

INVISIBLE MIGRANTS:

GLOCTURNAL CITIES' 'OTHER WORKERS' IN THE POST-CIRCADIAN CAPITALIST ERA

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Statement

I hereby state that the thesis contains no material accepted for any other degrees in any other institutions. The thesis contains no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographic reference.

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Budapest | December 31st, 2017

Abstract

London's 24/7 rhythms throb with lives of nocturnal workers. Migrant workers service cities that never sleep, and remain largely unseen by the dominant, diurnal gaze. By and large glocturnal city's 'other workers' act according to the 24/7 demand-clock at the expense of the dysfunctionalities created to their circadian rhythms of night-sleep, day-awake/rest. Based on the analysis of the relationship between three factors, the dissertation explores the destructive creation of bio-automaton labour force sustaining the night-time economy. The structural factors analysed are the *intensification of labour*, *time alterations* and the *glocturnal city* as locality that offers the night-time space as the continuation for day structure, the labour force, and also its strategic position in wealth production.

Night shift work depletes the workers' bodily resources. The workers' bodies' physical supply translates into stamina to withstand the strenuous night work, overall duress and sleeplessness. This dissertation investigates to what extent permanent night shift workers manage bodily precariousness, as an essential aspect of human condition subordinated to the post-circadian capitalist climate. Enacting migrants' lives by doing night shifts at the Spitalfields fruit and vegetable market and drawing on 12 months of close participant observation amongst loaders, servers and forklift drivers, an ethnographer puts considerable strain on her/his daily life. The dissertation addresses the difficulties and practical aspects of enacted ethnography to observe the less-visible forms of cooperation in the workplace.

Migrant night shift workers do something together but not with one another. Night shift workers survive precariousness because they are immune to coworkers' needs, and not because they offer each other mutual support out of humanness. Through the analytical lens of learned bodily knowledge, the dissertation interrogates the modes of the embodiment that over time enhance night workers' social life skills. The becoming of embodied cooperation not only involves routinised, rhythmic practices ingrained in the body through repetitive, physical tasks, but also physical gestures that build friendly social relations amongst workers who learn to engage meaningfully in dealing with ambiguity, resistance and difference. The relevant aspects of embodied forms of interaction investigated involve workers' trajectories being disrupted from naturally cooperative to socially competitive.

Post-circadian capitalist era disrupts capabilities for sociality. In other words, contemporary capitalism turns cooperative people into competitors through organised forms of labour that limit workers' economic rights. The dissertation not only contributes to our understanding of the structural mechanisms that involve competition and systematically weaken cooperation between workers but also advances the idea that social encounters are predicated on systematic learning and practising of bodily cooperation. Thus, it extends practice theory and migration studies on knowledge constructed and accumulated through labour that migrants apply to the conduct of everyday life in global cities. Last, engaging these works in conversation with social anthropologists to explain work-based embodied knowledge, in effect the thesis offers an innovative method for social inquiries to capture the glocturnal cities' strategic power generating the drive for economic expansion beyond the night frontier that functions 24/7 on the backdrop of the bodily precariousness of workers.

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Writing of acknowledgements marks the milestones and deliverables of a completed project. It marks the opportunity to remember the light moments, and less so the difficult times. While I try to suppress the difficult memories, I express my gratitude and respect to the people whose good deeds made this thesis possible. The three-year, generous Marie-Skłodowska Curie INTEGRIM award covered the research expenses and my studies, but without Centre for Policy Studies' financial support and the safe haven where I wrote the final draft, and the Central European University Write-up grant, this thesis would have been written with delay. For all this, huge thanks!

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Entering a doctorate is like entering a room with some or plenty intellectual or bodily curiosity. Exiting the room requires stamina, endurance and guidance. I have been lucky to receive guidance in the past four years from my supervisor, Violetta Zentai. She embodies the essence of a rare teacher in today's world education system. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude for her dedication, patience and preciseness with which she read my drafts and guided me softly to rethink and reformulate what I clumsily intended initially. Under her guidance, I wrote my drafts with tons of perspiration and not in moments of inspiration. And with her unwavering support and supervision I remained undeterred to complete the final task. Thank you, Violetta.

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List of Abbreviations

A2 | 2007 EU enlargement waves includes two countries: Bulgaria and Romania

A8 | 2004 EU enlargement: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia

CoL | Corporation of London

EU | European Union

HMO | Houses in Multiple Occupation

LFS | Labour Force Survey

LLW | London Living Wage

NHS | National Health Service

NYC | New York City

ONS | Office for National Statistics

OP | Observant Participant

PO | Participant Observer

SMTA | Spitalfields Market Tenants' Association

SSEES | School of Slavonic and East European Studies

TfL | Transport for London

UCL | University College London

UK | United Kingdom

UKBA | United Kingdom Border Agency

US | United States

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INTRODUCTION:

BODILY CAPITAL MADE SOCIAL

Before modern times, stretching the working time late into the evenings always used to be during the short days of fall and winter. Children and women were working in the cotton mill houses lit by candlelight in 18th century Britain (Crary 2013). The gas lamps promised to light the night in 19th century New England when the numbers of water-powered textile mills absorbed most of the female labour power to weave cloths (Baldwin 2012). Across the Atlantic, nocturnalisation of the big cities like London, Paris and Berlin meant a vibrant, nocturnal life for the night revellers and city dwellers of the late 19th century (Schlör 1998). At the turn of the 20th century, technological advancements permitted a more extensive range of services adjacent to the Fordist production of two and three rotating shift systems to expand trade into the night. Night-time production overall intensified, as capitalism transited through the 20th century from a circadian phase to post-circadian capitalist rhythms of the 21st century.

In the circadian capitalist age time spent for production was regimented in blocks of time. In contrast, post-circadian capitalism prefers the flexible-labour force for 24/7 production. The post-circadian capitalist era disrespects our physiological rhythms – the 24-hour physiological clock, regarding how we spend our waking time, when we relax and how (little) we sleep. It controls the leisure time we spend for work. In the 21st century, nocturnal cities on both sides of the Atlantic grew into metropolises spinning 24/7. Post-circadian capitalist society requires sleepless consumers. Consequently, 24/7 societies need sleepless bodies to produce and generate profit. Global cities like London and New York, are two of the world's financial centres, part of a “strategic maintenance set-up” that transcends national borders, attracts corporations to invest and migrants to live and work (Sassen 2005). Global and nocturnal, taken together make *glocturnal* cities. These cities not only represent urban territories with very high demographic density and cross-border transactions, but systematically draw on the power of extending the night frontier for round-the-clock production and consumption-led activities (e.g. finance, maintenance, entertainment).

This investigation explores the triadic relationship between three conceptual pillars that make 24/7 capital development viable – labour intensification, time de-regimentation and the glocturnal city – against the backdrop of neoliberal capitalism's destruction of workers who

travel for work, and find themselves in precarious, exploitative and stigmatised jobs on low wages. The dissertation analyses the themes presented next. It explores how bodily learning and practices strengthen or weaken cooperation in the lives of night shift workers – loaders, drivers, café servers and salesmen – in East London’s New Spitalfields fruit and vegetable market, owned and managed by the Corporation of London (CoL). It argues that the critical properties of practical knowledge of cooperation are embodied in the rhythmic, repetitive practices sedimented over *time* and situated in a *field* through a web of interactions. As she engages in nightly physical work, the sensate, suffering ‘human animal’ ingrains and adjusts to the physical labour that applies to the workers’ embodied social skills.

The conceptual frame of the thesis consists of *habitus*, the six ‘s’ factors, and bodily *cooperation*. The three concepts are proposed alongside the fourth – *precariousness*. *Habitus* refers to mundane bodily activities, repeated rhythmically, and carried out subconsciously which help form practical knowledge. Accordingly, *habitus* is ingrained in the body, in sets of dispositions or layers accumulated over time in individual and collective histories as a result of constant interactions between social agents and field. Following in the footsteps of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* (2000), Wacquant (2004, 2009, 2011, 2014) endeavours to restore the lacunas left behind by either/or debates between objectivists and subjectivists on the duality of mind and body prevalent in social sciences. He complements the notion of *habitus* with the six ‘s’ concept describing humans as *symbol* wielders, *sentient*, *suffering*, *skilled*, *sedimented* and *situated* social agents. From Wacquant’s six ‘s’ factors that capture bodily knowledge behind human practices defined by the social space (Wacquant 2015), only three (senses, suffering and skills), are pertinent for the microanalysis included in chapter four. *Habitus* and the six *s* describe relations between habitus and field that endow night workers with symbolic bodily capital helpful in coping in their immediate social reality. A practical bodily knowledge that navigates, negotiates or merely survives the post-circadian capitalist era.

Migrants Travelling for Work in The European Union

Precarious migrant workers in today’s Europe are central to modern experience . Against the backdrop of emerging economic and political restructuring in Europe in a time of global expansionism, masses of citizens living in poverty travel for work within the European Union. For anthropologists Kaneff and Pine (2011), this appears to be the case for migrants travelling

in response to the increasing inequality within Europe. The complex and diverse nature of migration presents the research community with various challenges.

The UK's Conservative government, the negotiator behind BREXIT, is adamant that as of 2019, more stringent national regulations will apply to curb migration, limit migrant labour rights and the rights to acquire UK citizenship by the EU citizens and 'other working' migrants living in the UK. So presumably, further restrictions will prevent migrants from accessing more rewarding and better-paid positions on the UK labour market. On account of the previous two EU enlargements (in 2004 – A8 countries; in 2007 – A2 countries)¹, the previous UK government demonstrated that prevention practices put in place by the United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA) generated work permit (blue and yellow cards) waiting lists by thousands. Similarly, adjustments made by the UK Job Centres to the issuing system of self-employment licenses prevented many EU citizens from performing in the UK's labour market, despite the high demands for migrants (Ruhs and Anderson 2010) in the low-skilled sectors or those studying in the UK education system.

Many women and men, travelling in the dark for work, are low skilled migrants. Unlike in the previous centuries, glocturnal cities' migrant denizens are working the night shift to continue its incessant rhythms. Migrants work the night shift in precarious work sectors, like food-processing or fruit and vegetable markets. Research shows that high-income countries rely on the migrant workforce to fill low-skilled positions that locals do not accept (Ruhs and Anderson 2010). Most loaders, forklift drivers, café servers and salesmen are migrants working in night markets (e.g. New Spitalfields, Covent Garden) to maintain Londoners' incessant appetite for fresh food. Unless they are London-based brokers specialised in the Asian stock exchange, work in local forces (e.g. Police, Fire services), or produce live TV/radio shows (e.g. hosts, voice jockeys), the highly skilled workers do not commute at night except to retire to their homes or consume the nightlife.

¹The following A8 countries entered the European Union (EU) in 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia; whilst the A2 countries – Bulgaria and Romania – joined the EU in 2007.

Glocturnal London's 'Other Workers'

Saskia Sassen's (1991) definition of global cities as strategic terrain for a whole series of conflicts and contradictions is useful here. The two main features in her definition are compatible with the findings of my research. These are, at least three factors: a) cities attract large-scale immigration; b) they inevitably involve "increasing income and occupational polarization"; and c) they concentrate a high number of low-skilled workers who have an important role in the strategic set-up to maintain the day structure by working at night. In this thesis globalisation in today's modern, global market, marches towards "global integration" of service industries to make these available for consumption time-zone-less. Succinctly, the night-time expansion has increased due to extended opening hours with some business sectors open round-the-clock irrespective of the geographical positions of the producer/service giver and consumer. The human subject nonetheless is subordinated to the demands of 24/7 accumulation-production-consumption cycle. By and large, London's migrant working population acts according to the 24/7 demand-clock at the expense of the dysfunctionalities created to the human-clock, the physiological, circadian clock of night-sleep, day-awake/rest rhythms. Hence, low-skilled migrants, working in-the-night remain invisible to diurnal eyes. Night shift workers' faces remain unseen and their voices silent, whether in the media or public debates on workers' rights. Diurnals or day shifters retire to their homes in the evening to have dinner, do homework with their children or socialise, while night shifters prepare for work. They are London's 'other workers' part of the maintenance domains of this glocturnal city.

There is growing scholarly literature on the governance of global cities' night-time economy (Roberts 2004). For example, the anthropologist Norman writes about Britain's "graveyard shifters" (2011), others discuss New York City's finance district janitors and Toronto's taxi drivers (Sassen 2005, 2016; Sharma 2014), Mumbai's 'pink collar' night workforce (Patel 2010), and New Delhi's call centre operators (Aneesh 2012). The newest account describes manual labourers in the City of London's Spitalfields night market (Macarie 2017), who maintain the workplaces and satisfy the appetite of executives and professionals who sleep or party at night and run these cities during the day. In this vein, the present investigation contributes to the works that recognise that 'other workers' in low-skilled jobs are migrant denizens, the "pieces of a production process", with an essential role in advancing the glocturnal cities' economic sector (Sassen in an interview with Aneesh 2017:132).

It is striking that the smallest city in England called the City of London or the 'square mile', is governed by one of world's oldest, continuous municipal governments, albeit a modern institution – the Corporation of London (CoL). The CoL has been refusing to increase wages for workers maintaining the financial district in the City to meet the London Living Wage (LLW) rate. The City's highly-paid executives cannot afford the slightest crises in their tight schedules, which are subordinated to market demands and around the wealthy customers' wishes. Thus migrant workers who clean the offices and homes of executives, travel from the poor boroughs surrounding the City, where they live in poorly maintained and highly priced houses of multiple occupation (HMOs), cannot work on LLW rates. Poorly paid and inadequately housed, precarious migrants are central to the maintenance of the city. Their needs pass unobserved by the City's authorities, corporations, small company owners and traders of fruits and vegetables at the Spitalfields night market, owned and managed by the CoL. The UK's most extensive employment study for the Office for National Statistics (ONS) recommends that night shifts be eight hours long with regular breaks in any twenty-four hours and a maximum cycle of seventeen-night turns per month. However, companies and traders at New Spitalfields market do not respect these working regulations.

There is extensive literature showing the negative impact of night shift work on physical health (Archer et al. 2014; Arendt 2010; Boivin and Boudreau 2014; Costa 2001, 2006; Roden et al. 1993), and on unmet social experiences (Aneesh 2012). There is a consensus that night shift workers live with disrespect to the 24-hour biological clock, which increases the risks for bodily illness and somatic maladjustments. Also, regarding human 24-hour circadian cycle, sleep is an integral part of the body's functions. Night nurses, police force, and de-skilled workers, all suffer from circadian maladjustments and sleep deprivation. Undesirable effects are found to impact also on workers due to physical separation and disconnect. The notion of "culture shock," frequently used to explain initial immigrant experiences, or the notion of "hysteresis effect" (Bourdieu, 1984), describing events when socialized expectations are not met, may now be extended to persons not co-located in the same geographic space. While physical proximity allows for a certain harmonization of expectations to emerge in regular settings it is difficult to see such harmonization in the experiences of call centre agents who operate in the context of real-time global services. For example, New Delhi's call centre workers suffer from "unmet socialised expectations or the hysteresis effects" due to being separated from the "lifeworlds" of customers in different regions of the globe (Aneesh 2012:527).

Nocturnal Ethnography: A Bodily Craft

As a research student based at the UCL/SSEES² Department researching Romanian night workers, I was inspired by anthropologist Ger Duijzings with whom I have since carried out multi-sited ethnographies with the Nightlaboratory³. I drew other sources of inspiration from previous ethnographic research carried out by anthropologist Will Norman (2011) on Britain's "graveyard shifters". Empirically too, I drew lessons from work by the author and political activist for the women workers' rights, Barbara Ehrenreich, who wrote "Nickel and Dime" (2010) based on her under-cover research on poverty amongst America's workers. Additionally, I was involved and inspired by the work of dedicated colleagues during the late outreach work with National Health Service Open Doors services; and last but not least, as an intern with *Migrants Organise* campaigning for migrants aside *CitizensUK* to fight for the LLW rates for cleaners.

When starting my doctoral studies in 2012, one of the largest ethnic groups that spoke English as a second language in the household was the Turkish speaking community in North-East London. Another one was the Romanian community – or several atomised clusters of Romanian nationals scattered across several boroughs in the North, West and East of London⁴. I was interested, before and in the early phase of the doctoral fieldwork, to compare the two communities of night shift workers at the Spitalfields market to assess the possibilities for solidarity amongst in-group members and between-groups.

In 2015, I immersed myself in performing night work activity as the main source of ethnographic observation and data. The ethnographic craft learned *in situ*, presumed that I too used my body to load fruits and vegetables to explore how workers embedded in the Spitalfields

² University College London, School of South-East European Studies

³ The challenging strategy for this bodily craft of nocturnal ethnography to investigate from and with the body has been inspired by the multi-sited ethnographic collaboration with the nightlaboratory. The Nightlaboratory's experimental nature originated with night walking in London beside anthropologist Ger Duijzings, the initiator of this project. From London to Sofia (2012), Nightlaboratory migrated to Budapest and Istanbul (2014); after my fieldwork in London (2015), the research group was in Milano (2016). [Nightlaboratory](#) research blog, reports on "people who work, make a living, survive or operate in one way or another in the nocturnal city, because they have no other option or because they want to benefit from the darkness, quiet and lack of control and surveillance which the night offers".

⁴ National Health Services in England. In 2013, I worked with [Homerton University Hospital's Open Doors](#) team based in Hackney, East London. Open Doors offers free and confidential sexual health advice in East London for people working in the sex industry. Migrants from Brazil, China, and many EU nationals are supported by the walk-in Open Doors service.

night market space use their bodies for material gains – migrant co-workers travelled to the UK for work to improve their economic situation in the home country. Night work represents for many a more lucrative setting, but the cost of their projected financial goals reveals itself in the bodily and social precariousness that they experience (e.g., physical exhaustion, circadian maladjustment, sleep disturbances, social isolation, and alienation) as a result of using their muscles for improved financial prospects.

Conceptually, something exciting emerged through data analysis and during the ethnographic writing stage. It was expected that in-work precariousness would unite workers to fight and improve their working conditions; but, despite the levels of insecurity experienced by the workers, only weak and rare forms of cooperation were present, both in action and words. Furthermore, data collected during fieldwork indicated upon analysis that neither feelings of solidarity nor cooperation-competition were acted on along ethnic lines. Such insight reverberates with research by leading migration scholars who advise moving away from the ethnic lens paradigm. (Glick Schiller, Çağlar, and Guldbrandsen 2006).

Before the 1970's, precarious work had not yet gained the equivalent of today's meaning within employment relations. Then it was treated as regarding impoverished families' livelihoods or poverty (Barbier 2005). Analyses of precarity expanded in the late 20th century, starting most importantly with works of Bourdieu (1998). He viewed *precarité* – or *precarity* (in the Anglophone writings) – as insecure working and living conditions specifically deemed to force workers into “submission and exploitation” (Bourdieu 1998:99). In the 21st century, researchers widened their focus to study precarity. In globalisation and critical labour studies, researchers reanalysed the existing concept of precarity, and suggested that precarity not only invades households and workplaces but that it has the potential to turn into a class-of-its-own or *precariat* (Standing 2011). In the same vein, research shows that precarity invades workers' bodies for capital development (Sharma 2014) – my investigation follows up this line of inquiry. Conceptually, my inquiry resonates with political theories focusing on the government of the precarious, including the body, modes of subjectivation, and the whole of existence living in insecurity, unpredictability and “with contingency” (Lorey 2015:99).

As I advanced in my research I acknowledged aspects of bodily practices that my co-workers learnt and perfected, but which they did not talk about in interviews or during the informal conversations. Hence, the more I analysed my enacted ethnographic experience post-fieldwork,

the more I understood the learning processes behind their bodily capital embodied through repetitive movements of rhythmic, physical tasks. Such aspects led to one discovery that I neither anticipated nor constructed – workers who mastered physical labour skills were capable of performing such bodily capital in socialised encounters off-site.

Marcel Mauss (1979 [1950]) points to “the first and most natural tool of man” – his body. Since Mauss (1979 [1950]), anthropological literature has not explored the theme of bodily knowledge extensively till Scheper-Hughes with Lock (1987) remind us that we possess a resourceful “mindful body”. Strathern too, insists that researchers should spare more “*Body Thoughts*” (1996). Thinkers like Bourdieu (1970) also link back their thoughts on the bodily knowledge to Marcel Mauss. From a sociological perspective, his work is further interpreted by his disciple who addresses the importance of the bodily capital in constructing knowledge (Bourdieu 1990, 2000, Wacquant 1995, 2004, 2005). Wacquant’s (2015:5) findings suggest hitherto unsuspected aspects of human labour – bodily logic is independent of objectivist thinking and involves degrees of bodily labour skills as capital for sociality.

Bourdieu’s (1979, 2000) thesis on *habitus* and Wacquant’s *six ‘s’ factors* (2004, 2005, 2015) constitute two main pillars of this thesis’ conceptual framework. The analysis highlights how useful both concepts are in understanding embodiment, as physical labour applied to meet socialisation expectations in everyday life. Second, if we take Wacquant literally, then “actual presence of living bodies of flesh and blood” is missing from the discussions among social scientists (1995:65). Therefore, my nocturnal ethnography explicates bodily labour practiced in the realm of social relations forged in night work settings.

Moreover, this investigation’s analytical framework is strengthened by another level of argument, first formulated by Richard Sennett (2008, 2012). He claims that artisans who master physical labour skills inside the workshop can apply them in social settings. This dissertation takes a similar approach to explore from the perspective of anthropology of labour to what extent bodily precariousness, as an essential aspect of human condition subordinated to the post-circadian capitalist climate, is managed by permanent night shift workers. Once we understand how systematic learning and practising of cooperation through physical labour becomes embodied, it should be possible for social anthropologists to explain work-based relations better.

Within the scope of this thesis, bodily capital is defined in the context of precariousness – a set of physical labour skills and knowledge, constructed and accumulated through bodily labour, which any single human or a collective of human social animals apply to conduct in everyday life outside the workplace. The relevant aspects of embodied forms of socialisation investigated here are those that involve workers' trajectories being disrupted from naturally cooperative to socially nurtured competition for one another. Methodologically, the dissertation addresses whether traditional methods for social inquiry capture the nocturnal workers' bodily knowledge to manage precariousness systematically.

Thesis Structure

The *Introduction* offers the background to the developments that have led to today's 24/7 culture of production-consumerism cycle round-the-clock. It also includes the sources of inspiration for the topic of this investigation as well as the research context, the research question, and its significance and claims.

CHAPTER ONE, *The Glocturnal London and Its Night Workers* evaluates the scholarly literature on transnational migration with the specific focus on migrants travelling for work. It also discusses ideas of leading scholars on the global city, debating its characteristics as a transnational space and urban territory with a very high population density. The chapter highlights glocturnal cities' strategic power in the drive for night-time economy expansion beyond the night frontier against the backdrop of the increased bodily precariousness of workers.

CHAPTER TWO, *Nocturnal Ethnography: A Bodily Craft in Anthropology* is experimental in the sense that it “departs from diurnal work patterns in anthropology” to research at night.⁵ The chapter contributes to the long-standing sociological interest in the logic of practical knowledge (Wacquant 2004, 2011), and the role of the investigator's body in constructing social competency through immersive ethnographies (Wacquant 2015) in “carnal sociology” (Strathern 1996:26). On the one hand, it weds the investigator's body deployed *in situ* as a thematic tool to capture, construct and thematise embodied social knowledge on the assessment of intimate, invisible connections between workers' bodily learning and practices (Wacquant 2004). On the other, it employs “visual instruments of objectification” to enhance the

⁵ Gerlachus Duijzings (2011:5) From the unpublished work on Proposals for Nocturnal Anthropology Nights in Berlin: Steps Towards a Nocturnal Anthropology

“analytical precision with experiential acuity” (Wacquant 2005:469). Finally, to capture space-time intensification, mixed methods of recording techniques (e.g. field notes, observations, ‘schmoozing’, audio/video) are triangulated in this chapter. The aims are to show the impact that physical labour has on the investigator’s bodily capital as he explores the effects of night shift work on the respondents’ bodies.

In CHAPTER THREE, three structural factors in the 24/7 capitalist working environment create a *triad* analysed as follows: (a) the *expansion of the working day* into the night; (b) the *major alterations of time* over time, and (c) the *glocturnal city*, the nurturing ground for producing the bio-automatons maintaining its global night-time economy. This frame suggests that night-to-night labour relations are a continuation of the day-structure, but the workers live an antithetic style of life to the diurnal, mainstream society. It involves degrees of precarity and precarisation for the bio-automatons (human workers, that is) subordinated to market demands. The chapter argues that embodiment of the above three factors allows for the social world “made [into] flesh” (Strathern 1996:26). For that reason, four ethnographic portraits canvas the embodied experiences of a café server, forklift driver, store supervisor, and one Turkish salesman, all working for Kurdish-Turkish owners/traders.

CHAPTER FOUR analyses the night workers’ *habitus* and the six ‘s’ factors embedded in the individual and collective histories of the same four workers introduced in the previous chapter. The scope is to analyse the processes by which individual and collective encounters are ingrained, adjusted, situated and sedimented into the *skilled* practices accumulated through a “web of actions” by the *sensate, suffering* respondents. This chapter arrives at a more general consideration, namely that workers’ *habitus* of precariousness results from the interplay between the post-circadian capitalist system’s manipulating the body’s physiological 24-hour rhythms and the workers’ embodied histories of exploitation through night-by-night bodily practices. Taking together chapters three and four enable us to reflect on “situated knowledge” embodied by the worker who is embedded in the social field of the night market.

CHAPTER FIVE advances the idea that the structural factors and individual conditions of workers result in weak cooperation. It uses a method that extends the analysis of learned bodily knowledge through physical labour that enhances one’s social life skills. The consequences emerging from night shift workers’ experiences, however, highlight that due to precariousness inherent in their environment they are seriously limited *in using* their embodied capital. The

chapter shows that although embodied cooperation reveals itself in trivial disruptions of night work activities, it seldom happens, and is not solidified enough to organise the workers for collective actions or social interactions outside the workshop.

In CONCLUSION, I bring together the multi-layered aspects of a post-circadian capitalist era that re-cycles broken bodies and turns them into bio-automaton workers. I briefly reflect on the benefits of learning the nocturnal *bodily craft*, and viable avenues of inquiry in socio-anthropology to construct knowledge and understanding into the disinvestment of the human bodies for the 24/7 recycling of production-consumption-accumulation, in a global market infrastructure.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE GLOCTURNAL LONDON AND ITS NIGHT SHIFT WORKERS

1.1. *Transnational Migrant Workers*

If you set out in this world,
better be born seven times.
Once, in a house on fire,
Once, in a freezing flood,
Once, in a wild madhouse,
Once, in a field of ripe wheat,
Once, in an empty cloister,
And once, among pigs in a sty.
Six babes crying, not enough:
you yourself must be the seventh.

'The Seventh', by Attila József (Berger and Mohr 2010).

In 2013, the United States (US) was at the top of the OECD list of immigration countries. The US hosted 20% of the global total of 232 million migrants (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2013). In Europe, only the Russian Federation (11M) overtakes other receiving countries like Germany (9.8M), the UK (7.8M), France (7.5M), and Spain (6.5M); despite the economic downturn, millions of migrants flow across national territories to settle in OECD. So half of today's migrants (116M) live in only ten countries (OECD 2013:2). Following the 2008 crisis, 7.1M foreign-born were unemployed⁶ in 2010/11 and resided in the OECD regions. Migrants travel for work to meet the "need for cheap labour in mature economies" (King 2012:4) yet are depicted as the troublesome source for driving down wages for locals or are accused of welfare benefit tourism. Scholars highlight that dis-/integration means exclusion of EU migrants travelling for work within the Schengen space (Ager and Strang 2008). And Taubig speaks of organised disintegration to stop asylum seekers and so-called illegal immigrants from participating to social systems.

⁶ The OECD (2013) World Migration in Figures reports the average unemployment rate of 11.6% in the OECD.

Relevance of transnational migration

Refugees from Africa, ‘guest workers’ in Europe, Asia and the Middle East represented earlier migration flows around the globe, which only recently turned the migration questions into a ‘refugee crisis’. Many who fled the Syrian war died; and many who survived the crossing failed to enter fortress Europe[an], fenced territory in the Fall of 2015 (Verstraete 2010, Glick Schiller 2016). Such challenges expose the academic community to questions of “solidarity in diverse [multicultural] societies” and the protection of nationally driven welfare regimes (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016; Schiller, Guldbrandsen, and Çağlar 2006). Glick Schiller (2016) warns us that perhaps refugees being welcomed by some European state leaders (e.g. Angela Merkel) in Fall 2015, was a world event that has shown that we too (immigrants in Europe, Europeans at home, African-Americans and Latinos in the US) are seeking refuge from the neoliberal war through accumulation by dispossession of poor countries for the benefit of the rich ones.

Caroline Brettell (2015) argues that beginning with 1970s anthropologists have studied ‘tribesmen in the cities’ moving from villages to urban centres. But, it took almost fifty years from Margaret Mead’s fieldwork in Manus, New Guinea, for anthropologists to shift from preceding ideas that cultures are territorially bounded, thus expanding their inquiries into migration. Brettell and Hollifield (2015) argue that interest among scholars discussing the international migration phenomenon from interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives has grown in direct proportion to the increasing numbers of migrants floating across borders. Last, migration studies – an interdisciplinary field – have benefited a great deal from the transnational model adopted by various scholars with conceptual frameworks aiming continuously to analyse, debate, investigate and tackle the crisis-ridden present in migration.

These leading migration scholars argue that researchers studying the everyday lives of migrants need to utilise the concept of “domains of commonality”, by which they mean to capture various nuances of “urban sociabilities” in cities (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016). This argument becomes relevant in the sense that it introduces aspects of difference and sameness or sociality-based cooperation between *others who differ* and sociability-based solidarity amongst *people appreciative of similarity* in moral values or principles, which I evaluate in later sections. Some principles of universally-shared experiences (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016:19) of precariousness are reinforced in this dissertation. It is relevant as the migrants

whom I observed and who participated in this study, share bodily precariousness on a nightly basis. Lorey's (2015) work pays due attention in her analysis of the government of the precariat and complements Sharma's (2014) bio-politics studies acknowledging something new and pertinent to this thesis – precariousness separates exploited bodies from the preserved ones. Glick Schiller (2016:6) argues that such shared experiences are at the conjuncture of domains of commonality, and not about tolerated differences. Recent collaborative work captures new observations that link migrants' capabilities of sociability to outperform precarity by dispossession work (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016). Accordingly, in this thesis I address the methodological rationale for working with the concept of *sociality* versus *sociability* which allows workers to cooperate not on the grounds of sameness but on the territory of ambiguity about the others' concerns without aiming to reach an agreement.

Numerous claims have been made concerning the different forms of transnational migration. The most common is the distinction between home-host societies, cross-border connections and ethnic-based relations between transnational migrants. Earlier research has shown that transnational migrants “forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Schiller et al. 1995:48). However, conceptually, the home-host dichotomy breaks away from transnational migration (Glick Schiller and her colleagues 1995). Cross-border connections emphasise the global in relation to economic advantage and transnationalism. Researchers focus on aspects of ‘entrepreneurial transnationalism’ based on concepts, such as ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’ and ‘ethnic economies’ as in Vertovec's (2001) illustration of Birmingham as the global city.

In critical view of the limitations of cross-border as well as ‘ethnic-based ties’, leading scholars like Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2013) invite us to move beyond the “ethnic lens”. The alternative is to study migrant practices (socialities and identities) and focus the analysis on the

relationship between the economic, political and cultural positioning of cities within broader networks of power and the ability of migrants to forge a place for themselves within a specific locality. (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:494)

This critical, alternative perspective entails that research shifts focus off the ethnic origins of the migrants and onto the business practices as the central endeavour in the cities they work and live in. They take the discussion in a different direction and study migrants and migrant businesses by “exploring urban-based entrepreneurial activities as a mode of emplacement”

(Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:495). Further, Glick-Schiller and Çağlar (2008), criticise the fact that the focus on ethnic ties had dominated as the explanatory paradigm in migration studies whereas research into migrant practices, such as friendships, charitable and religious networks have been under-researched, yet they are viable in-roads to researching transnational migrants.

Scholars from anthropology, demography, economics, history, law, political science, and sociology have turned their attention to the ‘extraordinarily complex phenomenon’ of international migration (Brettell and Hollifield 2015). It is evident from social scientists theorising migration that the transnational model provides in-roads to and cross-talks over the ebb and flows of emigration and immigration in multiple directions. Also, it responds to the challenges facing the everyday lives of migrants in crisis as well as to the migration crisis itself gaining in proportions despite the global economic crisis (OECD 2013).

Even though earlier references exist, the concept of transnationalism is usually attributed to the founding mother, Nina Glick Schiller et al. (1992). Glick Schiller (1992) saw the transnationalism framework focusing on the individual migrants’ lives “spanning international borders”. However, she argues, migrants’ experiences cannot be judged on the destination country alone. Participatory belonging to a transnational community that defies the dichotomous term home-host society, (Rutherford 1990 in Interview with Homi Bhabha) emphasises that transnationalism affected even those who did not migrate (Fitzgerald 2015:132). Bhabha’s account joined those who showed that Caribbean islanders even if they never left the islands, were linked to the New Yorkers (Rutherford 1990). Bhabha (1990) (and other scholars) utilised this concept to “undermine the notion that nation-states are ‘containers’ for distinct national cultures”. Glick Schiller et al. (1992), argued that though not physically present in the country of origin the migrant is present through other means than physical (e.g. remittances). Present-day migrants connect to the extended family through social media. Though never crossing territorial borders, the latter become subject to Bhabha’s (1990) focus.

In Mahler’s (1998) view, transnationalism is a “highly contested approach that has yet to form a common agenda for research and analysis” (1998:74). Pedraza-Bailey (1990) explains that this concept does not hold the analytical promise due to scholars across disciplines not having reached a consensus, despite their research interests in the area of migration. Whereas

historians point where the shibboleths begin, social scientists are divided by adopting either a top-down approach (focusing on policies or market forces) or focussing on migrants' experiences (Lucassen et al. 2010). Thus, scholars do not reach a nexus point at which to explore currently disputed territories of investigation such as anti-immigrant sentiments (Brettell and Hollifield 2015).

In my dissertation, the term transnationalism holds analytical promise as far as it is strictly applied to the category of the first generation of contemporary migrants. Terms such as 'transnationalist space' become embedded and explained in new long-lasting trends in transnationalist migration that go beyond the 'first generation'. Likewise, while there is indeed an endurable 'transnational space' as argued in today's debates, it is mainly related to the next section on global cities. More recent explanations of transnational migrants from (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016:19) show that:

Despite the differences, [cosmopolitan migrants] construct domains of being human together, that the performed precarity of dispossession is transformed into struggles against the growing disparities and displacements of global capitalism.

Their findings are useful in the debate to show the differences in migrants' social capabilities. Following Glick Schiller, however, I see transnational migrant workers at the Spitalfields night market as bodies who are "disinvested" in the maintenance of the "invested bodies" (Sharma 2014), i.e. the executives running the glocturnal cities for 24/7 production and reproduction of capital accumulation by dispossession.

1.2. *Glocturnal Cities*

Global, 24/7, nocturnal, cities never sleep. Increasingly, often quoted sociological inquiries taking a globalisation perspective (Sassen 2016; Sharma 2014; Sharman and Sharman 2008) reveal the intricacies of capitalist development. Accordingly, night shift work is seen as a continuation of the day structure to colonise the night for production-consumption-accumulation cycle in the glocturnal cities (Melbin 1987). For Sassen (2001, 2017) the global, 24/7 cities are the conjunction points between the "great concentrations of corporate power and large concentrations of 'others', and the terrain where a multiplicity of globalisation processes assume concrete, localised forms" in this strategic set-up. Sassen (1991, 2001) demonstrates that a focus on cities allows researchers to capture both the 'upper and the lower circuits of globalisation'. This reflects the contradictions that the internationalisation of capital happens

at the cost of dispossessed population groups, such as immigrants in Europe and in the US. Global cities, says Sassen (2001:200), “become a strategic terrain for a whole series of conflicts and contradictions”.

The contradictions are not rooted in the geographical spaces, such as the national territories, but in the “national settings, notably specialised institutional orders disproportionately located in global cities”, like the free trade zones in the City of London and Manhattan. The complexity of Sassen’s (2016, 2017) insight into the logic behind the development of advanced economies is summed up in her most recent work on “predatory formations”. These formations inhere structures that afford the elites

systemic capacities for massive capture at the top, environmental destruction on a scale we have not seen before, and a significant rise in the expulsion of people from reasonable life options even in rich countries (Sassen 2017:2).

Though beyond the scope of this review, in brief, these “formations” are a complex mix of unseen elements, yet “predatory” in character, because they confer the dominant elites and owners of capital advantages and preferences that exclude the majority from conventional life expectations. Sassen’s (1991) earlier hypothesis in *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* rests not only on the basis that increases in informal employment sustain the growth of sweatshops, but also, on the basis that includes at least two factors: a) cities attract large-scale immigration; and b) they inevitably involve “increasing income and occupational polarization” (Sassen 1991:224).

In the context of immigration, Samers (2002) challenges Sassen’s point because there is nothing principally novel in stating that cities are a pull factor for immigrants. Migration studies have always been interested in the ebbs and flows of migrants that make cities metropolises. Sassen’s (1991) also points out that that increase in labour migration has been constant. And despite the global crisis in 2008 (OECD 2013), glocturnal cities continue to attract migrants that contribute to the swelling of global cities. However, evidence shows that the migrant segment working on the UK labour market has increased considerably from 2.9M (in 1993) to nearly 7M (in 2015) (Rienzo 2016b). *Migrant Observatory* who produce regular updates on the characteristics of foreign-born workers in the UK labour market reports in 2015 that the migrant workers were divided between 36% working as employees and 48% as self-

employed, and all lived in London, (Rienzo 2016b:2), the glocturnal city in Europe. On this assessment, Samers' (2002) critique does not hold true.

Samers also questions Sassen's (1991) argument that the global city is the nurturing ground for occupational polarisation. He argues against global cities being centres for expansion of labour migration (Samers 2002), because of limitations introduced by formal labour contracts in European countries. That could be the case if we think of the transitional controls that prevented workers from Romania and Bulgaria accessing the UK's labour market until January 2014. However, official statistics often show a much smaller number of registered migrants, due to limitations in data collection. Following this line of argument, it is reasonable to argue that Samers (2002) is correct in saying that official figures on migrant workers in global cities are unreliable and open the door to researchers having to rely on guesstimates. On the other hand, Sassen (1991) argues rightfully that global cities grow due to the inflow of undocumented migrants working in informal sectors, and not the registered migrants. As will be seen in the next section, this dissertation will assume that Sassen's (1991) global city hypothesis when correctly applied to immigration trends presents no real analytical concern. For example, my earlier case studies within nocturnal research and outreach work in London at night confirm that Romanian market traders, Bangladeshi rickshaw drivers, chefs in China town, and street sex workers, were attracted by the unseen sectors of night work. Moreover, it provided workers with advantages (e.g. invisibility from immigration control and the UK tax office, and access to workplaces where English language skills were not a must upon the start of employment) that they could not benefit from, were they to seek employment in cities that sleep at night.

Samers (2002) further argues that Sassen's point on migration trends is flawed because it is not only the global cities that benefit from the economic contribution of informal migrants but also cities of smaller scale like Liverpool, UK or El Paso, US. Samers (2002) is offering an alternative instead to rethink the focus on immigration by linking with ideas closer to the transnationalism model, i.e. to the literature on 'immigrant entrepreneurship', ethnic enclaves, immigrant/ethnic economies, because they would be somewhat more fruitful. It is important to note that within the transnationalism model, researchers acknowledge that migrants create transnational spaces, which cross boundaries between countries never mind smaller cities.

McEwan and colleagues (2005) acknowledge that ethnicity-based networks bring economic advantages as well as cross territorial boundaries, which takes the discussion further,

highlighting other ways in which globalisation and glocturnal cities have been conceptualised within transnational migration theories. McEwan and colleagues' (2005) work is worth noting because they address the impact of the 'global' on the residents in a glocturnal city. Birmingham, the second largest in the UK, has a multi-cultural population which has links that go far beyond the city's boundaries into and through transnational networks, such as the Chinese business networks, ethnic food manufacturing and Banghra music industry.

The use of the global cities hypothesis has been criticised on many grounds reaching far beyond the context of immigration, and more than this section could. I have offered Samers' criticisms to Sassen's because I found the debate important for my thesis. According to authoritative statistics, millions of migrants float across national borders annually, to high-income countries. Further, in the UK (a top ten OECD country), LF Survey, scholars at the Migrant Observatory (2014, 2015, 2016), Ruhs and Anderson (2010) show that migrant labour needs are in high demand in London (and the rest of the UK labour market). It is fair to say that densely populated and nocturnal cities never sleep. A glocturnal city such as London has high maintenance needs for its 24/7 rhythms. Thus, it absorbs a significant proportion of migrants who live in these cities to work, and become part of the production processes (Sassen in an interview with Aneesh 2017).

Glocturnal Cities' 'other workers'

Global trends, illustrate that the need for migrant night workers in the United States (US) and Japan has been growing for many decades. The US has been "pushing further the night frontier" (Melbin 1978) ahead of many countries trying to accommodate market demands for a 24-hour world (Kreitzman 1999). The number of people working on "alternative shifts" in the evenings or nights increased from 7 million in 1987 to 15 million in 2008. In 2005, there were nearly 250,000 night shift workers in New York City alone, then representing 7% of the city's 3.3 million workers. Sharman and Sharman (2008) argue in *Night Shifts NYC* that the fabric of modern society has changed since Melbin's (1978) sociological study on the US's 20th century night shift workers.

Evening shifts or working unsociable hours is not a new phenomenon. Further, night shift work has been part of many industries and services, such as the computer sector, transport, communication, fire brigades, police, the army, and hospitals. Industrialisation (and the strong mechanical and chemical processes) and artificial lighting have contributed to an increase in

the nightlife or “nocturnalisation” of the emerging nocturnal cities. However, glocturnal city’s ‘other workers’ are migrant denizens consisting of women with African-American / ‘third-world’ immigrant background, A2 nationals (Bulgaria and Romania) who live and work in the urban nightscape of the global cities and form large concentrations of ‘others’. Furthermore, given international competition in manufacturing, night work complemented the round-the-clock shift system to prolong the working hours alongside the same level of capital utilisation of machinery .

In order for us to understand what the entanglements are between globalization and transnational migration, and the impact globalisation has on places and institutions, Sassen (2001) urges us to examine two distinct processes: “one concerned with the relation between the global economy and the nation-state, and the other with the relation of the global economy and place”. Moreover, Sassen (2001) emphasises the relationship between the “work behind command functions... the actual production process ..., and on the global marketplaces”. All three factors are indispensable if we are to capture “people, workers, communities, and the different work cultures extended beyond the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalisation”, with the place and work processes being crucial in making the global economy work.

Conjunctures are places where, for example, janitors maintain the households of chief executives (Sassen 2017), and Toronto’s taxi drivers sustain the time of others (Sharma 2014). Sassen (2017:99) explains that others’ – the low-wage workers’

actual tasks were only part of the story. To get it out of the language of “low-wage jobs,” I described these tasks as the work of “maintaining a strategic infrastructure,” one that included the households of top-level workers as these had to function like clockwork, with no room for little crises.

Sassen (2017) means that janitors and cleaners knew about their strategic roles, which allowed them to become visible and organise to gain and defend their working rights. London Citizens UK, a community-based organisation experienced similar success since in 2012 they secured a ‘living wage’ pay-rate for migrant cleaners subcontracted by cleaning contractors of higher education institutions. By “get it out of the language of low-wage”, Sassen means that she broke down a “familiar code” or concept often used by scholars to communicate overarching paradigms (such as solidarity) that overlook certain “pieces of production”. In her case, it was

the strategic cleaners who maintain the lives of chief executives' whose round-the-clock rhythms cannot afford even the smallest crisis (Aneesh 2017:128).

Sassen identifies strategic parts of the "maintenance domain", i.e. janitors left in the penumbra of the night, working for financial firms in New York City (NYC) (Sassen in an interview with Aneesh 2017:132). Likewise, Sassen's (2016) janitors, migrant loaders and forklift drivers' bodies used in fruit and vegetable trade are "important pieces of the production processes" (Sassen in an interview with Aneesh 2017:132). They too are involved in a "strategic maintenance set-up". However, the City's other workers are not aware of the key role they hold in satisfying the incessant appetite of the 24/7 operational City of London. Glocturnal city's 'other workers' are migrant denizens like Ayran, who describes conditions for the people working at his store, as they are intended for "people [who] are like dead men walking.". The "dead men walking" are 'other workers' holding the spine of the 24/7 capital development on their shoulders.

Migrants work in and live through bodily, social and affective precariousness without a professional future in the 24/7 glocturnal city. It is likely that London's migrants up and working at night perceive night shift work as a more lucrative way to make and save money fast to return to their home countries. I have spoken to migrants working at Spitalfields night market who are economically resourceless. They say that their actual worth is judged according to their employers' ungrateful lens. They beg their abusive managers to hire them again and again.

Walk-in graveyard shift workers

Despite the sophisticated analyses that I encountered in the existing and growing literature on the night and associated themes, thorough research on night shift work has appeared alongside historical accounts. The literature review will refer to research on the British 'graveyard' shift workers or worshipping Benedictine nuns, as in Sandhu's *Night Haunts* (2007), both investigative explorations on London's night workers. It will further evaluate the earlier sociological literature on the colonisation of the night in the United States (Melbin 1978), and findings on the NYC's night shifters by Sharman and Sharman (2008).

The anthropological body of work has a traditional approach on the night *per se* (Buckhard and Ben-Ari 2008). This inquiry builds on and extends beyond the growing anthropological interest

in researching the night *per se* in the emerging field of the urban nightscape in glocturnal cities. It contributes, both conceptually and empirically, to a novel sub-field of study at the conjunction between anthropology of labour relations with the anthropology of the night (Galinier et al. 2010); Duijzings 2011). Empirically, the analysis reveals that night shift workers at the City of London's Spitalfields market 'think' and act in everyday life social contexts based on their bodily learning and practices that they have acquired through physical labour at the workplace (Strathern 1996).

This dissertation adds to scholarly work analysing the "hysteresis effects" that wo/men in India's call centres experience as a result of adjusting to processes of "global integration". The aim is to run services in real-time to cross territorial borders between New Delhi's call centres from where night operators serve diurnal customers in North America or Australia (Aneesh 2012). Saskia Sassen's conceptualisation of the specific position that cleaners and janitors of New York's financial district occupy is equally substantial. Due to playing a key role in the "strategic maintenance domain" her studies are vital references that hold analytical promise, which I will explore in this thesis (Aneesh in an interview with Sassen 2017:132). Aneesh's (2012:528) one-year long ethnography takes us to India's call centres. Between Gurgaon and New Delhi, he uncovers, "global [nocturnal] villages" which transform local night shift workers' social lives and somatic rhythms to meet global demands. Put differently, "global integration" of a firm's customers requires call centre night shifters to adjust their circadian rhythms to maintain such demands round-the-clock irrespective of locality.

Night shift work is a regular part of the daily life, and the driving force behind glocturnal cities, like New York, New Delhi, London, Mumbai and Tokyo integration into the global night-time economy. There is a price for this 'successful global integration', warns Aneesh (2012:528). For example, the on women who escape a "patronizing patriarchy" (Aneesh 2012:528) into the night frontier of shift work in India's call centres have negative psychological consequences. Another is the physiological shock and social isolation as reflected in the Bourdieusian notion of "hysteresis effect" describing unmet social expectations of night shift workers, as one of his respondents describes the emotional and biological dissonance concerning "walking ghosts"(Aneesh 2012:527).

Aneesh (2012) proposes further research on the "real-time global services" and the harmful effects of the global integration on night shift workers serving customers, globally. Aneesh

(2012) concludes that agents find it difficult to harmonise social expectations while serving in real-time globally. My analysis also reveals that night workers cannot harmonise with family and friends due to reverse patterns of work. Despite the physical proximity between night shift workers and their families or friends residing in the nocturnal city of London, they suffer from social isolation due to weak encounters outside of the marketplace. Admittedly, in some cases respondents have recognised that the market provides them with opportunities to escape from daily encounters, that is, the space to nurture relationships and bond with co-workers in a way that they cannot with family members or acquaintances.

Ruhs and Anderson (2010:15) explain that factors such as the British labour market's "growing dependence on migrant workers", and the global economic deterioration results in fewer incentives for migrants to return to their home countries. Unless the UK-EU BREXIT negotiations are favourable to the fundamental right of Rome Treaty, freedom of movement for workers may be less free. As of 2019, it may be that the UK will apply more stringent national regulations to control migration, migrant labour rights and the rights to acquire UK citizenship by the EU and other migrants living in the UK. So, choices for migrants will be less, and working conditions more likely to worsen than improve for those who migrate for work to the UK's labour market.

1.3. *Bodily Precariousness*

The management of the bodily capital for its applicability to social competency has not been previously associated with bodily precariousness in the night-time accumulation-production-consumption cycle. In the literature, terms like precariousness, precarious livelihoods, precarity, and precariat are used interchangeably to describe 'the bare life, disposable people, surplus populations, state of exception and wasted lives' – 'permanent joblessness'. These terms create common ground amongst scholars of globalisation studies (Sassen 2014, Standing 2011, Sharma 2014), political theory (Mezzadra and Nielsen 2013, Lorey 2015) and anthropology (Kaneff and Pine 2008, Kideckel 2008, Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016).

Isabell Lorey's (2015:259-262) research on the "government of the precarious ... takes different dimensions of the precarious into consideration." For Lorey (2015) the neoliberal subjects are self-determined and subjugated minds and bodies. To paraphrase Lorey (2015), one is determined, self-governing mind and body are subordinated "to the conditions of ...

existence” that protects some lives and excludes others (Lorey 2015:324). Sharma’s (2014) eloquent explanation points at conditions specifically created by modern institutions of power. For example, the state partners up with capitalist development plans at the expense of impoverished bodies (disinvestment) to benefit the bodily capital of others (investment) - for example, the ‘brain gain’ plans of controlling migration of the highly skilled.

Lorey’s (2015) modes of “subjectivation” define subjects negotiating their conflictual position experienced half-in-sovereignty and half-in-precariousness. In this sense, Lorey’s (2015) negotiators experience the embodiment of “self-creation and obedience, between freedom and servility” (2015:132). More precisely for Lorey (2015), subjectivation manifests through *precarity*, *precarisation* and *precariousness*. Precarity is a “form of power and potential for exploitation”, not the exploitation in itself, but a “[neoliberal] activism” (2015:87). Precarity and precarisation are (political and economic) instruments of domination. Precariousness is thus, the consequence of the first two modes, i.e. precariousness is a (mind-body) state resulting from dominating, neoliberal forms of precarity and precarisation. The ensuing discussion on bodily precariousness is distinctive from that on *precarity* (discussed later in conjunction with the *Precarias* militant research).

This study extends Lorey’s thinking on precariousness beyond the politics of power and domination of precarious bodies. It slightly modifies and complements Lorey’s thought that “domination turns existential precariousness into an anxiety towards others who cause harm” (2015:351). Starting from Lorey’s assumption, “each body finds itself potentially threatened by others who are, by definition, precarious as well, forms of domination follow” (2015:351). I see this as Lorey’s definition of existential precariousness. It means to be under constant domination: “precarious lives are constantly prone to “insecurity and vulnerability, destabilization and endangerment” (2015:203). My own work will investigate how “conditions of production” institutions such as the CoLC (owner and manager of Spitalfields market) ingrain the social inequalities into the bodies and minds of individuals (Bourdieu 2000:180). Later analysis of the workers’ bodily learning and practices will show that the material (economic) structures ingrained and encoded into the body link structural factors, such as regimental, 24/7 physical labour rhythms to the flesh and blood of the respondents. However, unlike in Lorey’s explication, my empirical findings illustrate how individual and collective histories sediment, and re-activate in contexts where people’s rhythmic rituals and bio-

automatised gestures reveal socially transferable skills to tolerate different others, rather than dominating other bodies.

Precarias' practice-based "militant research" explored almost exclusively within the care work industry, the common notion of "care community", and solved common struggles against precarity and precarisation. However, Precarias' starting point, *precarity*, is useful in the following discussion on most recent research by Standing (2011) on the *Precariat*, referring to a class-in-itself. Standing's term "precariat" sets it apart (Cf. Butler 2004) when used in the context of European movement of the precarious since 2001. *Precariat*, – the new dangerous class – is a useful notion as it incorporates the masses of migrant workers in glocturnal cities like London. Standing (2011) argues that Weber's notions of class and status could not apply to the precariat because it is in-the-making. Precariat is a class of its own, which does not yet have a collective identity.

Put differently, it is no longer just about the differentiation between the classes, but about setting people against each other that are easily manipulated by merely supplying unlimited low-cost labour. More relevantly, "global precariat" (Standing 2011:1) consists of millions of people travelling to work across territorial borders without the stability that the disappearing proletariat had in the past to fight the increasingly precarious conditions of workers. People are expected to be ever more adaptable in a flexible market, which is enough to drive anyone to be prone to the four A's – *alienated, anomic, anxious and angry*. Precariousness seems to affect migrant academics, artists, and musicians, yet in more destructive ways, the unskilled migrants sell their bodily labour in exchange for capital development. Doubtless, without access to social mobility, the precariat feels frustrated by being deprived of a meaningful life, and consequently may be seething resentment and anger against the celebrity culture and material success experienced by the few.

More pertinent to our discussion, the angry precariat resents the life that 'short-termism' or flexi-jobs brings with it, its insecurities and "no construction of trusting relationships built up in meaningful structures or networks" (Standing 2011:20). Emile Durkheim explains that the feeling of passivity, which is despair-ridden anomie, is the result of the sustained defeat. It is a negative feeling lived by many in precarious situations, especially the ones labelled as 'undeserving, socially irresponsible' or worse, lazy. Without a worthy place in society, a status

and living in growing despair, anxiety makes these people feel insecure about tomorrow and alienated from today's bread and butter jobs that they hold, most often very briefly.

In resembling Standing's terms for describing precarity, Mezzadra and Nielson (2013) explain that one of the contributing factors in the build up to precarity represents a great danger for the worker, namely "the tendency for work to occupy more of life" (Mezzadra and Nielson 2013:89). In short, it disrupts the balance between work and her/his domestic and social spheres of life. Mezzadra and Nielson (2013) complement Standing's explanation of precarious working conditions. They describe the demands to work flexible hours and for low real wages, as the reason behind the growth of the precariat. This growing class of people is unable to cover their household expenses and continuously search for a second job, an extra evening or a night shift.

However, the way in which people 'fall' into precarious living and working conditions leading to insecurity and barely surviving or 'juggling positions in the precarious labour market' is a different question altogether, which requires an elaborated response. In brief, the flexible working hours, the demand for workers to be adaptable as-and-when or catch-as-one-can-catch employment is at the core of the growth of the global precariat. More strikingly, at the end of the globalisation era, as Standing (2011) calls it, this growth in precarity seems to correlate with a frightening rise in work-related suicides in many countries, like France, Japan, and across Scandinavia. In her book *In the Meantime*, Sharma (2014) explains that "politics of time through investment and disinvestment" means that some bodies (e.g. taxi drivers) are wasted in the maintenance of time of other bodies (Executive officers). For Sharma (2014:17), development of capital without the disinvested bodies would not have been possible for "the machinery of production for economic processes" to speed up its incessant rhythms.

1.4. Bodies Colonised by Night

This last section of my literature review explores how bodies-turned-machines get through the nights of labour regimes on the shop floor of the fruit and vegetable market, given that changes in the organisation of labour and work-time discipline inhibit cooperation (Sennett 2012). Colonisation of the bodies on the ground has been an on-going project for modern capitalism (Sennett 2008). In fact, Melbin (1978) has warned us that when incessancy invades the private sphere of home and family, our bodies as well as social lives will suffer.

A structural view of how that is possible includes specific mechanisms employed by management - team building, for example. It applies labour intensification methods and “colonization of time through extra-long ‘team building’ shifts occupying one’s time” (Makovicky 2014:8). Such methods aim for “maximization of bodily and mental potential” (Chelcea 2014:40) invested in maximising capital from the post-Fordist workers’ labour power. In contrast, ‘team building’ for the low skilled staff of a fruit and vegetable store entails floor washing as an unpaid overtime task or loading produce into the van of a late customer after a 13-hour night shift. The most dreaded is the twice-yearly washing the shop floor as a team effort, stretching well into midday, following a 16/17-hour long night shift.

Extreme duress causes absenteeism. Yet intensified travail expects an already overtired, overloaded and contracted team of loaders to perform twice the tasks, i.e. loading 14 orders, instead of 7-8 per night. Extra time spent by the group doing tasks during unpaid hours disrupts time being together. Except for, in the trivial sense of disrupting the routine, like gossip, that “rouses people ... who shift to the informal zone” and bonds them temporarily (Sennett 2012:154). Sennett (2012:65) argues that “cooperation and competition can combine” as both are innate, and appear in many forms. Sennett’s (2012) premise is useful in understanding that humans innately cooperate competitively, in their natural habitat. Even under “constantly shifting environments, social animals ... strike a fragile balance between cooperation and competition” (2012:128).

People who nurture skills for surviving in the shifting, new economy type of environment become skilled human animals competing ferociously with others. On this note, capitalist production relations entail cooperation and competition (Hassan 2003:51). In Hassan’s (2003) account, cooperation comes close to the essence of capitalism; competition is the essence of it (2003:12). Thus, in capitalist accumulation terms, cooperation combined with competition among different people is an exchange (of services; between employee/-er) “in which the participants benefit from the encounter” (Sennett 2012:5). Except, as Chelcea (2014:40–41) puts it, the neoliberal working regime’s “flexible accumulation brought new temporal structures” via multiplication and fragmentation.

Today's 24/7 societies depend on migrants of all backgrounds flowing across borders. In which case, Sharma explains, "capital develops [through 24/7 cooperation and competition], at the expense of [workers'] bodies" (2014:17). Except, if belonging to the privileged class like those performing day jobs (Sennett 1998) who can buy solutions to survive the "time squeeze" (Standing 2011a:115). When incessancy invades the private sphere, it produces "results [disruptive and] destructive to others" in communities where the sense of cooperation is very low. (Sennett 2012:5). In case unbalanced, fragile cooperation exists, it does so as a non-aggressive, innate capacity to work together with different others.

The new labour structure of time lived at work and manipulation of the biological clock mechanisms prevent bonding in the short-termism capitalist environment. Hence combined, acceleration of labour time and transformation of the circadian rhythm patterns explain why the new organisation of labour weakens cooperation at work. "Global integration" of services means real-time operations across several time zones to meet customers' needs (Aneesh 2012). Moreover,, call centre workers in New Delhi are up at night to benefit North Americans' day services. The circadian dissonance, explains the reversed sleep-wake cycle. Circadian rhythms synchronise people's bodies, and the diurnal-nocturnal awareness – awake/work/relax-sleep – the 24/7 rhythms or "tertiary time" no longer come in blocks of time (Standing, 2011). "Tertiary" or 24/7 societies ration time in nocturnal-work/day-sleep or round-the-clock pieces of lived time. The 24/7 time-machine transforms the workers' 24-hour biological clock used to day-work and night-sleep; as well as the workplace culture, and the households and communities. Night workers are day sleepers.

Further, 24/7 societies force workers to make somatic adjustments and disrupt their social relations. The somatic adjustments for Spitalfields' market workers are no different from Aneesh's (2012) wo/men of India's call centres or Sassen's (2016) janitors in New York City (NYC). Though Spitalfields' loaders and drivers serve local groceries in North London's Turkish quarter, they all experience somatic adjustments that affect their well-being and are structurally related in time and role to maintain the 24/7 rhythms. So, the clientele and the processes of "global integration" are different for night call centres and markets. The workers, however, in both workplaces, make similar adjustments that disrupt their circadian rhythm, and which impact negatively on their social lives. Capital accumulation dictates which bodies will be taken care of as capital develops (Sharma 2014). In market relations terms, the benefits and losses accumulate differentially for wealth creators like sales executive, wealthy traders, or

hedge fund managers from the broken bodies of loaders and drivers. Sassen explains to Aneesh (2017) that NYC cleaners perform a strategic maintenance role because their services maintain the lives of chief executives' whose round-the-clock rhythms cannot afford even the smallest crisis. Like Sharma's (2014:56) taxi drivers out of sync with their own time, so janitors are out of their beds at night-time, both "maintain the time of others".

Similarly, market loaders' and drivers' bodies take care of other top-level bodies in the City's financial district, London's nightlife and tourism industries. Other areas that need maintenance include sub-industries of event organising, office catering, restaurant chains, grocery stores and take away shops, six nights a week ensuring that highly-skilled workers' rhythms flow uninterrupted. Unless, they are in low skilled 'non-maintenance domains' or like Aneesh's (2012) call centre operators serving the everyday American customer, Spitalfields' night workers cannot be judged alone on the tasks they do. Nonetheless, market night workers do not "become present" as Sassen's janitors do (2016, 2017), because they do not act out to reach others. No one has talked about organising in a collective, friendly action, to fight their "performed precarity of dispossession" (Glick Schiller 2016a:7). Despite their strategic role, and perhaps due to embodied hardships and "somatic adjustments" (Aneesh 2012) to meet the 24/7 London's maintenance needs, night workers exclude themselves from the everyday life that other migrants in the city attend and organise⁷

Researchers on migrants' everyday life need to ascertain the categories and parameters that they base their analysis upon. Some researchers advocate for sociability, as a marker for social abilities among people who act out of humanity or sameness (Glick Schiller, 2016b). And others conceive *sociality* as the capacity to tolerate others' differences when trying to establish grounds for cooperation (Sennett 2012). As a working definition, however, one could assume that *sociality* explains social behaviour in night working groups as it produces stable forms of social bonding between bodies of "tacit knowledge" in the nocturnal, social landscape of the night market (Strathern 1999). We may find, however, that neither *sociality* nor *sociability* skills, strengthens or weakens cooperation and competition in the workplace. Hence, workers' embodied cooperation may not even be transferable outside of the market practices.

⁷ See Macarie, I-C. (2012) Reports on London's Migrant Night Workers. Migrants Organise (then MRCE, alias The Forum) Available at http://bit.ly/MO_NS_Rprts Accessed 22.08.2017

I rely on the distinction taken from the latter author. He argues that cooperation between people who do not reach a consensus at the end of it is more likely to form solid, trustworthy relations because they allow others' differences to surface – thus meaningfully engaging with ambiguities rather than clarity. Sennett (2012) calls it dialogical behaviour. The conceptual frame of the dissertation stands by this distinction, i.e. sociality versus sociability to reveal cooperation through dialogic behaviour. My initial assumption anticipated that I would find solidarity among night workers experiencing precariousness. Instead, despite the limitations that data has, the problem became more puzzling, since findings show that neither solidarity nor competition among the night workers is drawn on ethnic lines.

Entering the penumbra of solidarity

In a general sense, solidarity defines various forms of social bonds based on common grounds. The form of cooperation proposed by Sennett (2012) and adopted here is against solidarity. When problematizing solidarity, a close look at the group's structure, provides one an entry point to explore how individuals in one group establish solidarity ties with a 'same other' from another group. If a discordant group structure is dependent on numerical size and the degree of involvement (affective involvement) of each member, then it seems appropriate for the small group of night shift workers in this discussion.

The Collin-Durkheimian model of solidarity production shows that member interaction adds value to the analysis (Fararo and Doreian 1998:22 Introduction). Additionally, Collins' (1985) conceptualises the process of solidarity as distinct from its endogenous state. He defines it regarding density, meaning that the higher co-presence of group members, the stronger the solidarity (cited by Fararo and Doreian 1998:20). Despite the high co-presence among workers that are present in the same format six nights per week, I have observed weak signs of collaboration between co-workers. Besides, none of the variables like numerical size, level of affectivity or co-presence seem to show a significant correlation with the presence of solidarity.

Sassen (2017:129) argues that powerful concepts may repress other elements in its penumbra. I considered the "domains of commonality" paradigm, e.g. common suffering and hardships, so as to capture various nuances of 'urban sociabilities' in cities (e.g. solidarity) and additionally to gain specific evidence of solidary ties (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016). Except for unusual occurrences, possibilities for solidarity were fragile. As for "matrix of relationships" among the night shift workers themselves, this investigation found that trivial

disruptions in the night shift work rhythms bring people into an open zone of cooperation and competition. For Sennett (2012:199), this is the most viable mode to show the instances of potentially, naturally inclined cooperative people. Sennett (2012:19) borrows the term *dialogics* from literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin who explains that during any one conversation between his literary characters there are many layers that his characters employ in communications between them. For Sennett (2012), it means that practising dialogics is like listening carefully to what people mean to say to you, rather than what people say to you. Though such discussions may never reach agreement, an exchange takes place between the interlocutors, and a shift produces sensitivity-based empathy

Dialogics is unlike dialectics where one says something, and the other disagrees, then interlocutors go back and forth till they meet where they want to arrive – an agreement. Therefore, when engaged in dialogics, one needs to find out what the other means to say, but do not want to show it on the face value. One understands the other better than before the dialogic encounter started, but an agreement is not necessarily reached on that occasion. In short, in dialogic-based form of cooperation, there is no goal, as in dialectics, to reach an agreement. This kind of dialogic social labour has been well documented and has been expressed as the “embodied, incorporated skill people carry around with them, learnt in specific contexts [and from others] but transferable to other sites” (Strathern 1999:170). Strathern’s (1999) eloquent definition is explored in the last chapter on cooperation when the discussion will take into account instances of both sociability and sociality to explore the transformations and manipulation that management applies to the bodies that shift the night.

Navigating through and drawing from the reviewed scholarly literature on transnational migration and the global city, I have compiled a conceptual framework that brings together the following emerging themes analysed throughout this dissertation. It consists not only of themes including nocturnal workers’ bodily learning and practices to manage precariousness systematically, but also of intensification of labour and alternations to time. Due to the glocturnal cities’ strategic power to generate the drive for economic expansion beyond the night frontier these cities function 24/7 against the backdrop of the bodily precariousness of workers. In capitalist accumulation terms, a global city provides structures that place cooperation close to the essence of capitalism and competition as its essence.

CHAPTER TWO:

BODILY CRAFT IN NOCTURNAL ANTHROPOLOGY

...Not only of the body, in the sense of object, but also from the body, that is deploying the body as tool of inquiry and vector of knowledge. (Wacquant 2004:viii)

2.1. *Researcher-Insider: Ethnographer-Apprentice, Worker*

Twenty years ago, I learnt anthropology by doing, as a Romanian migrant worker in Istanbul, Turkey. Then, I was “performing the precarity” as the native co-workers (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016). For Wacquant’s (2015), I had the social spunk but did not have the weaponry required for an anthropologically driven experience. In other words, I was neither empirically nor theoretically armed to “reap the rewards” (Wacquant 2015:1). Move the azimuthal point to London and fast forward almost two decades.

Far from being native, I immersed into the object of my study, theoretically prepared but unaware of its challenges (Wacquant 2015:7-8). Anthropologists are trained to observe, think, interpret, and disseminate according to agreed communication vessels, even when the practice of being a participant observer becomes so corporeal. Though, I immersed equipped into the object of study, the more time I spent in the field, the more body-and-mind-provoking my immersion became. I entered the night shift workers’ world to question how they function and how they structure their social relations in the precarious landscape of the market has been the most thought-provoking experience. Nightly, my body was rooted in the rhythms of the Spitalfields market, living a life antithetic to my diurnal rhythms - on different circadian rhythms (awake at night, asleep in the day). While on fieldwork, I gained an embodied understanding of the field while scrutinising it as I immersed in this social universe of the market (otherwise difficult to access with diurnal ethnographic methods). I expanded my carnal knowledge through learning of the co-workers’ bodies’ suffering (e.g. tiredness), coercion, and practical knowledge to manage physical precariousness. These challenges were brutal, in physical, mental and social ways that researchers need considering. These challenges were brutal, in bodily, mental and social ways that researchers need contemplating prior fieldwork.

2.1.1. The researcher entering the field

On 12th January 2015, I immersed into nocturnal rhythms of the Spitalfields market. In the day, I shared one room in a house in multiple occupations (HMOs) of ten to twelve migrants from Bulgaria, Romania, Iran, and Ireland, rented from a private landlord in South-West London (see Figure 1)⁸. The male friend with whom I shared the room is a migrant himself who has lived in that same room for fifteen years (often accommodating two or three males, at the same time in this same room). I enacted the life of a migrant seeking work at a night market, in London. For two weeks, night-by-night I sought work at the fruits and vegetable stores and

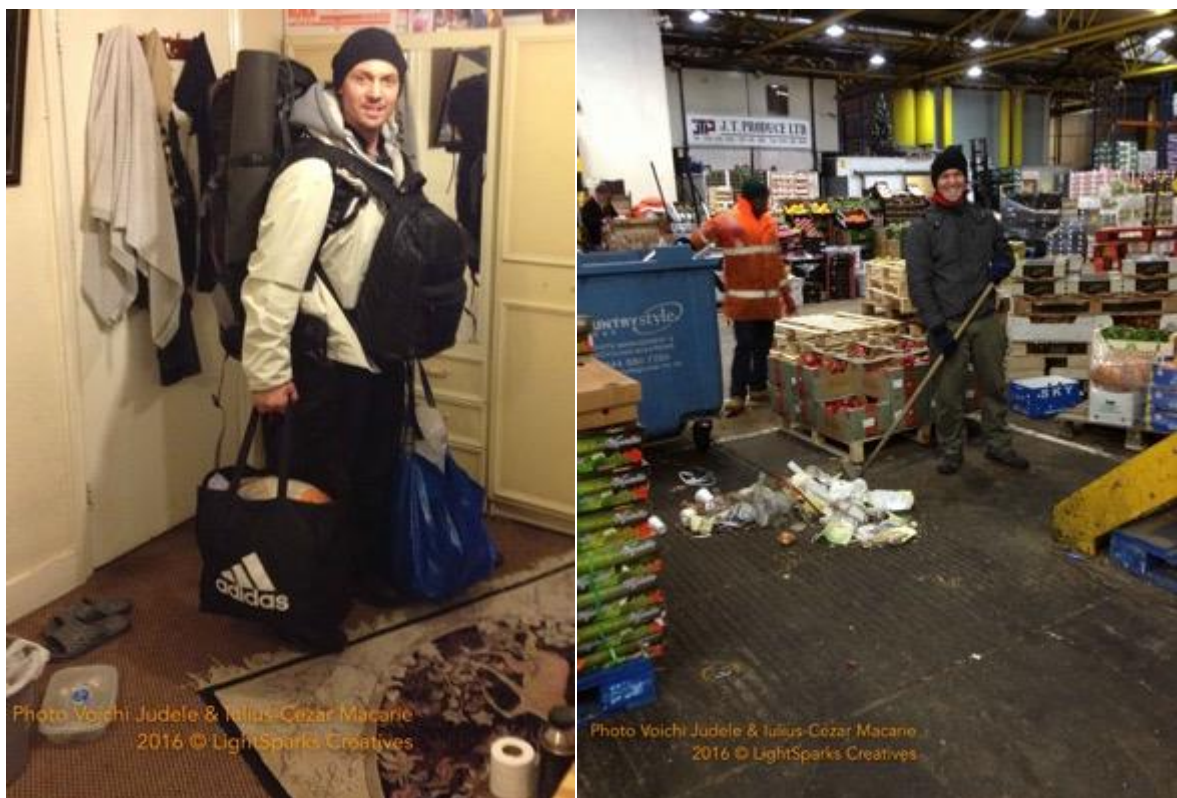


Figure 1 A migrant's trek. Left: Ready to move; Right: Night chores.

the market café. At the start of my fieldwork, solidarity and competition within and between groups of night shift workers were suspected to exist in a fragile form of sociability drawn along the ethnic lines amongst Romanian and Turkish workers sharing similar precariousness of night shift work. So, I was primarily seeking employment at Turkish owned companies who employed Turkish-Romanian nationals, and whereas part of the Turkish traders' ethos, the

⁸Figure 1. I am ready to depart from South West London to my next accommodation, near Canary Wharf closer to Leyton, East London (L). On the right, "floor sweeping" – a chore of the nightly routine; I sweep the floor of the family owned store, from Sunday to Friday night (R). Cleaning services of the City of London Corporation New Spitalfields market are outsourced. The male behind me collects the rubbish in front of each stand, six nights a week. Source: <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>

operation language is Turkish. Since I spoke both languages, I had high hopes to get hired early on. However, by some coincidence, at the end of January 2015, I was hired by a Bangladeshi owner and began training as a loader (Figure 1).

One month later, a Turkish employer hired me. I worked five months aside males of mixed ethnicity (Bulgarian-Turkish, Bangladeshi, Non-/Roma Romanian-Turkish, Kurdish-Turkish, Pakistani from Europe and Asia). These males' faiths ranged from Alevi, Islam and to Christianity. Moreover, some had mixed nationalities (Bulgaria, Romania, Pakistani-British, Turkish-British) including ages ranging from late 20's to mid 40's. For eight months, six nights a week, I shared the fate of night workers in two fruit and vegetable stores and one café at the New Spitalfields market. Six months later, I moved to a café on-site and shared the duties with a small team of three female café servers, and two males who were transgressing between chef and manager/owner roles. Four months (August to end November 2015) I observed and interviewed (in Turkish, Romanian and English) aiming to collect information that was absent from the scholarly discussions on migrants' sociabilities, precariousness, and only living and working at night; surviving or succeeding for various reasons, i.e. invisibility of and/or soft labour regulations that the night confers.



Figure 2 New Spitalfields market – view from gate 5. Source: Author

2.1.2. The nights in-between phases⁹

When entering the research field for the first time, day or night, the researcher carries a degree of doubt as to when the research starts and where it will lead. However, when entering the realm of night work, the researcher's body goes through a shock. The site itself, the rhythm and the working hours, all came as a shock to me.

10:00 pm – Workers at the Spitalfields market begin the night shift. Forklift drivers pick-up and put-down pallets while they continuously beep their horns. One hears the intermittent sound that signals forklifts are driving in reverse. The 'voice of the market' turns into a tumult of bodily sweats, verbal threats, bodily gestures, handshakes, slurps of tea, screeching tires, shouting, swearing and smiles. Workers' bodies move in fast rhythms. They are grabbing with their hands and lift with their arms tones of produce. At times, they stop and breathe while holding goods in their hands, and on their backs. They wrap the pallets full of goods - hints that the order is complete. One sees fast-stepping bodies carrying loads of goods, all night long.

03:00 am – No person has ever seen walking ghosts? Kurdish-Turkish, Romanian-Turkish, Bulgarians, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian male loaders grab, lift, turn and throw pallets to the ground; jostle potato paper sacks on their backs; carry cardboard boxes of cassava, crates of apples, and bags of red onion. Cypriot, English, French, Pakistani, Spanish, Turkish males sell goods all-night-long. Female café servers from Bulgaria, Lithuania, Romania, and Turkey hand out to males 'special mix' drinks (of Redbull and whiskey in the same can) and hot food; they collect the empty glass mugs lying on the floor and walk back to the café. Imran, one respondent, refers laterq to all men and women working at Spitalfields market as being already 'dead', but they walk and work.

09:00 am – Bodies exit the 31 acres site; disappear in cars, buses and on the underground. These are the day sleepers living antithetically, on nocturnal rhythms.

Exposure to hard physical labour triggers senses of various nuances in the workers' bodies. I recollect bodily pain (and muscle cramps) experienced when I overloaded my body with products that put pressure on joints, muscles and ligaments. The *nadir point* is opposite to the zenith of the 24-hour physiological, circadian cycle. During that timeframe (2-4am) I often sensed a loss of balance. My sensate organism recovered, ached, readjusted, fixed itself, and coped while suffering.

⁹Figure 2. Forklift driver and check-man between pallets of produce prepared and waiting for the customer to load the bought goods.

During 2015 whilst on fieldwork, I felt absent from the diurnal minds and eyes of those whom I knew before (friends, family, colleagues at conferences); and the social world outside of night work was absent for me. Social life was restricted to Saturday mornings drinking with the boys at the market café, and the odd birthday (mine included) or one-day trip. Such occasions have been encountered and spent amongst semi-illiterate people with little foreign language skills (e.g. English for the UK labour market) Consequently, the experiences portrayed throughout the chapters include and focus on the dignified workers wrecked by undignified working conditions which are hardly ever being discussed in the public and political debates (exception being the Transport for London dispute over the underground night workers' unmet demands).

2.1.3. Positioning: 'doktor'

I position myself as the embodied insider, not as "non-native anthropologist who can never transcend difference" (Stoller 2005:197). From a methodological standpoint, those who perform the phenomenon become insiders: they capture aspects and moments of dynamics that are invisible to outsiders. I have incarnated the object of study, the night shift workers' subjectivities, the same way as co-workers did, into my body. As I unravel my experiences, I am contained by the field site, a container holding our presence in the world, in the sense of belonging to that world, and being possessed by it. It is a world where neither the agent nor the object posits each other as such (Bourdieu 2000:141). It is the world that I inhabited, which now I am retrospectively making sense of in this reflexive section of the chapter.

It is a difficult task to self-analyse my insider account systematically, and even more so to convey the taste of ethnographic senses (Stoller 1989) that guided me for nearly a year on the field site as ethnographer-apprentice. I incorporated the ethnographic bodily craft that applies to the rest of my journey as a social anthropologist to research the glocturnal city's 'other workers'. Social anthropology requires some scientific detachment; so, can I detach from my incarnated nocturnal self who shared the same fate as my co-workers? No. However, while it is true that only someone from the outside could be detached, that very same person would be too uninvolved to say something with authority about the nocturnal encounters and the field of inquiry itself. Insiders know how things happen in the backstage.

Her/his judgements are clouded by the direct experience, at times. Evaluations may be exaggerated. It is inevitable. When one immerses her/himself so profoundly and thickly in

performing the phenomenon s/he is researching, the danger is to fall into the abyss of subjectivism. Therefore, the difficulty that I am facing, since I am no different as an ethnographer than the people I study, is to find enough reflexive awareness to tap into the insider-worker experiences that I learnt viscerally – with and from my flesh-and-blood co-workers - and then express in writing what I have incorporated.

Co-workers, positioned me according to what I told them. From day one, I told everyone that I am a doctoral researcher and that I would like to publish a book on night shift workers. One male co-worker even wanted to know what kind of doctor I was, for “men or women doctor?” Another could not fathom “what is so special about night shift work?” Nevertheless, for my co-workers, I was *doktor* (the doctor, in Turkish). Moreover, my real name was never shouted out by anyone, except by some with whom I created a kind of friendship (Wacquant 2005; Mintz 1989); they too, twisted the word with a Turkish accent.

For my co-workers, then, I was Sezar, the student, photographer, filmmaker, and translator. To many of them, I was the “crazy guy” who has taken on “a dog’s life” to publish a book. They could not understand if I was a student, a teacher or a spy (Romanians, specifically thought that I was spying on them). The Romanian co-workers were the only ones who refused an interview. More importantly, while I was “provisionally suspending my different position” (Wacquant 2005:450) than the one I was incarnating while on night shifts, most males thought that I would leave the job within weeks. Gică, the supervisor, explained why they thought so: “we had a lawyer in the team once, and he only lasted three months”. Azi (the loader turned forklift driver) says that, “this work, working at the night market is not for everyone; thank God that I have the strength to do it; we will see for how long”.

Retrospectively, it took me around four months till the doors to the backstage opened so that I could see beyond the “social front that informants present to strangers in everyday life” (Moeran 2007); which I relate in more detail in section 1.3.2. It could be the result of “fleshy companionship” (Wacquant 2005:450) that arose between co-workers and myself. Because, like other night co-workers, regardless of nationality or ethnicity, I too carried and handled produce, most nights, with my bare hands and on my shoulders (please see chapter three for a detailed ethnographic writing on the corporeality of the physical labour and the stock-in-trade that loaders capitalise on). *Participating-in-depth*, in the sense of performing the physical labour like the rest of the night shifters, has perhaps taken its toll on the ethnographer’s *bodily*

capital. The rewards in terms of data collection and validity outweigh the means, regardless.



Figure 3 Photo shoot. Surrounded by co-workers.

Perhaps (another contingency), having shared the co-workers' fate, it may have inspired them to engage in the latter phases of my fieldwork. These combined the recording techniques to triangulate data collected through participant/non-participant observation (PO/non-PO) and observant participation (OP). I recorded video as well as audio interviews and used applications to monitor the effects of physical labour on my body as well as engaging the respondents with the outcome of the photoshoot.¹⁰ Combined, I aim to validate what I *observed* with what people *say* about what they *think* they do, from what they *do*. In short, when analysing data, I increase the credibility of data collected via triangulation of the methods described.

2.1.4. An ethnographer's bodily capital

Ethnographers' bodies are like boxers' bodily capital. They both employ the same tool, a body, to capture and sediment knowledge. In Wacquant's words (1995:67), that is "means of production" or in Marx's interpretation, the worker's "natural forces of his body" (Marx

¹⁰ See Figure 3 on the following page. During the photography shoot I involved my co-workers in the project. I explained what my aims were with the material and the purpose behind taking photos and video. Having obtained permission prior to the photo shoot from the City of London Corporation, I collected material for the digital repository and put it to use for visual objectification purposes, and post fieldwork during presentations to academic audiences.

1976:173). While the means are the same, the ends differ. An ethnographer's body at the end of the immersive performance capitalises on the surplus value that did not exist before enacting the phenomenon (Marx 1976b:173). The extra value is called "cognitive schemata" (*habitus*), a set of dispositions that represent the ethnographer's bodily capital.

From a methodological standpoint, throughout the multi-sited ethnographic exercises with the *Nightlaboratory* research group, the bodily capital is translated into the *stamina* to withstand the tiredness during the night of walking, observing, "small talking" to strangers, or interviewing and recording observations at intervals pre-established with the group. The ethnographers' bodily needs are mental acuity, alertness, and physical stamina to manage her/his tools to withstand the night research. For example, during the 2016 Milano *Nightlaboratory* session, difficult situations at night confronted the group with unpleasant occurrences, such as when the group witnessed street violence between locals and homeless asylum seekers. The bodily skills, the ethnographers' asset, could defuse escalating situations if the group was under threat. The way one positions the body could save one from being attacked. More, what one does with her/his arms and the bodily gestures, matter enormously in such context. It makes the difference between a fight (or being beaten) or flight response in conflictual situations. Thus, ethnographers need to stay in shape to sustain the sudden effort charged with adrenaline; as well as withstand prolonged de-brief sessions, after the event.

Ethnographers applying themselves (body and soul, matter and spirit) to research need constant surveillance of their bodily capital and manage the responses as described earlier. The seasoned researcher's organism confronts the nocturnal rhythms more productively than fellow novice ethnographer's, in doing *bodily labour*. With more strenuous ethnographies, such as the present one, where the ethnographer's body is her/his asset which ensures carrying out physical labour competitively, preventing loss of employment becomes a prime concern. The ethnographer's body becomes her/his "stock-in-trade" as one of Wacquant's (2004:129) references indicate and it applies word for word to the ethnography that I carried out. One's physical resources need careful attention; that is one aspect I have learnt during heavy loading at Spitalfields (see Figure 4).

Anyone wishing to test their physical abilities, like boxers, martial artists are invited to consider having a short career in loading at Spitalfields to chisel their bodies (arms, backs and legs), stamina, and nerves into shape. They should know that such nocturnal activity “presupposes a rigorous management of the body” (Wacquant 2004:128) as well as the senses, because prize fighters, martial artists or ethnographers have a limited bodily capital for labour. Hence, one needs to assess and re-assess her/his physical resources and assets regularly. That leads to “practical sense, a sense of corporeal thrift acquired gradually through long-term contact” (Wacquant 2004:127). On the one hand, s/he needs to last in the fight as long as possible so that the night shift work (or another field for that matter) is embedded in the set of dispositions called *habitus*. On the other, the ethnographers’ *habitus* embedded into one’s bodily, mental and emotional structures becomes an epistemological tool to construct and produce bodily knowledge, a kind of “practical sense ... that orients choice” (Wacquant 2004:128). The ethnographer’s “concrete science” gives her/him a *feel* for the *field*, between “incorporated history and objectified history” (Bourdieu 1990:66). It goes beyond optimum calculations for choosing the site/field of study or rationalising the best course of action while in the field.

The ethnographer should neither ignore where bodily limitations begin, nor exceed them. Fasting is a way of life. Boxers fast not so much in their bodily intakes, as much as in other aspects of their everyday life (Wacquant 1995:78). Boxers are managing their bodily capital through fasting from food, sacrificing social outings for training, abstaining from sexual contact for a month before a fight, all which permeate far beyond the gym and the ring, and into their private sphere. So, ethnographer, especially the apprentice who is at the stage of building her/his bodily capital through bodily and emotional labour while working in the field



Figure 4 Loaders' means of production are the bodily resources. Source: Author

of inquiry, needs to adapt to the nocturnal rhythms, giving up both sleep and socialising with

diurnals. The intuitive knowledge accumulated in the ethnographer's body is as concrete as physical matter can be. Admittedly, the ethnographer needs long hours of constant practice (eg. fieldwork), at regular intervals if one wishes her/his body to be the epistemological tool that one takes out as one sees fit. Since *bodily capital* is directly correlated to *bodily labour*; together they are "linked by a recursive relation, which makes them closely dependent on one another" (Wacquant 1995:67).

If, we take Bourdieu's (1986:46) definition, capital:

is accumulated labour (in its materialised or 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour.

So, ethnographers are craftswomen who make things (write ethnographies) that apply to social life; they embody a portion of the social, nocturnal landscape and through various presentations such as, editing material, the act of writing, they compile the stories of the world they study. I incorporated the subjectivities of my night co-workers, the sufferings, the gains and losses of sleepless hours and endless night shifts. I, too, internalised a set of skills (capital) to carry out nocturnal fieldwork. Like boxers' capital (e.g. notoriety, prizes), the ethnographers' bodily capital takes a "form of recognition". These are articles, documentaries or presentations in the academic and non-academic environments, similar to boxers' capital valorised as "recognition, titles and income streams" (Wacquant 1995:67).

2.1.5. Body labour in ethnography

Ethnographers build capital whilst researching an object of study. Cautiously, ethnographers like boxers in the gym and ring, investing and capitalising on their body power, need to recognise the limits they face regarding *physical labour*. In Sharma's (2014) view, the capitalist machinery develops capital at the "expense of bodies' life force". In her view, the modern institutions "administer life through intensification and optimisation of the life force" (Sharma 2014:17). Thus, an ethnographer-apprentice, the pugilist-prize-fighter, the market loaders and drivers, craftswomen relying on their own life force to survive or capitalise their bodily labour, need to "carefully manage the investment of their physical assets over time" (Wacquant 1995:67). Explicitly, the subjects need to control their own "productive capacities" before modern institutions of power extract capital to control one against one's will. An ethnographer needs to manage wisely the effort s/he invests in her/his fieldwork before the

institution/corporation extorts the life out of her/him; the prize-fighter should push himself but beware of burnout. Loaders and drivers in the market need to exit the market before “night work eats [their] life away” (Hassan, forklift driver).

I agree with Stoller (2005) that some differences between “non-native anthropologist” and the agents that s/he studies cannot be transcended. The ethnographer has the luxury to exit the field once s/he obtained the social competency needed or “reap the rewards” (Wacquant 2015). The low-skilled workers cannot afford it. Moreover, they cannot buy solutions to the time squeeze factors like highly skilled people can. Therefore, researchers need to consider both ethical and moral aspects of entering-exiting the field of study and their subjects. One way is to consider how not to disrupt the ordinary course of action in the nightly activities. Another is not to interfere with workers’ management of precariousness, such as raising issues of concern in team meetings on behalf of co-workers who for their own reasons do not raise them. I have considered this aspect very regularly and abstained from instigating any collective action with my co-workers. Though, perhaps my behaviour exercised some unintended influence and three co-workers enrolled on the forklift driving course immediately after I passed mine. I did not foresee their decision, but I was pleased to learn that these three co-workers have acquired the licence, which opened further, more lucrative avenues in their field of work, adding to their revenue. Besides all this, there is one other aspect that requires the ethnographer’s careful management whilst in the field: that is emotional labour, which is discussed next.

2.1.6. Managing emotional labour in the field

In the realms of work, Hochschild (1983) contends that *emotional labour* requires the ethnographer “to manage his or her feelings to produce a desired state of mind in a customer or prospective customer” (cited by Mears and Finlay 2005:319). Mears and Finlay disagree with Hochschild (1983) because, for example, models’ emotional labour neither satisfies the end-customer nor the organisation – models are independent contractors. Models benefit from their emotional labour to charm (agents), and more importantly, “cope with the many unpleasant aspects of modelling” (Mears and Finlay 2005:319). Hochschild’s view is still useful in understanding how my co-workers managed, through emotional labour, their organisation’s control over workers bodies, hearts and minds (Mears and Finlay 2005:319).

I have noted passages on how I managed (or not) my emotional labour, for example, during team meetings. Or when bodily exhaustion would reach the bottom of my emotions and I would weep. One can argue that like elite models, the way in which the ethnographer manages

emotional labour benefits or depreciates her/his bodily capital. On occasions, I was present in team meetings. I laboured on my emotions, so I would not burst out in anger or reveal my frustrations in front of the management. I observed that the manager abused the workers during shift time by extorting labour power. During these meetings, it became apparent that management was controlling the workers emotionally too, by addressing their hearts and minds with metaphors such as “friends” (“arkadas” in Turkish). Alternatively, managers and senior staff manipulated workers’ emotions using fear of losing their jobs. A male worker worked in various roles over the eight years’ experience as a loader, driver and check-man at company A. He confesses:

I cannot stand how they are putting their anxiety for losing their jobs onto us. I do not take that, and I will leave without notice. (Roman)

On three occasions, I experienced and understood what Roman had expressed above about the management at company A. I struggled during these team meetings, succeeding in controlling my own emotions under duress. Each meeting took place in the mornings, straight after an 11–hour-long night shift. Each team meeting was held in Turkish despite the fact that there were non-Turkish language speakers (e.g. Pakistani). In the first meeting, no one translated. The 2-hour content equalled that of a monologue of self-importance from the company A manager. It can be summed up in few words:

You (meaning us, loaders and forklift drivers), change into better workers, or I replace you! You are out! Moreover, I can replace you very easily because every night, men with forklift driving skills and unqualified alike are coming to ask for work, every evening.

Having endured the 2-hour monologue, I was fuming with anger during and on the way out of the market hall. However, I had to keep my emotions under control. Field note-taking becomes the mediator for my emotions. I question myself, as I note: Why don’t others speak out? Why are all men quiet? Why doesn’t anybody else have one word directed to the manager, and point out that he discriminates between speakers and non-speakers of Turkish, for example? I hardly contain myself from not screaming out loud ‘how is this possible?’ Mentally, I am beginning to feel overwhelmed by the fieldwork experience. When off work, I would misplace things; when at work, I make mistakes and place the wrong product on the pallets that I need to complete.

As in the first two cases, the meeting takes place behind closed gates. I note that there is no difference in tone and content from the first two meetings that I attended in April and June 2015. The two Pakistani drivers must listen to a discussion taking place in a language they do not understand. It occurs for the 3rd time in a row within the five months' period that I have been working at company A. The same criticisms addressed top down, and no dialogue takes place. The manager starts and finishes with: "you are incapable workers; if you do not change your working behaviour I will change you with other workers who pass by the store every night asking for a job",. The supervisor follows suit and criticises the absent Pakistani loader.

The meeting seems endless. The manager takes over after the supervisor and continues: "you are coming to work late; you are slow in loading pallets; you are not careful enough to check the crates and throw out the expired produce and this causes customers to complain." In an attempt to translate, another manager, present on this occasion, says to the two Pakistani drivers present at the meeting: "the manager says nothing in particular ... just general stuff ... just try to do your best". To my astonishment, his sentence summed up the entire 1h45' meeting. I deliberately chose not to speak out despite the fact that I was outraged. I took here the opposite stance to Ehrenreich's (2010) approach. After one such meeting, Ehrenreich raised a difficult issue concerning one of her co-workers with the management, and her research suffered unforeseen consequences; I learnt from her 'mistake' and kept quiet. Besides, no one else objected to what had been said by the manager or supervisor.

At that point, I began to feel disconnected from the place where I had spent the five months. I was beginning to show signs that I was emotionally hooked into the "nitty-gritty" (English slang for small matters) of this world. Following this incident, I suffered a downward turning point. I no longer coped so well with the working environment, and I seemed to have reached my emotional labour capacity. Additionally, I note that I suffered "emotional busting" from the manager who tested me to drive a forklift, and not having passed his test, he refused to allow me to drive one from then on. Despite the 'failure', I decided that I must keep my own emotions in check to see "what happens in this market". However, because I had not been offered the post, the following night I refused to give my keys to the new forklift driver. Emotionally, it gripped me so profoundly that I just refused to lend my key (which, I owned). From then onwards, I sought employment at one of the market cafés.

2.2. *Information Gathering and Recording Techniques*

Ethnographers immersed into the field could hardly pass as flies-on-the-wall with their hands and boots dirty enacting the field. As explorers of the social world, dealing with other human beings, our bodies become finely tuned recording tools: watching, feeling, moving, hearing, smelling, speaking whilst fully immersed in the participatory observation. The descriptive statistics corroborated with other techniques are used to validate the different methods employed during data collection. I detail several of these tools and methods below.

Out of 55 respondents with whom I had informal conversations and observed, 30 agreed to an interview between August and November 2015. The interviewee fe/males occupied various positions in the organisational hierarchy (operation manager, stock controller, check-man, sales, café server, café managers, drivers and loaders), and customers. The entire data set is inclusive of informal conversations during participant observation (PO) and observant participation (OP), complemented with recorded audio and video interviews. I illustrate below the various techniques that I used for recording data inclusive of, but not limited to vignettes, descriptive statistics, combined with video recorded logs and *Pacer* pedometer data.

2.2.1. Cybernotes to capture space-time intensification



Figure 5 Above-average distance; below-total distance 2,310 Km Source: Google

Cyber-ethnography has grown into a field of inquiry of the virtual community that helps or changes the way we understand space and time (Ward 1999). Hereby I am using a particular

method, using a technological application called *Pacer: Pedometer and Walking Application*,¹¹ which I installed on my phone. This application tracks every step 24/7. It recommends 10,000 steps for the average daily walker. It collates data based on step length, height, weight, blood pressure and pulse entered by the user, and produces charts. On the following pages the ethnographer-apprentice's bodily labour is seen to either valorising bodily capital (e.g. building stamina) or depreciating his/her capital through reduced sleep and weight loss due to increased walking distances¹² (Figure 5), especially during March-July 2015. The descriptive statistics combined with the sensorium, the cumuli of *perception* in my body registered the physiological stages and changes that I associate with exhaustion, sleep disturbances, and mood swings, mainly once I entered the exit phase of research. Descriptive categories have been converted and include: *activity* that indicates in seconds how active the user is in a set time and through the day; *Weight* fluctuation (see Figures 6a-d; footnote¹³) is registered if updated by the user (I updated my weight on a weekly basis at the local chemist); finally, the *distance* chart compiled data based on the number of *steps* and converted these into kilometres/miles; similarly, blood pressure (Sys/Dis) is only updated if entered manually (I updated my BP weekly); and *calories*: burnt during exercise.

¹¹ *Pacer: Pedometer and Walking Application* is available for Apple iOS devices. <http://bit.ly/pacerapp>
Accessed: 19.10.2017

¹² See Figure 5. It shows the number of steps converted in kilometres and accumulated over the year 2015. The distance that I covered by-foot during night shifts over the 11 months of fieldwork, as participant/observer sums up to 2,310km - the equivalent of the distance between New York and Lafayette in the United States or nearly the same as between London, UK and Sibiu, Romania.

¹³ Figure 6a. The lowest weight was registered in June 2015 with a slight increase during mid-June when I took one week off to fulfil INTEGRIM project duties. I regained weight when the activity rhythms and intensity decreased as shown in Figure 6b (above right), indicating that bodily labour affects weight gain/loss. Caution is needed to read the indicators' values (BMI/SBMI) as they offer different range values. Source: Author <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>

Figure 6c Above Right. Descriptive data shows that as the activity levels (loading equates with stepping); thus distances, increase, day sleep hours decrease. This is indicative of the negative correlation between high activity levels that impact on reducing day sleep time over a protracted period. Source: Author <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>

Figure 6d. (Left) BMI* According to the World Health Organization, BMI is based on 'normal weight' class (good); (Right) SMBI** Smart Body Mass Index's represents a health-risk system weight-class definition. However, for an ethnographer to manage his bodily capital based solely on S/BMI indicators is not sufficient. Combined they may aid awareness of wellbeing in the field. Sources: Kromeyer-Hauschild K, Wabitsch M, Kunze D et al. MonatsschrKinderheilkd 2001, 149:807 The Global BMI Mortality Collaboration, Lancet 2016; 388:776-86 (adults 40–80 years).

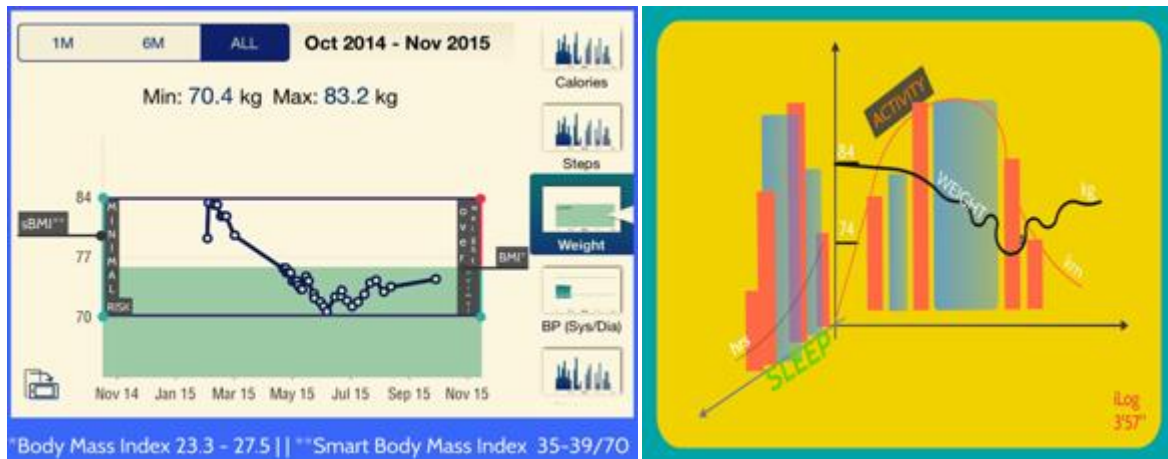


Figure 6a Weight Fluctuations. Source: Author <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>; Figure 6b Please see footnote for interpretation of data correlation.

BMI (kg/m ²)	Categories	Range	Risk level	Range
< 18.5	Underweight	0/70 – 9/70	Extreme anorexia	very high
18.5 – 24.9	Good	10/70 – 19/70	Anorexia to underweight	high
25.0 – 29.9	Overweight	20/70 – 29/70	Moderate to slight underweight	moderate
30.0 +	Obese	30/70 – 39/70	Normal weight	minimal
		40/70 – 49/70	Slight to moderate overweight	moderate
		50/70 – 59/70	Overweight to obesity	high
		60/70 – 70/70	Extreme obesity	very high

Figure 6c and d. Above-BMI*; Right SMI** values and risk levels.

However, further research could tackle one limitation of the present method, using more performant applications than *Pacer*, and record the weight that night workers carry on their bodies as they walk throughout the shift, while engaged in picking-up, moving, placing and replacing crates or sacks of packed produce. Thus, the bodily labour intensity could not be captured by the *cyber notes* alone, with the current technology. However, I tested the data for validity and reliability through triangulation of the combined methods: fieldnotes, respondents' accounts, photographic records and film recordings, each of which I will discuss in the subsequent sub-sections.

2.2.2. Fieldnotes, headnotes and bodynotes¹⁴



Figure 7 Fieldnotes and interviews transcribed.

As Ottonberg remarks, “fieldnotes are constituted once and for all, whilst headnotes (or mental notes) are elaborated and re-elaborated, thereafter” (Sanjek 1990:146). Thence, the ‘never-ending’ fieldwork mental notes that one carries from one research to the next, improve (Timoce-Mocanu 2013). As for field notes, taken from the incipient stages the fieldwork phase, efforts have been made to supplement the missing information with interview data where possible, so they complement the notes which are not so precise in observation or structure. Six mornings per week, I exited the market and reached the retail park in Leyton to sit in the café and write the fieldnotes. The original notes included the informal conversations (some word for word) that I had with anyone in the previous night shift; the observations on self and others I encountered, observed or participated in during that night; the market’s flow, the composition of the team and various other details.

Every morning I was engrossed in writing down all visual and verbal encounters, which could take 2-3 hours; but, occasionally, mentally (memory faints) and physically (cramps in my legs

¹⁴Figure 8. Fieldnotes and interviews have been transcribed, analysed and compiled in the hand-made sewn books as shown: fieldnotes, interview data, and results. Source Author: <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>

while sitting to write) the fatigue and sheer lack of sleep,interfered and I would fall asleep while writing. The writing helped me overcome my anxieties (which lasted throughout), clarify specific conversations, and pinpoint the lack of information which I then gathered the following nights. I truthfully recorded the observations, on the people and the market, and on myself. Hence, the observations on co-workers complement notes to self. The latter are facts based on my actual lived experiences, whilst up and working at night aside from a group of night workers, as I graduallyaccessed the backstage of the night-by-night lived experiences of co-workers. They too complement *cyber notes*. The nightly vignettes written daily include some descriptive information (date, distance, and occasionally sleeping hours). Below is a sample of one vignette condensing an entire night shift's travail.

April 2nd

Night walking distance: 18.8 Km

Night shift duration: 12.5h [10:00pm– 10:30am]

Commuting time: 1h each way.

By the pedometer data, that night I walked nearly 18.8km¹⁵. I took 35,278 steps within a 6:30-hour active period. It is the second longest distance I ever walked during any travail, at night or in the day. The longest has been 25km. The pedometer places me 50% above any fit walker – active users taking 25-30,000 steps daily. The limitation is that the pedometer does not record the weight that I carry. That is the fruit and vegetable crates or sacks that I carry on my body during this fast-paced activity. By any standard, the experience of a London commuter climbing with a light rucksack on their back, the 311 steps of The Monument built n 1677 by Sir Christopher Wren to commemorate the Great Fire of London, will pale into significance compared to the travail of a night worker's sweat.

¹⁵See Figure 9 On this night shift, the pedometer monitored each step during the 13h43' period. The total of 6h34' active time sums up to 18.8km. As shown, the peaks of the activity are between 3am and 8am reaching on average 1,000 steps.



Figure 8 The total of 6h34' active time sums up to 18.8km.

Bodynates are sedimented movements that I incorporated into my body through practice. I was only able to describe these physical practices verbally once I gesticulated throughout the interview with another ethnographer. I make appropriate use of the self-ethnographic account involving interviewing the ethnographer (myself, that is), to complement fieldnotes (and headnotes) on co-workers' substantial bodily capital which they did not speak about in the interviews. I asked another interviewer to have a dialogic encounter with me about my insider's experiences to enable me to recollect, retrieve, and articulate my night shift work experiences. It became troublesome, however, because of my ethnographer's emic positioning – being unable to detach sufficiently from her/his object of knowledge. I have exhausted the Socratic self-questioning technique, which

proved inadequate to elicit the desired answer. I have felt a 'resistance' in retrieving verbally or putting into writing the material that I embodied.

Having reached this point during an encounter with an anthropologist guiding me to articulate my nocturnal ethnographic experience, it became clear that I gained in verbal fluency with each move that I explored whilst demonstrating. My arms moved in various positions to illustrate either strategy in dealing with back-breaking pain or when picking up heavy loads of produce. Then, it was the forward movement of the hip, which I devised during fieldwork so that I could tackle the pressure of the weight on my lower back. Moreover, I was demonstrating to him throughout whilst he was interviewing me on specific aspects. It is useful to think of *body notes* as 'corporeal vignettes' that express and mediate incorporated knowledge gained during participant observation, but which I could not verbalise.

2.2.3. Flow and rhythm captured by camera lens

The video logs serve as self-portraits that capture the main impressions. They describe how the night moves in flows and rhythms of different tempos. There is the slow start when most workers begin their shift; the 12-3 am rhythm when customers shop voraciously, and sellers attempt to keep up with buyers; and the morning wave of late, mainly Asian, customers for exotic fruit and vegetables. The end of the night shift stretches into midday. The primary purpose of using a video camera was to capture the flow of night workers living through the night awake and floating around customers. The video camera captured both order and disorder in motion. The salesmen satisfied the demanding customers. In turn, the café servers delivered drinks and food to keep their managers content and the salesmen's customers happy. Loaders, check men, forklift drivers ran around like sleepless bats to prepare the produce and ship it to their customers' vans. The video and photo camera rolled with permission from the market, but with some restrictions. One respondent and I have filmed several times with GoPro camera attached to a forklift. The editing process, however, will need a longer time, outside the remit of the thesis, unfortunately. Amongst the friction and consumption, the photo camera captured stillness and the expectancy that the fruits and vegetables levelled almost symmetrically and in vibrant polychromic towers will be sold by the end of the night shift.

2.2.4. Informal conversations: the hard work of small talk

This section focuses on the qualities and hard work behind the informal conversations, i.e. small talk. Another critical component in the PO is the ‘small talk’, an intensive and energy draining type of alertness as if “the field is always there” (Driessen and Jansen 2013:7). A separate subsection will be devoted below to analyse how this works in the field. I have participated and observed, but I have not made use of English language skills nor my professional qualifications to obtain preferential status from management.

At the same time, my Romanian (native) and Turkish language skills were used to a great extent to make sense of the livelihoods of the respondents’ meanings in their native languages. Driessen and Jansen (2013) hold that not enough attention has been paid to use of small talk as a complementary tool in ethnographic research. In that vein, I illustrate below the instrumentality of small talk in the encounters with my co-workers, in preparation for more structured conversations and interviewing. Much earlier works equate small talk with a mere exchange of words or ‘phatic communion establishing of personal union between people’ (Malinowski, 1923), albeit Malinowski never put it into his ethnographic practice (Driessen & Jansen, 2013). Pétonnet (1982) described small talk as ‘floating conversation’ not over precise details, but more as a tool for ‘being receptive by hanging around in specific places and developing sensitivity to chance encounters in which people reveal their local or inside knowledge’ (Driessen and Jansen 2013:251).

Gullestad (2002) illustrated in her case study on Norway’s imagined sameness that kitchen-table chat, i.e. small talk, is an apt tool for social analysis when used as a complementary technique to interview. In the strictest anthropological terms, one knows the language and has learnt the local expressions. To dispel confusion, parachute anthropology of foreign correspondents or “Blitzkrieg fieldwork” as John Van Maanen (2011:164) refers to dash-in, dash-out research strategies, differ significantly from the former. Driessen and Jansen (2013) argue that albeit understandable due to less funding available for *in situ* ethnographies, blitz fieldwork is not ethnographic work.

In contrast to blitz type of fieldwork and along the lines drawn by Driessen and Jansen (2013), this investigation supports *in-situ* research. The ethnographer incarnates and immerses into learning the object of study through performing the phenomenon (Wacquant 2015).

Ethnographers act out what they do and enact something that they know how to do, both based on bodily learning (Noë 2004). Of all techniques, however, learning and consciously practising small talk when up and working at night was the most demanding. In the next stages, I analyse how I talked small to make significant progress into learning the meanings constructed by night workers. Moreover, I address how that has taught me to accept my resistance to change, and the frustrations and the value that I found in this technique, which subsequently informed my next steps.

As in daily life, the informal conversations between co-workers and myself went through stages that formed the basis of a transition from being strangers to beginning to learn about one another. On this basis, building rapport through small talk became the first and most 'crucial phase' in this ethnographic study (Driessen and Jansen 2013). While on site, I spoke Romanian and Turkish with nationals from Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey, and English with Pakistani co-workers. In the first instance, spoken language was the mediator for taking instructions from supervisor and manager, gradually it builds up the light talk, and later it turned into in-depth discussions. In parallel, it was a tool for maintaining and expanding the network of respondents.

For 6-and-a-half months, I could not move beyond the outlet of the company that I worked at during this time. I could have been standing, walking and carrying produce and talking in snippets with my co-workers. Many conversations floated between the pallets and the general content was the body of gossip against the customers and on the bodily aches, and pains. Spatially and temporally, the rhythm of the night shift work dictated our conversations and depended on the co-workers' availability or willingness to contribute to or dismiss any opportunity to have more than just a chat.

Most times, small talk would happen in snippets as we were sitting on a stack of pallets which served as loaders' eating table or while rolling a cigarette. The manager, however, surveyed his workers via CCTV installed throughout the stand perimeter. As he surveyed us via the monitors installed in his warm office, he would send his message via a phone call to his supervisor to disperse us. Nevertheless, the snippets of information were important because they could elicit small pieces of 'backstage' information otherwise difficult to collect. As a rule, I seized any opportunity that arose to have conversations on the situation triggered mostly by work situations, for example when sales of pallets created altercations amongst Turkish-

Romanian/Bulgarian workers; these formed the bottom-up processes that have led to the questions asked in the semi-structured interviews.

Small talk has influenced my research positively as a lubricant for connectedness and preparedness for the later stages, inclusive of, but not limited to co-workers' willingness to participate in interviewing post OP phase. The small talk changed my work from what I initially imagined. It opened up opportunities to interact outside work. Although it was difficult to cross the invisible line between small talk during PO and to be an OP, once I entered their homes, it became easier to attend christening and birthday parties, for example, where the dynamics revealed essential messages about how they managed precarity and by what rules.

Fieldwork continually challenged me regarding conversations with my co-workers. Months into my fieldwork, for example, I was frustrated for being rejected by the respondents that I least expected; I respected the fact that regardless whether or not I shared my co-workers' fate as PO or OP, some refused an interview. The Turkish-Romanian co-workers were the ones refusing to engage in further structured, formal interviews. I was mistaken to anticipate prior to fieldwork that Romanian nationals would be easier to convince than co-workers of other nationalities in the field, given that we shared the same mother tongue.

I became more cautious too, in what I disclose to respondents in the early stages of social intercourse. Following self-assessment, I now understand that acting cautiously in providing information about oneself may prevent getting into awkward situations with respondents. For example, having disclosed to one respondent that I practised martial arts it attracted provocations that I fight him. Although I successfully defused and de-escalated the aggression in three instances, reflectively I am aware that self-disclosure could be detrimental to oneself. Nonetheless, disclosing one's real intentions about the motives behind the research from day one is utterly recommended if one aims to spend long enough in the field to build trust with respondents. Patience and hard work at small talk pay for the pains of the action. According to Driessen and Jansen (2013), small talk provides 'ample space for serendipity, may lead to quicker access to taboo subjects, lubricates access to cultural meanings, maintains and enlarges the network', most and importantly when coupled with other techniques, it 'leads to theoretical considerations'. Driessen and Jansen (2013), both laboriously worked on practising *small talk*, and are adamant that scholarly discussions undervalue this technique.

Bourdieu encourages us to engage with scholarly works on ‘bodily learning’ because discussions in the ‘scholastic universe’ are focusing on the intellectual dualist nature (that body-mind are separate entities) which “excluded [the body] from the game” (2000:141). I emphasise that both *small talk* and *bodily learning* are indispensable instruments in developing ethnographic practice. First, communicative competency based on small talk is crucial because “words’ meanings depend on context”. During small talk that I had with co-workers I was given different accounts of people and happenings, which they did not repeat (or confirm) when I followed-up the details during the interview. For example, one loader asked information on how they could sue their employer, but a few weeks later they returned to that employer, and gave up the intended plan, for reasons of their own (Hymes, 1972, cited in Driessen and Jansen 2013). Such incongruity is not detrimental to research, but the very ‘stuff’ of doing fieldwork – instances such as those described probe for consistency of data.

The researcher’s personality plays a significant role in ‘reaping the rewards’ from small talk. Earlier, we have learnt from modelling subjects that labouring emotionally to attract their agent may secure the next contract. Making oneself likeable, safe and interested pays off in social encounters, and develops communion and trust. One’s adaptation to cultural settings and consistent practice increase chances to squeeze out unimagined value from small talk. There are dangers in over-practising this technique, more especially if used on its own. In the ‘training’ phase of small talk, one may ‘lose naturalness’ through the practice of learning the local and end up not convincing her/his co-schmoozians. Intimately, this type of “close communion may involve the researcher in a certain degree of prejudice and gossip” (Driessen and Jansen 2013:257). Practices to counter or prevent such dangers include personal variation and inventiveness. The information that I collated through informal conversations or small talking with participants happened as I shifted from being a participant observer to doing observant participation. I explained above the methods that I employed in performing the phenomenon. Next, I address epistemological considerations that explain the shift from participant observer (PO) to observant-participant (OP) during fieldwork.

2.3. *Epistemic Turns*

In the process of making sense of a social world, the researcher shifts from being a PO to an OP using her/his bodily knowledge and the mind’s ability to shift beyond the front or mask that respondents use to protect their every night lives from outsiders. Crotty’s (1998) ideas, and

Moeran's (2007) and Wacquant's (2015) findings are useful in limiting confusion when using the terms: participant observation (PO) and observant participation (OP). More specifically, I illustrate the epistemic shift between the two stages, from a simple technique to the level of theoretical perspective; how it created relevant, useful knowledge in presenting the process, using the body as a communication method.

Participant observation or observant participation?

I consider in this sub-section the prerequisites for earning an insider's place in a nocturnal social world alongside the lives otherwise invisible to the diurnal eyes and absent from scholarly minds. Ethnographically, during the year of my fieldwork, I earned an insider status, by being both PO and OP later. I entered the field as an outlooker enacting the 'other' and shifted towards an accepted insider. In this vein, I will embody the recordings of my experiences and offer not an analytical perspective but rather the field perspective so that the reader feels what the nocturnal landscape offers to the anthropologist (Timoce-Mocanu 2013). As Mihăilescu dispels,

Attempting to know the Other, the anthropologist plays her/his role, thus own life [...] The field is not 'simply' a 'spiritual' adventure, but, as I said, 'life experience'. The subject of this experience is not the 'epistemic ego', but this neglected and long-repressed unity, the 'body and of the spirit. (2007:106-108)

Participant observation is the preferred tactic in anthropology. Using Goffman's explanation, however, Moeran (2007:14) points out that the shift between PO or 'front stage' to OP or 'back stage', adds to the 'research's holistic quality'. For example, at first, my co-workers merely greeted me when I entered the stand. Standing in small groups throughout the store, most male co-workers, even if they did not ignore me, certainly did not help me in finding the produce needed to complete orders.

During the PO period of five months, partly due to my persistence at small talk, and partly down to my personality as the fieldworker, I forged a level of friendship intimacy with some co-workers which prepared me for the OP stage. Also, I seized any fortuitous occasion to engage the co-workers with my research topic through conversations or via photography and video sessions. It was a sign that I was an accepted insider. The 'sign' that I shifted from being a PO to OP came when I sensed a substantive change in the customers' and my co-workers' behaviour. From barely noticing when I came on shift after a couple of months they gave me a nickname (*doktor*), and openly cursed customers in my presence.

Customers also confided in me and requested that I help them to complete their orders – yet another shift between PO to OP. Sharing similar fate and hardships with co-workers and moments of intimacy with customers contributed to earning my place as an insider. When various actors in the field removed their *persona*, I managed to cross the ‘invisible line’ between front and back of the house. Because, when you are no longer an outlooker or PO, argues Moeran (2007:14), it is evident that you have learnt the different games that respondents play in front of you because they treat one as their own. Only then, the researcher has learnt to validate the told from done, gossip from information, and has developed an involved detachment necessary for the OP phase.

In Wacquant’s words, an “OP whilst immersed and performing the phenomenon, s/he has dived in deep into the stream of action” (Wacquant 2015:5). Mirroring the words of Moeran (2007) and Wacquant (1995, 2000, 2004, 2015), reflexively I shifted from uninvolved attachment to involved detachment. It felt like a break-through when co-workers invited me to frequent the same nightlife places as they did, asking me to resolve their unpaid fines, gas bills or worse, supporting them in situations of homelessness.

Exiting the night market

In mid-December 2015, I exhaustedly exited the substantial period of fieldwork¹⁶. As I exited¹⁷ the period of night shifts, I realised how privileged I was to get out of the trap. I gradually readjusted to return to diurnal rhythms and only returned twice, briefly, to observe on two mornings in April 2016 and last time in May 2017 to carry out a follow-up interview with one of the four night shift workers (Basrí) foregrounded in chapters three and four. As depicted in Basrí’s portrait, migrants away from home are trapped between night shift work and family commitments. His and other respondents’ lives are trapped in-between hopes to save money fast to support their families, and lack of time spent together with their wives and children. Few can afford to exit the trap due to constraining factors. Night workers are day sleepers energised by caffeine (and other energising beverages) ingested as the night shifts.

¹⁶*Coda*: The multi-sited ethnographic collaboration with the nightlaboratory inspired me to adopt this challenging strategy for this bodily craft of nocturnal ethnography to investigate *from* and *with* the body. The nightlaboratory experimental nature originated with night walking in London beside anthropologist Ger Duijzings, the initiator of this project. From London to Sofia (2012), nightlaboratory migrated to Budapest and Istanbul (2014); after fieldwork in London (2015), the group met in Milano (2016).

¹⁷ See Figure 10 on the following page.



Photo Voichi Judele & Iulius-Cezar Macarie
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Figure 9 Exit gate №9

CHAPTER THREE

NIGHT SHIFTS INTO POST-CIRCADIAN RHYTHM

The culture of the new order profoundly disturbs self-organisation. It can divorce flexible experience from static personal ethics ... It can divorce easy, superficial labor from understanding and engagement. It can make the constant taking of risks an exercise of depression... Irreversible change and multiple, fragmented activity may be comfortable for the new regime's masters, ... but it may disorient the regime's servants.¹⁸

This chapter foregrounds four night shift workers exposed to limited rights concerning choices to find any other work due to the nature of their migratory past and the present landscape of night shift work activity. In doing so, workers' precariousness and fragile capabilities for cooperation transpire through the ethnographic portraits in the latter part of the chapter. The challenge for the historical section (2.1.) is to explore the triadic relationship between *intensification of labour*, *time regimentation* and *locality*. These three theoretical pillars are crucial in understanding the mechanisms, techniques and elements of the backdrop of the developments of neoliberalism's "creative destruction". This corrodes entities who find themselves in the precarious, exploitative and stigmatised jobs of the UK's labour market (Ruhs and Anderson 2010).

The UK context has been the testing ground for neoliberal policies implemented after 1979 to resolve the British 'winter of discontent' (Prasad 2006). The UK played a pivotal role in the overall intensification towards post-circadian capitalism referred to by some as the 'new capitalism'. The historical section of this chapter considers the global reach of what David Harvey (2003, 2005, 2007) calls "accumulation by dispossession" experienced more acutely since "the aftermath of the 2007/2008 global financial collapse" (Carbonella and Kasmir 2014:2).

¹⁸ Richard Sennett, *Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*.

24/7 supermarkets, petrol stations, and underground public transport services expanded in the late 20th century. Proportionally, the need for migrant workers in low-skilled job sectors grew. However, migrants are somewhat invisible to the diurnal, end-consumer for whom a sizeable segment of migrants work the “graveyard shift” to maintain the 24/7 cycle of food production and consumption in glocturnal cities. Unlike in the earlier eras of capitalism, 21st-century migrants have become the backbone of the global cities (Standing 2011). So, the chapter seeks to offer insights into the mechanisms and practices that create the battleground for the migrants who vie against one another for under-minimum wage jobs. In the historical section, I focus on the strategic role that the global city plays in the UK labour market, with migrants occupying the precarious jobs refused by the locals (Ruhs and Anderson 2010).

Will Norman’s (2011) “graveyard shifters” are Britain’s 1.3M night shift workers (LFS¹⁹). Across all industries and services 8.3% of the “15.4% of UK’s workforce in shift work” do night shifts (Table 2 in Kubo et al. 2013). Though Norman’s ethnographic study offers insight into the hardships, invisibility aspects and social isolation confronting the British graveyard shifters, it does not include the entire spectrum of alterations to the demography of night shift work contingent over time. Scholars agree that the UK labour market demands are not met by the domestic supply of labourers (Ruhs and Anderson 2010). So, why is the sizeable segment of migrant *night shift workers* invisible in scholarship when foreign-born workers occupy most of the de-skilled jobs in the UK?

Migrant Observatory reports the following percentages of foreign-born workers in the UK’s low-skilled job sectors : 42% working in cleaning and packing jobs; 36% in food processing, glass, textile and chemical industries; and 35% working as cleaners and housekeeping managers and supervisors (Rienzo 2016b:4, 2016a). From this report, we guesstimate, given that the low-wage sectors are thriving with migrant workers, that a sizeable segment is night workers. A significant share is of recent migrants accepting de-skilling in response to the UK labour market demands for low-skilled work sectors (Aldin and Wadsworth 2010). Ruhs and Anderson (2010) argue that de-skilling encourages employer exploitation as well as producing a model for future migrants.

¹⁹ According to Labour Force Survey (Norman 2011)

Precarity at work in post-circadian capitalism means that instability is the norm. Long-term in a short-term society means that unsecured bonds are ubiquitous (Sennett 1998). Beyond the individual factors, the structural nature of night shift work limits workers' rights; namely, the soft or unobserved labour regulations make night workers more vulnerable than other shift workers. Besides, the less educated have little or no knowledge of the labour struggles of night work and are less inclined to grasp such delicate intricacies as allow the educated to climb out of the de-skilled job sectors.

Regardless, the latter in low skilled jobs and the former in poorly paid jobs feel frustrated by being deprived of a meaningful working life, and consequently harbour growing resentment and *anger* against the celebrity culture and material success experienced by mainstream society. Many respondents experiencing precariousness feel despondent, mainly because of the 'successful' and deserving ones labelling them irresponsible and lazy. So, they feel *alienated* and live in despair and under a continued sense of defeat. Anomie, as a Durkheimian concept is a "feeling of passivity" born out of despair (Standing 2011a).

3.1. Transition from Circadian to Post-Circadian Capitalism

In the circadian capitalist age time spent for production was regimented, in blocks of time. In contrast, post-circadian capitalism prefers the flexible-labour force for 24/7 production. The post-circadian capitalist era disrespects our physiological rhythms – the 24-hour physiological clock, regarding how we spend our waking time, when we relax and how (little) we sleep. It controls the leisure time we spend for work. To understand the overall intensification with which specific alterations to global capital-labour relations have further dispossessed the workers from their bodily capital during the transition from circadian to post-circadian eras, the following three modes will be analysed: *intensification of labour*, *time regimentation* and *locality*. These three components that aided the marching of capitalism are correlated but not in a causal relationship where they would need to operate in concert to produce the following outcomes: non-unionisable, in-work migrants facing labour insecurity, dispossessed and living with disrespect to physiological rhythms.

Carbonella and Kasmir (eds.) answer the question "how we got here" in a comparative manner assessing the anachronistic developments of events resulting from combined "global multiplication and political stultification of labour that has fed neoliberal capitalism and

governance for the last four decades” (2014:2). They argue that developments in the process of “dispossession and displacement” of workers occurred depending on the time and place, and experienced differently, contingent to “historically specific ways” of capitalist expansion in various regions of the globe (Carbonella and Kasmir eds. 2014:2). At the core of their analysis is “the importance of placing politics of labour” (Carbonella and Kasmir eds. 2014:6). *Locality* is paramount to such politics, i.e. the 24/7 *global city* plays a strategic role in dispossessing the night shift workers of their bodily capital through controlling mechanisms that expand labour into leisure time for further capital accumulation.

Harvey’s (2007, 2005) closer analysis of “creative destruction” by neoliberalism spells out the conditions, mechanisms and processes that facilitated the transition from circadian to post-circadian capitalism. As a starting point, it explores some of the “political economic practices ... private property rights, free markets and free trade” experimented with by Chile’s post-military coupe regime (Harvey 2005:2 and Harvey 2007). State intervention has been and still is crucial in neoliberal developments (Fedyuk and Stewart 2018). In the section devoted to the developments leading to neoliberalism’s, “creative destruction” will be analysed beginning with the UK context.

3.1.1. Intensification of labour

In the 18th century, workers in Britain were up and working late at night in cotton mills.²⁰ In the middle of the 19th century in New England, stretching the working day late into the evening was not a new phenomenon, but work mostly ended after dark (Baldwin 2012). The late 19th century Europe was also marked by the start of nocturnalisation in larger cities like London, Paris and Berlin (Schlör 1998). While regular working hours stretched beyond dawn-to-dusk in the old labour relations system, leisure was being squeezed out of the day and onto the lit streets of big European cities (Schlör 1998). Britain’s industrialised capitalist era regimented night shift workers in a two- and three-shift rotating system manning the machinery in factories and the service industry (e.g. transport to/from workplaces) round-the-clock.

²⁰ In 24/7 and the End of Sleep, Johnathan Crary (2013:62) refers to the work of British artist Joseph Wright of Derby who painted *Arkwright’s Cotton Mills by Night* (around 1782) depicting night factory workers (including many women and children) in rural England. According to Crary, the novelty in Wright’s work comes from capturing on canvas “a radical reconceptualization of the relation between work and time: it is the idea that productive operations that do not stop, of profit-generating work that can function 24/7”.

As urban nightlife grew in the big cities, needs rose for nocturnal services to remain open long after closing time for night revellers and city dwellers. Electric lighting and “heavily mechanised industrial processes” of the early 20th century (Norman 2011:4) revolutionised the new working plants in Britain. In consequence, it attracted increasing numbers of people migrating from villages to cities during the industrial revolution; hence, the growing dissonance between new working time patterns that govern over the natural, circadian rhythms. Expansion of working time into the night is one component in the triadic aforementioned relationship.

The efforts of capitalists to exploit workers' labour power round-the-clock significantly contributed to the development of nocturnal work. By the end of the 1970's, neoliberal reforms marked the transformation phase from circadian (natural rhythms) to post-circadian capitalist rhythms (of 24/7 production-consumption-accumulation at the expense of humans' physiological rhythms). For example since 1978, the working hours in 82% of 6,599 “7-ELEVEN” food stores have been extended beyond the 7 am to 11 pm time frame, thus continuing through the night (Sharman & Sharman 2008). Tesco, one of Britain's largest supermarkets surprised its competitors before Christmas 1998 by opening selected stores through the night.

The aggressive expansion of supermarkets in the US and the UK illustrates what Karl Marx (1976a Vol. I X) called “human potency” as crucial in cost-saving benefits of shift work:

The prolongation of the working day beyond the limits of the natural day, ... an alternative becomes necessary between those working people whose powers are exhausted by day and those who are used up at night.

In other words, the increase of night shift work has stretched the possibilities and physiological resources of night workers to levels unseen before the neoliberal capitalist expansion. More importantly, migrants became an easy target for supplying unlimited low-cost labour. Standing (2011a) adopts the globalisation studies perspective and includes in the *precariat* the sizeable segment of migrants living and working precariously in global cities. The armies of night workers are the migrant “infantry of capitalism” (Standing 2011a:113) who support the global cities; they live under the demands of 24-hour societies with no respect for their 24-hour physiological clock. More globally, Arendt (2010) point to the biological effects, and Aneesh (2012:527) to the social “hysteresis effect” that night shift work has upon workers turned “walking ghosts”.

The *intensification of labour* no longer means the difference that Thompson noted (1967: 90-1) between Old and New World time or “time passing” and “time consumed/spending” of the “mature capitalist society”. It is beyond the time-spent and time-consumed rationale. Then, labourers sold their labour power for a living wage while employers respected circadian rhythms (respecting seasonal changes, day-night rhythms or bodily cycles of sleep/awake/relax). Now, in the post-circadian era, capital accumulates at the expense of workers’ overall ill-being. Namely, post-circadian capitalist work ethics have repercussions on the social, mental and bodily ill-health of the workers. The ‘new’ in the neoliberal exploitative mechanisms means not only that it extracts capital from the workers’ labour time but that it extracts from the workers’ bodies’ life force. In short, the post-circadian capitalist incessant rhythm of production for consumption permeates all levels – physical, social and intimate life. The intensification or transformation of humans into bio-automatons indicates the presence of post-circadian values in capitalist ethics. As Crary (2013) eloquently builds on Hannah Arendt’s (1958) human condition, he argues that the global market infrastructure subordinates humans’ needs (e.g. sleep) to the market demands 24/7. Bio-automatons are humans subordinated to capital.

Additionally, physical exhaustion feeds into the social isolation from the regular folk of the night worker and corrodes parenthood qualities. Put differently, it infringes on parenting rights – the human rights of any worker – to watch her/his children going to bed night-by-night or growing up by the day; taking them to day- school or playing after school hours. Exhausted workers miss such moments.

3.1.2. Significant alterations in time regimentation

In a metropolis like London (and New York), consumers’ demands for fast productivity and release of new products grew because the modern mind followed an unambiguous pattern set by “pocket watches” (Mitchell 2002:80). Mitchell (2002) argues that *the* economy in the early 20th century influenced the metropolitans’ “character of calculability” in dealings with others, as noted in George Simmel’s essays on the minds and lives of metropolitans. The interlinked effects of mass production round-the-clock and demanding customers indicate a circular relationship that intensified accumulation of capital through production-consumption cycles. It also ruled social relationships in the fast-growing metropolis in the sense that it transformed

workers' time-sense for leisure, consumers' demands, and metropolitans' capabilities for sociability.

Historian E.P. Thomson (1967:91) explains that the usage of the clock internalised discipline for work-time. So presumably, the labour force was disciplined by the clock, which pervaded all aspects of life during and after the working hours when people socialised. It was visible in the example of the early 19th century "English industrial worker" (compared to the Irish one) because of his/her regularity, and not from the propensity for hard-work. Time was spent by-the-clock in blocks: school/work/retirement. Those who reached retirement age spent their free time socialising with other retirees. However, they spent most of the time in blocks of years, in school, followed by working life sliced into 10-12 hours shifts. The shift that changed the time-sense reflected that "time is not being passed but spent". Its value changed from "how time passed" to "how much time costs"(Thompson 1967:61).

Today's modern, global market marches towards "global integration" of service industries to make these available for consumption time-zone-less. Businesses are open round-the-clock irrespective of the geographical positions of the producer/service giver and consumer. The human subject nonetheless is subordinated to the demands of 24/7 accumulation-production-consumption cycle. Hence, one employs the tool of temporality for understanding the processes behind global transformations and how they control and manipulate our physiological rhythms and intimate lives.

Whether a consultant or a low-skilled worker, everybody is expected to simultaneously fulfil the needs of "world-making/wealth-creating capitalism" (Kalb 2015) at very short (and till further) notice. Regarding the labour market demands, however, the old phrase "long-term" was replaced with 'flexi-term' and 'flexi-curity'. Hence, Flexi-time has been intruding into the social, physical, emotional and psychological realms of our working lives and, by extension, our personal lives. Scholars have illustrated the transformations that take place from one generation to the next. For example, cases of first-generation Italian migrant households in the US resemble the incarnation of some past legacies, such as "long-term" in the new economic environment (Sennett 1998).

“Creative destruction”, says Sennett, “is not happening on a Richter magnitude, but it is woven into the everyday practices of a vigorous capitalism” (1998:31), which requires people at ease with that. Differences exist, however, in that a consultant may be able to buy solutions to escape the time-squeeze, but low-skilled workers merely survive and are unable to keep up with the demands of household management. Time is not a resource available to de-skilled workers, in general, because they do not have control over it when they cannot make ends meet. The scarcity of time, so to say, is a reality that night shifters confront nightly. Whatever spare time remains between travel to/from the workplace is sleep time, during the day.

The late 20th-century era marked the beginning of *de*-regimentation of time. Time is calculated by-bites and sliced into short pieces-of-time. In other words, capital accumulates when extracted from and paid in short-contract wages, or paid by-the-hour in exchange for a specific time sold by the labourer, freelancer or agency worker called-upon for solo or team project-based employment. By implication, the labourer is super-flexible; it means that as a worker or consultant one needs to arrange one’s working life around others on whom one’s work depends. Further, parameters such as work-home, 9-5, weekdays and weekends, have been replaced with working from home, as-and-when-catching-employment, working by the piece, and not in long-term contracts.

Other scholars claim that in this phase of “reorganisation of post-Fordist work”, time de-regimentation attacks the marginalised groups, like migrants and vulnerable women (Fedyuk and Stewart (eds.) forthcoming 2018). It is a phase that Beck (1992:143) describes as

... [A] transition from a uniform system of lifelong full-time work organized in a single industrial location, with the radical alternative of unemployment, to a risk-fraught system of flexible, pluralized, decentralized underemployment ...

De-regimentation of time means that capital is maximised at the cost of the workers’ time being unpaid, yet spent at their own expense during journeys in-the-night to work-at-night. Other forms of intruding into one’s private time are preparing late in the evenings to present work to clients the next day or marking student essays outside of contractual hours of teaching, unlike during “the full-employment system of industrial society” (Beck 1992:143).

3.1.3. The glocturnal city

As discussed in the Introduction, the global city is an essential component in global expansion leading to occupational polarisation of (white and blue collar) workers engaged in the 24/7 accumulation-production-consumption cycle.

24/7 markets and a global infrastructure for continuous work and consumption have been in place for some time, but now a human subject is in the making to coincide with these more intensively (Crary 2013:3-4)

Glocturnal cities never sleep. Crary (2013) warns that humans of the post-circadian era witness the beginnings of the “ends of sleep”. Due to the rapid development of the digital age, Sassen (2005) argues that the *Global City* of the 21st century is a transnational space and an attractive hub for financial centres transferring the world’s reserves in seconds beyond national borders.

Night-time space for production-expansion needs not only the intensified labour force but also the nurturing ground of the global city for new economic, organisational structure (Sassen 2005), i.e. creating new spaces for capital accumulation by night. Additionally, as far as Sassen is concerned, the global city is the very location where the “place-bound labour market for talent [meets] low-wage workers”. Further, she argues that sites like London (and New York) offer cross-border spaces for recapturing the financial sub-culture, on the one hand, and the needed economic geography of the *place*, on the other. This strategic locale,

allows us to recapture people, workers, communities, and more specifically, the many different work cultures, besides the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalisation. (Sassen 2005:32)

The state is a central pillar that connects and facilitates the triadic relationship between *intensification of labour*, *time alterations* and *locality*. The strategic role in supporting the neoliberal machine developments has been sustained with and by the states’ apparatuses. To establish the role each component plays in creating the problem-ridden present for migrant workers, one considers the political transformations located in physical time and space.

Neoliberal policies were meant to tackle rising unemployment and accelerating inflation in 1973, and other economic problems are facing global capitalism, such as the energy crisis (Harvey 2007). So, the design for a new world order of capitalist accumulation emerged in what is today a thriving form of neoliberalism.

Prasad's (2006) perspective offers a brief account of strikingly similar yet different accounts of implementation of neoliberalism in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). In the US, market deregulation coincided with new employment reforms implemented by Ronald Reagan's administration that became unpopular with workers who increasingly spent leisure time for work to manage their precarious households. Similarly, the UK's newly elected government led by Margaret Thatcher in the late 1970's implemented unprecedented measures to de-regularise the market, experimenting with tax cuts and diminishing welfare support by the British State (Prasad 2006). In both the American and British contexts, the implementation of the policies was designed to make Reagan and Thatcher popular with voters, yet their policies became controversial instead as both leaders aimed to "roll back the state"(Prasad 2006:98).

Thatcherism defied Keynesian economics by implementing intensified measures of monetarism, privatisation, and sales of council housing; this was not new, but an intensified attack on the welfare state (Prasad 2006). Monetarism meant "controlling of public money spending" (Prasad 2006:113). In other words, eras that "promoted more egalitarian distributive measures" ended with the implementation of neoliberal free-market policies that attracted more public support during Thatcherism than those of previous governments (Harvey 2007:22).

Other states followed the two revolutionary populist administrations of Reagan and Thatcher. From Sweden to New Zealand and South Africa neoliberal practices have swept the globe with few states such as the North Korea, still resisting the tidal wave of neoliberalism, (Harvey 2007). However, the "creative destruction" of neoliberal ideology incorporated more than just cutting budgets. Among its destructive effects, Harvey (2007:23) notes the impact on:

Division of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life, attachments to the land, habits of the heart, ways of thought, and the like.

In Harvey's (2007) assessment, neoliberalism appealed to the public for its promised individual freedoms (sexual liberation and consumerism) for everyone. However, it succeeded instead to infest governments "not for the first time" from the world periphery (Chile) to its centre (with US/UK as the forerunners) (Harvey 2007:26). Through its mechanisms like the commodification of labour and elements like financialisation, neoliberalism's techniques attacked the rights to the state pension and limited access to free education and healthcare.

This form emphasises the old “primitive accumulation” based on the antagonistic relationship between those ‘who command the labour of those who do not’ (Graeber 2014:345), i.e. the 1% of elite capitalists commanding the 99% of workers (actual or potential) in the interest of multiplying their capital – creating money with money. In other words, the new in the neoliberal reforms promised freedoms and instead “restored class power which proved ineffective at revitalising capital accumulation” (Harvey 2007:30). It is out of this context that new forms of employment relations rose, such as flexible labour that embedded nuances of precarity, flexibility, non-standard or contingent employment.

As Prasad (2006) pinpoints, despite the increase in poverty, homelessness and unemployment rates during Reagan’s administration in the US and Thatcher’s in the UK neither jeopardised their subsequent re-election nor threatened their respective parties’ popularity among the public following the implementation of neoliberal policies. The destructive reach of neoliberal practices and activities of corporations continue long after the Thatcherite era in the UK. Mediated by neoliberal led governments, such as Tony Blair’s Whigs leading Britain into the 21st century, new forms of precarisation (degradation of contractual terms) and further privatisation of public-owned properties have continued to make employment relations subservient to capital accumulation in Britain.

Neoliberal Policies’ Implications for Today’s UK Labour Market Since the 2008 Crisis²¹

Political geographer, Jamie Peck (2013), updates the status of neoliberalism post-global-economic crisis in 2008. Peck (2013) points out that despite the global crisis, neoliberal practices have intensified and the “political status of neoliberalism” is being reconsidered. Neoliberalism, in other words, has not only survived the post-global economic crisis, but its doctrines and policies are successfully applied to further welfare cuts through harsh measures, with labour power succumbing to capital demands and other guiding policies for states that continue business as usual. Since 2010, the Tory government led by David Cameron intensified austerity measures, thus increasing precarious labour conditions, such as in-work insecurity, and through preventative practices to limit A2 workers accessing the UK labour market. As

²¹ Further neoliberal reforms intensified the austerity program and created an unwelcoming environment for migrants travelling for work in the UK. Following the financial crisis in 2008 and the 2010 election, the Tory government led by Mr David Cameron introduced stricter regulations for working migrants.

Standing (2011:3) highlights, “most [migrants] have to put up with short-term contracts, with low wages and few benefits. The process is systemic, not accidental”.

During the recent crisis, due to weak incentives, unwelcoming immigration policies in countries like the United Kingdom (UK), the Cameron government’s top agenda priority was to restrict immigration of the recently joined EU nationals (e.g. especially Romanians, Bulgarians). As we have learnt from two previous EU enlargements (2004, 2007), transitional restrictions are introduced by governments in the high-income countries like the UK to protect the domestic supply of labourers – especially during an economic crisis. They were expected to return to their country of origin. Counter-intuitively, post-recession they did not leave the UK despite the scarce economic incentives.²²

Scholarly literature (Menz and Caviedes 2010; Piore 1979) depicts migrants as birds landing in labour insecurity once arrived on the labour markets of high-income countries (e.g. the US, the UK). Also, migrants receive no health benefits or sick pay if absent, which causes migrants to receive significantly low income compared to locals. Lopes and Hall (2015:208) note that “migrant workers represent some of the most vulnerable and least protected groups of workers in the UK”. Their study²³ on the strengths of community activist work to co-opt migrants and unionise in the fight for a living wage in London shows that migrant workers are by and large employed in vulnerable positions and more likely: - to suffer problems at work and summary dismissal and be subject to routine bullying in the workplace; and less likely to: a) join trade unions and therefore be in a position to have their rights and conditions covered by collective bargaining; and b) to know their employment rights.

Nonetheless, glocturnal cities attract migrants from all corners of the world, high or low skilled (from Eastern Europe or Asia). The rationale behind migrants’ economic outlook reflects their migrant worker status as temporary - they are motivated by the amounts of money that they

²² The last quarter of 2013 has seen specific prevailing political discourses in the UK around the freedoms of work, travel, and social and healthcare rights for Romanians – and to some extent Bulgarians – living in the UK. The UK Government proposed reforms to the Freedom of Movement Treaty, and restrictions against full working rights entitled to Bulgarians and Romanians in the UK, post seven-year transition since joining the EU, in 2007. However, these were rejected by the Council of Europe. In short, though Bulgarians and Romanians were EU citizens since 2007 they faced legal restrictions on work in the UK, and most countries in the EU for seven years. From January 2014 however, Bulgarians and Romanians arriving at or already living in the UK could work legally.

²³ Corroborated with findings reported by the Commission on Vulnerable Employment’s in “Hard Work, Hidden Lives”(TUC 2008) Accessed 21.11.2017. Available at: <http://bit.ly/TUC2008>

could save in countries with “mature economies” (King 2012). In other words, migrants considering lucrative means at the expense of losing status in the high-income country perceive their experience as transitory and less harmful than it actually is when accepting de-skilling, precarious working conditions. Migrants do not calculate income at face value. They do not calculate their income on the face of its actual worth - in relation to the minimum wage threshold of the respective country they are working in or include the inflation rate during a specified period. They calculate wages on the basis that they lack opportunities or that the national minimum wage in their country of origin is much lower.

In 2013 alone, the US was on top of the OECD list of immigration countries. 20% of the global total of 232 million people migrated to the US (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2013). In Europe, only the Russian Federation (11M) overtakes other receiving countries like Germany (9.8M), the UK (7.8M), France (7.5M), and Spain (6.5M); despite the economic downturn, millions of migrants flow across national borders to settle in OECD countries. Half of the international migrants (116M) live in only ten OECD countries (OECD 2013:2). Based on OECD figures, the pool of migrants has not and will not dry up. Quite the opposite, many migrants are attracted by global cities. They risk their lives to arrive and continue to accept being underpaid and overworked to counter-balance the sacrifice they make (either for themselves or families in their home countries). The structural factors strategically set-up to influence availability and necessities for the UK competitive labour market make of precarious migrants a “flexible, obedient” pool of labour that accepts the “prevailing wages” at the demand of employers aware of migrants’ predicaments (Holgate 2005; Ruhs and Anderson 2010:4). The obedience of workers is mistaken (or exploited) by employers who prefer foreign-born workers for having ‘superior work ethics’. Piore (1979) calls such an environment the ‘secondary labour market’. It is created simply to meet the demands of economic competition.

The Spitalfields’ market authority is testament to lack of involvement from institutions like the London-based, global institution of City of London Corporation (CoL).²⁴ Coupled with the

²⁴ An example of the market authority and Tenants Association’s absence and lack of responsibility for experiences of abuse that one has observed and have been subject of could also be derived from this example. On October 3rd 2016 I clipped a page from the New Spitalfields Market official website (<http://newspitalfieldsmarket.co.uk/legislation>). The ‘legislation’ page read the following message: “We will be adding our legal documents over the next few weeks, please check again soon” A year later (15.10.2017) the page has not yet been updated.

Spitalfields Market Tenants Association (SMTA), in Sennettian terms (1998:227), CoL stands for the authority figure on-site. But, the lack of responsibility on behalf of CoL and SMTA for the experiences of abuse encountered by my respondents indicate that Spitalfields' night workers' are less protected from the traders' exploitation, and survive precarity due to atomised strategies. By so doing, the un-unionised workers are divided from one another and support an informal network of labour. Let us consider in the next section one of the world's longest running, yet modern economic institutions for developing capital at the expense of migrant's bodies (Sharma 2014).

3.2. *The Corporation of London: A Very Brief History*²⁵

To understand how society works one needs not to just look at the areas of what we call social noise, i.e. what everyone likes to talk about, the equity markets, mergers and acquisitions and all the high-profile areas everyone can see. However, one needs to look at the social silence as well.²⁶

The Corporation of London²⁷ has been the nurturing institution of global trade and exchange; from wool to fruits, and from foreign currency to stock exchange. It still is *the* marketplace in Europe, attracting migrant populations from across the globe, living, trading and working in



Figure 10 The City of London, the smallest "city" in England London.

²⁵ In 2006, the name was changed from Corporation of London to City of London Corporation

²⁶ Tett, Gillian (2009:288-89). *Fool's Gold: How Unrestrained Greed Corrupted a Dream, Shattered Global Markets*.

²⁷ Figure 10 The City of London, the smallest "city" in England London is surrounded by the ancient wall acting as boundary. The red line indicates the changes made to its boundaries in the 1990s. City of London Corporation owns and manages the Old (red square) now New Spitalfields market relocated in Leyton, East

financial services, information technology centres, and the food industry. An institution like the CoL is unique – an economic institution that goes further back than the Magna Carta (1215) and centuries earlier before Columbus' voyage to the Americas (1492) and of Vasco da Gama's sail to India (1498). CoL has witnessed the years of *Glorious Revolution* marked by the 1688 “Anglo-Dutch moment”(Israel 1997; Ivonin 2009) which for Graeber (2014) and Kalb (2015) marks the baseline for a transformation from money making to world-making capitalism. For centuries too, the CoL's *Billingsgate* (fish), *Smithfields* (meat) and *Spitalfields* (fruit and vegetables) markets, have been catering for Londoners' incessant appetite for food. CoL represents UK's governing body for markets in the UK and the City of London. Its authority governs the Spitalfields market, in Leyton, East London, the field site where I did my research.

3.2.1. Corporation of London: what is it?

CoL is the “world's oldest continuous municipal government”(Shaxon 2011:4743). However, the silence surrounding the CoL deafens the soundscape of the scholarly literature on the power of governing institutions acting as states within states, such as the City of London, Washington DC and the Vatican City State. The lack of transparency on the CoL points to a silo in the social landscape of British society and the history of global finance empire hosted by the City of London to the detriment to the rest of the country (Shaxson 2012). Its jurisdiction is geographically restricted to the Square Mile– the prime area of the City measuring 1.22 square mile surrounded by the remains of an ancient wall as shown in the picture above (Shaxson 2012:4727).

Financially, CoL oversees the City's financial global power. Moreover, through its governing power it “enhances its status as the world's leading international financial and business centre”; One Chinese official referred to the City of London as the “holy place” of international finance and globalization” (Shaxson 2012:4873). As a significant player in the global financial regulation, including the off-shore web structure, the CoL influences several of Britain's financial regulatory bodies, for example, the Policy and Reform Committee. The International Accounting Standard Boards (IASB) regulates how corporations publish financial data by their own disclosure rules and without being accountable to Parliament. CoL's chief executive, the Lord Mayor of the City of London– not to be confused with the Mayor of London with its 32 boroughs – is the ambassador of the UK-based financial and professional services. The status that the City of London has compared to the Greater London Authority (GLA) parallels that of Lord Mayor to the Mayor of London. In effect, there are two London cities run by separate

governing bodies. The City of London has in its constituency 9,000 wealthy residents living within the city wall illustrated above, while the surrounding 32 London boroughs (including the more impoverished Tower Hamlets and Hackney) host over 7 million British and foreign-born residents. There is a 350,000-strong army of commuters daily to/from the suburbs into London Liverpool Street station (Shaxson 2012), many of whom work in the City's financial services. According to Annual Population Survey, in 2005-06 CoL finance and other business services employed 51,000 or 13% of all foreign-born working in London (ONS 2007)²⁸.

At the bottom of the labour market, the highest intake of foreign-born migrants was in food manufacturing (38%), residential and domestic work (32%), and make-up factories (29%) (Rienzo 2016b, 2016a; Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2014). However significant the reliance on itinerant workers is, CoL does not envisage improving the working conditions and the standard of living for those working in the supporting sectors, at the bottom, but rewarding its foreign-born bankers, the high earners managing hedge funds. *London Citizens UK*, represents over 140 public and faith-based London groups. Since 2011, it has repeatedly advocated under the London Living Wage Campaign for a pay increase for the cooks, cleaners and night workers serving the City of London to an hourly rate of £8.30 per hour for a London worker (2011 Living Wage rates).

The CoL has often left the negotiations in disagreement with London Citizens for refusing to raise the CoL workers' income above the national minimum wage of £6.19 per hour (2011 Living Wage rates). Meanwhile, the cumulative sum of bonuses paid to City investment bankers reached a record high of £14 billion during 2010-11, when Britain was surfacing from the financial crisis (Shaxson 2012:5394). For centuries, UK's foreign-born workers have been "anchored at the very bottom of the labour market" (Geddes and Scott 2010:193), and an overwhelming majority live and work in London (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2014), with a high intake in the food production and consumption system.

As the UK's market authority and owner of City's oldest markets, CoL regulates the trading practices in the markets under its jurisdiction, though geographically located outside of the walls of the City. CoL governs market workers by its ancient rules still in use. Thus, I offer an

²⁸Office for National Statistics, 2007 update.

overview of the CoL's ancient presence in the market, the contemporary working regime and the ethnic composition of the night workers.

3.2.2. Corporation of London: managing the Spitalfields market²⁹

CoL's (New) Spitalfields market is the youngest of the three that it owns and manages - meat, fish and fruit and vegetable markets. It was given the Royal Charter in 1682, but it became City of London's property only in 1920, and continued to trade on the border of the east side of the square mile, under the name of Spitalfields. In 1991, it relocated outside of the City with the 'New' prefix Spitalfields. It occupies 31 acres of land colloquially called *the marshes* and known as the site where the Huguenot refugees settled *en masse* in the 17th century.

Spitalfields market is the largest of its kind in the UK, hosting 105 stands with 120 plus businesses. It is open 6/7 nights per week, from Sunday to Saturday, and trades yearly over 650,000 tons of fruit and vegetables.

The CoL's vision for the market aims:

To support our tenants in creating a flourishing market by providing an exemplary trading environment that is energy efficient, well maintained, safe, innovative, profitable, and represents the diverse ethnic mix of the area served by the market.

²⁹ Figure 11. The New Spitalfields Market (above) has been re-located in 1991 outside of the City of London walls, in Leyton, East London. Source: <https://newspitalfieldsmarket.co.uk/market>

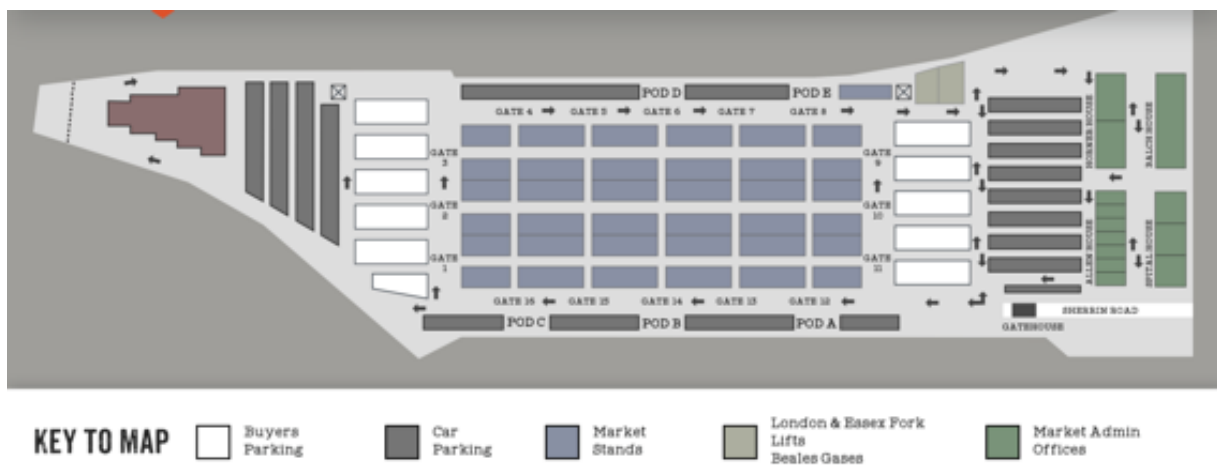


Figure 11 Above Left, Gatehouse; Right, Gate10. Below, Spitalfields Market site.

It is strategically placed with access to the M11 motorway linking through the north circular to East Anglia. It faces the road connecting Leytonstone to Stratford, the newly gentrified area that hosted the 2012 London Olympics athletes' village, itself linked with and rejuvenated by

the retail park, Westfield, placed in Stratford town centre, one underground stop away. This strategic position gives access to both grocers and catering businesses to distribute and supply produce in all the 32 London boroughs and throughout the UK. As you enter the site, the nocturnal rhythm beats at an incessant pace as the night grows into the day.

Customers and traders who frequent the market on a nightly basis buy and sell 5/6 nights; residents walk in at dawn to buy small quantities, and lorry drivers deliver round-the-clock. The produce traded in Spitalfields travels the world. On a night-to-night basis, tonnes of produce are handled by workers: mango or pineapple from Peru, apples from New Zealand or the US, oranges and onions from Turkey or Germany, and cassava from Brazil, yam from Africa. The overwhelming majority of low skilled night workers are migrants from Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Romania working legally, while the Turkish (third-country nationals) work on business visas; but, most Indians, Bangladeshi and Pakistani work illegally at the market. Most of the night shift workers whom I met had been working for several years at the market. Their immigration status has changed since, especially for those arriving from other EU countries, like Bulgaria and Romania.

Succinctly, before 2014 most worked illegally, as EU workers residing in the UK, and since 2014 they have been working informally, yet as legal EU citizens. I discuss very briefly how UK's immigration policies and political approach influenced the night shift workers' status, and to different degrees, their precarious position in the UK's labour market. The last quarter of 2013 has seen specific prevailing political discourses in the UK around the freedoms of work, travel, and social and healthcare rights for Romanians – and Bulgarians – living in the UK. In short, though Bulgarians and Romanians have been EU citizens since 2007 they faced legal restrictions to working in the UK, and most countries in the EU for seven years.

From January 2014, Bulgarians and Romanians arriving to or already living in the UK could work legally. However, night shift workers from Bulgaria, Romania told me that before 2014 they were working at the market, either self-employed or unregistered with the UK's Tax office. By the time I began fieldwork, most were working full-time legally, but informally because they declared only part-time earnings. The 'puzzle-problem' regarding the Freedom of Movement Treaty and the impact on the full working rights of EU citizens in the UK remains as palpable as it was in 2013.

At the Spitalfields market, the division of labour³⁰ by gender shows low numbers of women working in the higher echelons (almost non-existent other than traders' relatives), with most women working in the market café or as cashiers. The rich ethnic diversity amongst workers with limited educational background contrasts the not so representative group of salesmen and drivers with an engineering background and even fewer who do not speak English at all. Such diversity may delude us into thinking that most low-skilled migrant night workers prefer this type of activity due to the familiarity of experiences among those sharing the same mother

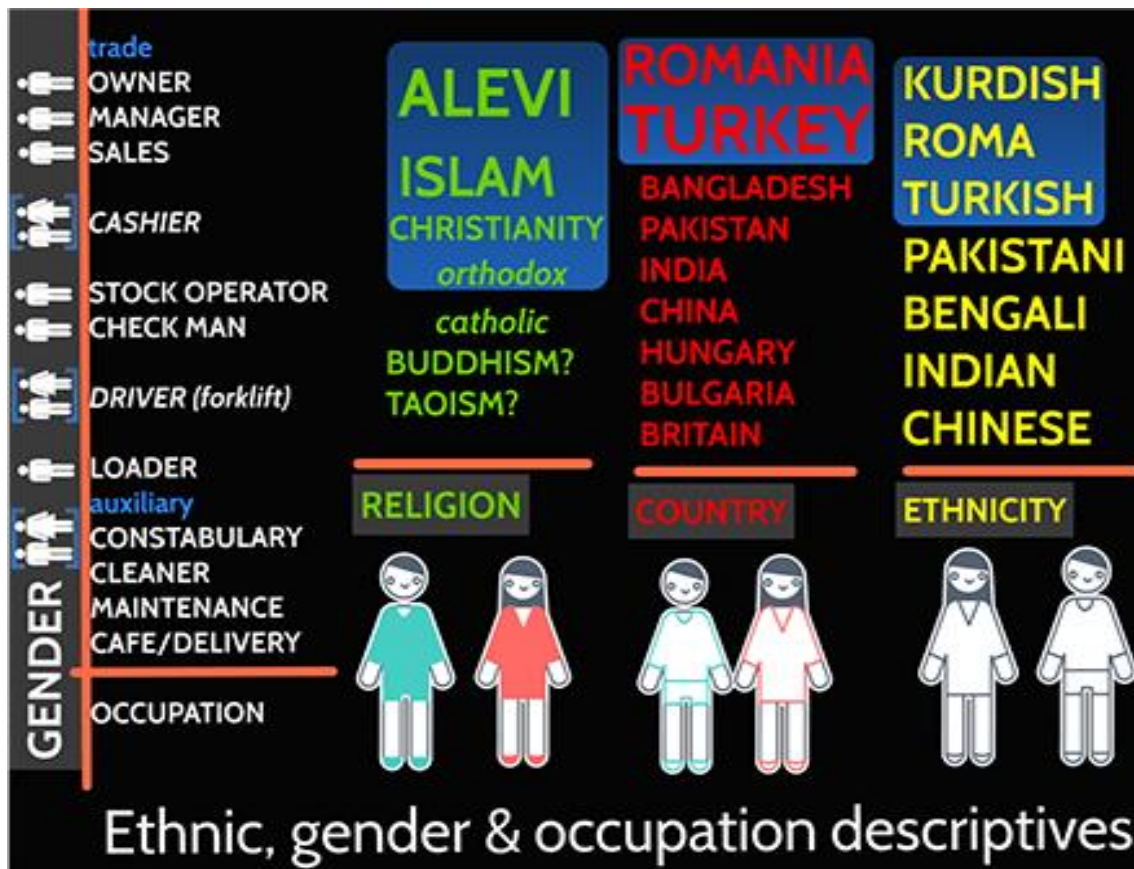


Figure 12 Descriptive data on demographics of the Spitalfields market.

tongue. The night shifts before and after bank holidays bump up the volume of sales and so does the travail of those during the night shift, without being remunerated in extra time off or pay rise; the opposite happens – earlier start, later finish, same pay. My field research site, however, resembles an inter-cultural space, as well as an ‘outpost’ for transnationalised people

³⁰ Figure 12 Descriptive demographics of Spitalfields workforce based on the author’s observations: division of labour by gender indicates that hierarchically males occupy top positions; the highest number of low skilled workers are males from Romania, Turkey, and from the Indian subcontinent; females from Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Romania occupy mostly the low end occupations in the auxiliary services in the market café; excludes data on British workforce as it was not part of the [research](#).

[who display Romanian-ness, Turkish-ness, Indian-ness], dominating over other cultural traits (Tan 2013:37). Often the traders are transnationals themselves, some naturalised in Britain, with many coming from Turkey, Pakistan, and China.

In Sahlin's (1981) view, the market site is a "structure of the conjunction" between the cross-cultural and historical, global and the local. This site consists of varying cultural and linguistic backgrounds, with people exchanging produce for liquid assets – money, that is. They also exchange information on current UK affairs and the (then) migrant crisis in Calais, making fraternities and building business relations, in a unique social order belonging to each community. Is this cultural, economic and social pot of human interactions between transnational migrants enough to move them towards labour solidarity? To show "sensitivity" to another individual's needs while working, thus growing in cooperation (2006)? Paraphrasing Wilde (2006): do these individuals have enough "respect for individual dignity to move into solidaristic relations"?

Glick-Schiller and others (Standing 2011b) advise us to shift our focus away from the ethnic group type of relations and find other viable in-roads into migrant practices, such as friendships, charitable and religious networks. As Wilde (2013) warns us, individuals need to work at the growing division-of-labour-based solidarity. Otherwise, they risk succumbing to "abnormal" developments. Anomie, inequality and inefficient organisation are examples of such threats (Sennett 2012). Night shift workers at Spitalfields have repeatedly described their alienation from one another, and explicitly from mainstream society, as resulting from the precarious working conditions, inability to access social mobility, sleep deprivation, and physical hardships. Ultimately, they could not care less about the other co-workers' struggles, regardless of their otherwise ethnic-based fraternities.

During 2015, I spent twelve months of combined participant and non-participant observation at Spitalfields market. In the first month, I loaded produce and carried out menial jobs for a Bangladeshi trader, where I learnt the basics of loading pallets of fruits and vegetables. Later, I encountered many co-workers handling fruits and vegetables, six nights a week. The four night shift workers foregrounded in this chapter, are a café delivery woman (Lexa), a forklift driver (Basrı), a supervisor (Gică), and one Turkish salesman (Logan), all working for Kurdish-Turkish owners/traders. With the consent of the latter, I selected four workers from three

different companies. I worked closely with three of them (Basrí, Gică and Lexa). The three men occupy critical positions on the organisational hierarchy of a trader, which is the rationale behind the selection. The fourth one, Logan, is the only one who has worked over the 17 years in all key positions (except in a café).

The context in which I observed the night shift work phenomenon, and the circumstances that have allowed me to contact these co-workers, needs brief reflection. For five months, I was a participant observer, employed by the same Kurdish-Turkish owner as the Turkish-Romanian supervisor and the Turkish-Bulgarian forklift driver. For another six weeks, I was employed by the same Kurdish-Turkish market café owner as Lexa, the delivery woman, where I met Logan, the Turkish salesman. For the rest of the year, I was an involved observer, and carried out interviews. I gained the insider's familiarity vis-à-vis work ethics between Kurdish-Turkish owners and Bangladeshi, Bulgarian, Pakistani, Romanian, and Turkish workers. The order in which I introduce each character reflects the degree of precariousness, not the temporal pattern of events that have taken place in the different settings where I made my observations. The three men fulfil vital positions for most fruit and vegetable stands. The fourth portrait depicts one woman's experience representative of most women delivering an auxiliary service supplied by the five market cafés situated around the central market hall.

3.3. *Four Night Shift Workers' Ethnographic Portraits*

The four ethnographic portraits of a salesman, supervisor, forklift driver and café delivery woman canvas the lives of these migrant night shift workers from Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. Except for Lexa, who is in her twenties, the three men are in their thirties. The migrant trajectories, however, differ in all four cases. Logan arrived from Turkey, as a teenager to join his sister already living in the UK. At the time of interviewing he had been divorced twice and was single. Gică and Basrí travelled alone, at first, then brought their families over. Unlike Basrí who lives with his wife and three children, Gică sent his wife and child back to Romania and lived with the younger brother (Ily) and brother-in-law (Apo) and their respective families. Lexa was considering reuniting with her daughter in a foreseeable future. As for their time night shifting at the market, Logan had been working for 17 years; Gică for almost eight; Basrí four years, and Lexa only six months.

By the time I left the field site, Basrí had already gone too and was unemployed, living in temporary accommodation with his wife and three children. Lexa was an exception having had secondary school education. Her high school diploma, however, was not an asset to rely upon to find a decently remunerated job in Romania, where national minimum wages are so small that she could not envision prospering under those conditions any time soon. The males had only been educated up to the primary school level and had no professional background. Nevertheless, their bodily capital enabled them to handle loads of exotic fruits and vegetables. The three males were speakers of Turkish; hence they could work for Turkish owned companies trading at Spitalfields market. Although all are EU citizens (regular resident migrants) working in London, three choose not to declare in full, their earnings. So, they pay no taxes but they are not irregular migrants.

At Spitalfields market, some irregular migrants cannot pay taxes. So, their income is quasi-undeclared earnings. Those citizens who earn undeclared money work irregularly and break immigration regulations. While none of the four people suffered a drop in their professional status, three out of four would have wanted to move on, but could not due to lack of English language skills. In different ways, Gică's and Basrí's lives are trapped in-between hopes to save money fast to support their families, and lack of time spent together with their wives and children. Logan loved his job and the remuneration that it brought, but was nostalgic about the missed opportunity with families that he has built and lost along the way; Lexa was the only one at the start of her night shift experience and having high hopes of bringing her daughter over to the UK. Though she already spent her first six months between working and sleeping to save every penny, she was nowhere near achieving her primary goal – being together with her daughter.

3.3.1. Lexa – server

Lexa is in her late twenties and she left her five-year-old daughter with her parents, in Southern Romania. In London, she is set on spending every minute of her waking hours, working, saving, and eventually bringing over her little five-year-old daughter. Lexa says,

I came to London on a Friday and I started to work on Friday night. Since then, I worked nights. It was a bit hard till I accommodated with the night schedule.

Like other migrants, she is trekking on the steep path to adjust to the host country and the available conditions, which in her case means settling in shared accommodation unsuitable for

a small child. Below, I reconstruct her night shifting experience since arrival. Desperate migrant denizens, like herself, and one other market loader, became subjects of further abuse and indignities. Despite the recommendation of other Romanian women working in similar jobs at night, she seems to have serious problems accepting the new environment. Mainly, she complains, this is because of her Turkish boss/es. Lexa's portrait reveals the predicaments faced by migrant women night shift workers servicing male-dominated environments, especially, when entering the new working settings without induction, warning or preparation for a working life without a contract. Lexa arrived in London and immediately began working at the market at a friend's recommendation. She says *I came here to make money*. She explains that

The friend I was telling you about called me and told me “look they pay £1000 a month, are you interested?” In Romania, I will never make this much in a month. Of course, I said yes!

However, Lexa admits that the work is not quite legal here; the night shift is too long, and it's very tiring. But, she says,

In Romania income is low (10-20M RON/£150-300 per month), we come here and work without a contract and on low wages [too]. We come here to work for £200 per week, which for a Romanian would be enough for one month in Romania.³¹

Lexa's consideration and motivation for moving to the UK is evident. Not so apparent at this stage, is why she works nights. So, that I understood why, I encouraged Lexa to detail her night shift working experience. Her shift patterns and the time spent at work comprise of 11/12-hour night shifts, starting around 9-10pm and finishing no earlier than 9 am. When she took this job, Lexa had no previous experience of working in a cafe. For two weeks, her duties were mainly to clean the kitchen, learning to prepare fast foods, and gradually serving customers over the counter. Then, she moved onto delivery of hot and cold drinks and food to market workers or visitors.

Most customers were male market workers of other nationalities (e.g. Chinese, Turkish), and not native English speakers, which did not help improve her already limited language skills. For example, the Chinese customers were asking coffee with *tsugār*, and she could not

³¹ Starting with February 2018, the minimum wage in Romania will increase from €275 per month or €1.65/h (1,250RON/month or 7.38RON/h) to €319 per months or €1.88/h (1,450RON/month or 8.56RON/h). Between January 2018 – 2020, the minimum monthly salary will increase from 2,000 to 2,400RON/month; The university degree holders' monthly wage will reach 3,000RON by 2020. Accessed: 24.11.2017 Available at: http://bit.ly/wage_RO.

understand their accent. Besides, being indoors for eleven hours, and working beside her boss became problematic, which led to several disagreements till the inevitable occurred. So, she talked to him and asked to work in a different cafe. She says *"I moved to a fish market cafe where English customers dominated over other nationalities"*, and only then did her English language skills improved significantly. On the flip side, women working in the market café experience more indignities, but some mirror men's experiences. As she describes:

They pay us under the national minimum wage per hour and keep us on shift that could last up to 12-13 hours. You know when you start work, but you don't know when you finish.

As I appeared at café C2 to interview Lexa on a Saturday morning, she was disputing her pay cut with the café manager, my ex-employer. Later, when we exited the market site, I asked Lexa if she would speak to me about it. She reconstructs the events leading up to it, in reverse. Lexa explains that her boss justified cutting her pay simply because,

I didn't turn up on a busy shift. So, he cut two nights of my pay, instead of the only one missed. But, there is nothing we can do. It's our fault really because we accept to work in these conditions, which are laid out by them.

In addition to this, they have not paid her the first week's worth of her salary. The owner held a deposit as such in case she would leave without notice. This is common practice at the night market where most workers are paid cash in hand. Lexa goes into details and says:

Even the way they held my deposit. It's not normal! I understand that this is how it works here [in the UK]. And I know that the same employers held the deposit of other co-workers. But in their case, did it on a monthly basis they took £20 during an entire year. But in my case, they held my full weekly salary as a deposit, for two weeks in a row.

As her ex-co-worker, I observed her often arriving on shift and ready to sleep. She came in straight from her other day-job. She was a janitor who also did room service, and complained about how demanding the hotel customers were, and that she never knew if her nine-hour day shift ended or if they would request for her continuing. Often, such unexpected requests would cause her delays. Though she asked the manager to let her start later, like everybody else on the team, he refused her.

Within the space of 6 weeks, the time I worked in this café, three women came and left this role, some within the first three days, others within weeks. Lexa was the fourth delivery woman, determined to hold on, and held onto it till she could not. When we did the interview, she was

determined to denounce her abusive employers. Lexa had the problem of the two weeks' deposit held by the owner of the cafe in the fish market, which he had not returned by that point. Meanwhile, the same owner's business partner, who was managing this café (C2) at the fruit and vegetable market, also deducted two nights' worth of her wages, though she had only missed one.

By December 2015, the time when I finished my fieldwork, Lexa, like Basrí the Bulgarian forklift driver, returned to work at the market. Alas, she returned to the same employer who abused her rights in the first place. Though Lexa dealt with that, she could not do anything about her employee rights, such as protecting her wages or disputing the deposit retainer successfully. She describes confronting the manager on his inadequate proposals:

It affected my salary rights, in the way they cut my salary, without any reason... and they gave me all sorts of reasons for doing it - all untrue. Like, how I did not work as required during the week.

One morning, on the way to the underground, she said to me that the cafe owner made indecent proposals to her. Having not succeeded in that way, he began talking inappropriately and abusively to her, and two other migrant women who have worked for him; though he never misbehaved to me, another male, or to the other two English females who had joined the cafe during that time. I interviewed separately the cafe owner, also the business partner of the manager named above, who stopped her deposit. I asked him if he recently had or observed any improper experiences with the workers at the market. He asked, "Unacceptable? Why?" Before I replied, he switched the conversation to the hardships he experienced during his time as a night worker.

Despite her experiences so far, Lexa believes that it's OK when you work an 8-hour night shift, legally, and on a regular night shift pattern, none of which applies in her case. Nevertheless, she says that her body got used to it after six months on the same shift pattern. But, having also worked nights in Romania before coming to the UK, Lexa compares that to what she experiences now:

I used to work two nights a week in a casino, in Romania. And now that I have been working in the UK, nightly for six months, I think that you don't really have a life. It's just working. Nothing else. I believe that you don't have a life when you work nights. You get home tired, you sleep, you have no time for children. You wake up 2 hours before the shift and this way; in the past four months, my life was spent on work, sleep, work, sleep. The body gets exhausted.

Perhaps, Lexa's portrait offers a window for further reflection, firstly, on the contributing factors which attract migrants to big cities, and secondly, and specifically on women migrants' labour precarisation in the form of bonded labour. As with Allisson's (1994) ethnography of the hostess club, having switched from being a loader to a café worker I was confronted with new insights unreachable to me while I was ordered not to leave the store, as to what a café worker needs to accept in this role when servicing males. First, the café market service is 99% composed of women. Second, the women's role is not only to serve but also to bump up the sales through the night for workers to spend more than they could afford. Third, I was the 0.5% male server; the other 0.5% was made up by the off-call deliveries supplied by the manager when the café was short staffed. On the second night of my employment at C2, I was ridiculed by my former co-workers because I took a "woman job". Innuendos such as lifting my apron became the delight of my new clientele.

The experiences of the night shift workers at the New Spitalfields had much in common with other migrants working in London's night-time economy, for example, with the Brazilian rickshaw drivers or Romanian night auditors and receptionists in hotels; or even with the construction workers at Gatwick and the chefs in China Town. In many ways, they lived in precariousness, growing more isolated from mainstream society, and alienated from their families in the home countries (Lorey 2015). Despite that, working at night in London, as my respondents reminded me, presented an attractive destination for a more lucrative venue, especially for those who lacked English language skills, which in my respondents' cases was more than 99%. But, as long as their work provided an honest living to realise earnest dreams, the precarious subsistence and working did not present an obstacle enough for them to consider other venues.

For an onlooker, their resilience in confronting hardships may seem worthwhile as long as they eventually reach their aims. However, as a researcher-insider with the "sleepless bats", I have learnt that these returnee migrant night workers, often return resourceless and penniless, begging their abusive managers to give back their old jobs. Indirectly, asking for more abuse, indignities, and ultimately, as Ehrenreich found with the low wage earners in the US, once made to feel unworthy enough by their managers, they started to believe "that was their actual worth"(2010:291).

3.3.2. Basrí – forklift driver

The Turkish word *gurbet* has Arabic roots, and it means “being abroad”, “away from home, from the homeland”. Sometimes *gurbet* is used synonymously as “exile” as in involuntary/undesired foreign travel out of necessity. To Basrí, the forklift driver, *gurbet* means

You’ve left home for another place, for the first time, you’re bored, missing home, friends... if you’ve left home on your own ... you’re missing the wife, the kids... you’re missing everyone. You don’t know the new place... you’ve left home for the first time; I don’t know, it’s hard... you’re crying; you’re missing home.

Basrí is a Bulgarian Muslim migrant of Ottoman descent. Often, he would preach to me from the Quran, and told me that in Bulgaria he was offered the possibility of becoming an Imam. He would have probably have been good at leading the prayers in his deep voice and with the enthusiasm he showed. Instead, he left Bulgaria for the first time at the age of 15. At first, he travelled alone throughout Europe; first to Greece, Italy, France and Germany, and had lived in the UK for the past four years. His limited education constrained him to working nights at the market, first as a loader, and later manoeuvring the forklift as I watched him in awe. But like many poor migrants, he was penniless and jobless when he arrived (to the UK). I met him in early February 2015, when the same company manager hired me. He is the only breadwinner and on the one day off; he would spend his spare time with his wife and two children. He recollects that upon arrival

I looked for a job... From the start, I found one here [Spitalfields market], and I stayed here since. I have been working at the market for about ... 4 years.

As a forklift driver, he enjoyed the challenge and was confident in his skill. A few days after he passed the test, Basrí approached a pallet laid long ways at speed (other forklift drivers would not dare), and smoothly inserted the right fork at a 45° angle. While going forward at the same time, he used the lever to his right hand to adjust the mast so that it pushed the right corner of the pallet till it would turn the pallet sideways. The pallet then fitted the forks, like a glove on fingers and not otherwise. This operation would take Basrí 30 seconds to complete. While for an amateur driver such as myself, after months of practice, it would still take me several minutes for the same task. Basrí was in complete control when driving the forklift. He was manoeuvring the pallets of produce with the efficiency of a peregrine. Once peregrines spot woodpigeons, they kill their prey in mid-flight. So, was Basrí loading pallets surviving the pressure that forklift drivers face when working for a busy company? You need to be as fast and precise on the ground as the peregrine in the air or sooner rather than later you are back to loading pallets.

Like the rest of us night workers, Basrí would work six nights a week, from 10 pm till 9-10am. On average, he would work 11+ hours per night shift, summing up to 66-70 hours per week. Basrí had a raw instinct in action at work,. He was swift of mind and possessed a muscular body to face the sort of effort required under such pressures. He was over 6ft (almost 1.90m) tall; his thick arms and legs were long and muscular. His fingers were as thick as a Cuban cigar, and they gripped powerfully. As a loader, he would pick up and put on his shoulders 12-15 crates of mangoes, each weighing 5-6kg; or take ten sacks of onions, 5kg each, in each hand. He stepped fast, and he was enjoying this physical work and the fact that he was skilled enough to prepare hundreds of items on one pallet. A very skilful task! If one put a crate in the wrong place, the 2m high pallet loaded with wooden crates, plastic or cardboard boxes, or sacks of potatoes, would fall and crack when hitting the unforgiving tarmac. Managers and salespeople are under pressure from the rushing customers, and they project it in turn onto the loaders and forklift drivers to finish the orders fast. On one hand, Basrí says,

For a forklift driver, compared to a loader, it is a bit easier. But, it is a different tiredness. It gets stressful. Your head gets tired. You understand? But, it is better because your body does not get tired... (long sigh) ... That's how it is... Night work is ... a hard job. This work, working in the market is hard.

On the other, "*I don't speak English*". This became relevant overnight, in September 2015, when they became homeless. The Police evacuated them to protect the family from the landlord. The Council housed them under the emergency procedure. The whole family's belongings, with the two children, were moved in and out of the hostel three times/nights before the Council gave them a temporary home. During this crisis, I saw a different side of Basrí. When at the Council, housing officers would not speak to him because he was not entitled to housing. They would talk to his wife only because she was the only one qualified to receive welfare support. Basrí was unsure and quiet during this experience; though he dealt with it calmly as if he has seen this kind of fragility before.

Basrí is now a father of three.³² When I first met him at the market, he only had G and S, a boy of three, and a girl of thirteen-year-old. . In February 2016, Sunny Day (literal translation from Turkish), their youngest child, was born in this accommodation. All five members of this

³² Between finishing the fieldwork and writing-up this chapter (October 2017), his wife gave birth to their third child.

migrant family from Bulgaria have been living in a one-bedroom temporary shelter in North London, for over a year now.

In May 2016, when I met him again, he stopped working saying “I have had enough”. However, during a Skype conversation in December 2016, he revealed that he returned to work at a different company on a higher wage, but by May 2017 when I last saw him, he had returned once again to the group where I met him in 2015. Basrí’s portrait depicts a migrant denizen away from home, insecure about his future at the market, and in the UK, not knowing whether and for how long he could cope with his nocturnal rhythm and frugal diurnal sleep. Regardless, as with other night shift workers at the market, Basrí returns to the same night job with no prospects.

3.3.3. Gică – supervisor

Gică is thirty-one and migrated to the UK in 2002 from southern Romania. He is a Romanian citizen of Turkish descent. He speaks Turkish and follows Muslim traditions, but does not practice. By the time I met Gică, his wife had moved back to Romania with their three-year-old boy diagnosed with Asperger’s syndrome. Following the diagnosis, they decided that it was in the child’s best interest to receive the long-term medical care he needed in their home country and with the support of his wife’s parents. Therefore, Gică saw his wife and child only a few months at a time, in any one year.

Gică’s role as the foreman-in-charge of loaders meant that he trained us. Gică’s portrait allows me to illustrate the acculturation process of new workers embedded in the embodied histories of experienced workers. Gică has been working at this 30-employee fruit and vegetable store for about 4-5 years. From Sunday to Friday, nightly, he supervised and dispatched the orders on to us loaders, and was making sure that we completed them – that is, loading and preparing the products onto pallets, inspected afterwards by the check-man. A check-man approves completed orders. Then, forklift drivers transport the pallets to the customers’ vans. Apart from his supervisory position, he also fulfilled the role of the check-man, but first and foremost Gică was an experienced loader.

I sketch his profile below, including aspects of his migration history and specific demographics that I gleaned from him or other colleagues. In Romania, he was a night forklift driver in his home port town, Constanta, in Dobrogea region, as well as in Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania. While

in Cluj, he worked for his older brother, who at the time managed a wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables. However, when his brother's business collapsed, and he moved to the UK to work in Spitalfields, Gică and his younger brother followed to work at Spitalfields market. Months later, his other relatives followed suit. Besides the three brothers, during the eight months, I also met one of his cousins, and two brothers-in-law, who were returnee migrants and have been travelling in cycles between the UK and Romania for several years. He works and shares a three-bedroom terraced house with the same relatives, plus his sister, sister-in-law, and nephew.

At times, I would arrive earlier than Gică for the night shift. His forged iron arms barely move alongside his body, while walking. As I watch him, his brother and his brother-in-law approaching the store (the three always arrived at work together), he appears stocky, 5.4-5.6ft (1,65-1,70m) tall, and shows more apathy than his two companions. Rain or shine, he wore the same blue baseball hat covering his nearly bald head. During the winter months, with temperature in the market hall dropping below 0°C, he would always wear his blue jacket with thin, white and yellow lines on the side of the sleeves. His sullen face barely pulled a smile most nights but lit up immediately he saw a female café server passing by the stand. His face reflected a concerned mind, or rather, a mind with many personal concerns, and it begged mercy. Underneath this persona, his real intents were impenetrable.

Moreover, Gică refused an interview. In most conversations, he would raise issues to validate certain judgments he may have construed alone. One such example concerns his interest in how much money I would make from selling the book I was planning to write about them, the night shift workers. We both seemed keen to delve below the observations. Admittedly, during our conversations, I too made suppositions on his mercantile motives, for example. During the twelve-month period when I frequented the market, either employed or to observe, our conversations happened haphazardly. We talked somewhat unexpectedly and always of his own accord and intent.

Usually, at the end of the night shift, a couple of forklift drivers would load the products from the lower to the upper floor, and the loaders would take over and move the pallets into the fridges. I asked the supervisor to allow me to practice on the spare forklift, but he refused. Gică received backing not only from management. Ily was Gică's right hand and replacement when

the foreman was off with illness or on his annual leave in Romania. In the instance below, I sensed that neither Gică nor Ily were supportive of me practising during shift hours. Ily, however, reframed Gică's ban in a more 'positive' format.

Look at this hairy guy how he lifts the loaded pallets, not like you, wandering outside the market hall for one hour and bringing three pallets. You come early as Gică says. You will not collect empty pallets. You need to get going with loaded pallets.

However, only few of my observations are relevant and constitute his portrait in the context of the current chapter. My observations foreground his role more evidently alongside Logan's in perpetuating co-workers' *habitus* of precariousness as the discussion evolves with the next chapter. I introduce next, Logan, who reflects the least level of precariousness among the four workers.

3.3.4. Logan – salesman

Logan is a 34 years old male of Turkish descent and naturalised British. He was born in Giresun, a town situated in the North, bordering the Black Sea. Even before Logan reached age 16, he worked nights on Saturdays on a dairy farm. He recollects that upon arrival in the UK to visit his sister as a teenager; he did not speak a word of English. Logan married and divorced twice during the seventeen years that he has been working nights at the market. His two girls from the first marriage live with their mother, and he sees them regularly. Logan had no children with his second ex-wife. I foregrounded him, as the "successful" market night shift worker because, of all respondents, Logan has successfully navigated through all the roles he held for the past 17 years of night shifting, at the market. Also, Logan is an actor who embodies a specific *habitus*, "class *habitus*" explained in the next chapter (Wacquant 2015). The moment he arrived in the UK, he wanted to work at the market. As he recollects, I see his face lighting up and hear the excitement in his voice. Logan says,

I have been working in this market since I was 16. I saw the drama and the life in the market, and I wanted to work in the market. But I couldn't, because ... they said you had to be at least 16 years old. I went, and when I was 16, I came back, asked for a job. And it started from there. I started from the bottom; I worked my way up over 17 years. ... In my early days, at the market, I was working for a Chinese company, Kong Ming. Then, I swept the floor, loaded produce and made tea because I was too young for the dirty jobs.

For an onlooker, Logan's physical features are different than those other 100+ Kurdish-Turkish males working nights at this market. He has blond hair and blue eyes, and light fair skin, while

the others Turkish of Kurdish ethnicity, are dark-haired, with darker skin and brown eyes. Currently, he works for a Turkish run company, owned by a good friend of his. Because the owner is an accountant initially, he asks Logan's advice:

I have been in the business for so long. And I've been brought up to manage the loaders, forklift drivers [forklift drivers], the buying, the selling... For me, there is no kind of pattern that I have to do. I am not just a salesman. When it comes to it, I'll become a manager; I'll tell my bosses they're wrong. When it comes to it, I load pallets; I'll drive a forklift; I'll sell stuff. I don't mind. As long as the business runs, that's all that matters.

Compared to sizeable wholesale trading companies, where 5-6 salespeople alone are hired to sell all night long and into the day, smaller companies rely on people like Logan with long years of experience, and who fulfils many roles; the supervisor in charge, the owner's advisor, and buyer. Performing multiple positions allows him to speak with authority about his mind, body and sleep experiences when night shifting, as well as that of others whom he manages.

On many nights, and specifically, when trading peaks on Wednesday and Thursday nights, Logan oversees the loaders and forklift drivers. He sells all night and then stretches the night shift into the day, purchasing products for the company. Logan's cumulative experience and skills in sales, as ex-owner adds weight to his position in charge of the other workers in his team of five males. Logan explains with authority that there is no guarantee that *"you'll get full holiday pay because you're working full-time. It all depends on the company's policy one works for."* And on sick leave policy, too. If you work for an English company, you get sick pay up to certain amount of time. But at my company, *"if I judge it as reasonable, ... say if you get sick twice a month, this is turning into a habit"*. I ask Logan to clarify his company's policy on annual leave. He says that experienced loaders get two weeks off. *"But I agree that I get five. If you add the two, three days, here and there, it will be about six weeks ... if you add it all up, I do about six weeks in total"* So, Logan gets six weeks' annual leave per year, while others get two.

Market workers are employed and paid directly by the traders, and are subject to those companies' policies, and not CoL. Workers speak Turkish at work if they know it. Customers are Turkish speakers, with Kurdish-Turkish grocers managing convenience stores'. Drivers switch roles between driving and buying produce that they transport for restaurant and shop

owners supplying fresh produce across North London. All, however, follow the same business ethics.

I probe Logan to understand how the practices at the company he works for differ from others.

He tells me that

If you want to communicate with people you'll find a way. You understand what I mean? ... If you're going to teach someone of a different nationality how to do things, and there is no middle language that you both guess, there is always a way. And that person will be able to understand you. Plus, if you want that person to understand, you'll try to explain the best you can.

Having observed and participated in several team meetings at the Turkish company that I worked for, I am aware that such an approach is brings no result unless all workers speak and understand the same language. But, Logan insists that his work ethics are different, partly resulting from his acculturation to the English work ethos which is more flexible and inclusive of fundamental rights to humane, dignifying working conditions. The right to have regular breaks throughout the shift is one and respecting the official working hours of the market is another. Nevertheless, due to my insider's position I participated in and observed practices at several Turkish companies. I have been subject to and have seen other workers not allowed to leave the stand for food breaks or to buy drinks from the cafés at the market. I share my insights with him, but he contradicts me. He is convinced that they are [allowed] and puts his point of view forward stating that

You get breaks when there is nothing to do when the stand is not busy. They're not slaves; in my opinion, if the job slowed down and they wanna go to have breakfast, that's fine. As long as I know that, go ahead. ...they are human beings, like us; there is no difference between us and the loaders or forklift drivers.

Logan appears to make a distinction between the loaders and forklift drivers needing to show appreciation to the low-level managers or the owner as is the case here. Though he acknowledges other companies' practices, his own words indicate us/them divide in this way of thinking about the workers he oversees. He confesses:

I don't look at it that way. People do, but, I don't. There are loads of them, but that's wrong! They are human beings. There is no difference. If there is a break, let them have it. But they got to realise. They got to appreciate it!

I foregrounded Logan as the successful, long-term night worker who copes better than the other low skilled night workers. For him, “it just rolls and rolls”, as he apparently says; with this job, there is no limit to the working hours, and no weekend.

You [can] work 24/7. You can get a phone call from a customer, a supplier, when you sleep, when you walk, when you're off, when you're in the street. You can't switch your phone off in this industry. If you do, you'll lose business. And at the moment, the market is very hard. Every little that you try to get is a benefit for you. ... So, on a good day, you do 12 hours.

Undoubtedly, Logan dedicates himself to work. However, it has taken over other areas of his life. He was married twice in this business... and got divorced twice. Often, he would sacrifice sleep time spent with his two little girls who would wake him up to play. And he found that worthwhile because he is convinced that, “*now, when they're small they miss you. When they're going to grow up, they're not gonna be next to you; they're gonna do their own thing*”. Logan further admits that

One day you're gonna realise, and you're gonna say, I was concentrated on one thing, which was money. Why did I do it?... But, I did spend time with them. I tried to do it as much as I could.

However, it seems that he misses the days when they all lived as one family, but they could not spend more time together:

I'm not really bothered about anything else. Nothing else. But, it's difficult. You have no life. You do twelve hours. On a good day, you do ten hours. You go home, your kids are in school. You wake up, they sleep. So, what kind of life you get? You get only Sundays, which is just half a day. Saturday you come home, and you're knackered. They wanna go somewhere; you wanna sleep. Sunday you got time off until 4 pm. Say, you go out at 10 am and finish at 4 pm – you've got only six or eight hours, one day per weekend. Once a week, to see your family! There is no social life. ... I love my family, my kids, but I love this job as well. What am I going to do if I leave this job? I don't think I can work in a kebab shop or a supermarket if you know what I mean. I do this job because I love it. I do it from inside deep. I don't do it just for the money.

Working the 'graveyard' shifts consistently and for as long as Logan has been, accustoms one to market trade environment. He was accustomed to a specific lifestyle and to people who share similar nocturnal patterns. As with others whom I heard complaining that they cannot have regular sleep patterns, Logan explains that for someone like him who cannot sleep well, the time after work is good for household chores or extra company duties (e.g. banking). Afterwards, he goes to bed at midday or after for 5-6 hours' sleep. As a day sleeper, this rhythm

suits him well because, as Logan says: “*if I were to work in the daytime, I wouldn’t be able to do all these things*”.

The four portraits validated the lives of those invisible workers who travail in the night hidden from diurnal eyes. Constantly, market night workers fight sleeplessness while awake and working. They endure the bodily exhaustion produced by prolonged physical labour and the mental alienation. Cut-off from diurnals’ minds and eyes and social bonds, night workers are an army losing battles with the precariousness of their nocturnal working lives and sleepless days. Thus, exhaustion, isolation and alienation pave the way for the “dead men walking”.

Workers are up and work at night not on a circadian basis, but with at least three elements. That not only involve 24/7 rhythms, but systematically demand labourers’ flexible time and draws on the power of the strategic set-up of the place they live in (glocturnal, 24/7 city). To live in a post-circadian capitalist age means to experience first and foremost the way in which a global market society is affecting our sense of time and living rhythms. The post-circadian capitalist era requires, what Johnathan Crary (2013) has identified as *sleep despoliation* in the interest of maximising the individual’s potential – as both producer and consumer – for generating profit. That means that human potency and needs are aligned to the demands of the market, and not conversely.

These arguments reveal hitherto unsuspected aspects of the night workers’ condition, a night-to-night reality independent of the diurnal, mainstream society. Once we understand the underlying but systematic mechanisms and techniques of post-circadian capitalist labour relations, it should be possible for anthropologists of labour to explain better the dispossession experienced by workers in the night-time economy. This also allows the critical observer to offer an understanding of the elements which dismantle around-the-clock the livelihoods of invisible migrants living and working in the glocturnal cities. Last, further research on the triadic conjunction between *intensification of labour*, *time regimentation* and the *glocturnal city* could enable us to analyse transformational processes that lead to the making of the bio-automatons (human workers) subordinated to market demands. In the next chapter, we take up some of the critical aspects of the human condition of the workers being subjects of such bio-automatised processes: the embodiment of acts and tasks that involve repetitive movements, and the learning and sedimenting of skills into habits on a night-by-night basis.

CHAPTER FOUR:

NIGHT SHIFT WORKERS' HABITUS AND SIX S'S

Chapter four analyses the night workers' *habitus* and the six 's' factors embedded in the individual and collective histories of the four workers introduced in chapter three and foregrounded from the rest of the actors that one met at the New Spitalfields fruit and vegetables wholesale market. This stage includes micro-level analysis of repetitive, rhythmic, bodily labour that constitutes their working, bodily capital. This chapter's focus is on the workers' individual characteristics, such as the physical and mental abilities to endure and embody the duress of night shift work. A micro-analysis of the researcher's enactment of the phenomenon of night shift work (e.g. micro-movements involved in the action of loading) supports the description of bodily practices and skills that his co-workers have not verbalised in minute (and mundane) detail. In support of this tallying of experiences for "wedding analytical precision with experimental acuity" (Wacquant 2005:469), the author makes use of visual material as an instrument of objectification.

The almost imperceptible and partly non-verbal bodily knowledge (in-)habituated by the respondents is reflected in the author's bodily experiment, and by the empirical findings captured in the six 's' factors thesis advanced by Wacquant (2015). This thesis complements Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* with Wacquant's Six 's' concept of social agents (as Symbol wielders, Sentient, Suffering, Skilled, Sedimented and Situated). The six 's' capture, on the one hand, the relations between the *habitus* and the specific field, night shift work, which is a continuum of the day structure of power and capital; on the other, the six 's' make the embodiment of the social world explicit. Without the Six 's', explanations on how *habitus* is incorporated remain incomplete. Ultimately, the aim is to describe relations between *habitus* and field that endow night workers with symbolic bodily capital, i.e. a tacit, practical bodily knowledge to navigate, negotiate or merely survive the mechanisms of a post-circadian capitalist era that manipulates humans' 24-hour bodily rhythms.

This chapter delves into the challenges that shift workers face while up and working at night. First, it assesses the complexities surrounding the suffering of physically exhausting labour: sleep deprivation and the sensations of disrupted circadian. Second, it recognises the workers'

lack of skills to counteract socially demanding and legally unresolved experiences: isolation, work insecurity, or migrant status related uncertainty. Third, it explains why workers need to act swiftly according to (and borne out of) a series of events lived (individually or collectively) during their night shift work histories.

I first provide a finite ethnography of suffering that I experienced and the skills gained as an ethnographer while immersed in the social space of the night market, which is otherwise unavailable through classic, diurnal ethnographic accounts. My experiences relate to the co-workers' incorporated knowledge of transferable, durable, bodily skills, which are demonstrated in practice but hardly in verbal testimonies. Most importantly, I explore how nocturnal rhythms are learnt through bodily behaviour (e.g. starting with waking up in the evening) and which actions are taken by night shift workers that they would not otherwise take when working days? Also, what type of labour fosters a tacit, bodily knowledge or "docta ignorantia" (learned ignorance)?

In this chapter, ethnographic explorations and analysis focus on my four characters' (Lexa, Basrí, Gică and Logan) subjectivities of bodily precariousness (see sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.4.). Logan, the salesman and Gică, the supervisor, occupy vital positions in the lower levels of the hierarchical structure of their respective organisations. Their role in the distribution chain of capital and power relations gives them some power in forming others' habitus. Logan and Gică embody in part histories of exploiting other co-workers' labour power; and in part, the exploiters' conditions. They are also at the receiving end of individual (physiological, social) hardships that they share with the other two (Lexa and Basri). Thus, all four night workers are dependent on their employers.

4.1. Night Workers' Habitus

It is impossible to grasp the deep-lying logic of the social world without immersing oneself in the particularity of empirical reality, historically situated and dated, even if only to construct it as a 'particular case of the possible' (Gherardi 2006:24)

Reformulating Mauss' concept, Bourdieu's (2000) definition of *habitus* refers to mundane bodily activities, repeated rhythmically, and carried out subconsciously which help form practical knowledge. Accordingly, *habitus* is ingrained in the body, in sets of dispositions or layers accumulated over time in individual and collective histories as a result of constant

interactions between social agents and field. To unpack habitus, we need to understand first Bourdieu's sociological positioning when analysing the ordinary experiences of social agents. Bourdieu's (2000) conviction is that habitus, as the generative principle in the production of social interactions, aids comprehension of the social world neither through consciousness alone (as subjectivists think), nor according to some external laws independent of individual's will and efforts, as objectivists argue. As he claims, habitus is a continuum that fuses the two ends (Bourdieu 2000:188–89). Bourdieu argues, first, that habitus explains goal-oriented human efforts achieved through bodily know-how; second, that practical comprehension is conditioned by the well-defined social space, a *field*, in which habitus is acquired; and third that *habitus* re-enacts embodied activities with limited freedom, conditioned by that field.

Let us consider humans as sensorial, biological individuals. Humans then, are aware of the outside, physical world through the body's movements of the limbs (kinaesthesia), smell, sight, sound and touch and comprehend it with their physical brain, and capacity to think, i.e. consciousness. Moreover, human bodies are social agents because they occupy positions in a social space (field) that they inhabit physically (e.g. mother in a family, company's director). In short, the conditions produce social agents of a social world in which they live, and from that, they create their version of the truth about that part of the social world (Bourdieu 2000:189). Put differently; it is the interaction between her or his physical presence and the well-defined social field that facilitates a human's practical comprehension of the world that s/he inhabits.

Comprehension is structured and embedded over time. Thus, one's practical knowledge of the outside world is sedimented time and time again, in layers of embodied structures, which become subconscious, i.e. second nature. Habitus thus explains a practical understanding of the outer world incorporated into a human body, while the body extends beyond itself into the social world. Finally, over time, the embedded histories of the body's movements, verbal interactions, and visual observations become second nature. The set of dispositions within a particular field resurface in the specific conditions under which one acquired them without formal education. For example, the repeated day/night practices, such as brushing teeth, driving a car or forklift, punching and kicking in karate or handling food loads like Mumbai's lunch carriers. Mumbai's 5,000 dabbawalas (lunch carriers) deliver around 250,000 dabbas (lunches)

promptly and without mistakes – as demonstrated daily, for over 125 years³³. For 6 hours, every day these men carry 60kg crates full of lunch pots which they pick up and drop off from/to various addresses. They connect the North with South of Mumbai, home and office, homemakers with husbands, mothers with sons and daughters, hand to mouth of the customers or school children across the city (Pathak 2010; Percot 2005). 50% of these lunch carriers are semi-illiterate, and the rest are educated up to school grade or college. Most *walas* run or bike without using technological backup, i.e. they use no GPS systems to carve their route through the incessant traffic of Mumbai's streets. They do not use smartphones either to capture screenshots or to copy and paste the annotated food pots prepared by N family, living at X floor, in the Y block, which they know with their eyes closed. The workers' practical understanding, gained over an extended period, sediments and serves with a precision that educated people and corporate giants (e.g. FedEx) cannot begin to manage at the same standard without using computing systems.

Moreover, their secret is the envy of such businesses. The secret lies first, in the workers' bodily learning of the precise movements of carrying the pots placed into crates that rest on their heads, on trolleys pushed by 2-3 *walas* or on push-bikes. Second, and in parallel, they learn the codes indicating which food pot belongs to what house, and where they need to deliver so it reaches the daughters and sons working in the busy South of Mumbai. Though semi-illiterate, *dabbawalas* learn to imprint in their heads the codes written on the pots. As psychologists would have it, their working memory is recognition, not the recall based type. Thirdly, they comprehend the social space through their bodies by negotiating their way on-foot through traffic, and further navigating the 'food line' – Mumbai's train line connecting the impoverished areas in the North with the wealthy business centres in the South.

Dabbawalas demonstrate knowledge without standard education. Similarly, to Mumbai's *dabbawalas*' habit of 'imprinting' the letters and numbers in their heads day-in, day-out, such practical knowledge is incorporated by London's cleaners or loaders, night-in, night-out. These agents willingly extend their body into the social world where they work. Conversely, the social space that they travel to and from, and the customers they interact with (the outside, that is) sediment inside their bodies. Their practises are also useful in making sense of the human practices of diurnal people. While similarities exist, daily methods do not involve somatic

³³ Public Radio International (PRI) Available at: <http://bit.ly/2zYAqGx> Accessed 15.10.2017

adjustments that night shift workers experience. The changes comprise of bodily practices that night shift workers learn to enact with competency as they reproduce their labour power.

Similar practices observed in the field explain first, how night shift workers understand the nocturnal social world of work, otherwise invisible for the diurnal consumer, at the end of the capitalist chain of production. Second, uneducated workers at Spitalfields market have limited or no English language skills, yet they learn to become efficient and competitive while they



Figure 13 Repetitive movements in manual handling.

learn their roles on-the-move to become resilient loaders, fast drivers or salesmen. Inexperienced loaders, like the dabbawalas, identify fresh produce (of fruit and vegetables) in crates, boxes or sacks without any reading and writing skills (some are illiterate in their mother tongue). They carve their routes through the columns of hundreds of items located in various sections on both ground and upper floors. They learn the new techniques of grabbing, picking, pulling and twisting of the wrists and bodies within the first nights (see Figure 13)³⁴.

Those remaining (because a consistent contingent of new workers quit within the first week) learn the names of the regular customers by face and incorporate the name of the products

³⁴ Figure 13 Night shift worker repetitively executes movements in manual handling of lifting crates, grabbing sacks and resting boxes on the shoulder to carry to/from pallets throughout the night shift.

associated with the physical features (size, colour, weight) of the packing, by smell and tasting the produce, which is allowed by the manager. The Turkish, Romanian, Pakistani or Bulgarian workers wishing to earn more, learn forklift driving. Though they hardly speak or understand English, they receive training from an English instructor, watch English-based tutorials and learn to drive following instructions demonstrated in English.

300 nights a year, male loaders carry tonnes of produce on their bodies, drivers transport and deliver numerous pallets, and women café servers walk thousands of miles on foot, between the store and lorries or customers' vans parked throughout the 31 acres of Spitalfields market, the site of this research. Thus, their bodies absorb the social structures, and sediment them into expectations or anticipations, as in schemas of understanding as to when it is correct to act, how to respond and what is reasonable to expect from someone in a specific position within a social space. They are thereby conditioned by that specific field; nocturnal work/activity, and the outside (the work site, supervisor's requests, customers' expectations) incorporated through embedded histories made of a series of repetitive movements, and action, the *modus operandi*.

For a thorough understanding of the distinctions between the degrees of expectations or anticipations that structure the habitus system of night shift workers in micro detail, one needs immersing into a microanalysis of the “invisible dimensions of actions, structure and knowledge” (Wacquant 2015). In the next section, I will rely on the concept of immersive or enacted ethnography introduced in the methodological chapter. I will lace it with Wacquant's proposal for “enacted ethnography” to capture “the tacit texture of social action and cognition” which the ethnographer closely and deeply observes. (Wacquant 2015).

4.2. The Six S's Captured in The Night Workers' Bodily Practices

Following in the footsteps of Bourdieu (2000), Wacquant (2004, 2009, 2011, 2014) endeavours to restore the lacunas left behind by either/or debates between objectivists and subjectivists on the duality of mind and body prevalent in social sciences. He complements the notion of habitus with the six 's' concept described above. He elaborates on his arguments by immersing ethnographically in the study of prize fighting in the black American ghetto.

All six 's' factors are bound and structured over time, says Wacquant (2015). Besides using *symbols* to comprehend the world, social agents are the only *sentient* animals aware of feelings;

just like the natural world, the social space presents social agents with challenges, which cause her *suffering*, and less often death. Despite the pain, humans resiliently use their *skills* to process the experiences, to reflect and adjust for further encounters. Over time, with training and the experience that they accumulate, humans act competently. Moreover, since we do not receive at birth the symbols and the skills to process suffering and distinguish between stimuli and situations thrown at us through social encounters, humans collect and store histories of engagements with the social world. These *sedimented* structures become the internal references, layered within our automatic system ready to respond to external stimuli of a specific field, thus being *situated*.

From Wacquant's six 's' factors that capture bodily knowledge behind human practices defined by the social space (Wacquant 2015), only three factors (senses, suffering and skills), are pertinent for the following microanalysis. The sensing of tiredness sends signals similarly to the way in which a person experiences pain. These two experiences become prime factors in regulating one's body. The skilling intervenes when one makes somatic adjustments while up and working at night so that s/he is a competent worker in the chain of capitalist production. Another two factors, sedimentation and situational elements remain implicit. The web of actions within the world is sedimented and situated into our bodies over time through repetitive encounters and is rhythmically ingrained (Wacquant 2015).

As sensate, social animals, our organisms observe, feel, and thus "re-incarnate society" (Wacquant 2015:4); we make the social world into flesh, we embody. As social animals, we become aware of feelings through our bodies, not by theorising about feelings (Bourdieu 2000; Wacquant 2004). As an insider, I relied on skills that I gained in previous encounters with night work to guide my investigation. I became increasingly aware, over the twelve months of fieldwork, that I began to learn from the aches and pains (that I neither desired nor anticipated feeling in my body) how to re-adjust, so my body did not feel the pains of heavy lifting, or to organise my room for day sleep needs. I have learnt bodily, like Wacquant, "the taste and aches of action" (2004:viii), in the interim stages. Some lessons were less noticeable, others became burdensome. In the earlier months, one's night shift worker habitus began forming through waking up in the evening and preparing meals before travelling, at night. In the latter stages, it was the acute feelings of bodily and mental exhaustion that indicated how the normal circadian rhythms changed from being diurnal (awake in the day) to sleeping and relaxing during the daytime.

To offer an exact account of the subtlest practices without eluding the outsider, one needs to rely on the extensive notes that I inscribed into my bodily memory every night shift. In the hours of each morning following night shifts, I transcribed the physical experiences that I had been through the night before. Gradually, I became a competent loader and invested in learning to drive a forklift. Thus, let us settle on the fact that the efforts of relaying my auto-ethnographic account consist of bundles of micro-processes (learning, discerning, enduring) of acquiring habitus of night shift workers. The vignettes (short, hyper-real condensed observations) capture in anachronistic (as opposed to chronological) manner, events that trigger the reader's senses, so that it creates a mutual possession of feeling the night, and of holding the image of the night loader in her/his mind.

As I walk, the outsider walks by my side and through the metaphorical body of the market hall. S/he hears the beeping noises when s/he sees the forklifts reversing, the workers' voices shouting for produce, visualises the walking paths on each side of the main aisle occupied by hundreds of pallets. As one watches from a higher level, the workers' bodies appear smaller and thinner, in a synchronic dance through the pallets that gradually grow higher as loaders fill them up with the crates and boxes balancing on their shoulders. The combined elements allow the night shift workers to collect, sediment, and forge habitual behaviour, performing with the dexterity that they stored through training.

The notes reveal that during January-February 2015, my weekly schedule consisted of 10.5h per night shift, six nights per week; additionally, the commuting time on average 2.4h per each return trip. I was working at night around 63h per week (77.4h away from home including commuting time). By contrast, a full-time low-skilled, regular worker would work legally for up to a maximum 40h (Monday to Friday). I joined a family-owned company of four members. I was lifting and carrying on my body around 500kg of fruit and vegetables per night; handling and pushing a manual forklift loaded with pallets weighing 1-2 tonnes of produce. I weighed 83.2Kg (BMI 27.7 || overweight) when I began night shifting. After one month I weighed 79.4 Kg (BMI 26.2 || losing almost three kilograms, yet still within the overweight range). The video recordings and the fieldnotes that I wrote during this month indicate that I began to feel the undesirable effects upon me, physically and mentally. Night and day, I continued monitoring my bodily activities, feelings, performance overall, inside and outside of the workplace.

I video recorded the impressions, which describe corporeal experiences and nightly interactions as part of an introduction to the night shift workers' nocturnal scene while travelling and working through the night. Hence, I monitored how I behaved during journeys to/from the place of residence, and the night walking distances during the long shifts. I discussed this in detail in the methodological chapter, and the following vignettes highlight the relevant ones for this chapter.

Vignette №1

Day 29, January 2015

1st night shift at a family owned business

Day Sleeping Time: 4.5h

Night Walking Distance: 13Km

Night shift Duration: 9.5h ||

01:00 - 10:30am

Commuting: 1h50' each way

During the night shift, I cope well, given that it is my first one. However, after the commute, I feel plodding in my thinking and physically too. I am about to have my brunch at 11:55 am. All I think right now is, how fast I can eat and lie down and sleep. Still, I am overjoyed that I could be awake through my first night shift, then travel to/from Spitalfields market.

Vignette №2

Day 2, February 2015

Day Sleeping Time: 4.5h

Night Walking Distance: 12.2Km

Night shift Duration: I missed the night shift

Commuting: I *cancelled my trip to Leyton* due to abuse by bus replacement driver

I am about to enter the train station when I note that due to rail works buses replace trains at Surbiton station, in South-West London, the starting point of my journey to Spitalfields market in Leyton, East London. The replacement bus driver verbally abused me for pointing out to him that he was delaying the departure, as I tried to find my seat on the bus. The other passengers on the bus, mostly males, reacted with silence. Aggravated, I stepped off the bus. Subsequently, I missed one night shift, in my first week at the Bangladeshi-owned company as no means of transport were available between Surbiton and Clapham Junction, on that night.

Reflectively, would this incident go unnoticed during the day too? Would the driver behave the same way in the day when usually such services are full of white, local passengers? How many night workers experience similar abuse that goes unreported, and tolerated by the night shift workers relying totally on public transport? They know that if they miss the bus/train connection, they will not be able to commute further, thus potentially costing them their jobs.

Vignette №3

6 February 2015

Day Sleeping Time Before Night shift: 4.5h

Night Walking Distance: 3.6 Km

Night shift Duration: 10.5h || 12:00 am - 10:30 am

Commuting: 1h20' each way

It is difficult to stay awake and work between 4-6am. I have the feeling that I am going to drop off my feet. However, after 6 am something is happening to me, and I feel re-energised. On average, I slept between 4-5h in the day since I started night shifting.

Vignette №4

7 February 2015 | I lost 1.6 Kg in the first 3 night shifts

Day Sleeping Time: 4-5h

Night Walking Distance: 3 Km

Night shift Duration: 10.5h || 12:00 am - 10:30 am

Commuting: 1h20' each way

Weight: 81.6

Around 12 am before I started the night shift, I went to the market café where I know the Kurdish-Turkish manager, to have my dinner (or breakfast?). It is difficult to say what meals I am having at these unusual hours of the night. While my capability to stay awake is improving, my weight drops from 83.2 to 81.6kg. I lost 1.6 Kg in the first three night shifts. I monitor my heart rate, pulse and weight, weekly. My thinking is not as cloudy, and I do not experience the zombie mind state as before. I seem to experience that the night time is flying by me, as happened on this night shift.

...

After a 10h30' long night shift, I can read on my journey back home, but still falling asleep between stops on the underground and train... At home, I am also adopting new sleeping habits to adjust to my new daily sleep pattern. I acquired a pair of earplugs, and I pull the blinds to surround myself in darkness before I fall asleep.

My night shift workers' experiences start with waking up in the evening (as opposed to mornings) and getting up from an improvised bed on the floor, where I reside at the time. The aches in my back start early on and the only comforting position that I found less painful was laying on a hard-carpeted floor/bed made of a couple of quilts. After 4.5h of sleep, the body is still tired from the night before. I sense pains in my right clavicle, and the joint of my right shoulder. During loading, I rest on my shoulders the produce that I carry throughout the night shift (e.g. one sack of potatoes weighs up to 20kg).

To rise from the floor and sit on my backside, I need to press down on my palms when waking up. My palms hurt because of the gripping, grabbing, pulling with my fingers the packages, crates, and wrappers. The skin is dry and peeled off around the cuticles. The skin peels, because I grab the sacks or boxes without gloves. Wearing gloves in this masculine culture is a sign of weakness, which I try to hide, despite the aches and pains. My hands feel swollen, skin slowly hardened, and the skin above my fingers is ripped. In five days, I handled on average 500kg per night (weekly total of 2,500kg) with my body while I walked 44km.

More importantly, the physical efforts that sum up the first month of loading for a family-owned company will pale into insignificance when compared to the next five months as a loader while employed by a multi-national market trader. The intensity, as well as the workload, almost doubled. The following vignettes show the night rhythms, the spatial organisation of the work, who instructs whom, and the highs and lows of night time trading.

Vignette №5

3rd April 2015 | Record Breaking - 25km walking night shift

Sleeping Time: 5h

Walking Distance: 25Km

Night shift Duration: 11.5h || 11:00 pm - 10:30 am

Return trip to Spitalfields: 1h

I survived the first 11.5h shift with only 5h sleep the day before the shift. The Pacer application that I use to monitor my physical activity recorded 37,977 steps or the equivalent of 25km walking distance for that night alone. I walked most of that distance carrying produce both by hand and on my shoulders. During the six-nights-a-week intensity of toil varies, so does the length of time when one is active through the night. The following illustrations show variations in time activity and the distance one walks during a shift, which varies between minimum 10h and up to 16h (I experienced it 2-3 times in 8 months).

Night walking at work is exhausting.³⁵ At the previous workplace, I walked on average 6km per night; it increased to 12-13km, especially in the first weeks, when I could not easily find

³⁵ Figure 17. The number of steps is converted into kilometres. The intensity of the physical effort shifts from night to night, which is shown in the right screenshot. The frequency shows activity by the hour. The busiest shifts are on Sunday night (shown as Monday because Pacer collects data (steps) from 00:00. Sunday, Wednesday and Friday night shifts are the busiest of the week because customers stock-up before and after Saturday nights when the market is shut. Please note that the distance is covered during the 'active time' period and not during the time Pacer tracks each step. The lower values (under 5k) show errors, e.g. phone battery depleted during the shift.

produce. By the end of November 2015, I walked a total distance of 2,310 km. To understand the intensity at which one performs as a market night loader, one needs to immerse oneself in it, learn it first hand, and incorporate the experience moment-by-moment (Wacquant 2004). Wacquant writes that “native understanding of the object is here the necessary condition of an adequate knowledge of the object” (2004:59). In the same vein, Bourdieu contends, “the hallmark of practice... follows a logic that unfolds directly in bodily gymnastics”(cited by Wacquant 2004:58). Cumulatively, in the first month of night shifts, one’s food intake followed reversed patterns of eating at midnight; snacking between 2-3 am and having breakfast around 11 am. I lived on a reversed cycle of work/sleep and rested only on Saturdays. Often, it felt that on average the 7-8h night sleep has been replaced by 4.5h day sleep since working the night shift. Over time, my weight dropped and so did the day sleep hours; I was lacking on average 3h of day sleep. Physically as well as mentally, I often experienced weakness and confusion.



Figure 14 Descriptive data shows the active time vs total time (6h34m vs 13h43m).

The following sections include subtle descriptions of the night scene, including the routine movements and actions when immersed in work with co-workers and more specifically, how the co-workers and I perform in response to the manager or supervisor’s expectations. On the same spectrum as Karate (or Boxing) and the dabbawalas of Mumbai, the nightly practice of loading is as demanding, physically and mentally, and as practical as one thinks practice is. The rules of carrying the loads on one’s back, shoulders or grabbing with bare hands are embedded in and apprehended through action. No stream of thoughts or observational gaze could reach

the depth of the bodily practices required to lift, carry and drop onto pallets thousands of kilos of produce every night.

Subsequently, lower speed and imprecision attracts the supervisor's cold disapproval. Ultimately, the annoyed customers' complains about delaying the end-users' (her/his customers) access to fresh produce in the early hours of the morning. As an apprentice loader, receiving only a half-hour induction into the rules of loading the fruit and vegetables, one needs to act and evaluate his mistakes on the go. Evaluation of one's performance is unmistakably prompt with small scratches on the bare hands, and aches and pains appearing immediately. An experienced loader covers 3-4 times longer distances than an apprentice. They carry loads with their bodies greater than one-two tonnes per night, a "particular (re) socialisation of physiology" is needed for the loader to perform "habitually, kinetically in a temporarily structured" manner according to field demands (Wacquant 2004:59–60).

A small family-owned business has fewer customers and thus also less orders; therefore, loaders are less exhausted. The stress levels are considerably reduced, despite fighting one's physiological rhythms. The sheer volume of sales, number of team members and customers, and face-to-face interactions between one another affect the work in several ways. So, workers learn to respond to the intensity of bodily movements, walk faster or run, think of shortcuts to reach the produce; in particular, the loaders learn techniques of lifting more crates, more sacks at once. For example, tomatoes are sold in 5kg crates and very fast. On nightly basis loaders carry thousands of crates of tomatoes: one customer could order up to 128 crates, besides 200+ other items. Thus, loaders need to move fast too.

As an apprentice with one month's experience, I succumbed at first, in trying to emulate my new colleagues who were lifting five crates of tomatoes, at a time. I had to reduce to lifting only three crates, but it slowed me down. So, I observed their movements intensely. Co-workers moved faster because they picked up the crates almost automatically. They proceeded with their right hand at the bottom of the 1st crate; they reached the top of the 5th crate with the left arm above their head; then with one hand holding the bottom, and the other holding the top crate they lifted all five crates and transferred them directly onto their right shoulder.

They did it in a mindless manner, like the experienced driver switching on the car's engine. There were no intermediate, redundant movements (lifting one crate at a time or bending knees).

The more experienced co-workers executed very precisely, on-the-move, what appeared natural, automatised techniques that proved efficient loading in the shortest time possible. With experience, I learnt that repetitive movements of grabbing and loading were executed in a specific manner – facing the crates sideways, grabbing and lifting with the whole body, from the hips – it guaranteed an automatic efficiency. The high-volume demands, coupled with the pressure from customers, and the presence of the watchful manager/supervisor, scrutinising us from his observational post, forced us to move faster and faster as midnight approached. Between 12 - 3 am the store activity reaches peaks of activity. In high pitched voices, forklift drivers shout at loaders to move pallets, customers at drivers to transport their pallets to the car, and the supervisor shouts at loaders, so they load and wrap orders faster as the night approaches the 3 am cut-off point. The manager's exploitative practices and discipline is among the reasons why some leave this company.

The mastery of one's (corporeal, visual and mental) schemata of carrying, walking (off)loading or driving forklifts decides who remains in the job. There is a distinction between workers who stay a couple of weeks or quit immediately, and those working nights for years. It lies in the ability to overcome the horrific duress of the first weeks; afterwards, it rests in one's capacity to resist the new somatic (mal)adjustments of being up and alert (during the *nadir point*), and engage in strenuous, repetitive practices, with almost ascetic character. One earns the rite of passage. It is through repetitive action, till one progresses from trial-and-error, to trial-and-success. The startling realisation comes when one moves without thinking with her/his mind, but with one's body; one is aware of the movements s/he makes either because s/he feels the weight of tomato crates pressing on the clavicles or because a 20kg sack of potatoes presses the shoulder down.

Out of the four highlighted respondents, Basrí was preferred by the ethnographer to visually depict the phases³⁶, steps, and dexterity of skill, thus collated to close the gap between text analysis and “experiential acuity” (Wacquant 2005:469). S/he makes sense of what s/he captures (sentient), s/he discerns and readjusts (skilled) as s/he feels, suffers, and yet endures.



Figure 15 Loading sequences, pauses for break and interactions with co-workers.

At Spitalfields, 99.9% of loaders and drivers are males. Café servers or cashiers are female.

³⁶The visual arrangement (above) compiles a set of movements, steps, twists and turns that a loader encounters in a repetitive manner throughout his nights of labour. Basrí ‘loading in action’ consists of sequences that include being handed out an order by the foreman; preparing the space for the pallet and carrying on from the stack to an area that the loaders decides; then the gestures of grabbing, picking, gripping, twisting and moving several hundred of products follow in an unthinkable manner during incessant rhythms, the peak of the night shift. There are times when workers need a moment of respite; they either roll-up cigarettes to smoke, drink energising liquids or go for toilet relief. During peak times of the night shift, loaders run-to-load and load-to-run home after a long night shift. To keep apace, they internalise speed of work through energising beverages. The body aches from pains caused by repetitive movements, such as walking, body turns (bending, twisting), wrist twists, grabs and pulls, holds, etc. Regardless, six nights a week, from 22:00 to 09:00 am loaders, drivers, café servers, and sales men fight with the physiological circadian rhythms, especially during the nadir point when the body tends to lay down. The ‘sleepless bats’ experiences reveal a callous world. Photo by Voichi Judele2017 © LightSparks Creatives
Source: <http://bit.ly/blckbstr2>

Women do not carry heavy weights, but they carry trays of drinks, so their individual histories of precariousness accumulate in their bodies just as much as in the case of loaders or drivers. Their suffering and learning are of a different quality because their bodies engage in similarly demanding activities while transitioning in socially diversified encounters, fulfilling multiple roles in any one night shift (barista, server, saleswoman, washer).

Male loaders suffer back aches from back-breaking tasks of loading repeatedly, while women feel the back pain due to marching throughout the 31 acre site delivering hot drinks and food to stores on the market. Fe/males suffer the blows of physically draining night walking. As they walk, females carry coffee trays in their hands, and males carry vegetable sacks on their backs. Irrespective of the content, both are being threatened by their respective managers that they will be replaced by new workers if they do not sell more cups of coffee and fast food, or do not load faster. They all endure and resiliently carry on. Moreover, as their individual and collective histories of suffering are deposited (*sedimented*) into their bodies and minds, they became more skilled and adapted to the nocturnal landscape of the market.

As the vignette below shows, I am now a few months into my fieldwork. I feel the “direct embodiment” of loading sharply (Wacquant 2004:60). I loathe the painful feelings, as I note on this occasion:

Vignette №6

7 April 2015 | Burdensome Bank Holidays

Night Walking Distance: data missing

Night shift Duration: 11.5h || 10:00 pm - 9:30 am

Commuting: 1h each way

I detest bank holidays since doing night shifts at the market. The night shift before and after Easter bank holiday is murderously busy. The customers buy more on Thursday and Friday nights and the Monday night following the Easter bank holiday. They buy products to stock up before and after a bank holiday. I feel as if the end of the world arrives because customers seem to buy everything off the stand. If a product is out of stock and they see it on a pallet prepared for another customer, they steal it and put it on their pallet. Everybody shouts at whomever! The manager shouts at the supervisor, supervisor at the loaders, loaders amongst themselves; salespeople shout at forklift drivers, loaders; and customers shout at loaders and at forklift drivers for not having prepared their orders fast enough. Forklift drivers argue amongst themselves who should go and pick-up which pallet, and when nothing gets resolved they block the central aisle and start beeping. Some forklift drivers block the main aisle. Traffic stops, and everybody protests; drivers beep

incessantly and swear at each other and everyone else close-by till they clear the way. It is mayhem!

Loaders are not allowed to leave the stand, except for toilet relief. During an 11.5-hour night shift, they do not have the luxury to walk – loaders run as they load. Sweating and swearing, the new workers bleed from the wounds on their hands or blisters because they do not wear gloves and their skin cannot be used to such work. They do the same tasks, repeatedly. They are given a ‘ticket’ (an invoice) by the supervisor as they lift an empty pallet from the stack only to load it again for another customer’s new order. They look for spaces to place the pallet, on the shop floor. If they see an empty pallet they try and occupy it in an instant. The company trading space is scarce. So, successful attempts at occupying an empty pallet placed by another worker sometimes result in hostile, verbal exchanges between loaders. Often, they steal the pallets from one another, during busy times when pallets run low, like on the UK bank holy nights (i.e. these workers work on the nights before the bank holidays).

The daily rhythm of the night market increases to incessancy till loaders feel exhausted, physically and mentally. Moreover, to continue, they need to refill with energising drinks. One colleague, in his mid-40s, consumes four energising (Redbull) drinks per night, sometimes mixed with whisky brought by the café server. Hence why, as he lifts hundreds of crates of vegetables, he lubricates his thirst with coffees (sometimes mixed with whiskey too). He drinks it on-the-move. Regardless of their position, on the organisational scale, from the loader and all the way up to the manager, males drink alcohol, and other energising drinks in high amounts to endure the load of the night.

I tested energising drinks on my own body, and after several nights I stopped as my heart rate increased with each can of Redbull. However, whenever a customer offered me a coffee with two sugars, I gratefully accepted it to decrease the weariness that I felt in my body, on my sleepy eyes and in my brain. Though classed as safe as coffee, these energising drinks felt almost lethal for my heart rate. A sickening feeling followed after I ingested the first can of Redbull as I was on the way to lift more crates and sacks. The adverse effects that I felt on my breathing and the tingling sensations in my fingertips made me completely stop drinking Redbull. I accepted whenever a customer offered me a can, and I passed it on to my co-workers whom I knew continued to consume it, regardless of what I described to them.

After 03:00 am, and five hours into their shift, loaders could break for food but are not allowed to have their entitled 15-20-minute break during the busy nights. So, they eat the food on-the-move. At dusk, they may be able to sit and rest on boxes or sacks, but they ache, so they prefer to sweep the floor, levelling produce so the stand looks appetising to customers. As for me, I insisted on taking my break. Around 4 am, one regular customer always solicited my help to compile his order while he was present on the shop floor. Between 2-4am, my physiological cycle, as for most other human animals, reached the nadir point, the lowest and the opposite to the zenith of the 24-hour cycle. In the vignette below, I describe the bodily sensations as I experienced them situated in that space of the night.

Vignette №7

29 April 2015 | Up and working beyond the *nadir point*

Night Walking Distance: 16Km

Night shift Duration: 11h || 11:00pm - 09pm

Commuting: 1h each way

Around 3 am when most pallets have been cleared off the central aisle and moved into the area of the stand; there is hardly any space left to place one foot on the shop floor. Up to 3 am most sales take place. So, there is not much energy left amongst us, loaders. It is also close to the nadir when humans are at their lowest point in the 24-hour circadian cycle. It means that our bodies and minds function at their lowest. Though at the market, 3 am has its own pace, and to those in charge, it means slaying the workers. Whatever energy is left in our bodies needs to be squeezed out, so the rest of the orders continue to be shipped out. Nadir point is completely ignored, in fact, it does not exist for these workers. In my case, I fell off my feet a couple of times, because my knees softened, and legs bent against my will; at the same time, my eyes would shut while I was standing and reading out loud this regular customer's invoice. After four months, it was easier to bear or find tricks to pass through the nadir point, but it unmistakably arrived every morning, between 4 and 6 am. When daylight would open the sky, the energy flame rekindled in my mind and body.

As the first rays of sun appear through the glass crevices of the roof, the pallets of tomatoes, peppers and sacks of potatoes and onions disappeared, with hardly any leftovers in sight. They embodied through sweat, but it feels as if we carry them with every muscle in our bodies. Once the fruit is loaded onto the pallet and into the vans and lorries by forklift, the drivers rush through the streets of North London or Manchester where grocers prepare the shops, for the early morning customer looking for fresh and exotic produce to feed hungry stomachs. While

frequency and fluctuation vary between Sunday or Thursday (busiest) nights, there is very little to no variation in the loaders' tasks. Every night, loaders, receive invoices, pick up pallets, load crates and boxes, complete the orders, wrap the pallets, and move them onto the central aisle by hand for forklift drivers to pick up and deliver the pallets outside of the market hall.

Loaders' manual actions stop where the forklift manoeuvring the heavy pallets takes over. When the market activity slows down, the supervisor or manager assigns to whoever stands, various tasks; from litter picking, sweeping the shop floor, unwrapping new pallets of produce, levelling crates, sorting fruit into 1st and 2nd class categories or using two loaders to work on the same order. Workers do not find a moment of respite because the management scrutinises them continuously. From 10 pm till 9:30 am loaders must be occupied with brain-numbing tasks, so that the shop floor looks busy, and workers are fragmented into teams of two across the stand.

The loaders' main tool is their own body. Moreover, the muscle-work they do is the means to end the night. Wacquant contrasts the boxers' training world with that of "factory workers' or the artisan's workshop" (2004:66). In similar ways, market night shift workers are artisans chiselling their bodies, storing into repetitive, individual and collective histories of senses, mental and physical skills to readjust and remain competitive. The prize fighter's "monastic devotion required by the preparation for a fight extends deep into his social life and permeates every realm of his private existence" (Wacquant 2004:67). For the sake of a title, boxers endure several sacrifices that for some become burdensome. Their ascetic attitude might secure them a place in the history of boxing, thus increasing their visibility in the public eye or provide them with a very high income. By contrast, because night shift work seems a lucrative venue to provide migrant night workers and their families with income otherwise inaccessible to them, they accept de-skilling jobs, suffer physical exhaustion, precarious conditions, social isolation, and sleep deprivation to save and to send remittances to families in their home countries. In sum, they get none of 'glory' and the spectacle of the boxers, but all the fury they experience.

The preceding sections discussed Bourdieu's habitus concept complemented with Wacquant's six 's' factors to capture night shift workers' embodied knowledge. This analysis contributes to a sociology of action through immersive ethnography of night shift work. Consequently, it aligns itself with scholarship that replaces "cognitive categories with categories of action" (Gherardi 2006:29). It renders sociological competency through and from the body's spring of

intelligence accumulated in individual and collective histories of physical suffering like somatic adjustments and readjustments. Over time they sediment and form the human experience that translates into action-in-the making, open to empirical investigation through its “cognitive, conative, and affective building blocks of habitus” (Wacquant 2015:5).

In the next section, I draw on the empirical portraits and correlate my own (self-) observations with descriptions of the co-workers. Interpretations aim to unwrap the meanings that they attach to their awareness of their own bodily practices. The chapter continues to analyse several aspects linked to co-workers’ levels of social, physical, emotional (in-)competency through the acquisition of the set of dispositions, i.e. habitus of night shift work. In other words, the chapter examines how co-workers incorporate bodily practices (loading, standing, being alert while up and working at night). Moreover, it assesses the co-workers’ options (or lack of) to avoid the repetitiveness, burdensome activity of night shift work. Ultimately, it weighs the gains, pains and losses were they to consider transferring their embodied skills through nightly physical labour into diurnal work settings. I venture to explore if these individuals prefer the invisibility conferred by the nocturnal social scape through bodily labour, that is bodily capital and social competency. I also investigate in what ways habitus provides night workers with a framework structuring their bodily intelligence through loading, serving, driving or selling in the social space of the night market. I turn again to the four main characters highlighted in my previous chapter.

4.3. *Four Embodied Histories*

The sequence of the observations on the four actors reflects the degrees of bodily precariousness. The presentations of the embodied histories follow neither a temporal pattern nor a series of life histories. I dwell on the ordinary occurrences inspired by their night working lives. As a reminder, they occupy the following essential positions in the overall running of the respective market enterprise. . Lexa, the café server delivers by foot hot drinks and food throughout the entire 31 acres market site. Basri, the forklift driver, transports the pallets of produce to the customers’ vehicles, and off/loads freshly delivered produce. Gica is a foreman who oversees the loaders with whom he handles fruit and vegetables; Logan has more than two roles. He moves between his primary position as a salesman and the on-duty night shift manager.

4.3.1. Lexa – server

A body bears the marks, the ‘stigmata of experience’, upon its surface.
(McNay 1990:127)

Lexa is a Romanian female café server in her mid-twenties and she had been working at the market for six months, when I interviewed her in August 2015. I also worked with her for about four weeks. Her story is portrayed below, with the aim of offering the reader a more palpable sense of how she entered and “played the game” (Bourdieu, 2000). External and individual factors determined her migration trajectory to London. She experienced abuse by male bosses, working as an apprentice in a night market without previous training and experience, and limited language skills. In Lexa’s words, ‘I came to London on a Friday, and I started to work on Friday night. Since then, I worked nights. It was a bit hard till I accommodated with the night schedule.’ Her shift patterns and length of time spent at work comprises of 11-12 hours per night shift, starting around 9-10 pm and finishing at 9 am or later.

Lexa had no previous experience of working in a café. In the first few weeks, she helped in the kitchen, learning to prepare fast foods, and gradually she served customers over the counter or throughout the market. Besides being inexperienced with the masculinised culture of the market environment, Lexa was working without a contract, which exposed her to abuse by the café owner. Nightly, she served customers of other nationalities, mostly market workers, drivers doing deliveries or wholesale traders with various backgrounds (e.g. Chinese, English, Turkish), but very few native English. Her limited English language skills restricted her when serving customers. Lexa says:

Chinese customers were asking coffee with tsugăr, and I could not understand, at first. I felt that I had a few drawbacks then... It was hard in the beginning, because I was not used to the language here. I knew English, but what I learnt in high school was not good enough. It was hard because customers were explaining to me what they wanted, but it was hard to understand their accent.

Lexa arrived in the UK, at a time when anti-migrant and anti-refugee campaigns by the media inflamed the public’s perception because allegedly migrants abuse the UK’s social welfare system. Lexa spent her days working as a janitor and cleaning hotel rooms, and nights selling hot drinks and food, living on few hours’ sleep in the 24-hour cycle. Constrained thus by the limited free/sleeping time, Lexa’s concern to earn money grew with every minute of her waking hours. Lexa was determined, despite the hardships, to save enough to bring her daughter over

to live together in the UK. That was more pressing than the maltreatment she received at the market or the biased news in the media.

Often Lexa ran into disagreements with her manager because she found it difficult working indoors beside him on eleven hour-long night shifts. So, she asked the owner to hire her in the kitchen of his other café, at the fish market. During the six months working for the same owner(s), Lexa changed workplaces three times in two night markets belonging to the same owners. Nevertheless, having gleaned information about her past in Romania, she never mentioned abuse, neither in her previous job, nor in her home environment. One day, I entered the café where she worked at and witnessed a heated discussion between her and the cafe manager and my ex-employer. So, I asked Lexa if she would speak to me about it. Lexa explains:

Due to physical exhaustion, I asked for one day (night) off because I could not keep up. I asked for one day off, but he would not approve. I did not turn up, so I do not get exhausted. Unfortunately, like in Romania, no one is willing to understand these situations. So, he cut two nights' worth of my pay even though I only missed one. ... This is not normal.

Lexa returned to work for this owner because she argues that “there is nothing we can do. It is our fault really because we accept to work in these conditions, which are laid out by them.” Her rationale indicates that “in all conceivable circumstances of a type, a particular set of agents will behave in a particular way” (Bourdieu 2000:149-50). One assumes that Lexa has arrived at the market with a habitus built in the previous years of working in a casino because, in Romania, similar precarious working conditions apply. Moreover, when the abusive circumstance occurred in the night market, she responded in a predetermined, docile way. The abuse story also indicates that she accepted the unacceptable for an “independent woman”, as she describes herself. She was locked down between her goal to unite with her daughter and the decision to obtain employment in another, less precarious and permanent position. Following the abuse, however, she left the market for a couple of weeks because she explains, “I did not accept it anymore. That is why I decided to stop working for him.” At which point, I intervene and ask her: “what stopped you from taking this decision earlier?” Lexa replies:

I did not have time because working nights, means resting in the day. You wake up 2 hours before the shift and this way, in the past four months, my life was spent on work, sleep, work, sleep. However, I looked and found work offers with contract and on some weekly pay, legal, via bank accounts, not cash like here. But, there is a period of accommodation in which I need to learn how things work.

As with other returnee migrant night shift workers, such reasoning leads them to anomie due to an ongoing uncertainty. Many migrants return resourceless, penniless, begging their abusive managers to give back their old jobs. This was Lexa's case, too. As she continues to reflect on her experiences, amongst her thoughts a recurring theme echoes: lack of balance between day sleep, family and social time. She relates:

However, having worked here for the past five months on the same pattern, my body got used to it in a way. ... Considering that my body got used to night shifts. I was waking up at 3-4pm, and about 10 pm could not sleep. I thought to do something else. So I took another job. Since I happen to think that time is money, I needed to take action. ... Now, I think that you do not have a life when you work nights. You get home, tired, you sleep, you have no time for children.

Combined with the above, Lexa's health concerns stand out because her anxieties over the prospect of becoming physically ill led her to disobey her boss and take absence without leave for one night. On this occasion, her behaviour attracts the manager's decision to cut her pay:

After one month of working in two places, I began to feel it on my body. I am now dependent on Redbull, which is not healthy, but I drink it daily because of the physical exhaustion.

Lexa admits that:

I do not know [how things are] done, but they know what they do since they keep hiring one after another, in this illegal way. Take this example, here where I work at the café, they pay cash in hand, without a contract and on poor pay ... I looked somewhere else, but there are jobs paid worse than mine. So, the problem is with those who accept these conditions, not with the ones who pay so little.

Like Ehrenreich's (2010) low wage earners in the US, Lexa, too, saw her actual worth through her employers' unappreciative lens. Lexa's experience, stretching over half a year of night shift work at the market, includes episodes of employer abuse, anomie born out of sustained defeat, self-doubt in acquiring a protected job and many uncertainties over her financial situation. Despite the will to improve her life and her daughter's (future) education in the UK, she was endowed with lack of self-confidence and limited skills to grapple with the wholesale market environment, as well as with the UK's labour market.

In the light of the above, McNay's thesis (1990) that Bourdieu's "crisis-based reflexivity" aids (market) women to move within and across fields, may need reconsideration. In Lexa's case, it seems, night shift habitus rewards her only in as much as to survive her precariousness till she "learns how things work". Facing prolonged physical tiredness and her oppressive employers

may only lead to what McNay depicts as “A body bears the marks, the ‘stigmata of experience’, upon its surface” (1990:127). In short, Lexa carries on with her human needs and hopes as she grapples with the deprived working conditions which leave marks on her body.

4.3.2. Basrí – forklift driver

Basrí works six night shifts per week, as he is the only breadwinner for this family of five, comprised of three minors (age 5, 13, and 16 months old) and two adults. Basrí had been loading fruit and vegetables at night for almost four years when I met him. A night shift worker with Basrí’s experience earns a salary of £500 per week take home, and an additional £70 from other informal payments. For a low skilled labourer, this may seem an enormous amount in comparison to inexperienced male workers who take home weekly between £280-£320. But it is insufficient for the daily needs of Basrí’s family of five, if one adds inflation and supporting his newly extended family.

The first time I interviewed him in April 2015, he had just been hired to drive a forklift. Drivers have better financial prospects than loaders and different kinds of stress too. As the market rhythm increases, usually from 02:00 onwards, managers and salesmen in the market are under pressure from the rushing customers. They transfer it further onto loaders and forklift drivers to finish the orders faster and move to the next, and the next, and so on till close. Though driving the forklift was not as physically demanding as loading was, Basrí says

Working as a forklift driver, compared to [being] a loader, is a bit easier. But, it is a different tiredness. It gets stressful. Your head gets tired. ... But, it is better because your body does not get tired... (long sigh) ... That’s how it is... Night shift work is ... hard. This work ... working at the market is hard. I got used to it. One reason is that you work together with a group of workers; another is that customers come in, and it gets us (stimulating), you know? ... you get to know people from every side of the market ... I mean, time passes by well, for me. Different, but OK. For now, we continue like this. But, we’ll see for how long.

Night shift workers, like Basrí, resiliently endure the bodily exhaustion resulting from prolonged physical labour and sleep deprivation. They explain that day sleep is not like sleeping at night, and it never feels enough. Basrí describes how he internalises (or not) his sleeplessness:

Once work is finished, sometimes, you sleep only 3-5 hours, and you come back the next night to work on that little sleep. Sometimes, you sleep more... 8, 9, 10 hours, and it is still not enough. It does not matter how much you sleep, you still feel sleepy, because day sleep is not the same as night sleep.

In the last follow-up interview (in May 2017), and two years since we first met Basrí has just returned to company A after a month's break. He confessed that he interrupted working nights as he can no longer cope as well as before 2011. Then, he had two part-time jobs during day time as well as working six nights a week. Now, with only six nights per week, Basrí finds it unbearable to cope with this nocturnal, stressful rhythm and sleeping frugally during the day. Every year, for the past five years, he says to himself and his family that he will change from working nights, but he still works at the market:

I think of changing to days, every month. I cannot carry on working nights for long because it does not help my health. Hopefully, this year will happen for real! ... I work maximum one more year.

I asked Basrí to tell me how he sees his life, were he to change to day shift work. Basrí answers:

Of course, I'll be able to meet with friends, sleep at night with my wife, see my children going to bed, go on holidays, have a social life. ... Now, with 11-hour-long shifts, I can have none of that. So that's how it has been for the past five years. But, if I work on eight-hour shifts; life would change for me.

Though Basrí does not mention it, he prefers working on shorter (day) shifts. Regarding his family responsibilities, he says that

Saturday morning, when you finish the working week, you go home to help with housework or sleep; you play with the children; you see your wife; you eat or go out with family, but it's hard because you just spent some time with family, and Sunday comes very quickly. You go out for a bit, and that's pretty much it. By the time you know it, Sunday night you're back at the market to start another week of nights.

Nonetheless, very few night shift workers whom I spoke to and/or observed confessed to having mastered the combined practice of daily responsibilities, juggling taking children to nursery, food shopping, day sleep, and toiling in the night. Basrí's experience of night shift work and his relationship to the nocturnal world has not been a continuous history of mastering a habitus of day sleep and night work.

Exhaustion from physical and mental fatigue accumulated over the last five years inspires Basrí to think of stopping working at the market. But, he cannot get paid better elsewhere. Most troubling to him is his lack of English language skills, which restricts him from working for English firms, either for the market traders or other workplaces outside the market. Despite the precarious conditions offered by his present employer, Basrí returned to work for the same

company (A) because its business language is Turkish. He comments on the precarisation he faces every night:

For example, in any company you work for, at the market, you eat on your feet, sitting on boxes or you eat while sitting on the forklift, if you're a driver. You are allowed paid sick leave for maximum 1-2 days. After you must come back, or others will take your place.

Having fallen sick once, I did not sign-in to work one night as I was advised by the doctor to take a respite. She issued me a seven-day sickness certificate. On returning the night after, I showed the certificate to the supervisor, and he (and other co-workers co-present) laughed at me and asked, "what, you have AIDS or something...". Another co-worker said that I made-up the certificate on a home PC. Based on Basrı's words and my co-workers' reaction to such mundane detail it seems that workers have no information on their basic rights to healthcare in the UK. More importantly, factors that perpetuate in-work precariousness are i) workers without a contract, ii) poor reading skills, and iii) no union representative on-site. Workers too, produce and reproduce a masculinised working culture with a superficial teamwork ethos which does not allow them to stay home and recover from genuine sickness. This is for fear of being exchanged with somebody else for whatever task the company requires in one's absence. In fact, my co-workers (Basrı included) had never seen a sickness note until I showed them mine. Basrı's words indicate that market workers comply with superficial work ethics reproducing the poor working conditions.

As touched upon in brief earlier, the causes are a mixture of individual and structural factors. On the one hand, the workers lack language skills and are less determined to leave the market site. Hence, they accept the precarisation mechanisms that limit their economic rights. Workers do not seem to be prepared to make demands for their rights to decent working conditions, medical insurance, sick pay or entitlement for paid annual leave. When asked if he talks to his co-workers about the rules he finds unacceptable, Basrı admits that:

We talk among ourselves. Everyone says that they are bored... you're bored to accept it ... How much longer will we accept this? ... But, no one does anything because we must continue working here. This is because we don't learn English while we work in Turkish. So, if you don't speak a fair level of English you can't go anywhere else.

In contrast to those who have been working at the market for longer than five months, there are those who come and leave quickly. Basrı says that:

People who cannot cope with the intensity of night shift work and back-breaking loads leave within days. But, the ones who are forced to stay because of some difficult circumstance, they overcome the beginnings, they learn the job, and later they cannot just leave night shift work ... they leave perhaps for a few months, but, I have seen many who return and say that they can no longer break away from doing nights ... I have known many people who did that; they left and returned. ... Night shift workers are trapped, like the sleepless bats.

In both cases, Lexa's and Basrí's, economic rationale seems to provide them with the reasons for working at night. So, my respondents' resilient habitus enable night workers to grapple with the precarious working conditions at the market and supports the observation that those who tame the night rhythm "no longer break away" (Basrí).

At this point, it is worth making the connection on the one hand, between habitus as "the basis of implicit collusion among all agents who are products of similar conditions and conditioning" (Bourdieu 2000:144-5), and the factors that facilitate the sedimenting of the dispositions, on the other. The actions of workers positioned above the lowest skilled co-workers, unveil practices that 'mould' the bodies of the newly arrived into docile bio-automatons. These are instruments of precarisation that explicitly routinise the habitus of precariousness in night shift work. Such instruments facilitate performance of precarity, e.g. abusing Lexa's lack of night shift experience, and Basrí's basic English language skills. In this context, I am referring to my next respondent Gică, the supervisor in charge of the loaders at company A, himself an instrument of precarisation who practices the methods and uses instruments, so precarity dominates the workers' existence.

4.3.3. Gică – supervisor

On 22 February 2015, when I commenced working for company A, Gică was on his three months' leave to spend time with family, in Romania. His agreement with the management included 2-3 months a year of being away in Romania, spending time with his wife and 3-year-old son with Asperger's Syndrome. Gică, like most market night shift workers at Spitalfields, has started as a loader when he joined his older brother, in 2002.

When the foreman returned, the week after I joined this company, he took up his principal roles: loading and supervising the team of 10 loaders. On an ad-hoc basis, he covered for the check-man, but could not drive a forklift as he did not have driving literacy skills. Gică has worked in all unskilled job roles, from new loader to trusted check-man. Hence, he has experienced the physical hardship behind the nature of night shift work but has not advanced further in the

company hierarchy. His restricted social life is limited to the encounters constructed in the working environment (e.g. socialising at the market café), and occasionally, during lock-in parties in pubs.

I found Gică not only impenetrable and reluctant to be interviewed, but also incredibly protective of his social entourage, mostly family members with whom he spent the time off work. Out of working hours, I rejoiced once over the long-awaited ‘privilege’ (it felt so, at the time) to join my co-workers (Gică, his younger brother Ily and one other Turkish colleague) during a night party. These occasions were rare; in fact, Gică never invited me again. On the few social occasions of which I have been a part, I gleaned understanding on how night shift workers balance precariousness at work with joyful lock-in party time, dancing and drinking, drifting into the morning, off-the-workplace. Such mundane details convey precise moments that illustrate bodily comprehension and social interactions between night shift workers.

On such occasions, Gică and his younger brother Ily, re-lived the nostalgia of ‘their time’. In high school, they used to steal car radios; and referred to themselves as ‘cuțitari’ (knife handling gangsters) who “did (cut) others with a knife”. Gică, looking away says, “I need no karate for that”. Few challenged the foreman on a one-to-one basis. Gică was feared because he oversaw distribution of the orders that were typed by the sales people and sent through to the printer. He collected the printouts and divided the labour to each loader. The supervisor alone controlled who made what kind of order (large or small) for which customer. This semi-illiterate man was unmistakably precise in assigning orders to whom he thought capable of performing best on specific assignments. He knew the power of it, and he seemed to use it well because he also knew who not to assign a printout. Moreover, emotions could be triggered when one’s labour power is dismissed or not required. A feeling of anxiety creeps in, followed by a sense of anomie that leads to a desperate will to help, and be useful. That is when loaders check in with the foreman and volunteer to do any task only to appear preoccupied in Gică’s presence.

Besides appearances, I could not grasp Gică’s years of working nights and the formative years that turned him into the ‘stone’ man I perceived in him. But, during my direct encounters with Gică, sometimes I glimpsed his human nature, willing to do something together with the person working next to him. Most times though, I was on edge because he appeared unpredictable. One last encounter with Gică, in my fieldnotes, recalls how surprised I was noting that towards the end of the shift, Gică stops by to help in the dried root vegetable section, which I stocked

up at the end of each shift. I noted thinking to myself that Gică is withdrawn and quiet. Often, he appears to take no notice of me, but now he comes and helps me to finish-up my section and to finish the last orders together.

Observing Gică over time, he seemed to share specific gestures with the managers and salesmen at company A. Some customers shared, through friendly gestures, similar cues as the management (that he too was part of). Ily, Gică's younger brother, said that one Kurdish-Turkish customer called all Romanians 'gipsy'. Such words would upset non-Roma Romanians due to its negative connotation of 'lower kind of humanity'. Other times, loaders (being considered the lowest category of worker) were being dismissed by Gică in the same manner as the manager did: interrupting a loader by speaking over him; not stepping away when seeing a loader carrying produce on his body, and shouting orders to the loaders.

Once, I was kicked on a pressure point on the side of my right leg by a salesman (with hands in his pockets) who expected me (carrying a 20kg load on my shoulder) to move out of his way; since I did not, he kicked me. Such gestures are copied down from manager to salesman and further down to the supervisor. Gică's behaviour in comparison to any other potential candidates for his supervisory position displayed a sense of discipline towards himself and extended in the way that regularised other workers' time-labour discipline. Strikingly, Gică seems to manage well the rest of the males in the masculine culture of the market. The markets where Gică worked (in Romania and the UK) forged him into a mixture of embodied insensitivity (to co-workers) and obedience (to managers).

I illustrate at times, however, inconsistencies that attest to Gică's generous nature. Labelling someone as a 'stone' or 'iron-made' type of character makes little sense. One example of inconsistency in his behaviour, is related to the incident when I felt sick, at work, and my body was shaking from the chills, cautioning me of the cold that was about to keep me in bed the following 24 hours. Though Gică came to work early that night because he could not stay in bed any longer with cold, himself not so well, he approached me and gave me a Nurofen tablet. It eased the cold for a few hours. Around two months after I started to work under his supervision, Gică waved at me from the opposite aisle to get close and drink with them. On this Saturday, between 7-9 am, he was telling me that I should have a 'special' – whiskey and coke – the usual Saturday drink mix bought from the extra money that he made on the pallets sold to truck drivers. To the new loader (and to the outsider), such a mundane occurrence indicates

goodwill or a ‘good foreman looking after his teammates’. However, this time, it was a different context altogether. Gică’s invite was not without purpose – it had a hidden agenda. His goodwill was accompanied by few words: “you earned it”, he pointed out to me. It was, up to then, Gică’s side business that brought the supervisor weekly informal earnings. His invite included me also because I contributed to the collection of pallets over the week. The two instances illustrate the inconsistency in Gică’s behaviour, on the one hand, he kindly gives a spare tablet to help a new co-worker, on the other, he is self-interested in his gains that go beyond the team’s concerns. As Wacquant (2004:44) would describe it, Gică “acquire[d] the corporeal and moral dispositions that are indispensable if one is to successfully endure the learning” of this trade. His acolytes were the same every week: his two brothers, one check-man, one returnee Turkish worker, seldom a couple of Roma-Turkish Bulgarians, and a couple of Kurdish-Turkish loaders who joined the feast on Saturday mornings at close time. In light of this experience, I have learnt that Gică’s agenda, was to ensure that new loaders were submissive and collected the pallets in exchange for a ‘special mix’ that he offered on Saturday mornings.

The quiet moments during the shift were, however, excellent opportunities for schmoozing. Gică tells me that “around the time he started to work at the market, eight years ago or so, only 2-3 other Romanians were working at Spitalfields”. Ily approaches slowly and listens to our schmooze up to then. At that point, he suddenly intervenes and says that “Romanians bring each other over. The market is full of Romanians now. Many Romanians work for company B”. Companies A and B are constantly competing with one another. Moreover, I feel a strong sense of competition that flows amongst all employees at both companies, running from owners of the two companies (A and B), right down to loaders. Ily invests a “masculine honour”, stressing that “if we (my brothers and I) were to work at company B, no one working there now, would remain”. So, I asked Ily why he thinks so. “Because”, Ily replies, “they would not last. Many other Romanians could not compete with us”. Indeed, many of my co-workers either feared them or did not interfere with the “Romanian brothers from Dobrogea region”.

One night shift, Gică tells me “from now on you should report to him or the manager every time you go to the toilet.” So he leaves it at that. No further explanation or reasoning as to why I should report every time for nature’s call. I follow that instruction, of course. Saturday morning, we gathered at café C1. At the large table 9-10 males working at company B sit and drink. I joined them instead of the handful of males sitting at the same table as Gică, by the window. Dumitru, the check-man sits to my right, and I tell him about the ‘toilet time reporting’

practices that I encountered this week. I explain how Gică told me to report when I need toilet relief. I also tell Dumitru that Gică said to me that workers from another stand have their pay cut if they spend longer than five minutes for toilet relief. Dumitru seems stunned. He turns without warning and shouts across the table, so Gică hears: “stop telling this man fake stories about other people”, and laughs loudly. Gică does not respond. Five minutes later Dumitru left, and I moved across to join Gică and his acolytes. In a quiet tone, Gică says: “you have a big mouth; you should not have told others from another company what I told you to do. You wait till next week....” After that, he did not talk to me all morning. Next week came, and Gică was even more frugal in his instructions towards me, and the orders were scarce in my direction too.

On Saturday, I followed-up on the café toilet reporting incident. Then, I verified it was a lie that Gică made-up to manipulate my behaviour and by extension other inexperienced workers. It confirmed my observant participation which gained insights into “back-stage” (Goffman 1991) practices. Other companies’ management does not request individual reporting for toilet relief, but they do require individual workers to signal when they leave the stand, like Logan, the actor foregrounded next explains. But, I did not want to jeopardise my fieldwork, hence I adopted a submissive, docile attitude despite the emotions of anger and resentment that I felt. One month after that conversation, another incident took place. Below, I relate another disciplining practice that produces and reproduces docility among workers and reveals Gică’s hidden curriculum.

I passed the test to drive a forklift to get a licence to drive a forklift legally. But, I found out soon how futile an exercise this had been.,because, till the supervisor approved me driving one, I was considered a loader and treated like one. So, repeatedly, Gica banned me from driving a forklift, on the pretext that if he, (a Romanian) supervisor would allow me, his co-national, the manager would reprove him for favouring ‘his Romanian’ against the other (two) new drivers of a different nationality, including Basrí. In fact, I observed that on that same night shift Gică bans the other two new drivers until further notice. Furthermore, Gică reproved Basrí for spending too much time practising driving outside the market hall instead of collecting pallets – a repetitive task at the end of the shift that all drivers disliked. He orders Basrí to stop the engine and get off the forklift.

Though Basrí has four years of experience at the market, he is a recent ‘graduate’ of the market forklift driving school. So, he devised his strategy. He tells Gică that the store manager gave

him the forklift key, and continues to drive, defying Gică's order. He shouts to Gică to speak to the manager, if he has a complaint to make against him. I watch Basrí driving away from the stand and out of the market hall. Having observed the above incident between Basrí and the supervisor, I ask the latter to allow me to drive the spare forklift like Basrí just did. The supervisor turns to me, and refusing me, states:

If you wanna practice, you come early in your own time. In the morning you can't do it anymore because I don't need forklift drivers, I need loaders. You come and practice on this company's money and then leave - asking a better pay from the next.

Empirically, I was satisfied with his response because, based on this useful information (available only to insiders) I began constructing knowledge of the “back stage behaviour”, and the rules governing it (Moeran 2007:14). However, I was a dissatisfied team/worker for being banned from driving the forklift. I submitted to the supervisor's “art of governing” or in Foucauldian terms, to his “governmentality”, and acted in return with “internalized self-discipline, a mode of self-control that always serves to regulate ‘one's own’ precariousness” (Lorey 2015:442-449). Episodes of docility suggest how workers' responses have been embodied in histories that sediment into the bodies and minds of workers, night-by-night. They hint at the embodied skills that inexperienced workers deploy to readjust and survive in such contexts where co-actors manipulate and overpower them. For example, Basrí defying our supervisor illustrates that over the four years he has learnt practical strategies to navigate through disciplining measures. I was not as prepared as Basrí to confront the supervisor.

In regard to Gică's portrait, it is worth noting that workers develop strategies to manage precariousness. The skills one needs in grappling with conflict depend on several individual properties: a) how one deals with spontaneous blows; b) how profoundly sedimented one's bodily histories are; and c) how quickly we deploy them during the conflict. Gică's actions are attuned or lean closer to the organisation's interests to develop capital at the expense of his co-workers' bodily power. Then, as Wacquant (2014:120) argues, “all social agents are located in a hierarchical distribution of forms of capital rooted in or derived from the economic structure”. Next, I consider the perspective of a night worker who has been working in roles ascending the hierarchical chain of command and production.

4.3.4. Logan – salesman

Logan's story is a mix of the individual and *class habitus* (Wacquant 2015). The individual connects Logan to the other three actors. Like Lexa, Basrí and Gică, Logan has a “singular

social trajectory and set of life experiences” (Wacquant 2014:120) that marked his early night shift work experiences. But he shares the hardships that every night worker faces; the physical and social suffering as well as their fate. Logan’s shared individual experiences and troubles in climbing the social and organisation hierarchy in the 17 years of night market is “stamped by membership in the collectives and attachments to institutions” (Wacquant 2014:120). I foreground Logan, as the “successful” worker, who lucratively navigated through all the roles that he has held for the past 17 years of night shifting at the market.

His story connects specific threads discussed so far. He is an embodiment of institutional presence through organisational labour discipline practices. His body is the carrier of mechanisms and practices that the other three actors experience at the receiving end of orders from someone like Logan. The latter aspect links Logan to a form of class habitus – being part of a hierarchical order in charge of distributing further the forms of capital that he embodied through the individual and collective habitus of night shift work. He is defending and applying the employers’ will to extract capital with the least possible investment in the employees. This means that he was once at the receiving end, but now he is in an authoritative position higher than Gică, the supervisor, will ever be if he continues working in a foreman’s position. In this way, the habitus of night shift work cannot be fruitfully analysed without Logan since he represents “settings that inculcate, cultivate, and reward distinct but transposable sets of categories, skills, and desires among their participants” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1998:71).

Logan’s cumulative experience as salesman and ex-owner of a trading company in the fruit and vegetable trade, places him amongst the high-end “class habitus” workers, linked into the assemblages of the higher calibre on the hierarchy of male managers, traders and owners, in and outside of the market. More formally, Sennett substantiates that Logan exercises “power present in the superficial scenes of teamwork” with full-authority (1998:227). Logan’s autocratic, authoritarian presence overrides the role of the market’s authorities. Notably, a unifying policy applied by the CoL market authority or by the Tenancy Association (based at Spitalfields market) to protect the workers’ needs and rights, is missing. Hence, the regulator’s authority is absent and along with that its responsibility to protect workers from autocratic managers like Logan. CoL is accountable for the indignities that market workers experience. However, turning a blind eye to the exploitation of workers and the labour conditions of trading business housed under its roof, the CoL participates in reproducing patterns of precarity.

Logan reflects “an old-style of work hierarchy” (Sennett 1998:227). Thus, his absolute position dictates the rules for other workers – when and where they can eat or if they leave (or not) the shop floor. On the other hand, Logan takes responsibility for his team, which is defiant of the “modern management techniques” (Sennett 1998:227). He explains:

Well, if I’m in charge, I would like to know where my staff is, at the toilet, at the cafe... It’s not the case of ... why is he going to the toilet? But when you don’t know [where your staff is] it’s the worst. It’s best if you know. So, if I am going to the toilet, I’ll tell my boss, so he keeps an eye on [the stand].

Unsurprisingly, these migrant workers do not belong to a union. Market workers are employed and paid by the traders, and thus subject to the respective companies’ policies. For example, Turkish owned companies’ trading practice or work ethics have encultured the new employees to the use of Turkish as the only business language. It does not vary substantially, except with a few customers or CoL staff English speakers; most customers at the Turkish owned companies are Kurdish-Turkish grocers, employed as drivers who also buy and transport produce for their employers, often not frequenting the night market. However, the equation changes when we speak about the Pakistani or Romanian non-speakers of Turkish, working at the companies based in the market. Moreover, I probed Logan as to whether at his company such practices exist.

Yes, he says; and if you want to communicate with people you’ll find a way. You understand what I mean? ... If you wanna communicate with someone of a different nationality, and there is no middle language that you both understand there is always a way. And that person will be able to understand you. Plus, if you want that person to understand, you’ll try to explain the best you can.

Unless team workers share a similar business language and all workers obtain vital information regarding the tasks and instructions, the relationships amongst co-workers and between themselves and management will be superficial in nature. Thus, I raise this question of Logan’s affirmation: could lack of (a common) language to communicate between workers of different nationalities present advantages to the management whose aim is to prevent cooperation? In other words, management does not provide the means (eg. translator) so information is transferred top-down purposefully to keep team members apart and unable to cooperate on issues of concern, but able to carry out the menial tasks. Many unskilled workers, including the previous three respondents, admit that they lack the language skills they need (e.g. English) to work for/with others than their nationalities. That restricts their opportunities to seek work elsewhere and locks them into precarious positions. Moreover, they need to accept and become

dependent on the workplaces that trade only in their mother tongue risking the disadvantages resting within such deadlock. In the long term, it proves detrimental because they cannot learn another (e.g. English) language, thus cannot perform elsewhere. Basrí contrasts Logan. The latter's conviction that one can always find a way of communicating is not held by Basrí. On Basrí's account:

If I wanted to work somewhere else outside of here, I can't because I don't know English well enough. For now, we continue like this. We'll see for how long.

This is because workers like Basrí are not hired elsewhere and remain in the same positions for much longer than initially imagined. One further aspect that begs consideration regards the manager directly. Basrí's manager does not have enough language skills and he does not ensure that translators are present during staff meetings and task delegating. He relies on peer- group pressure to pass down the messages.

Another aspect is obedient individualism (opposite to the culture of the ghetto, Wacquant 2004). The obedient worker does not confront the supervisor or manager who delegates tasks non-verbally and controls the workers by seizing on their opportunities (e.g. to eat, sit, and for toilet relief) through manipulating practices. Only when challenged, as I have shown in Gică's portrait, does language become a tool to manipulate others. He manipulated my behaviour when he said that if "my brother tells me when he goes to the toilet, then you should tell me at once when you leave the store for any reason." More significantly, in such cases, a lack of language skills perpetuates precariousness for workers, as well as encourages superficiality of teamwork by those in positions of authority, like Logan. This is so, even when he takes responsibility for his absence off-site and signals the team to cover for him. Logan insists that his work ethics, partly resulting from his acculturation to English practices, are more flexible and inclusive of the workers' rights, dignifying working conditions.

Nevertheless, due to my insider's position, I have been subject to (and have seen the same for other workers) not being allowed to leave the stand for food breaks, toilet relief, respite or to buy drinks from the market café. When I share my insights with him, he contradicts me. He is convinced that

They are [allowed]. You get breaks when there is nothing to do, when the stand is not busy. ... in my opinion, if the job slows down and they wanna' go to have breakfast, that's fine. As long as I know that, go ahead. ... they are human beings, like us; there is no difference between us and the loaders; or forklift drivers [forklift

drivers]. I don't look at it that way. People do, but, I don't. ... They are human beings. There is no difference. If there is a break, let them have it. But they got to realise. They got to appreciate it!

Logan acknowledges the wrongs in others' practices and sets himself apart. I foregrounded him to depict practices that the other three have no insight into, or because, in their low skilled position, they cannot perform specific duties such as dismissals, as part of disciplinary methods. The fact that Logan can, has been the result of his involvement with this trade for the past 17 years and his upward mobility from the precarious start. Logan mediates successfully the embodiment of "structures that structure" the field and the actions embedded into his body, i.e. set into his corporeality (Bourdieu 2000).

By the same logic, Logan has "sedimented" the habitus of night shift worker and reaps the rewards (Wacquant 2015:4). He too is so completely involved with his job that he was "sociologically destined" from the moment he stepped in the market, at age 16 (Bourdieu 2000:154). As Bourdieu explains further, agents like Logan, "because of their previous investments, are inclined to be interested in it and endowed with the aptitudes needed to reactivate it" (2000:151). The habitus of a night shift worker is a set of responses or tasks performed subconsciously, at work. But, Logan has omitted to acknowledge in the interview, that the workplace has not helped the intimate area of his life outside, given the two divorces along the way, and not socialising with others outside of the market except for long-term market co-workers. Altogether the four embodied histories reveal feelings, suffering and skills that they formed and cultivated due to the interplay between the set of dispositions acquired at the conjuncture of the precarious night working conditions and one's circadian rhythms. The four night workers' bodily learning rests on their bodily capital, which is their "stock-in trade" (Wacquant 2004:129) or the "means of production" (Wacquant 1995:67) to sell labour and skills in exchange for a living wage.

Lexa portrays the most precarious position among the four workers. Her short history at the market encapsulates aspects of an inexperienced night worker – being in the UK labour market for less than six months by the time I interviewed her. At the same time though, she shares with the others the hardships of market night shift work in an environment regulated by soft and unobserved rules. More notable in her case, is the abuse that she encountered from her employer that the other male workers have not reported. Despite her determination, her encounters have tested her abilities to inhabit the needed dispositions to perform competitively in the nocturnal

landscape of the market. She endures because of her aim to save money fast and bring her small daughter to the UK.

Basrí's portrait, at intervals, depicts a migrant away from home, trapped between night shift work and family commitments. Though night shifting at the market is hard, he needs to sacrifice himself for them. While he struggles to continue working nights, he enacts the properties of an agent capable of maintaining and protecting his wife and children. That, however, is a paradox, as he sacrifices time with family and night sleep to improve their situation. Basrí voluntarily postpones finding work in the daytime "for one more year", which he has been saying for the past five years, because working nights give him a unique advantage to earn a better salary than working on day shift, outside the market. Meanwhile, he acquired further skills as porter.

Gică's acts of an exploitative nature (order distributions, gestures) also reflect the manners of others of higher status such as customers, managers or salesmen at other trading companies in Spitalfields market. Some shout at and kick workers; others, like the café manager unlawfully deduct their staff's wages. Strikingly, Gică is perhaps reflecting above all the capital-labour that he accumulated and sedimented as a result of years of bodily labour; moreover the years that he spent in learning the craft of manipulating co-workers are unveiled in his practices. There is a direct correlation between bodily capital and labour (Wacquant 1995). That is, a co-dependency that characterises the 'incorporated', embodied, form of habitus of night shift work. This is revealed in the agent who enables a form of capital accumulation to "appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu 1986:46). Gică represents Wacquant's boxers at work who exploit their bodily capital and learning, but without the laurels (1995).

Logan is the most successful at applying the set of skills that he internalised through nocturnal work relations and diurnal capital accumulation. Logan crystallises forms of class habitus, here linked to repressive measures. He demonstrated an institutionalised set of skills inculcated as he progressed up the organisational hierarchy. As a floor manager, he makes his decisions about his workers not from the conviction that they deserve the rights, but on the basis that they should be appreciative of his indulgence. Logan does not convey an image of satisfaction drawn from power over his workers. He acts in a specific manner because he follows a particular work ethos practised within the social landscape of the market – he himself being subject of the employer's labour discipline ethic that he shares with the other three actors. Though he is the least precarious of the four actors – not detached

from the privileges he holds – the role that Logan has in disciplining (i.e. controlling the time and liberties of) the workers is critical in the discussions on the habitus of night shift work. Last, there are striking differences between the high and the low workers on the labour-division hierarchy in this wholesale market. I make use of the visual objectification to reinforce the differences (and similarities to a lesser extent at this point in the discussion) between Logan and the other three actors, and market-wide between owners, managers, and sales staff on the one hand, and loaders and drivers on the other. The managers and sales staff survey the loaders and drivers. The eyes of the watchers are always surveying the low-skilled workers either as shown below, physically present or while sitting in the warm office through the closed-circuit television (CCTV) installed throughout the stands.

4.4. *Habitus and Six S's Applied to Night shifts*

In this chapter, I focused on knowing how individual coping trajectories reveal workers' bodily knowledge. My intention has been twofold. On the one hand, I elaborated empirically on Bourdieu's habitus. I shared the unspoken bodily practices of my respondents inured by their night shift work experiences, night-in, night-out. On the other, I provided a finite microanalysis of the researcher's experience and limited the interpretation to three out of the six 's' factors (suffering, skills to tap into my organism, my bodily knowledge as an observant participant. Thus, analysis of my night shift practices allowed me to identify practical knowledge embodied but not elaborated in so-called technical terms by my respondents. It further enabled me, in the latter sections, to corroborate the empirical material organised in the four embodied histories of Lexa, Gică, Basrí and Logan. Put differently, I performed the phenomenon to decode the co-workers' bodily knowledge resulting from practices, such as loading, driving, serving or selling in the night, which makes them (or not) socially competent in the social space of the nocturnal market. Overall, the discussion benefited from the scholarly work of Bourdieu on habitus and Wacquant's six 's'. The more experienced night workers inhabited the social isolation, sleep deprivation, physical exhaustion, and mental alienation. But, their knowledge is tacit – so it is challenging to externalise or verbalise, due to the ethnographer's emic position. More, their embodied histories of senses, sufferings, and skills situated in the context of the bodily precariousness of night shift work are captured by a cumulative sensorium that they are not inspired to access and transmit via agreed communication channels.

Theoretically, taking together chapters three and four enable us to reflect on “situated knowledge” – embodied by the worker embedded in the social field of the night market. The previous chapter focused more on the meaning attributed to night shift workers situated in the social space that is defined by the transition from circadian to a post-circadian capitalist era. It explicated how contemporary migrant night shift work is governed indirectly and implicitly by the market’s authorities. In Bourdieu’s language, the “somatic compliance” creates “the collective automaton” worker (Bourdieu 2000:145). Put differently, the supervisor’s regimenting practice determines the only acceptable behaviour under his command – the obedient individual. There are though exceptions, as in Basri’s case; his advanced strategies avoided the disciplining measures of the foreman. Otherwise, by and large, the management’s precarisation methods are met by workers with a habitus of precariousness instilled and forged into dispositions ingrained into the workers’ bodies and minds over time – thus, obediently following orders.

All these processes combined are responsible for what one may call forging of the bio-automaton worker in disciplinary practices embedded into the workers’ bodies. The practices embedded through a continuum of interactions between their habitus and the field makes them competent within the night market social space and incompetent outside. Bourdieu’s meditations on the bodily knowledge complemented his conviction that somatic compliance leads to a collective automaton, confirming this investigation’s overall argument. Thus, the post-circadian capitalist era’s disrespect the workers’ bodies and manifests itself through the physical suffering of the social bio-automatons that they are becoming. Such mechanisms manipulate bodies, causing physical and somatic maladjustments to the circadian rhythms and alienate night workers social relations to one another and within themselves (Roberts 2015). A sizeable segment of the migrant population of the 24/7, global cities (London, New York, Delhi and Mumbai) working at night share the “hysteresis effect” by being invisible to and from (not interacting with) customers in different time zones (Aneesh 2012:527).

It becomes palpable that as researchers we “reap the rewards”, as Wacquant (2015) insists, when we immerse our bodies into the phenomenon under investigation. Self-observational knowledge inserted in this chapter shows that only the observant participant knows what happens “back-stage” (Goffman 1991). That is, an insider-researcher de-codes night workers’ bodily knowledge only when ‘going native and armed’. I have shown here, that by attesting to the experiences of night shift workers in their nocturnal habitat, one intended to give voice to

the bodily practices through the act of writing, here or by previous scholarly writers (Wacquant 2004, 2010, 2014, 2015). In addition to giving voice, one connected via visual instrumentation text analysis with representational acuity (Wacquant 2004). Similarly, efforts will be made to employ the tool of documentary filmmaking to “tell a specific message” (Glynn 2012:176-7) about the lives of these migrants working in the glocturnal city. This chapter closes with a more general consideration, namely that workers’ habitus of precariousness results from the interplay between the post-circadian capitalist system, manipulating the body’s physiological 24-hour rhythms and the workers’ embodied histories of exploitation through night-by-night bodily practices. This leads my own and my co-workers’ journeys to conversations about *Bodily Cooperation* discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE:

BODILY COOPERATION

This chapter's premise is that the human body is a medium for practical learning of social interactions. Therefore, it is difficult to assess power relations through "intervention of discursive consciousness and reflective explication" alone (Bourdieu 1990:130). Thus, one has to explain how bodies are instruments of economic exploitation but also embody social skills through physical labour. If the intellectual gaze on any matter, is a "mental affair liable to an intellectualist reading" (Wacquant 2005:466), then the dare is to offer an anthropologically inspired, bodily ethnography of night shift work. As a practical, therefore, kinetic, and physical labour act, this nocturnal ethnography links the physical to the social attributes of night shift work activity.

On a nightly basis, I unveiled how co-workers embodied routinised social interactions embedded and embodied without and below language cues. Sometimes, even without the stream of consciousness, during the nadir point, when the body is unable to withstand by conscious effort alone, and the individual cannot speak coherently or stand straight, automatised responses take over to perform some tasks. Involuntarily once, my knees collapsed and eyes closed for a few seconds, but I continued uttering to one customer not quite aware what I uttered while the body was in mid-fall. It felt as if during that nadir point, the body's functions refused to cooperate with the demands of the mind engaged in serving that one customer, as if my mind and body were divided.

This chapter explores the processes and interactions that happen over time in the night shift workers' bodies through modes of embodiment. The following three modes are crucial in explicating the development of embodied cooperation:

- Rhythmic practices – rituals ingrained in the body through repetitive, physical labour;
- Physical motions – informal social relations that have been borne out of physical, bodily gestures;
- Endurance against physical resistance – due to which workers learn to engage meaningfully in dealing with ambiguity, social resistance and difference.

Differently put, the abstract modes enumerated above link ritualised acts to forms of bodily cooperation. Regarding the ritualisation process, firstly, physical labour ingrained into one's body through rhythmic, repetitive tasks becomes ritualised. Secondly, the bodily gestures ease social bonds with co-workers such as reading cues and signs: for example, winks and smiles that invite, warning frowns, handshakes, and shrugged shoulders that could either indicate a tired person (depressed shoulders) or someone saying with their body 'I do not know' (elevated shoulders). Thirdly, by honing resilience through confrontations with physical resistance-led tasks one's co-workers demonstrate how to deal with resistance in the social interactions with others who differ. By the end of the chapter, one will have translated bodily knowledge into an anthropological logic that demonstrates the functions of the body in constructing social competency (Wacquant 2015:7).

This chapter uncovers the layers and subtleties inherent in the abstract links to the embodiment of cooperation. It does so according to the principles of narrating and analysis of "lived experience". The purpose is to draw the reader into the precarious landscape of the market and depict the workers' skills which highlight how they ingrain with muscles and senses the social interactions whereby cooperation becomes embodied. It conveys the processes by way of mixing the narrations with conceptual and descriptive field notes based on observations of self and other workers foregrounded in this chapter. The empirical material combined enables me to address how workers nurture, through physical labour, cooperative social skills regardless of differences in ethnicity, race, religion, moral value or sexual orientation. The chapter reveals that ritualised bodily cooperation in the workplace combines rhythm, gestures, and painstaking effort to learn social skills to work with others who differ and resist on their own terms.

19th century Welsh industrialist Robert Owen laid the foundations of "today's labour rights – social democracy or socialism from the ground up" (Sennett 2012:44). Owen's workshops in the United Kingdom (UK) resemble Booker Washington's Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes for the ex-slaves in the United States (US). Both programs focused on admitting differences between service users, as well as mutual respect, trust, and loyalty – in a word, solidarity.

Their framework addressed “how cohesion can be kindled among people doing different kinds of tasks?” (Sennett 2012:128). Building therefore on the premise stated earlier, a night worker’s good physical labour skills are the means for re-/producing embodied cooperation.

5.1. *The Development of Embodied Cooperation*

All sixteen gates of the market hall are widely open throughout the cold, wintry nights. The wind wave dances through the main aisles of the market leaving one few options to keep away from the chill, either standing by the exhaust of a forklift with its gas engine running or between the aisles of a fruit and vegetable stand; downstairs, on the boxes of bananas; upstairs, on pallets of ginger and garlic; these three types of produce release heat during fermentation. At the start of every night shift (22:00), most loaders and drivers either warm up standing by the forklift’s exhaust or sip warm, milky coffee. The latter used to warm-up one’s upper body dressed in five layers during those long months. Six nights a week, co-workers enter the market hall slowly. They head towards the stand and disappear between the aisles of pallets of fresh fruit and vegetables. There are no changing rooms. They work in clothes they travelled with, and hang their ‘lunch’ bags on the hooks nailed into the wooden pad tied at each end with a thin iron cable. Every smile given brings another in return, though not within the confines of this company’s workers. Their weary faces and worn-out bodies hardly mutter or move at the start of a night shift.

Muro, a 43-year-old loader mutters in Turkish ‘günaydın’ (good morning) at 22:00. Then hides his iron box full of rolled up cigarettes under a pallet. Every now and again, throughout the night he takes out one cigarette from the hidden box. Basrí (introduced in chapter three) is thirty minutes late, again. Sheepishly, he avoids the look of the manager browsing his phone and pretending that he does not notice him. Basrí goes straight to another forklift driver sitting on the forklift with the engine started. His swollen eyes are testimony that he woke up from a 2-hour sleep that he sandwiched in between the daily tasks to deal with the delivery of new furniture and toys for his younger son. He confessed about his home-schedule later that shift. For now, he mutters a half-pitched Merhaba (hello in Turkish). As I continue to scrutinise the scene, Nomar, one of the two check-men walks towards Basrí with a cup of coffee in his hand. He comes close to and leans on the back of the forklift which heats his lower limbs. He puts his hands on the metal frame of the forklift, warmed-up by the engine running on gas.

Contrasting with the males' behaviour, Flori, the café server passes by the stand. She appears lively in the hours of the night as she provides a mechanical and minimal service to café customers, workers or buyers of fruit and vegetables. As she passes by the forklift, she schmoozes the other three males, Basrí, Nomar, and the driver sitting on the forklift. In the end, she leaves with one order of an energising drink for Basrí; with light steps, she exits the market gate to enter the café situated across the way. Basrí associates the market rhythms with low and high-pitched 'ses' (voice). On this wintry night shift, he says, "the market has a little voice", meaning that the market is quiet.

Even quiet night shifts throb with Basrí's, Flori's, Muzo's and others' bodies. As portrayed in chapter four, most night shift workers suffer from sleep despoliation, physical aches and pains due to heavy loads, driving forklifts like 'sleepless bats' or walking like 'dead men' doing repetitive, monotonous tasks. The expectancy of a Thursday night shift involves repetitive tasks, and crazy rhythms; but not monotony. By midnight, loaders and drivers will be sweating and discard a few layers of clothes, when the gates open to customers. A long trail of forklift driver vans forms as customers drive onto the parking area of the market. Customers park their vans and walk quickly to the stands they buy from night-by-night. Loaders know their usual customers and vice-versa. One notes a friendly exchange of glances and smiles between customers, managers, owners, and café waitresses. As the crazy rhythms take over the night market, the shouting voices, the forklifts horns, the sound of the falling pallets on the floor, sometimes the screeching wheels, all meet the expectation of a hectic night shift.

Many workers agree that night shifting extends beyond its grounds and into their social lives and wellbeing. Young loaders like to toil with the heavy loads, night-in, night-out. Basrí and others younger than him, sweat from heavy loads that they carry onto their body, and so they feel no need to join a gym. The nightly exhaustion intrudes into the workers' social life and permeates deep into the daily episodes of their private existence. To paraphrase Hannah Arendt (1958), she explains in "The Human Condition" her concerns regard the fragile balance between private and public. Arendt envisioned that the 24/7 economy and its offspring the consumerist culture devours and discards everything that it meets, from production to end-consumer. In this "creative destruction" process, she argues that the rhythmic balance between "exhaustion and regeneration" is so fragile and unsustainable that things (and humans) exhaust themselves before they regenerate.

The balance tips when labour-caused exhaustion invades the workers' private space at the expense of reduced time for regeneration in the domestic environment. Her words echo in the respondents' stories. In Basrí's case, night shifting has become too strenuous for him to have a social life. More, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday night shifts (weekly nightlife hours for diurnal workers) are the week's busiest time at Spitalfields market. Like Basrí, another forklift driver confesses:

I wake up at 9 pm. I come here for the 10 pm start. I have been working here for about 4-5 years, and I know people who have been working in this market for 20 years ... night work eats your life away (Mehmet)

Market night workers do not socialise outside of working hours, except on rare occasions. Whatever stamina they have left in their bodies after one week of nights, they spend it on family time on Saturdays and Sundays. The price they pay for family time amounts to lack of sleep, and therefore recovery before returning to another week's night work. Saturday mornings the atmosphere of the fruit and vegetable stores brings temporary relief to workers. That hour signals the end of a hard-fought week of repetitiveness, monotonous, bodily strenuous labour.

One late customer who arrives around 9 am to buy the second-class produce before closing the week's sales, stands between the loaders' cravings for rest and their imagined joy of one-night sleep in the whole week. My fieldnotes conserved this "usual Saturday scene", following a 12h shift on Friday night. It illustrates first, aspects of division of labour; second, it includes "a host of small pleasures in it, without which it would be hard to preserve in the trade" (Wacquant 2004:68), and third, the scene highlights stronger bonding among low-skilled workers.

On Saturday, 2nd May 2015, I hear music from the radio in the front of the van of the belated customer that we are now loading. This customer always arrives at closing time to buy all the 2nd class, perishing produce. This morning, they (the manager – who's the only sales person he deals with) and the customer, are having a 'special mix' – whiskey and Redbull. They drink with loud Kurdish-Turkish background music playing on 'Mutlu Radio' (Happy Radio). Manager BE., working at A's sister company joins them. The three of them, listen to Happy Radio and have a karaoke session in the front. Us four at the back (Z., me and Gică) load the van to the brim, and Basrí transports the last crates by forklift. Two other co-workers watch the scene from the nearby gate.

In this event, the night shift extended beyond the usual closing time and encroached onto an already drained body resource, that mechanically continued the monotonous lifting, grabbing, and pushing crates while the three managers enjoyed each other's company. Reflectively, did

my co-workers question disruptions such as the above? Managers exploited us requesting us to continue with unpaid overtime. My co-workers had family responsibilities so they had to continue. They could not protest as firing was an immediate threat. Besides, Gică, the supervisor, who often watched from afar, loaded shoulder-to-shoulder with Pak and myself. and all three of us were supported by Basrí who appeared and disappeared on the forklift transporting the bought goods.

Disruption in the routinised closing time practices tested cooperation. I noted the camaraderie surfacing for that one-hour-long of loading. Disruption here is a transitory moment of cohesion, so to say, among a small group of workers with different skills (supervisor-loader-forklift driver) and ethnicities (Non-/Roma-Romanian, Roma-Bulgarian Turkish). The same rhythms united our movements and flow. We shared similar gestures - swore silently, smiled or winked at one another as the three managers partied in front. In parallel, one's ambiguity surfaced (shall I protest? or shall I leave altogether?).

The smiles and the winking while passing the 100+ crates from hand to hand, made us persevere in a physical, non-verbal manner. The embodied fraternity surfaced in moments of pain and resentment against management or our own predicament of suffering. This carnal care meant not running the risk of dropping, misplacing crates and sacks, which would create unnecessary work and prolong an already eternal shift. This embodied duty requires concentration so not to impose sanctions upon ourselves or other co-workers waiting to go home or to the market café – the other team members waited for this last task to complete. The monotony of passing crate-by-crate rhythmically disappeared in these thoughtful, yet mindless embodied gestures. The anticipation of spending social time with other single wo/men in the market café helped to focus on the task at hand.

For some workers, hidden pleasures came from managing bodily precariousness during social drinking at the market café. Basrí, for example, as a family man precluded himself from social gatherings in the café, on Saturday mornings. However, single wo/men or men with families away in their home countries (like Gică, Barik) congregated at café C1, almost ritually. Their bodies and minds gave away through gestures and showed the joy of relief at not having to return to loading, serving or selling for one night. The café servers counting the money at closing time share similar feelings. The workers sit and drink in teams, each belonging to his

or her respective company. The divide is noticeable. The managers sit together. More noticeable is the divide between those who play a Kurdish card game (Lori) and others who do not.

It might be useful to render such instances of adult playing through Geertzian “scenography of deep play” where “adults seething and confessing enact everyday rituals to bind people together socially” (Sennett 2008:271). Nonetheless, in visits to the market café on Saturday mornings, none of the “deep play” was enacted. Put in a different way, no profound confession practices filled in the almost ritual gathering in the market café by single male co-workers. Rituals such as social drinking and playing cards happened weekly, loaders and drivers sat at tables in small groups of members belonging to the same company, and rarely mixed.

Moreover, they always played the same card game for hours on end as other workers watched. In contrast, outside of the weekly social bonding at café C1, managers were competing in sales of tomatoes (a favourite product) at the lowest price. On Saturday mornings, managers were back playing together the card game in C1. Managers repeated this ritual weekly almost without fail. There were exceptions, like the one on 11 July 2015. During the Friday night sales, the manager from Company D dropped the usual price of tomatoes from £1.70 to £1.00. This tactic convinced the buyer of Company A (a sizeable Turkish supermarket chain in London) to buy the tomatoes from company D instead of A. On that Saturday morning, the Company A manager entered the café looking for his competitor friend (Company D manager) for a game of Lori, the usual card game, but his game partner was nowhere. However, the next week, both were back in the game.

Nightly, loaders, check men and drivers enact wars with the use of “intelligent artefacts” objects of disruption, such as loaders’ bodies, brooms, forklifts, and wrapping cutters (see discussion in conclusion) (Gherardi 2006:36). She (2006) argues that some practices aid whereas others constrain, depending on whom, for what purpose, and with what means they engage. Co-workers engage in pallet collection throughout the week. At the end of the week, they sell the pallets for extra cash. This side business involves several more steps. This practice is an intelligible means of activating (cohesive as well as destructive) social relations among group members at company A.

The psychologist, Erik Erikson’s theories connect sociability in play and work. Erikson believed that when children pull out an eye of a toy bear they “do technical work on material

objects” (Erikson 1995 cited by Sennett 2008:271), as opposed to acting out aggressive tendencies. He applied the same concept to adult behaviour at work and saw similar consequences as in a child’s play. One condition for this was the repetition of the act itself, i.e. repetition of a technical activity that consequently improved with practice. In two words, “repetition and modulation” in practice are building blocks for social rituals.

Nightshifts are deafeningly quiet sometimes at Spitalfields. Loaders are expecting orders, or they stand anxiety-ridden for the fear that they are expendable and will lose their jobs. Similarly, café waitresses schmooze longer than usual with customers and workers in the hope of selling drinks or food otherwise; they are fired without notice. During frantic rhythms, loaders night-walk similar distances to café servers while delivering hot and cold food and drinks at various stands, vans or straight into the hand of forklift drivers on-the-move. I asked Flori, the café server to monitor her walking distance with a mobile application similar to the one that I used to monitor walking distance during my fieldwork. At the end of the night shift, we walked the same distance; 16km. Most café servers average 16km on a nightly walk, but much less in smiles at the end of each night shift. Exhaustion throbs with workers’ bodies.

Whenever Flori passes by the stand, she smiles and joins in conversations that end with sales of mixed-up drinks or food. Café servers take orders from traders’ stands, either face-to-face or via the landline in the coffee shops. That involves physical skills, receiving, picking up and delivering orders, and social skills; selling the goods. Over several years Flori left and returned to work the night shift numerous times. I gleaned information on her motivation for repeatedly returning to work nights. Flori is not economically motivated to work nights, as most workers are. Instead, Flori tells me that “I work nights to stay out of trouble. I used to get into fights with college girls.” Flori is college educated, fluent in English and her parents can support her financially when needed. Her motives are, then, different in nature.

Flori is first-generation English-born, in her family of Turkish-Cypriot migrants. Due to her fluency in English, she sells more to the English market traders, who prefer her because she is “more outgoing, successful at flattering, laughing with her male customers” (Flori). For that, her boss values her experience as Flori is a key server in the team with the highest sales record to date. She thinks that is the reason why she sells more than Romanian or Lithuanian women working for the competing coffee shops in the market.

Though, as Flori sketches below, she is good at small talk with her customers and successful at collecting information. Worthy of note here is the information that highlights similar challenges facing night shifters in maintaining intimate relationships, and in dealing with isolation and invisibility. Flori's personal wish is "to build up relationships":

Working at night in this market café fulfils more than just making good sales; it has a social dimension. I don't know, you feel like a lonely person. Yeah, I would say [that about a] night job. There are so many people at the market, working here at night and they broke up with their wives because they would cheat on them because they would have no time for them. Many people explained to me... 'cause you know... I build up relationships with people, and they tell me everything... so when they wanna talk to someone, they come to me.

Flori has captured an essential facet of sociability among market workers. More importantly, her words speak of maladjustment to her diurnal existence. Put differently, the alienation that she encounters by not fitting within the mainstream, diurnal society is compensated through a set of dispositions "implying both the propensity and the aptitude to enter into the game and to play it with more or less success" (Bourdieu 2000:155).

Flori tells us a different story to the one Lexa gave in chapters two and three. Lexa, a migrant, came to London to make and save money fast. Flori was motivated to work in the wholesale market because she finds it rewarding to soothe the solitude of the workers whom she schmoozes on shift. Finally, Flori's skills in being sociable with other night workers contrast Lexa's. Flori's approach is unique, as within the nocturnal landscape of the market, bottom-up sociality showing concern for different others' conditions is hardly visible, whereby if one worker helps another it seems out of place. Besides, her keen interest to engage with other market workers to confide, is the opposite to the ritual gathering in the market café on Saturdays which lacked dialogic exchanges between the single male co-workers.

Hence, except for Flori's personal wish to bond with other market workers on-site or out of the workplace, by and large, night workers act out of competition or cooperate through instances of disruption. In general, they are *uninterested* in building collective sociality outside of and within the workplace. While I will further elaborate on this in the remaining sections, the main claim for this section is that the development of embodied cooperation is a process that relies on the modes providing the basis for the simplicity of loaders', drivers' and salesmen's routinised gestures and movements, bound in rhythmic physical gestures and in working with ambiguity.

5.2. *Routinised Bodily Cooperation*

It takes one up to ten thousand hours or four-five years of four-hour daily practice, to attain a sufficient command and rhythm of a performant bodily skill to produce satisfying results (Sennett 2012). An experienced loader needs five to six months of nightly practice to become a competitive worker in the capitalist chain of production. Immersed in the field, I loaded while I walked a nightly average of 12,500 steps or 8.5km totalling 3,500,000 steps or 2,350km over eight months. In parallel, the loader hones other skills: gripping, throwing, bending, lifting with one or both hands, setting a load on the shoulder while walking fast to face the nightly rhythm in the workplace. Staying alert at night is the most challenging task for workers, even for those who have partly transformed their circadian rhythm. Not just up, but up and alert, talking and smiling to customers, calculating and counting items, driving forklifts, releasing bodily fluids, ingesting food, and a whole other set of activities that require attention span, cognitive and social relations skills during night working hours. Rhythm governs human functioning. 24-hour circadian rhythms control our states of waking and sleeping. Sleeping at night is ingrained from infancy until it becomes a habit.

Ingraining, for Bourdieu (2000), happens through the embodiment of histories built over time, in specific fields, and in sets of dispositions that structure our responses into second nature. Ingraining a habit is the first stage of ritual. The second stage involves evaluation and re-evaluation of the habit. We established in chapter four through Wacquant's (2004, 2014) lens on the six 's' elements, that the human animal is skilled, s/he suffers, and sediments all individual and collective histories into her body, and turns it over time into bodily knowledge. A boxer will assess the way s/he forms a punch or keeps her/his wrist. S/he will improve with the study of such minute details ingrained into the body. In this second stage, the boxer is often experimenting with her/his body positions, techniques and breathing during endless hours of training. Following evaluations, in the third stage, the boxer grips her/his fingers tighter or more relaxed depending on strategy; positioning of the wrist and shoulder will give the boxer the fluency and confidence to knock-out her/his competitor with a jab. Fluency gives the boxer confidence in that technique, which in turn explains how boxers develop a particular rhythm and style. Put differently; rhythms become set into rituals.

On the contrary, one disrupts her/his regular practice if one slides out of rhythm and risks losing the hard-earned ritual. Continuous practice improves the skills over time through ingrainings, re-ingrainings post thinking and readjusting, forgetting and remembering without thinking. Night shift work habitus is embodied by the individual as we have learnt in the previous chapter. In this section, we extend the discussion from the individual level to the ritualised bodily cooperation when dealing with others' ambiguities in the workplace.

Rhythmic practices

I finished this week's work. I go, to the other side of the country and see my family. I travel there, see them for 3-4 hours, then I sleep. Then I wake up. We sit down and have a chat. I sleep for a few hours in the night, and I wake up at 2 am. Then, I sit down with my sis, my aunty, my family. My cousins, sit down with me when I get there. Then, I go to sleep again, like 7-8am. I sleep 4-5 hours again. I have something to eat. We go out for 2-3 hours. Then, I have 2 hours to rest again. Then, I got to come back to London. So, I got to catch a train or a bus. I go straight back to work. (Ayrán)

Rhythmic, repetitive, work practices are the bedrock of any ritual. Ayrán has repeatedly performed this ritual, on a weekly basis for 14 years. He visits his family living in the North of England. Rhythmically too, Ayrán works around 66-70 hours per week, starting every night at 10 pm, and finishing around 9 am, for six nights a week. "Fluent and unselfconscious", Ayrán moves and removes pallets (Sennett 2012:204); as orders complete, Ayrán checks the goods before pallets leave the stand. If he finds mistakes – he is responsible for missing items – pallets remain. So, he observes with his dark peregrine eyes the whole store, from where he is standing.

One hears a slight accent in Ayrán's voice as he is first generation British, born of parents from sub-continental India. If you do not hear his voice, you see him chatting with the trader opposite to company A or other Asian forklift drivers. As the work rhythm increases, his voice pitch raises, and he gets agitated. He shouts at his driver colleagues who need to speed things up as customers are waiting outside the market hall for the pallet. He continues to interact with customers, mostly. He talks all night to whoever passes by the stand. The market constabularies fined him and took his forklift licence for speeding.

As they pass by he talks even to them. His forklift driver skills were appreciated too. However, he says, "when you're working for a Turkish company because you're doing so many hours, you can't go out. The people who are working here are like dead men walking." On a nightly basis, Ayrán does his duties responsibly. However, he confesses that he has "had enough. I

worked enough doing nightshift.” Moreover, the manager will not allow him to leave till he finds his replacement. “Every replacement I found for him, he found an excuse to refuse the person”, says Ayran, because “you understand people. You understand drivers. You understand what to do. They do not. They need three months’ worth of training. So, he never lets me go.”

Habitus of night shift workers, analysed in the previous chapter, reminds us that specific conditions of the social space constricts embodied knowledge to the practices learned within that particular field (Bourdieu 1977/2000). Ayran’s wealth of experience is knowledge of others gained through an embedded understanding of the rituals in that specific space. It becomes unquestionable that the market site is the forge that moulds night workers into bio-automatons who defy circadian rhythms. The night workers’ bodily capital – technical skills and strategic knowledge – become indispensable to the management.

One may ask why night workers like Ayran and Flori (both with excellent English language skills) do not renounce working in this market despite its precarious conditions? One wonders what advantages the establishment offers to its employees to so that they remain or return to work at night? As Ayran confesses, despite his undisciplined behaviour, the manager has “been very, very, very good to me”. Are experienced workers like Ayran non-expendable like the other co-workers? In conjunction with Ayran’s statements, we re-consider Flori’s earlier conscious desires “to build up relationships” with other night workers. Could the need to stay away from an all-too-ordinary day-time life have become a subconscious one? After all, the market site protects her from day fights in the street or at school, as well as acting as a buffer to the insecurities of everyday life. in contrast to her nightly sociability.

Both her boss and her customers favour Flori. Night protects Flori in several ways and cocoons like-minded people whom she listens to every night. The night protects her from the vagaries of the mainstream and multi-cultured society where she was born. Could Flori’s social abilities and Ayran’s 14 years of strategic understanding of the place (market site with its social and economic transactions) learnt in nightly practices be transferred to another field of work?

Although individual self-development per se has not been part of the empirical investigation, one ponders whether a furnace like the market moulds migrant bodies into contributors of one kind or another to the 24/7 society? Moreover, beyond the penitential way of inhabiting and working the night shift, is there no place and space left for these individuals’ inner

transformation? If so, then, undoubtedly, these workers turn into bio-automatons living antithetically to the regular, day folk, and estranged in their relationship to themselves (Roberts 2015). They become the corroding, drifting entities in service to capital accumulation (Sennett 1998) at the expense of bodily and refined ties to one's society, which is badly in need of repair (Sennett 2012).

Spitalfields nocturnal workers still experience hidden pleasures through different rituals to diurnals; on Saturdays' mornings, they drink at the café after a week's worth of loading or driving; they have breakfast, smoke cigarettes while walking, carrying, loading; drink energising liquids, coffees and teas, after midnight when diurnal people sleep. The little food or cigarette breaks, for example, become a ritual of silence with co-workers sitting on pallets, as far apart as possible. All are examples of embodied rituals in the workshop, the forge that moulds bodies to be up and alert in the night.

I contend that rhythms of Spitalfields market are typical of those experienced by workers in other time zones. It is likely that night workers live the "hysteresis effect" (Bourdieu 1984, cited by Aneesh 2012). As Annessh explains, the shock of living in a "separated lifeworld" affects night workers in India's call centres negatively. They cannot socialise with their global clientele physically located in other time zones. Integration of "real-time global services" operations thus produces disintegration that sets workers and consumers miles and hours apart.

As we have learnt, from respondents, the "hysteresis effect" may offer insight as to why night workers feel isolated due to lack of interaction with diurnal people caused by language barriers, family commitments or night "shift lag". "It is not normal to work in this rhythm", says Dumi. I experienced it myself. For eight months I was not physically present on the same day/night rhythm as my friends and family and I have experienced a similar shock to the "hysteresis effect", i.e. I was socially isolated though I lived on local time, but on reversed dark/light hours. Hence, I relate to Mugur's words: "people were not made to work nights; they were made to work in the daytime."

Arendt (1958) warns of the fragile balance between private and public. She argues that once disrupted by the asynchronous rapport between "exhaustion resulting from labour" and the workers' shrunken space or time for intimacy in the private homes, humanity's efforts for nurturing the common good will be obliterated (Crary 2013:21). On the respondents' accounts

analysed in chapter four, they speak chiefly of this world's disrupted balance. Here it has been considered in brief to highlight that when bodily resources become exhausted, possibilities for cooperation become ever more fragile, if not shut down.

Munn (1983:280) argues, that “people do not simply go in or through time and space, but they form (structure) and constitute (create) the space-time manifold in which they go on”. Time and space, therefore, “become a process continually being produced in everyday practices. People are in a sociocultural time of multiple dimensions (sequencing, timing, past-present-future relations) that they are forming in their projects” (Munn 1992:116). To inhabit the nightscape then means to create time and space in repeated movements, through gestures that become rituals that mirror others' movements in the same (night) time and space, in a continuum to the rhythm of the day. The repeated movements (handshaking, loading, drinking coffee) and gestures (eyes meeting) become harmonised between people sharing similar rhythms, and in some way predictable. The basis for this is the rhythmic, repetitive practice.

Moreover, there are no “night people”, unless “day people” exist. A night person must experience what is like to be a day person. Both know each could not exist without the other. Hence, ‘night’ in conjunction with ‘day’ is the same entity. They beat in opposed tempo. Muzo, for example, explains the division of roles they assume to ensure that home and family duties (e.g. child rearing) are satisfied even though in different tempos. In the past ten months since he has been stocking up the grocery store, with produce from Spitalfields market, he hardly sees his wife:

My wife is a hairdresser. She leaves early in the morning; around 6:30 am. I don't leave work until 7 am. By the time I get home, she's already left. In the evenings, she comes home around 8 pm; I leave home at 7 pm. I mean, there is about one hour and a half difference between us. Sometimes, 4-5 days go by without seeing one another. We live in the same place, but we don't see each other.

In some cultures, “overcoming sleep”, means testing the limits of the body and a sign of “manhood” (Schnepel and Ben-Ari 2005:160). Schnepel and Ben-Ari cite Bastide's (1978) study the cults and rites among Brazil's ex-slaves. The day belonged to the whites, as they put it, so ex-slaves “appropriated the night for themselves as a time for counter-hegemonic display” (2005:160). In a sense, they are taking refuge in the night from power and control, even temporarily. Hence, the other metaphors vis-à-vis night time work as in ‘grey’, ‘informal work’,

'paid-in-cash'. Informal, anti-hegemonic behaviour seems, on the one hand, directed to assimilate, and on the other, to transgress the roles people appropriate in the night.

Day rhythms in the workplace seem more structured. Day staff are less likely to transgress roles while management is present. The opposite seems to be the case in this night market. Boundaries seem to shift further, and managers transgress roles as the night frontier advances; like when the owner is absent, and market managers follow social media sites for hours-on-end, or around cut-off time between 2-3 am when the manager-turned-driver jumps on the forklift to speed-up the flow of the production-consumption cycle (sales-loading-wrapping-checking-transporting). This kind of transgression allows for openness and role changing. It explicates too, those unstructured workplaces at night permit managers to be more lenient towards irreplaceable skilled workers, like Ayrán.

However, to the end-consumer or the casual observer this may seem like a haphazard syncopation. While diurnals sleep, rest or party, the fruit and vegetable wholesale markets are open for business through the night. Fresh fruits await the morning customer or may appear like a dessert on someone's plate for lunch or dinner. Perhaps, end-consumers are unaware, or caught up in their struggles to survive the incessant rhythms of the daily, regular beats. However, at night, rhythmic physical labour is executed by bodies awake and alert. Role-transgression is frequent. The balance between exchanges of competition and cooperation is delicate, with more competing instances erupting every night. Workers fight against physical hardships "without the intervention of conscious thought" (Wacquant 2004:97) and against social resistance (from co-workers, management and customers) with friendly gestures. If social fluency results partly, from worker's physical skills embodied into (social) rituals, then partly gestures build the informality needed for social bonding.

Bodily gestures

Gestures performed informally may mislead the observer into thinking that they are readily embodied. The simplicity of moving, lifting, gripping, making eye contact in a certain way depending on context and the message the signifier wants to send, is learnt behaviour but can be deceiving if taken as "surface simplicity" (Wacquant 2004:69). Gestures are emotional responses through physical acts (showing vs telling someone) that build informality in social contexts. It was most deceiving to imagine that gripping tomato crates the way one did (as inexperienced workers do) was going to hide from co-workers the lack of experience one started with in the trade.

Loaders read gestures and embody basic movements fast. Because, says Sennett (2012), the better they embody gestures, the easier it becomes for co-workers to read the signs and intentions for cooperation (and competition). Subtleties in gestures go unnoticed to the inexperienced eye. In chapter three, I shared how I gained experience over time by observing the gestures of senior co-workers. I learnt that repetitive movements guarantee an automatised efficiency. The above phase involves months of bodily practice before being embodied.

Thought-based understanding, aided by visualisation is very different from feeling heavy crates slipping from tired fingers, knees aching from walking long distances, back bending and aching “in the heat of action” (Wacquant 2004:69). Shadow boxing moves and gestures are no use to a boxer without sparring or are even redundant in a fight with a real opponent. This is also the case with the forklift driver. Inserting the right fork at a 45° angle while going in forwards needs to meet several conditions. For instance, forklift drivers use the lever on the right (there are three in total) to adjust the mast so that as the forklift advances it pushes the right corner of the pallet to turn it sideways, so both forks fit neatly under the pallet. The pallet then fits the forks, like a glove on fingers. Experienced drivers like Basrí take 30 seconds to complete such task. Within weeks of passing the test, Basrí acquired gestures that sold his skills to the manager who hired him immediately. Basrí was unrestrained in his actions. Through his confident gestures, he created and demanded openness and lightness in such informal situations and relationships. In this scenario, Basrí’s physical skills created a space for exchange, which is crucial in cooperation. He tipped the balance towards a favourable exchange of skills over money.

Admittedly, Basrí was a trusted employee with two years’ experience at company A, and he swiftly learnt behaviour that called for exchange and cooperation. There were others, with more years’ experience than him, and still, they did not perform similarly. However, it would be misleading to think that Basrí’s skills, moves, gestures, in a word, body-capital, was built overnight. It would be even more incorrect to think that verbal skills play a significant role here. Basrí demonstrated what Wacquant (2004:69) found through his boxing ethnography: being “natural and self-evident requires thorough physical rehabilitation, a genuine remoulding of one’s kinetic coordination, and even a psychic conversion”.

Gestures, one of the necessary elements of embodiment (together with rhythm and resistance) are not involuntary reflexes (e.g. touching one's stomach if feeling nauseous or one's throat when hyperventilating). Gestures enact a relationship through minute movements, learnt over time in a specific space. Previously, researchers addressed the contrasting incorporated nature of gestures with one's skills in mastering a painful emotion or "arrested expressions and admirable echoes of feelings" (George Santaya [1922] cited by Goffman 1956:7). Metropolitans use a mask or 'persona', in Simmel's words, to hide emotions in the presence of 'others'. In short, the mask owner has practised the ability to hide emotions. Workers conceal emotions to persevere in the trade, i.e. survive bodily precariousness. Because the mask is as expressionless in public as is in workplaces, one can observe how co-workers hid their real intent. Namely, they enact an affectively neutral attitude to co-workers and do not disclose when they suffer aches and pains.

Usually, they display a 'persona' to hide their anxieties about the night shift ahead or potential job loss by acting as tough when they are not. They act with minimal facial gestures and never show typical signs of physical tiredness (e.g. back-stretching or sitting down when out of breath). Last, in front of the manager, they pretend to help others, workers act-out "deep cooperation". Deep cooperation is the reverse to what I wish to establish is happening here. Namely, when performing cooperation, gestures are calculated and planned. They include strategic movements to cover for lack of sincerity. There is nothing innate when acting gestures. Gestures embedded in the physical skills that apply to social life separate the novice from the pro.

As remarked earlier, the novice in the trade is spotted immediately in her/ his clumsy, hesitating moves to grab, pull, lift, or drive a forklift. S/he signals the "intervention of conscious thought into the coordination of gestures and movements" (Wacquant 2004:97). To illustrate with the observational material, one returns to the earlier and most applicable instances of trivial disruptions, revealing how workers' bodily gestures flowed without verbal communication. At the point when crates hit the floor, the loud noise captures everyone's attention. Then, a roaring laughter invades the ether. Next, several bodies walking, as one, moving from different directions and converging near the spot where the crates full of prunes fell. They bent their knees and kneeled to pick up the fruits by hand, one-by-one, and fill-up the crates. Bodies in action anxiety-less, melt in a sea of informal, relaxed atmosphere despite everyone's urge to go home (the accident happened before closing time). More, workers behaved with minimum resistance to this specific incident that happened minutes before they were supposed to leave the workplace.

The message conveyed by their muscles revealed an innate bodily, humane desire to help, to do something together (Sennett 2012). Gestures express informal behaviour towards someone with whom we rehearsed gestures and now enact a relationship. One's body's precise gestures signals to others around confidence that the person knows well what s/he shows s/he does well; such inhabited gestures confirm habituated rhythm.

In summing up this section, the informality in gestures of the people who acted together, with minimum resistance, in this scenario shows that spontaneous moments of disruption (of routines) binds people briefly to cooperate. However, Sennett (2012) argues that the balance of exchange is delicate and can easily tip either way. It means that naturally cooperative people who work in ever-changing environments nurture survival skills that deal with the aggressive, competitive behaviour of co-workers. Explicitly, such survival moments are enacted through routinised practices. One will substantiate the importance of this aspect through an on-going, weekly practice that involves most of the loaders in the team. Such an encounter inspired the following observation that takes place one morning before closing time. The Plot concludes with the manager's draconian measures to end workers' hidden pleasures, concerning social time and capital.

The Plot

The Romanian-Turkish workers monopolised the trade of Euro pallets and controlled the weekly sales and revenue. At the end of each week, every Saturday morning, Gică collects the money and orders 'special mix' for those who 'helped' collect pallets. Gică selects who joins 'the pallet club' thoughtfully. He does not preclude anyone but plans long and discreetly before he discloses the nature of this activity. Many co-workers are dissatisfied with the remuneration because only a couple receive money while a handful receives the 'Saturday special mix' (Redbull and whisky can, which they consume between pallets of produce).

In this format (group A loaders and drivers from Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey) collect, sell, and share the extra earnings from selling Euro pallets made in mainland Europe. Pallets transport products and their sale value could reach £2 per pallet. The total sale could reach somewhere between £70 and £140 per week, in addition to the £350-£500 weekly pay that loaders and drivers get paid. The forklift driver on shift closes the sale. The lorry driver external to the wholesale market transports the Euro pallets back to mainland Europe. He pays the forklift driver who retains commission and passes the sum further to the (Turkish-Romanian)

foreman. In this set-up, drivers do not complain, but loaders do. Moreover, the manager knows and allows loaders to use the space on the shop floor, and to pocket this extra revenue, under the foreman's supervision. So far, he does not interfere.

However, due to divergences over how much money each member of group A should receive, the group disintegrates in two sub-groups (A1 & A2). The newly formed sub-group A2 led by a Turkish-Bulgarian collects pallet separately from A1, whose leader remains the foreman. Both sub-groups rely on forklift drivers (A3) to transport their pallets and return the money from sales. The new set-up brings A1 & A2 in competition. They collect, deposit and sell pallets separately, and share the money accordingly. The manager notices the new dynamics, i.e. A1 fights with A2 for empty pallets, and occupy double the space for storing pallets before they sell them.

Consequently, loaders become more preoccupied with the extra activity of selling Euro pallets than with their paid role: loading. The manager fears that the new team dynamics affect the rhythms of production, i.e. flow of loading and transporting pallets. The manager seizes the opportunity to introduce new disciplinary measures to manipulate co-worker competition; he extracts more of the workers' labour-power/production-time; subsequently, he has tighter control on their precariousness. I explain here how the management intervened in this side-trade and disrupted the set-up to the company's benefit.

Manager at company A intervenes and introduces new measures against everyone. He first increases the night shift by one extra hour without paying over-time. He further forbids sub-groups A1 and A2 to collect and sell pallets during the shift. Instead, A3 is instructed to take over this activity and keep the money to themselves. Thus, A1 & A2 are re-grouped in the old format (group A), which continues loading as one apparently stable team, . Consequently, A1 & A2 acts out hostility towards drivers (A3) and prevents further cohesion.

The new practice led by the foreman was to break the pallets by dismantling them before the forklift driver would get to collect them. Additionally, the manager summons the team to an urgent meeting. He threatens everyone with dismissal if they refuse to accept the new order and schedule. In his words, "you will be replaced immediately with other workers seeking employment every night from me" (Manager, Company A). Later, one has learned that nightly many low-skilled workers sought employment with company A, but the manager rejected many

and chose few. Throughout the next two sections of the chapter are explanations on how embodied interactions take place. Briefly, the exchanges bring into question elements of domination evoked by the conditions of precarity on the basis that management exploit a situation to the detriment of the workers and to the advantage of the company.

5.3. *Embodied Interactions*

When you have co-workers, who create problems for you, try to flow and make your way through it because you would find this kind of people in any country and any job. (John)

John offers his broad approach in applying minimum resistance to awkward social encounters. I follow his advice with a dialogic illustration from my encounters with a forklift driver from company A.

Dealing with resistance

On three occasions, Basrí provoked me to wrestle with him during moments of boredom. Moreover, on all occasions, I defused the potential fights. It began verbally with an innocent (and almost unfortunate) remark on my behalf. Below, in brackets, I describe thoughts or feelings concerning the responses that I triggered in Basrí. Just as I show little (to no) predilection for social movements, I am least inclined to fight others, especially vulnerable co-workers. I had no intent to provoke a nearly 6ft stocky male, less to imagine I could inflict pain on him. However, on the nights where the shift is quiet, boredom-based anxiety tests the ability of some to control their own emotions in the masculine culture of the market. Here is the illustration:

Interviewer: I practised martial arts for a few years.

Basrí: Yeah? What are martial arts?

Interviewer: Karate

Basrí: For how long? Where? Show me what you can do.

Interviewer: Ah... (I am now apprehensive of the delicate situation I caused for myself, but instinctively, I pick up a pallet wedged on the tip of my capped shoe and place it on the stack of pallets near me. I did not realise then that my gesture seemed like a provocation to him.)

Basrí: “Let’s go outside and have a friendly fight”. His face lit up, and he seemed to have lost the pupils in his eyes filled with excitement.

Interviewer: That is not the kind of Karate I practised. I do not fight friends or anybody else.

Basrí picks up a pallet (14kg) in his arms and lifts it above his head to lay it on the 2m stack of pallets. He then looks my way inquisitively, as if asking ‘do you still want to measure up to me?’ I give him a surprised look back and walk away.

On reflection, one could have lost Basrí’s participation in this study for not having had “expressive control” over my behavioural “signalling” (Goffman 1956:59–60). On a nightly basis, Basrí and I provided support to each other. He taught me how to stack crates to complete large orders; I helped him at closing time when cleaning duties would otherwise delay his departure home. The equilibrium between the usual duties and social time indicated a degree of amicable exchanges between us.

So, on each of the three occasions, I avoided wrestling Basrí for very technical reasons by refraining to demonstrate my physical skills against his. Had I provoked him further, perhaps Basrí and I, would have become unemployed and lost both our economic and social capital following the fight. All this is because of an uncontrolled reflex, which in that instance demonstrated to Basrí how powerful my Karate is. I lost focus, and I did not control my reflex, the uncontrolled gesture of lifting a pallet wedged on the tip of my capped boot, which nearly cost me – at best – my job. At worst, it could have led me being unemployed and maimed.

The encounter was a dialogical expression through our bodies, that did not lead to reciprocated understanding on the spot. However, as a happy consequence for the researcher-insider, so to say, later Basrí offered to participate in visual recordings when I asked his help. More so, he asked favours in return – to support him with my language skills and social contacts during the brief period of homelessness. Further opportunities for cooperation through exchanges in social capital arose between us throughout and continued after I finished my fieldwork. For example, I made phone calls to the local council to pay and cancel his parking fines; he participated in follow-up interviews and video shooting long after I exited fieldwork. Although Basrí and I did not agree on this specific encounter, our long-term cooperation benefited both of us.

Sennett (2012) finds that inherently people are inclined to cooperate. Ultimately, “physical labour can instil dialogical social labour” through rituals of exchange between cooperation (and competition) (Sennett 2012:199). Sennett (2012:19) borrows the term dialogics from literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin.

He explains that during conversation between any of his literary characters there are many layers hidden in the communications that they exchanged. For Sennett (2012) practicing dialogics means to listen carefully, and distinguish between what people say and what they mean to say to you, but it is hidden or codified.

Though such discussions may never reach an understanding, an exchange takes place between the interlocutors, and a shift is produced through sensitivity-based empathy. Dialogics is unlike dialectics where one says something, and the other disagrees, then interlocutors go back and forth till they meet where they want to arrive – an agreement. Therefore, when engaged in dialogics, one needs to find ways to become skilled at finding out what the other means to say, but does not want to show it. One understands the other better than before the dialogic encounter started without reaching an agreement. In dialogic-based forms of cooperation, unlike with dialectics, the goal is not to reach an agreement, but to handle ambiguity and difference.

Strathern documents that dialogic social labour is “embodied, incorporated skill people carry around with them, learnt in specific contexts [and from others] but transferable to other sites” (1999:170). Strathern’s (1999) eloquent definition is applied to the discussion on sociability and sociality to explore the transformations and manipulations that management applies to the bodies that work at night. Sennett (2012) explains the basics of this form of cooperation. My investigation complements and modifies his theory on cooperation by exploring the function of gathering, learning and practicing bodily knowledge. In the encounter with Basrí I emphasise the bodily signaling, gesturing, subconscious reflexes before any language-based exchange takes place. My non-verbal, bodily expressions and facial gestures defuse tension. The development of embodied cooperation is a process that involves intensive bodily learning in exchanges with another, and proves a challenging form of cooperation. It is like in family relations, learning when someone displays anger as a symptom of underlying anxiety, similarly to a child who needs help and shows anger instead. This form of cooperation is difficult to learn because, as Sennett (2012) explains, it uses the subjunctive voice – a more evasive approach rather than a direct one. The discussion evolves into exploration that requires sensitivity in dealing with ambiguity rather than clarity and working with resistance while employing minimum force; hence, one’s difficulty in engaging with such an approach successfully.

Another aspect of Sennett's³⁷ proposal on this form of cooperation is informality, an aspect that was explored earlier through bodily gestures. One noted on several occasions that Spitalfields market is a challenging, tension provoking environment for workers. Wo/men are worn out due to physical exhaustion, stress, overall duress and anxiety. Informality lessens the tension and deescalates the accumulated emotion. Informal gestures ease the exchanges between two people because they can make people more prepared to explore the underlying layers of what the two meant to say one another. The opposite happened during the team meetings. One observed and noted how tensed and disengaged co-workers were. Everyone got their turn to speak, but low-skilled workers were interrupted by the manager who dismissed their ideas or suggestions. To the outsider (and non-Turkish speaker) this would appear as a happy family where everyone spoke. In real terms, no one engaged meaningfully. The manager was not interested in listening to what staff had to say. In turn, employees grew despondent yet showed no effort in confronting the management about being prevented from contributing with useful ideas.

Empathy is the last most crucial ingredient of Sennett's concept of cooperation – formulated so that it sits opposite to sameness-based solidarity. It is different from action-based solidarity out of sympathy for another. Empathy is a unique, less sympathetic approach, a more relaxed emotion, so to say, by which the empathic is more interested in what is happening with and less in 'feeling for another' person. Empathy is a matter of keeping distance emotionally while remaining curious without presuming. An empathic strategy tackles both ambiguity and engages with resistance through use of minimum force. There is a qualitative difference in the two approaches to tackle the same puzzle: use of one's social, interpersonal skills to resolve ambiguities and increase cooperation with another whose approach and demeanour differs. A fighting mentality drives the social resources and skills towards eradicating the problem – not knowing what the problem was that s/he was fighting for in the first place. Working with resistance invites one to learn how to understand the problem rather than shutting it down.

One approach supposes to work through tactics of non-resistance, such as in the potential conflict escalation between Basrı and me. Perhaps avoiding and deflecting aggressive verbal encounters with other co-workers is useful, to understand that the less sensitivity the novice has towards "tacit norms of cooperation" in a group, the more problematic the responses are, and

³⁷ Richard Sennett (2013) on an introduction on his book, *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) on The School of Life Show. Accessed: 3.12.2017 Available at http://bit.ly/snntt_utb_tlk

vice versa (Wacquant 2004:86). When the balance tips towards fighting, it invites competition and subsequently frustration. Though, in time, as shown in the examples below, novices too “learn about softer wood by exploring knots”, instead of confronting them head-on (Sennett 2012:210).

Apo, a male loader in his thirties, displays “visceral sensitivity” because he has learnt in the four years at the market to work with authoritarian management tactics. Apo worked four years for the same manager at the company A. During this time of adjustment to changes Apo observed and learned that whenever loaders (like him) were seen conversing, congregating or simply standing without work on their hands, the manager would send his message through the foreman to disperse us. One night, Apo was telling me that he has an offer to work for an English trader. He saw our manager approaching in the direction we were standing. He anticipated and said: “let’s pretend we do something, and went to a different section of the shop floor.” “Pretending” makes more sense to Apo, than verbally fighting with the manager to explain that there is nothing to do. He shows that he “read the discreet cues” that helped him avoid being reprimanded by management.

Similarly, from a purely transactional standpoint, store managers do not obstruct their customers from buying in other places (mainly because they cannot). Instead, they employ drivers like Apo whose primary role is to procure or exchange products that a customer wants, but the store does not trade. This position, in Turkish stores, is called ‘eksikci’. The root of the word is ‘eksik’, and in common usage it means ‘deficient, lacking, missing’. The added suffix ‘ci’ indicates a person doing it. Hence, Apo is the only assigned person in the company to buy from another competing store the missing products for specific customers of company A. Here, we see how competing stores cooperate by working with resistance when fighting is avoidable. All market traders practice and accept such tactics. In this instance, they cooperate, but often they compete for customers. Working with resistance to cooperate rather than fight is present among workers and businesses alike.

Dorin, a check-man for company C says, that “two-faced people”, are the loaders who extract themselves from “doing their work”. A loader from a neighbouring stand thinks that the ones who “last [at company B] longer do so because, they are cheaters who don’t work.”, says Ervan. Such people “go behind your back. When the boss is there, they work. As soon as he’s gone, they stop. It’s normal for them”, in Dorin’s view. Dorin further describes his co-workers’

avoidance strategies. “Instead of a 30-minute break, they would be there for an hour; then they would be on their phones; they would forget to come downstairs to work.” For an outsider, what Dorin describes could make perfect sense. Rhetorically, who likes to work beside people ducking out of ‘teamwork’. It makes others withdraw from engaging in a joint effort. It is true though that structural factors contribute - it is understandable that physically exhausted bodies need to find refuge and recharge to last another shift, night or week.

As I grew exhausted from my fieldwork demands, extracting myself from extra tasks to have a short break was like a breath of air between swimming laps. It became a self-protecting strategy to survive my precarious position. Dorin describes dynamics of a different and more dangerous nature. He describes a systemic problem in a company where management refuses or resists maintaining competition and cooperation in balance. Intimate cooperation in warfare, argues Sennett (2012), makes the difference between soldiers who choose to sacrifice or not for their comrades. In the workplace, disrupting the balance maintains competition between co-workers and creates possibilities for resistance to building close cooperation.

Ervan has repeatedly confronted management to the point where he left the company. His nephew, fifteen years younger than him, who worked only two years for the same owner, took a stance one night. He stood up for himself and the rest of the loaders. Barik says,

I went to straight to the owner. I said that we work for the same company. As an owner, you too eat from this work. If you don't want to do something about it, us Romanians, we'll all leave. Have a look at the CCTV and see how Turkish carry one box; in six hours, they make two orders; we do fourteen orders in six hours, and I finish cleaning also, by the time Turkish finish two tickets.”

He admitted later in the interview that the owner listened to him and issued a warning to Turkish co-nationals in the team. Eventually, Barik saw a change. “They started to help; not to further discriminate between Turkish and Romanians, Albanians.” What makes loaders like Barik act against the majority in the rest of his team? No one else, except his uncle Ervan, stood up against the owner. Barik learnt from Ervan to stand up and fight for his and others' rights. In the beginning, Ervan too found it unbearable one night and begun to shout back at the manager. He recalls that,

I was the only worker to say something to them. I used to tell them, ‘What gipsy... I am not a shepherd like you. I come from the city.’ I am not the one to shut up ... I speak out and tell them.

So, Barik learned such behaviour, embodied it, and when he could no longer accept the discrimination, he acted similarly. Ervan left the company after that row with their manager. He went to work for another Turkish employer who abused his trust, in turn. Six months later he returned to work for the previous employer. What could Barik be expected to learn next in response to what his uncle has shown through his own behaviour? Will he too learn that fighting resistance is like “making war on knots in wood or heavy stone” (Sennett 2012:208).

In an echo of Sennett’s wisdom, Ervan’s behaviour has changed since he returned to company B. He confessed that “only recently, I decided that “I’m not gonna put at heart anything, anymore. I’ll just cruise. Another day, another dollar. I do not take it to heart when things are not how they should be.” Moreover, one agrees that Ervan has learnt the benefits of non-resistance against an institutionalised corporation like company B. In other words, Ervan engages with the problems as and when they appear, in a light, non-resisting manner. Ervan seems to come to terms with the hardships and injustice in the company and does not fight anymore. Regardless, after several long conversations that I had with Ervan, I understood that he is more preoccupied with protecting his body, which gets more damaged with each night.

Perhaps, (another contingency) Muro, a co-worker introduced earlier, has found the answer to be facing others within himself. Ervan was much more experienced than Barik was and says that: “it will never change.” Because “This is in people’s nature. Did you understand what I mean by ... there is no will to help.” Unlike Muro, I do not think it is a case of nature but nurture. Muro’s words remind me why the night workers’ fragile possibilities for cooperation could be neither strengthened nor overcome concerning top-down tactics of politics for solidarity. John, the forklift driver, who opened this sub-section elucidated for himself and ourselves that when problems come our way, we must not resist. Instead, we must deflect, flow along the current, feel the wave’s strength, and embed it deep in our structures. At the next encounter, respond with embodied techniques, such as “befriending ambiguity” and adopting a “less aggressive working attitude” (Sennett 2008:215). So far, I have explored the building blocks of ritual built with rhythm, gestures and resistance as embodied practices to strengthen cooperation during the regular, routinised course of the workplace. Next, one seeks to establish not how irregular patterns of disruptions instil a sense of cooperation, but that they do reveal workers’ (that is, human social animals,) natural aptitude for cooperation.

Trivial disruptions

The monotony of the night shift for both workers and customers lifts as the rhythms increase. So, repetitive tasks melt into the sweats of loaders and drivers dressed in thick clothes. A forklift driver finds a host of small pleasures, like speeding above the five miles-per-hour limit or by blocking the central aisle with the forklift to have snatches of conversation with other drivers. Drivers take out their mobiles and glance together at football matches on YouTube. So, other drivers beep their horns for not being able to pass through. However, all drivers fear the market constabulary who walk with hand-held speed cameras, and the CCTV equipment installed on all aisles inside the market hall as well as throughout the site. Hence, they put their mobiles back into the pocket and smile with complicity to one another while other drivers swear at them for blocking the road – this behaviour seems acceptable to all drivers. Unspoken agreement floats in the air among drivers who behave similarly. As the mayhem reaches its peak, the monotony breaks either in waves of friendship expressed by drivers getting off to pick up loads that fell off others' forklifts or in fits of anger; when drivers stop the forklift, swear at one another or simply speed up to cut the others' way. These are instances of trivial disruptions belonging to the rhythms and nature of night shift work.

Trivial disruptions are instances that appear spontaneously and are not part of regular rhythms of production. For example, in instances of gossiping – “exaggerating events and information” (Sennett 2012:155), people dramatise and get stimulated by overly exaggerated information. They do not gossip to manipulate but to break from boredom. Trivial disruptions are events that rouse workers, break into boredom, and bond and increase collaboration between co-workers on an informal basis. Trivial disruptions are short-lived because of the routinised, monotonous work of loading, driving, and waiting around for the customer, which drive workers near to anomie. In such moments, the innate capacity to cooperate resurfaces and tests the social cohesion of the group.

For example, a one-ton pallet falls off a forklift and co-workers gather near to replace produce and broken trays scattered across the shop floor; they all laugh while the driver swears; moving-as-one, however, all workers step slowly towards the fallen pallet. Put in a different way, in this specific task workers concentrate on the aims, and appear to cooperate briefly. Such short-lived cooperation, however, does not last. Brief team efforts are caused by bundles of instantaneous disruptions that bring the whole group together. Lastly, trivial disruptions produce chances for

strengthening collaboration among co-workers, but they are too infrequent - not routinised enough - to become automatised responses. On the back of this conceptual contemplation, let us consider briefly the ensuing conversation on sociality vs sociability offering the next section to migration scholars.

5.4. *Cooperation Embodied: Sociality vs Sociability*

As a working construct, one could assume that *sociality* explains social behaviour in night working groups, as it produces stable forms of social bonding between bodies of “tacit knowledge” in the nocturnal, social landscape of the night market (Strathern 1999). We may find, however, that neither *sociality* nor *sociability* skills, strengthen or weaken cooperation and competition in the workplace. Hence, workers’ embodied cooperation may not even be transferable outside of the market practices.

What could be most puzzling for the sophisticated onlooker relying on casual observation is the seeming lack of empathy displayed by workers towards different others’ suffering or unwilling to “do their work”. It could not be more deceiving than to think that market night workers are incapable of tolerating difference and responding to others’ needs to cooperate. Presumably, despite (a) the physical suffering and (b) pressure to perform competently, workers who do not “do their work” come through as insincere and are often ethnically labelled, e.g. “those Turkish workers”. In fact, sociality tolerates difference but is not a social adhesive for collective action, rather a “mutual awareness” (Sennett 2012:39) of the difference among members, while sociability fits conventions by which all people seem equal, thus act together. Accordingly, Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2015:18) argue, through studying migrants’ everyday practices, that sociality includes “living with a difference” or tolerating differences, summed up in Wessendorf’s “commonplace diversity” and “ethos of mixing” (2013:4).

Having delved into the micro-fabric of the night market relationships where ‘self-interest’ prevails, we have learnt that respondents liaise with those who do “do their work” and distance themselves from those who do not. Furthermore, I noted in conversations with workers from several companies that they were at peace with their co-workers as long as the underlying consensus was respected – first and foremost that everyone did “do their work”. This observation became possible through attention to the workers’ words rather than restricting the interpretations to the pre-established categories, such as competition. I ‘shadowed’ people in

their narrations rather than imposing a pre-selected category, to capture aspects that enable me to understand how they navigate in their relations with different others.

Further refining our discussion on the processes behind un/balanced exchanges in a group, I refer to what cognitive psychologists call ‘value judgments’, i.e. thinking of others as in-/sincere. In *strong cooperation* terms, Sennett’s bakery workers knew “whom to count on” in a crisis because they formed long-term relationships (2012:169). At the market, workers judge others as being different not in inferior-superior terms, but about commitment in “doing [or not] their [own] work” or being in-/sincere when under-/performing during the night shift. Therefore, insight into the ways workers values each others’ behaviour gives us knowledge of the members’ motivation to do ‘more or less’ for the one next to them with whom they choose to forge (or not) social bonds.

Often, one could observe that market workers reveal an ‘on-our-own’ attitude; subsequently, they “do their work” according to whom they work with, and based on that they cooperate ‘more or less’ depending on their subjective judgement of other co-workers. In another way, for some people it is an awareness that defines the tasks they do or roles they perform at work; this is the underlying consensus that people establish among themselves regardless of ethnic or national background. Irrespective of position, interviewees admitted that those who do not “do their work” or try to cheat, are ethnically labelled as ‘those Turkish workers’; or when they stop performing the best they can for the whole group, they become “different kind of workers” in the eyes of ‘Romanians’ or ‘Bulgarians’ who work very hard. With the “ethnic lens”, a specific person became “the Turkish worker if s/he only completes two orders versus the Romanian worker if s/he triples that” (Glick Schiller et al. 2006).

Many, like Barik, think that labour relations are ethnicity-based at this company. Company B, employs several Roma Turkish-Romanian males. Turkish management favours Turkish workers against Albanian, Bulgarian or Romanian co-workers. Barik is in his early twenties and has four years’ night work experience at this company. He thinks that “company B protects (their own) Turkish people, while Bulgarians and Romanians are doing the hard work; they slave the Romanians and Bulgarians and protect the Turkish”. Barik’s uncle, Ervan, is in his forties, and works at the same company (B) for the past four years. He says that “Turkish sit and you put in the hours” (Ervan). Turkish-Romanians like Barik and Ervan, nephew and uncle and both loaders, complained to the Kurdish-Turkish owner for this reason. For quite some

time, Barik noted that “Turkish started to help. There was no more discrimination between Turkish and Romanians, Albanians”(Barik). However, Ervan left company B for six months to work for company C because (he contradicts Barik), “there was some discrimination going on, and I didn’t want to accept it anymore” (Ervan).

Counter-intuitively perhaps, discontented workers complaint about the ones who “do their work”. One young Turkish-born British male, admits that in his experience, over the two years at the market, he met “people who don’t do their work. And they could just be as annoyed because you’re doing yours” (Adin). Another salesman at company B with 14 years’ experience of night work admits that “at the end of the day, if they [co-workers] think the same, to work, it’s OK” (Bartik). Customers like Orkan say, “it doesn’t matter where people come from, as long as they do their work”. Logan from company D, confirms too: “that’s correct. I used to have my own company, and 80% of employees were Asians, Romanians, Lithuanians, it doesn’t matter as long as they come and do their job”. Logan appeared in the previous two chapters; hence no further introduction will be given here, except the relevant aspects that differentiate him and his partner.

As the respondents’ words above describe, they are indifferent to what colour or race their co-worker is when they lift a crate. As long as they do their work, nationality does not matter either, if that co-worker approaches one to offer his help to collect, load, and wrap the pallet. These moments are rare though, hence why it was a genuine surprise for the author in vivo to hear or see someone approaching with such willingness and racial-ethnic ‘blindness’ about some co-workers. Instances such as these exist. They are not ubiquitous. However, they may hint at workers’ consideration for the share of suffering that they have in common. Thus, workers’ willingness to step in the other’s shoes may explain “some forms of sociability and moral vectors that tend to depress and deflect ethnic, racial vision and division” (Wacquant 2005:452).

Some division of labour practices, however, may be tainted with “positional traits”, such as the ethnic Turkish manager favouring “his Turks” (Wacquant 2005:452). Such enacted preferences or favouritisms pale into insignificance in the face of the numerous encounters that one observed directly in-and-out of the workplace, where regardless of traits people congregate together, briefly. At Spitalfields market, there are significant roles like the ‘check-man’ (they are all men). The check-man has to verify every order before they leave the stand to the customers’ vans. He also surveys the stand for unwanted customers – those pilfering from the

traders. They observe all night, including the dynamics behind the seemingly fluid operation of a fruit and vegetable store. They watch everything, including co-operation (or lack of it) between their co-workers.

Ayran, in his early thirties, worked at the market from the age of 14. He is currently hired by employer A, and notes similar practices, as Dinu, a check man from company B; both think that “it’s [all] about these co-workers wanting to get noticed when the boss is around. That’s the only time they work” (Dinu). Barik, notices that his Turkish co-workers, “finish two tickets and sit, while I have my pocket full of orders; and they don’t help.” Ervan shares his experience as a night loader at company B, the largest trading company in the market. Like Barik, Ervan thinks along ethnic lines. Apparently, Turkish loaders live on the backs of other ethnos because the one in power “favours his Turkish”:

The Turkish [supervisor] distributes the tickets to all loaders (and most are from Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, and Turkey); but, he favours his Turkish. ... the Turks [co-workers] say to him, leave me alone, give it to the Romanians. So he gives us 7,8,9 orders more than he gives to the Turkish. (Ervan)

Despite the many years spent working together embodied in the differences that these workers present (e.g. ethnicity, job roles and duration) sociality does not seem to provide the framework needed to build up strong social skills outside the workplace. In other words, sociality explains how workers tolerate one another on the basis of mutual awareness of difference. However, if one’s own work is completed individually, then workers act together (as in disruptions). Therefore, sociality displays a feeling of being together but doing individual tasks alone. This may be a building block for sociability that may explain why workers act together on a longer basis. Put differently, regardless of nationality, race or ethnic distinction, workers and customers appreciate others who “do their work”, so they act on that basis when dealing with one another over a long period of time in everyday life.

09:00 am– closing time. A ton of prunes falls of the pallet because a forklift driver swerves fast. Despite the animosity and divergences described above, all present at that point of disruption show sheer focus on one immediate task: collecting the fruits off-the-floor. So, in a moment of trivial disruption, they cooperate like an orchestra. All their gestures speak about the same intent. In this “scenography” the traits for collective action bound workers in one, final act before the last worker shuts the door behind them and goes home. I see many bodies moving as if orchestrated by one conductor. The act is mediated as if by one human voice. So, it is as if

the voice would say, ‘We all work very hard. Our bodies are tired. We want to go home as quick as possible. Our suffering is our common ground. We are all migrants away from home at night, up and working disenchanted with the poor conditions, but we are familiar with this place. We know this work too-well to swap for something else, much more threatening than this physical suffering is for us.’

Perhaps (contingent on the other possibility that indicates the direction towards habitual bodily cooperation) we see a building block in this event leading to establishing the base for sociability on “domains of commonality” (Glick Schiller 2016). She (2016:7) argues that “cosmopolitan sociabilities” prove “building blocks for social movements”. That may pertain to places and practices where migrants do organise. As Sassen (2017) states, janitors are a credible case of “becoming visible” in New York City because they are aware of their role in maintaining the lives of others living and working in the strategic set-up of global cities.

Janitors in NYC and taxi drivers in Toronto (Sharma 2014) could be a precedent inspiring market-workers to organise and fight for their working and economic rights to the city, along with the lines of “cosmopolitan sociability” suggested by Glick Schiller (2016). On the basis that they share the same interests, i.e. to survive bodily precariousness and improve their working conditions, night workers in principle should efficiently organise. However, they do not. So, how could they, and why don’t night shift workers at Spitalfields market organise to defend their strategic position in maintaining London’s 24/7 appetite for fresh food and vegetables? What are the combined structural and individual factors that prevent these workers bonding outside of working hours, to congregate and form solidary ties through and for collective action to improve their lived time at work? For, except for the brief episodes within work, it is hard to conceive of cooperation outside the workplace.

In sum, the human body is the tool that intrinsically hones bodily cooperation. Solidarity, an established paradigm in social sciences, seems to omit the role of bodily skills in strengthening (or weakening) individual social behaviour. In this chapter, I attempted to reveal what happens in the workers’ bodies when enacting social bonds among humans turned bio-machines. The three modes are explained in this chapter as the basis of the development of cooperation and show that: rhythms and rituals ingrain in the body through repetitive movements; gestures build informality through actors’ bodies and give birth to social bonding because they defuse tension in aggressive environments, dealing with complex situations. The three areas of the

embodiment discussed elucidate how the worker's bodies cultivate physical skills that apply to bodily cooperation in social encounters outside of the workplace.

Workers' embodied cooperation reveals itself in moments of trivial disruptions that "contradict the public principle and ethos of unlimited competition" (Wacquant 2004:86). Workers bond briefly through non-resistance and tacit cooperation. Though limited in focus, the task-long project-based encounters in moments of trivial disruptions reveal that humans are inclined to cooperate. The market workers' capacity and will to cooperate is revealed in contexts where they are engaged in lucrative schemes for extra revenue. Self-interest based cooperation is fragile and weak and does not encourage collective action beyond the workplace. Market night workers in this study reflect a 'you're on-your-own' attitude. Hidden pleasures and moments of disruptions constitute a small proportion of the social scene at the market. There is "cosmopolitan sociability" among market workers which induces weak bodily cooperation. Neither seems to enhance the social livelihoods of the workers.

This study highlights that the respondents working at Spitalfields night market are not aware of their role in gratifying the appetite for food and services that satiate their needs of global city workers. But night-time workers in other global cities running on 24/7 rhythms are becoming aware of their primary role in those cities' maintenance (Sharma 2014, Sassen 2016, 2017). As the evidence shows, night janitors, cleaners, taxi drivers and loaders fulfil perhaps the second most important set of conditions after capitalist accumulation for ensuring a continuum of the day structure.

Bodily cooperation is weakened by structural factors and workers' individual conditions. This chapter extended the analysis beyond the learned bodily knowledge and its impact on one's social life skills. The night shift workers' experiences highlight that precariousness is inherent in their environment, i.e. the management did not encourage them to use their embodied capital to cooperate. On the opposite, management was swift in furthering bodily precariousness by extending the night shift with one hour, as well as forbidding extra earnings to group A1 and in turn allowing group A3 to cash extra income from pallet sales. Last, the chapter showed that although embodied cooperation reveals itself in trivial disruptions of night work activities, it is rare, and not solidified enough to organise the workers for collective actions or social interactions outside the workshop. One concludes that market workers do something together,

but not with one another. Whether this potential could spur interest in the worker beside them, and thus engage in doing something together, will be addressed in the next and final chapter.

CONCLUSION:

COOPERATION WEAKENED

In this dissertation, I investigated the relation of physical labour performance, i.e. performance ingrained in the body through rhythms and gestures, to the body's capability of dialogic behaviour. This dialogical behaviour enables different bodies working together on their terms. I made links between the structural factors and individual conditions that perpetuate bodily precariousness. I found that due to strenuous physical labour over a protracted period sliced into long shifts and carved into repetitive tasks, night shift work causes sleep despoliation and physical exhaustion to the night market workers. Due to the working environment, where regulations are softly observed or lack altogether, and because migrants lack English language skills that limit their job opportunities outside the market, their physical wellbeing degrades into ill-health.

For this dissertation's fieldwork, my body became the tool to monitor, validate, and evaluate the impact of night work and circadian disruptions affecting the physical and the social worlds of nightshift workers. As I immersed in performing the phenomenon of night shift work alongside migrants working six nights per week at the New Spitalfields market, my body became a vector of constructing knowledge. The innovative methodological approach of this ethnographic research rests with the researcher's body, which becomes the tool for data collection and the method of the investigation (Wacquant 2005). I gathered information situated in the field of practice and later sedimented it into my body. In the second phase, and especially during the ethnographic writing stage, I retrieved the (investigator's) bodily capital to corroborate it with the respondents' bodily learning, practice and knowledge. The information sedimented into my body through a set of dispositions that I called habitus of night shift work formed the basis for constructing knowledge.

My reflective gaze unveils the "physical labour logic" behind the deep and thick nocturnal participant observation practice. This experience has allowed me to gain the first-hand experience of bodily practices, learning and knowledge as crafted by co-workers – night labourers whose "stock-in-trade" is summed up in the physical skills first, and mental, emotional capacities after. It is inevitable, therefore, to ascertain that due to my insider account my evaluations were exaggerated, at times. However, only the insider knows how practice

takes place behind the scenes at work. Beyond that, there are both innovative and savage aspects worth exploring further in future works through this nocturnal type of ethnography.

It is not accidental that cooperation among New Spitalfields market night shift workers is weak. The investigation has demonstrated that the migrants working in London embody a destructive presence of structural forces (mechanisms, elements, practices and techniques) while they play an essential role in the strategic maintenance of the glocturnal city. They are the glocturnal city's 'other workers', loaders, drivers, cleaners, servers working at night in the Spitalfields market. They perform competitively so production-and-consumption round-the-clock satiate the regular consumer: mainstream businesses and households' cupboard and fridges are refilled, offices' kitchens are stocked, catering events are supplied with fresh food, and exotic fruits and vegetables. The maintenance system set up so that glocturnal cities spin 24/7 with preciseness to develop capital needs to be related to the workers' "bodies as an index to [24/7] society" (Strathern 1996:27). In fact, workers form a human mass of collective histories sedimented and situated in bodies subordinated to the 24/7 demands of markets. So, bodies could become an obstacle to capital accumulation if congregated in collective action to prevent the neoliberal accumulation by dispossession. However, cooperation is systematically weakened through structural factors, such as expanding the night frontier for the 24/7 production regime at the expense of bodies that are requested to fit the flexible working hours, insecurity, work-time discipline, and time de-regimentation.

Findings Summary

The *Introduction* overviews the central themes. Namely, migrants travelling for work to the glocturnal city disinvest their bodily capital in more productive avenues, such as the New Spitalfields night market. *Chapter one*, evaluates scholarly works in transnational migration, the global city, and the glocturnal cities' strategic power generating the drive for economic expansion beyond the night frontier functions 24/7 on the backdrop of the bodily precariousness of workers.

Chapter Two justifies the ethnographic method to explore the night market in view of the research question. While on fieldwork, I captured aspects and moments of social dynamics (that are not visible to outsiders) through epistemic shifts between dis-involved attachment and involved detachment. I used the mixed techniques approach for (e.g. field notes, observations, informal conversations, audio/video) validity, reliability and morality testing. Reflexively, the

bodily craft learned *in situ* sets the basis for an innovative strategy to capture the lives of ‘other workers’ part of the strategic maintenance of glocturnal cities.

Chapter Three portrays four nightshift workers of the post-circadian capitalism through exploring three structural factors of the 24/7 capitalist working environment: (a) the expansion of the working day into the night; (b) the significant time alterations over time, and (c) the glocturnal city. In Bourdieu’s language, the “somatic compliance” creates “the collective automaton” worker (Bourdieu 2000:145). Chapter three suggests that night-to-night labour relations are a continuation of the day-structure but the workers live an antithetic style of life to the diurnal, mainstream society. These workers as bio-automatons subordinated to market demands face precarity and precarisation.

Chapter Four analyses the night workers’ *habitus* and the six ‘s’ factors embedded in the individual and collective histories of the same four workers introduced in the previous chapter. This chapter argues that habitus of precariousness results from the interplay between the post-circadian capitalist system manipulating the body’s physiological 24-hour rhythms and the workers’ embodied histories of exploitation through night-by-night bodily practices. Taking together chapters three and four enable us to reflect on workers’ “situated knowledge” embedded in the social field of the night market.

Chapter Five advances the idea that bodily cooperation is weak due to the structural factors and individual conditions of workers. The chapter extends the analysis of learned bodily knowledge through physical labour that enhances one’s social skills. Night shift workers’ experiences highlight that their precariousness does not encourage them to use their embodied capital. The chapter shows that although cooperation reveals itself in trivial disruptions of night work activities, it is seldom, and not solidified enough to organise the workers for collective actions or social interactions outside the workshop. In conclusion, the potential for cooperation may exist, but structural factors of the contemporary capitalist regime and the nature of night shift work activity leave fragile possibilities for social bonds.

Significance of Night Shift Work in the Global Capitalism

Migrant night shift workers do something together but not with one another. Night shift workers survive bodily precariousness because they are immune to coworkers’ needs, and not because they offer each other mutual support out of humanness. It is perhaps counter-intuitive to solidarity proponents in the scholarly literature. Long-lasting cooperation is therefore limited not only to short-term, night-by-night actions but carried out on an assessment basis that serves

one's self-interests. Night workers are concerned with others as long as everyone does their work. They limit the number of interactions amongst them, even when they engage together on similar tasks simultaneously.

Has not migrant solidarity paradigm mattered as a conceptual tool in this investigation? Quite the opposite. At the start of my fieldwork, solidarity and competition within and between groups of night shift workers were suspected to exist in some form of sociability drawn along the ethnic lines amongst Romanian and Turkish workers sharing similar precariousness of night shift work. The migrants in this investigation are not bound together by what Collins (1985) means "a moral feeling of belonging together" as in solidary ties with others from the broader society. The findings sought to reinforce that sociality tolerates difference aspects that sociability may not. My investigation revealed that cooperation amongst different bodies working together on their terms, that is bodily cooperation based on dialogic behaviour is seldom present, yet not sufficient to spur interest in the worker next to themselves. So, workers do not engage with others in collective action outside the workplace.

I argue that anthropologically-led discussions on transnational migrants' everyday lives should not discount "domains of commonality", such as performing precariousness by dispossession, because they are palpable and tied to relations of sociability, as captured in the recent work by leading migration scholars (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016:19). This investigation reinforced that workers tolerate difference and approved that in momentary interruptions embodied cooperation unveils itself. Trivial disruptions produce chances for strengthening collaboration among coworkers, but they are too infrequent to produce long-lasting effects of cooperation. Hence why, in the previous chapter, I analysed few episodes of disruption to show that cooperation exists.

Moreover, during the short-lived collaboration between actors triggered by trivial disruptions, cooperation revealed itself as "a capacity to live [and work together] ... which cannot be erased" (Sennett 2012:280). Workers are naturally invested to cooperate, but management's labour division tactics succeed in producing docile, obedient workers that appear as neutral to coworkers (e.g. disinterested in other workers' precariousness), and self-interested in their revenues. These types of exchanges allow fragile forms of short collective action at work, but not outside the workplace, i.e. to act and claim collectively their rights to pay scales that loaders

and drivers cannot fathom when compared to salaries of the management. The low-skilled migrant workers up and working at night embody a weak form of cooperation during social encounters in the workplace visible only during trivial disruptions. The transnational actors portrayed in this study enact sociality-based interactions due to the nature of night shift work in the glocturnal city. Migrants labour at night together, but not with one another.

Night shift work depletes the workers' bodily resources. The workers' bodies' physical supply translates into stamina to withstand the strenuous work and overall duress. The body is first and foremost the worker's means of production. Their bodies provide the means for human labour. The worker needs constant management of its resources to perform competitively to prevent ill-being and consequently loss of employment. Despite the workers' intuitive knowledge on her/his body's limits and capabilities, the lack of working conditions explicates how the broader implications of the labour working regime encourage human precariousness among "people [who] are like dead men walking", as Ayrar confessed. Reflecting on his decade of night shifting, he thinks that "night work breaks you."

Drawing from my insider experience, I recorded the symptoms which indicated how my night shift workers' overall wellbeing was gradually and inevitably collapsing. The longer I continued night shifting, the more evident it became that my day sleep time reduced, I was incrementally losing weight, I felt increasingly isolated from my close ones and alienated from daily affairs. Sleepless workers lack vigour and health. Moreover, as social animals, night workers lack social stamina. Once I reaped the rewards (Wacquant 2015), I realised that workers do not have the luxury to exit their trap. I left fieldwork behind before it wasted my bodily and mental resources, a luxury that precarious workers do not have. I noted the inequalities of power at play, yet left the threatened bodies behind, physically. Yet, I focused on them since, emotionally and mentally, I withdrew them out of the night market and brought them into this ethnography to give them voices and show their faces.

Night workers are day sleepers trapped between life on caffeine (and other energising beverages) and daydreaming about prosperous future. Night-in, night-out, they survive the capitalist machinery developing capital at the expense of their bodies. The managing authorities use practices and mechanisms to squeeze every sweat drop out of the workers' physical resource and turn it into capital. Market cafés are in strategic locations, so the servers easily covered all areas of the market hall, so workers' bodies are maintained with fluids

invariably. Café servers, like Lexa, deliver coffees straight to the store so that loaders or drivers do not need to stop from the incessant rhythms. To hold-up the fight with the speedy-capital machine workers lubricates their bodily fluids with numerous cans of energising drinks to last this night shift, and the next, and the one after next. Over time though, their “life force” is depleted out of their bodies (Sharma 2014:17).

Glocturnal cities’ migrant denizens are ‘other workers’. World’s oldest, continuous municipal government, the Corporation of London (CoL) has been refusing to increase wages for workers maintaining the financial district in the City to meet the London Living Wage (LLW) rate. The City’s highly-paid executives cannot afford the slightest crises in their tight schedules subordinated to market demands and around the wealthy customers’ wishes. London’s ‘other workers’, the migrant cleaners who maintain the offices and homes, travel from the poor boroughs surrounding the City, where they live in houses of multiple occupancies (HMOs) poorly maintained and highly priced, cannot work on an LLW rate.

Moreover, these poorly paid and inadequately housed, precarious migrants are central to the maintenance of the city. Their needs pass unobserved by the City’s authorities, corporations, small company owners and traders of fruits and vegetables at the Spitalfields night market, owned and managed by the CoL. Although, the UK’s most extensive employment study for the Office for National Statistics (ONS) recommends that night shifts be eight hours long with regular breaks in any twenty-four hours and a maximum cycle of seventeen-night shifts per month. However, traders at New Spitalfields market do not follow the recommendations.

Post-circadian capitalist climate disrupts capabilities for sociality not by exploiting bodily capital out of workers’ physical labour alone. Also, structural mechanisms and workers’ migrancy conditions not only involve competition but systematically draw on the power of weakening cooperation between workers. It means that contemporary capitalism turns cooperative people into competitors not on a regular basis but by the organisation of labour in production that limits workers’ economic rights, like in the plot, that I analysed in chapter five. It illustrated that management is swift in manipulating in-group members against one another and exploit their bodily labour power.

The management restructured the group to introduce harsh measures for the company's benefit at the expense of the employees' time and bodily capital. Shift hours were extended, thus demanding further workers' bodily power without offering them a pay rise or contractual benefits. On this account, workers experienced a stricter regime. They did not resist or confront, however, the management which further weakens whatever traces of cooperation workers had in their bodies. A plot portrayed not only involves manipulation of people to vie against one another for low-skilled jobs but systematically draws on the power of three modes combined: intensification of labour, time de-regimentation and the strategic set-up within glocal cities to expand capital development at the expense of human bodies (Sharma 2014).

Broader structural conditions of post-circadian capitalism systematically weaken opportunities for night shift workers to engage in collective action outside the workplace. Contemporary capitalist society requires sleepless consumers, consequently it needs sleepless bodies to produce, and therefore generate profit (Crary 2013) and (Beaumont and Self 2015). This night-to-night reality of the glocal cities includes divisions of invisible night workers, "travailing at night" rather than travelling through the night (Beaumont 2015:216-219). Night workers are an army losing battles with the precariousness of their nocturnal working lives and sleepless days. They continuously fight sleeplessness while awake and working. Nightly, workers at Spitalfields market, endure the bodily exhaustion that is produced by prolonged physical labour. Moreover, as night shifting invaded their intimate, private lives, they become prone to mental alienation for being isolated from diurnal minds and eyes and any social bonds.

Standing (2011a) argues that with the globalised era, in the dawn of the "post-circadian capitalism" (Beaumont 2015) no longer 'early birds catch the worm', instead the sleepless ones do. Bio-automatons do not need to co-operate, support each other or show solidarity to one another. Besides, the glocal workers as bio-automatons look and behave like diurnal creatures. In fact, they behave indistinguishably, yet alienated from self, and other diurnal workers they have no control over this predicament (Roberts 2015).

Put differently, we should disabuse ourselves (to borrow a phrase from Noam Chomsky) from living the illusions that a short-term, contemporary capitalist society provides and nurtures any possibility for cooperation among low-skilled workers. To think on these lines would mean to dream of

a “future of illusions”³⁸ where alienated individuals, diurnal and nocturnal alike, are other than a material object for the accumulation-production-consumption cycle. The new dawn of the post-circadian capitalism has placed its high demands on humanity since the “creative destruction” of the neoliberal project (Harvey 2005).

Limitations and Further Research

This dissertation has its limitations. The research has not focused on the dynamics of integration of migrants in the local community. Thus, it has not attempted to investigate social relations between migrant and local workers. Also, its specificity is limited to the subject of workers which did not expand to study the field of practice, in the Bourdieusian sense (Gherardi 2006). Extending the inquiry to the field where they work, practice, and learn, we can consider that cooperation and competition are embodied not in the worker’s bodies, but between their bodies and the working field of practices. On this basis, workers’ practising of physical labour and the field of work are “mutually constituted” (Gherardi 2006:231).

Whether bodily interpersonal skills and practical knowledge could be transferred to structured, routinised transactions in organisations dictated by diurnal circadian rhythms and work patterns is worthy of the further study of employment relations. Further research between night shift workers and “comunitas” (cf. Turner 1977:76) could consider the similarities and differences between the night worker group turned into *comunitas* and a diurnal worker group. Turner identifies *comunitas* as constituted of “concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals” (1977:131). For Turner, *comunitas* represent the “relationship of the inferior, marginal, and the outsider” (1977:96) driven by a “sense of humanity”, not commonality. Thus, night shifters as a marginalised group of workers living on different rhythms to the mainstream society present similarities with *comunitas*. Although these factors (e.g. bodily knowledge, skill learning and its application to the social realm) improve our understanding of cooperation amongst people who differ, they do not exhaust the human condition as enacted by respondents in other contexts, such as *comunitas*.

³⁸ See Boym, S. (2010) for an extended discussion, following Arendt, of freedom as the miracle of the “infinitely probable.” A reality which though infinitely improbable occurs regularly and publicly.

Due to the demands of night shift work, little of my time was spent to follow the lives of the respondents outside of the workplace, except for Basrí, the forklift driver, whose unexpectedly homelessness confronted him with new challenges: dealing with British authorities in obtaining accommodation. On an exceptional basis, I participated in an out-of-working-hours event. I remember, how pleased I was over the long-awaited invite to join co-workers' night party. On such exceptional grounds, I gleaned information on how night shift workers balance precariousness at work with joyful lock-in party time, dancing and drinking, drifting into the hours of the morning – this time not inside the market, but outside the workplace and not labouring their bodies. Such mundane details need further investigations because they are essential in conveying particular moments that illustrate bodily comprehension and social interactions between night shift workers' relationships with their bodily advancements or retreats, and to the outer, social world that these agents occupy through their physical presence.

The degrees of hardships may differ, but the resolve rests with organisations such as unions, and on-site authoritative bodies and associations, and sites owners and managers. They need to monitor the soft or unobserved regulations that presently escape to inspectors within sites such as the New Spitalfields market, and regulators from without production sites. I end on a concerned tone that absence of responsibility and lack of involvement of modern institutions and managing authorities' regulations on behalf of the market traders to monitor workers' wellbeing, their economic rights and general working conditions perpetuate bodily precariousness. Providing support in this direction could afford Spitalfields night workers some dignity in their working lives, and we could even envision strengthening social bonds amongst them. In the end, we do want to do something for one another even when tasks are demanding,

Bodily cooperation is not sufficient for migrant workers to organize outside the workplace. More, bodily cooperation is weakened due to lack of political organization, which prevents migrant night shift workers from integrating into the wider, mainstream society. The UK's contemporary labour demands and lack of political organization of migrant night shift workers are two factors that place these people in positions of disposability that may lead workers into becoming disposable, precarious workers. Based on the experience that I have enacted as an anthropologist of night work, night workers' bodies are trapped in the survival of the demanding physical work to such an extent that precariousness becomes an inevitable consequence of the way capitalism works on marginalized bodies. Moreover, notions of solidarity, cooperation (or competition) become secondary to their survival and exhausting

existence. In the same vein as Tania Li (2010), concerned with the politics of creating a surplus population or on the reserve, I have shown how capitalist working environment dispossesses the workers of their bodily capital, whilst night shift workers “make live” rather than “let die”.

Night shift workers³⁹ are like sleepless bats⁴⁰ flying on their forklifts. – Koray.

³⁹ Figure 16 Night shift work depletes the workers’ bodily resources. The workers’ bodies’ physical supply translates into stamina to withstand the strenuous work and overall duress. The body is first and foremost the worker’s means of production.

⁴⁰ This ethnographic research is accompanied by a short documentary. Trailer available here: [The Sleepless Bat](#)TM



Figure 16 Night shift work depletes the workers' bodily resources.

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