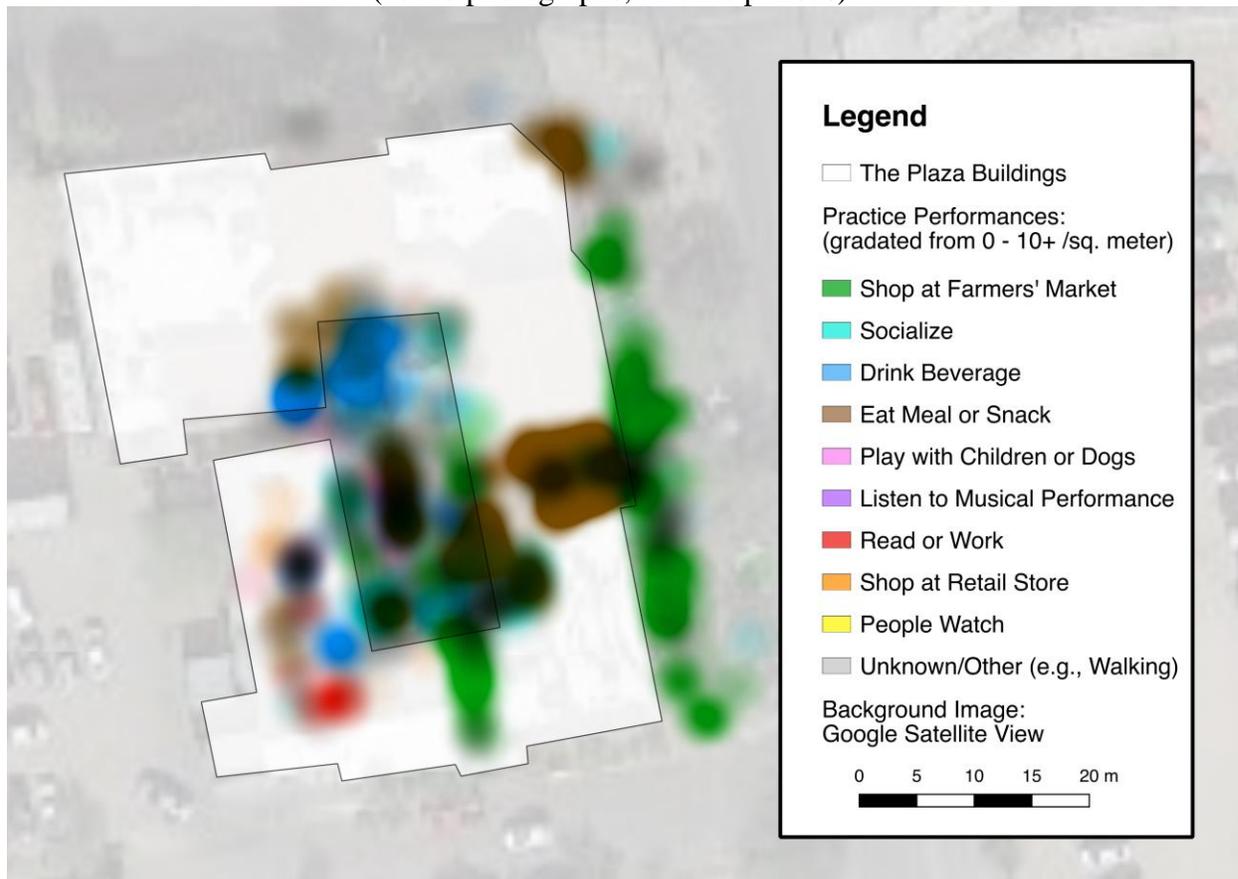


Figure 12: Sample Sketch Map Data for a Survey Participant

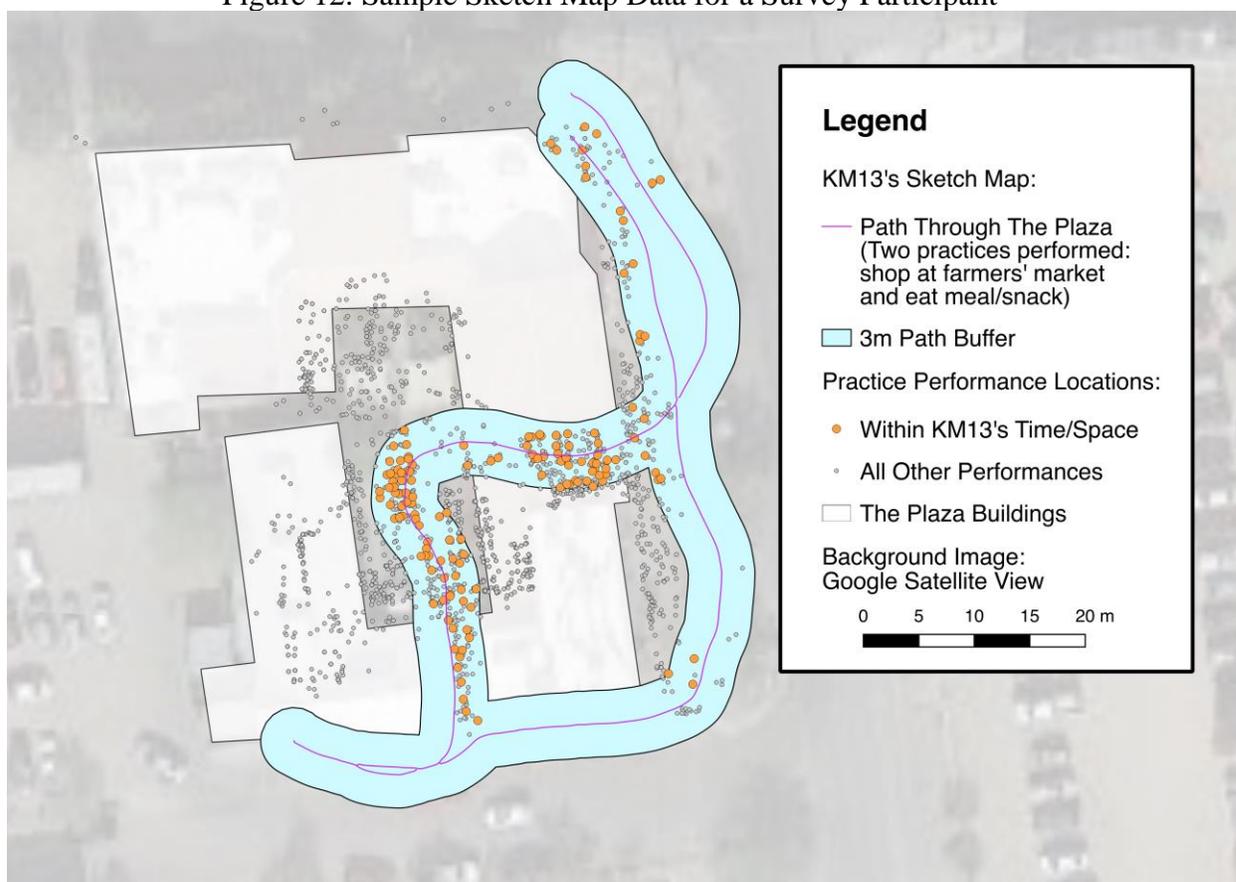


Table 10: Demographic and Experiential Correlations

(Pearson's Coefficients)

Variables	1. Duration (n=77)	2. Number of Practices Performed (n=77)	3. Had Consumption Plan (n=75)	4. Level of Prior Experience at The Plaza (n=77)	5. Age (n=76)	6. Gender (n=76)	7. Race (n=66; 0=White; 1=Non-White)	8. Education Level (n=75)	9. Group Size (n=77)	10. Child Count (n=77)	11. With Dog (n=77)	12. Perform Market Practice (n=77)	13. Perform Community Practice (n=77)	14. Perform Market and Community Practices (n=77)	15. Coded Experience Valence (n=77; 0=Non-Positive; 1=Positive)	16. Overall NPS (n=77)
1. Duration (n=77)	1	.262 <sup>*</sup>	0.076	-0.002	-0.202	0.097	0.084	-0.088	.282 <sup>*</sup>	-0.012	-0.173	-0.068	<b>.362<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>.317<sup>**</sup></b>	-0.019	-0.111
2. Number of Practices Performed (n=77)	.262 <sup>*</sup>	1	-0.177	-0.179	0.143	0.068	0.152	0.062	0.182	0.019	0.147	0.126	<b>.665<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>.768<sup>**</sup></b>	-0.127	-0.136
3. Had Consumption Plan (n=75)	0.076	-0.177	1	<b>.506<sup>**</sup></b>	-0.069	-0.102	0.072	-0.002	-0.159	0.126	-.238 <sup>*</sup>	0.030	-0.226	-0.207	0.043	.234 <sup>*</sup>
4. Level of Prior Experience at The Plaza (n=77)	-0.002	-0.179	<b>.506<sup>**</sup></b>	1	0.004	-0.168	0.066	0.204	-0.121	0.100	-.257 <sup>*</sup>	0.072	-0.217	-0.163	0.038	.227 <sup>*</sup>
5. Age (n=76)	<b>-.202<sup>~</sup></b>	0.143	-0.069	0.004	1	<b>-.206<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.080	<b>.454<sup>**</sup></b>	0.083	-0.037	<b>.209<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.043	-0.067	-0.048	0.066	0.029
6. Gender (n=76)	0.097	0.068	-0.102	-0.168	<b>-.206<sup>~</sup></b>	1	<b>-.270<sup>*</sup></b>	<b>-.242<sup>*</sup></b>	0.102	0.086	-0.080	-0.104	0.104	0.052	-0.097	-0.059
7. Race (n=66; 0=White; 1=Non-White)	0.084	0.152	0.072	0.066	-0.080	<b>-.270<sup>*</sup></b>	1	0.005	-0.105	-0.159	0.098	0.150	0.094	0.171	0.004	0.112
8. Education Level (n=75)	-0.088	0.062	-0.002	<b>0.204</b>	<b>.454<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>-.242<sup>*</sup></b>	0.005	1	0.148	0.051	0.093	-0.121	-0.054	-0.095	0.088	0.179
9. Group Size (n=77)	<b>.282<sup>*</sup></b>	0.182	-0.159	-0.121	0.083	0.102	-0.105	0.148	1	<b>.396<sup>**</sup></b>	-0.080	0.083	0.143	0.179	<b>0.190<sup>*</sup></b>	-0.108
10. Child Count (n=77)	-0.012	0.019	0.126	0.100	-0.037	0.086	-0.159	0.051	<b>.396<sup>**</sup></b>	1	-0.056	-0.087	0.097	0.043	-0.035	0.100
11. With Dog (n=77)	-0.173	0.147	<b>-.238<sup>*</sup></b>	<b>-.257<sup>*</sup></b>	<b>0.209<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.080	0.098	0.093	-0.080	-0.056	1	<b>-0.219<sup>~</sup></b>	<b>.329<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>0.216<sup>~</sup></b>	0.069	-0.097
12. Perform Market Practice (n=77)	-0.068	0.126	0.030	0.072	-0.043	-0.104	0.150	-0.121	0.083	-0.087	<b>-0.219<sup>~</sup></b>	1	<b>-.312<sup>**</sup></b>	0.140	0.083	-0.096
13. Perform Community Practice (n=77)	<b>.362<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>.665<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>-.226<sup>~</sup></b>	<b>-.217<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.067	0.104	0.094	-0.054	0.143	0.097	<b>.329<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>-.312<sup>**</sup></b>	1	<b>.869<sup>**</sup></b>	-0.078	-0.148
14. Perform Market and Community Practices (n=77)	<b>.317<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>.768<sup>**</sup></b>	<b>-.207<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.163	-0.048	0.052	0.171	-0.095	0.179	0.043	<b>.216<sup>~</sup></b>	0.140	<b>.869<sup>**</sup></b>	1	-0.127	<b>-.205<sup>~</sup></b>
15. Coded Experience Valence (n=77; 0=Non-Positive; 1=Positive)	-0.019	-0.127	0.043	0.038	0.066	-0.097	0.004	0.088	<b>-.189<sup>~</sup></b>	-0.035	0.069	0.083	-0.078	-0.127	1	<b>.309<sup>**</sup></b>
16. Overall NPS (n=77)	-0.111	-0.136	<b>.234<sup>*</sup></b>	<b>.227<sup>*</sup></b>	0.029	-0.059	0.112	0.179	-0.108	0.100	-0.097	-0.096	-0.148	<b>-.205<sup>~</sup></b>	<b>.309<sup>**</sup></b>	1

~. Correlation is significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed).

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 11: Survey-Reported Practice Performance Correlations

(Pearson's Coefficients)

Practice Variables	1. Shop at Farmers' Market (n=77)	3. Drink a Beverage (n=77)	4. Eat a Meal or Snack (n=77)	5. Play with Children or Dogs (n=77)	6. Watch Music Performance (n=77)	7. Work or Read (n=77)	8. Shop at Retail Store (n=77)	9. People watch (n=77)	10. Other Practice (n=77)	Coded Experience Valence (n=77; 0=Non-Positive; 1=Positive)	Overall NPS (n=77)
1. Shop at Farmers' Market (n=77)	1	-0.161	<b>-.275*</b>	-0.009	-0.039	-0.103	-0.039	-0.101	-0.104	-0.088	-0.200
3. Drink a Beverage (n=77)	-0.161	1	0.079	-0.105	<b>0.219~</b>	-0.074	-0.143	0.189	-0.119	0.040	0.164
4. Eat a Meal or Snack (n=77)	<b>-.275*</b>	0.079	1	0.009	0.039	-0.090	0.039	0.186	-0.021	-0.114	-0.033
5. Play with Children or Dogs (n=77)	-0.009	-0.105	0.009	1	-0.074	-0.038	-0.074	0.061	0.176	0.080	-0.064
6. Watch Music Performance (n=77)	-0.039	<b>0.219~</b>	0.039	-0.074	1	-0.052	-0.100	<b>.238*</b>	-0.083	-0.040	0.115
7. Work or Read (n=77)	-0.103	-0.074	-0.090	-0.038	-0.052	1	-0.052	-0.070	-0.043	0.056	-0.044
8. Shop at Retail Store (n=77)	-0.039	-0.143	0.039	-0.074	-0.100	-0.052	1	<b>.238*</b>	0.100	-0.040	-0.115
9. People watch (n=77)	-0.101	0.189	0.186	0.061	<b>.238*</b>	-0.070	<b>.238*</b>	1	-0.113	-0.088	-0.162
10. Other Practice (n=77)	-0.104	-0.119	-0.021	0.176	-0.083	-0.043	0.100	-0.113	1	-0.083	-0.038

~. Correlation is significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed).

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 12: Correlations Between Observed Practice Performances

(Pearson's Coefficients)

Variables	Customer Density	Practice 1 Density (Shop at Farmers' Market)	Practice 2 Density (Socialize)	Practice 3 Density (Drink Beverage)	Practice 4 Density (Eat Meal/Snack)	Practice 5 Density (Play)	Practice 6 Density (Watch Performance)	Practice 7 Density (Work/Read)	Practice 8 Density (Retail Shop)	Practice 9 Density (People Watch)	Mean Ratio of Market to Community Practices	Coded Experience Valence (n=77; 0=Non-Positive; 1=Positive)	Overall NPS (n=77)
Path Buffer Area	<b>-.358**</b>	-0.044	<b>-.331**</b>	<b>-.387**</b>	<b>-.298**</b>	<b>-.385**</b>	<b>-.243*</b>	0.020	-0.097	-0.083	-0.064	0.045	0.011
Customer Density	1	<b>.344**</b>	<b>.709**</b>	<b>.596**</b>	<b>.903**</b>	<b>.620**</b>	<b>.651**</b>	-0.069	0.096	<b>.364**</b>	<b>-.196~</b>	-0.030	0.065
Practice 1 Density (Shop at Farmers' Market)	<b>.344**</b>	1	-0.014	<b>-.253*</b>	0.068	0.081	0.175	<b>-.224*</b>	-0.081	0.122	<b>.360**</b>	0.079	-0.133
Practice 2 Density (Socialize)	<b>.709**</b>	-0.014	1	<b>.790**</b>	<b>.610**</b>	<b>.541**</b>	<b>.489**</b>	-0.151	0.056	0.169	<b>-.385**</b>	0.027	0.077
Practice 3 Density (Drink Beverage)	<b>.596**</b>	<b>-.253*</b>	<b>.790**</b>	1	<b>.548**</b>	<b>.488**</b>	<b>.531**</b>	0.111	0.101	<b>.272*</b>	<b>-.301**</b>	0.077	0.168
Practice 4 Density (Eat Meal/Snack)	<b>.903**</b>	0.068	<b>.610**</b>	<b>.548**</b>	1	<b>.481**</b>	<b>.578**</b>	-0.123	0.030	<b>0.200~</b>	-0.150	-0.078	0.114
Practice 5 Density (Play)	0.096	-0.081	0.056	0.101	0.030	0.177	0.181	<b>.437**</b>	1	0.075	<b>-.221~</b>	<b>-.272*</b>	-0.127
Practice 6 Density (Watch Performance)	<b>.651**</b>	0.175	<b>.489**</b>	<b>.531**</b>	<b>.578**</b>	<b>.569**</b>	1	-0.147	0.181	<b>.325**</b>	<b>-.232*</b>	0.094	0.088
Practice 7 Density (Work/Read)	-0.069	<b>-.224*</b>	-0.151	0.111	-0.123	-0.017	-0.147	1	<b>.437**</b>	0.062	<b>-.273*</b>	-0.090	0.028
Practice 8 Density (Retail Shop)	<b>.620**</b>	0.081	<b>.541**</b>	<b>.488**</b>	<b>.481**</b>	1	<b>.569**</b>	-0.017	0.177	<b>.366**</b>	<b>-.416**</b>	-0.153	0.171
Practice 9 Density (People Watch)	<b>.364**</b>	0.122	0.169	<b>.272*</b>	<b>0.200</b>	<b>.366**</b>	<b>.325**</b>	0.062	0.075	1	<b>-.333**</b>	0.033	0.008
Mean Ratio of Market to Community Practices	<b>-.196~</b>	<b>.360**</b>	<b>-.385**</b>	<b>-.301**</b>	-0.150	<b>-.416**</b>	<b>-.232*</b>	<b>-.273*</b>	<b>-.221~</b>	<b>-.333**</b>	1	0.053	-0.054

~. Correlation is significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed).

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 13: Correlations Between Reported and Observed Practice Performances

(Pearson's Coefficients)

Variables	Duration (n=77)	3. Had Consumption Plan (n=75)	4. Level of Prior Experience at The Plaza (n=77)	Path Buffer Area	Customer Density	Practice 1 Density (Shop at Farmers' Market)	Practice 2 Density (Socialize)	Practice 3 Density (Drink Beverage)	Practice 4 Density (Eat Meal/Snack)	Practice 5 Density (Play)	Practice 6 Density (Watch Performance)	Practice 7 Density (Work/Read)	Practice 8 Density (Retail Shop)	Practice 9 Density (People Watch)
1. Shop at Farmers' Market (n=77)	-0.108	-0.032	0.045	<b>.324**</b>	-0.130	<b>.481**</b>	<b>-.309**</b>	<b>-.438**</b>	<b>-.249*</b>	<b>-0.222~</b>	-0.103	-0.014	0.017	-0.096
3. Drink a Beverage (n=77)	0.084	0.141	0.171	-0.049	<b>.359**</b>	-0.090	<b>.256*</b>	<b>.372**</b>	<b>.405**</b>	0.050	0.151	0.149	-0.094	0.142
4. Eat a Meal or Snack (n=77)	0.178	-0.109	-0.155	-0.087	0.193	-0.095	0.190	0.093	<b>.243*</b>	<b>.245*</b>	0.084	-0.130	-0.086	0.002
5. Play with Children or Dogs (n=77)	-0.166	-0.178	-0.173	-0.031	0.118	0.171	0.111	0.030	0.052	0.006	0.148	-0.145	0.154	0.067
6. Watch Music Performance (n=77)	<b>0.193~</b>	0.147	0.018	-0.153	<b>.261*</b>	-0.004	<b>.434**</b>	<b>.394**</b>	<b>.231*</b>	<b>0.195~</b>	<b>.238*</b>	-0.176	-0.046	-0.063
7. Work or Read (n=77)	<b>.338**</b>	0.083	0.085	<b>.243*</b>	-0.090	-0.074	-0.061	-0.080	-0.076	-0.027	-0.057	0.050	0.107	0.019
8. Shop at Retail Store (n=77)	0.168	<b>-.298**</b>	<b>-0.209~</b>	-0.103	-0.030	0.098	-0.153	-0.174	-0.030	0.008	-0.050	-0.025	-0.046	-0.125
9. People watch (n=77)	<b>.274*</b>	<b>-.327**</b>	<b>-0.215~</b>	-0.004	-0.026	0.047	-0.052	-0.162	0.009	-0.070	-0.032	-0.157	-0.161	-0.121
10. Other Practice (n=77)	<b>-0.221~</b>	0.000	-0.147	-0.005	0.050	0.030	-0.036	0.024	0.103	0.006	-0.037	-0.079	0.055	-0.140

## APPENDIX B: COMPLETE SKETCH MAP SURVEY INSTRUMENT

# Market Map Survey

### Welcome

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. In the survey, I won't ask for your name or anything that might identify you, and your answers will be anonymous. So that we don't have to type everything out, is it alright if I record your answers?

Please review and sign the consent form below.

Click the pencil to access and sign the consent form.

**UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA—ELLER COLLEGE OF MANAGEMENT**  
**Research Participant Information and Consent Form**

**Project Name: Consumer uses of retail space**  
Part of the study titled, "Consumer behavior in food acquisition"  
**Principal Investigator:** Matthew Godfrey

**DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH**

You are invited to participate in a research study to help us learn about consumers' perspectives on retail and farmers' market experiences. We feel your viewpoint would be helpful to our study.

The purpose of the research is to study 1) the consumer experiences at different retail locations (e.g., farmers' markets, supermarkets, etc.) and 2) the ways consumers make use of these spaces.

**WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?**

If you decide to participate in this research, we will talk briefly and ask you questions about your experiences at farmers' markets, supermarkets, and other retail locations. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to aid with the research analysis process.

**ARE THERE ANY RISKS/BENEFITS TO ME?**

Being in the study will not have direct benefits to you, but it may be fun and interesting to share your thoughts about food consumption, shopping, or related topics. If we discuss anything that makes you uncomfortable, you can ask us to skip that question or stop the interview. You also may ask for the audio recorder to be shut off at any time. Anything we discuss will be completely confidential and anonymous.

**WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?**

If you decide to participate in the study, you can stop at any time with no negative consequences. If you have any questions at any time, please ask the researcher.

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact **Matt Godfrey** by email ([dmgodfrey@email.arizona.edu](mailto:dmgodfrey@email.arizona.edu)) or telephone (520-345-7923).

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Program at 520-626-6721.

Please sign below if you have read this form, asked any questions you may have, and agreed to participate. A copy of this form will be available for you to keep.

February 28, 2019

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

What time did you arrive at the market?

 00:00 PM

---

 (Automatically Records Current Time)

(Start recording audio for the following responses)

What did you do at the market today?

Select all uses

Purchase food or produce at the farmers' market

Socialize

Drink a beverage

Eat a meal or snack

Play with children

Listen to music or performance

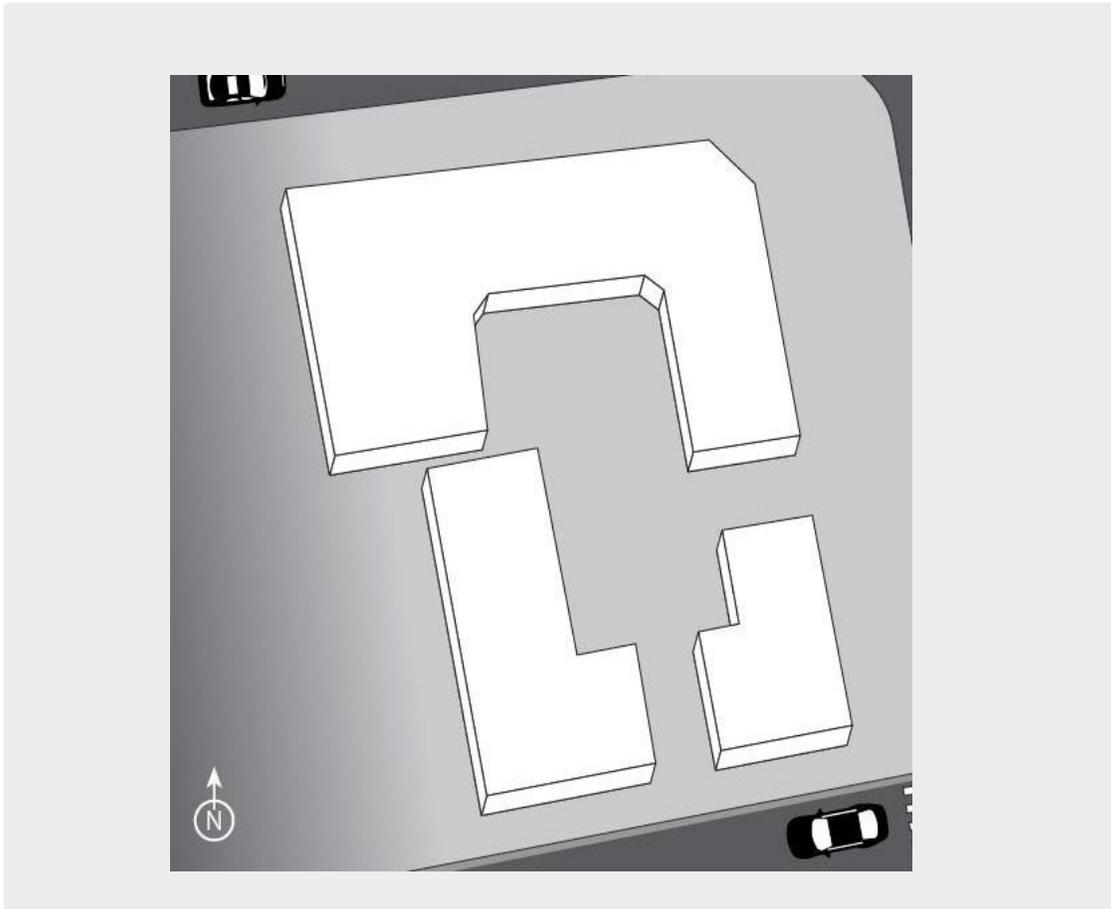
Work or read

Shopping (other than food/produce)

People watching

Other

Please draw a line showing your path through the market today.  
Click the pencil to draw your route on a map.



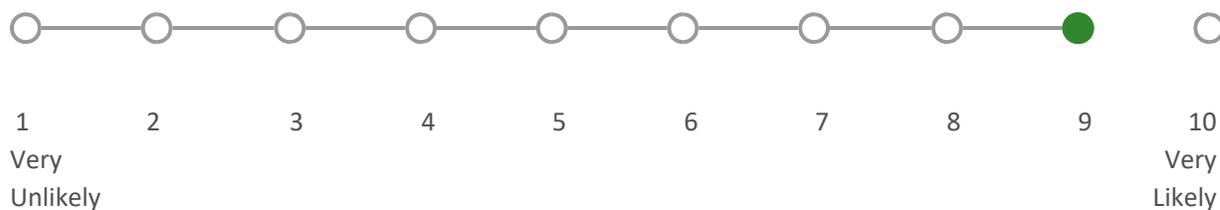
Overall, what was it like to be at the market today? How did the atmosphere and environment seem? What were the people like? How does it compare to other retail places where you go?

Before you came, did you have a plan for where you would go, and when?  
What was it?

Yes

No

Based on your experience today: On a scale from 1 to 10, how likely are you to recommend to a friend that they come here?

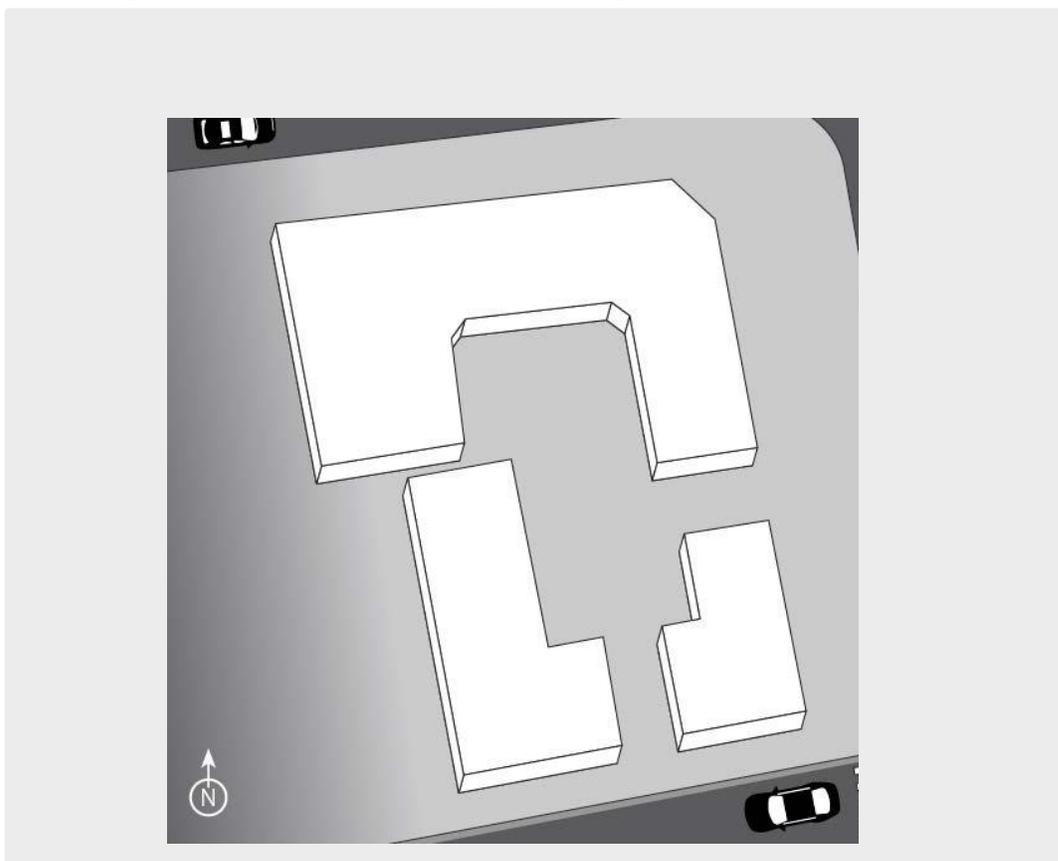


(Stop the audio recording above)

---

(Start recording audio for the following responses)

Please draw a circle any place where you drank [a beverage]  
Click the pencil to circle the location(s) on a map.



What was it like to drink that [beverage] here today?

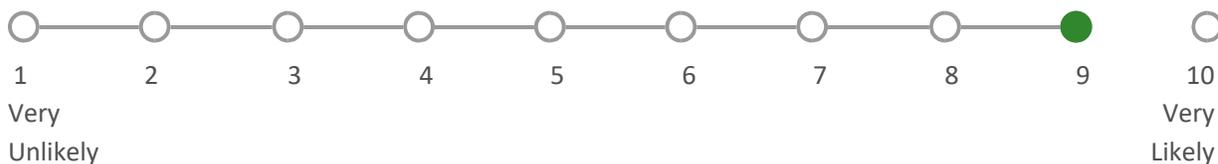
What were the people around you like?

How did the atmosphere or environment around you seem?

How did the [beverage] seem?

Where else do you typically drink [beverages]?

Based on your experience today: On a scale from 1 to 10, how likely are you to recommend to a friend that they come here to drink [a beverage]?



(Stop the audio recording above)

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### **Brief background information**

What's your home zip code?

12<sup>3</sup>

---

What's your primary occupation?

If retired, ask what their occupation was (e.g., "Retired high school teacher")

---

Before today, how often have you come the [The Plaza] or the [farmers' market]?

Never

Once or twice (total)

A few (3+) times per year

1-2times per month

3+times per month

Click "Next Page" button and give tablet to participant to complete survey

## **Final Questions**

(Please give tablet to participant to complete survey)

There are just four more questions for you to fill out. You can skip any question if you don't want to answer it.

1. My age is...

18-29

30-39

40-49

50-59

60-69

70-79

80+

Skip Question

## 2. My gender is...

 Male Female Other Skip Question

## 3. My race or ethnicity is...

(Check all that apply)

 White Hispanic or Latina/Latino Black or African American Asian Native American Other Skip Question

4. My level of education is...

(Click the highest that applies)

Some Elementary School

Some High School

High School Diploma or GED

Some College or Vocational Training

Undergraduate Degree

Some Graduate School

Graduate Degree

Skip Question

When you are finished, please click the "Next Page" button below and give this tablet back to the survey-taker.

**Thank you!**

Thank you very much for your time. The survey-taker will give you a \$5 token that you can use for purchases at this farmers' market. Have a wonderful evening!

Survey Code (To be entered by survey-taker):

Initials+Survey Number (E.g., "AB12")

---

Group Size:

1

2

3

4

5+

Group Type:

(Your Best Guess)

Alone / not applicable

Friends

Couple

Family

Other

**Age of Children:**

(Your Best Guess. Select all that apply)

No children / not applicable

Less than 2 years

2-4 years

5-7 years

8-10 years

11 or older

**Number of dogs:**

0

1

2

3+

If others in the group took the survey, please enter their survey codes if possible.

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