

**Gendered Space, Temporal Rhythms, and Informal Economy in an Urban Neighbourhood  
Market - A Visual Ethnography of Hulimavu Market, Bengaluru**

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### Abstract

This paper presents a multi-session, multi-zone visual ethnography of Hulimavu Market on Bannerghatta Road, Bengaluru, conducted across two visits, an evening session on 13 February 2026 and a morning session on 17 February 2026. Drawing on 67 coded photographs, multiple video recordings, audio transcripts, and written reflexive notes collected by four researchers across four spatial zones, the study examines how gender structures the use, occupation, and experience of this urban neighbourhood market. The analysis reveals a consistent and layered pattern of spatial marginalisation: female vendors occupy ground-level, pavement-edge, and mobile-cart positions while formal shopfront retail is overwhelmingly male-operated, even where the consumer base is predominantly female. The gendering of the market is further shown to be temporal rather than fixed, shifting substantially between the male-dominated early-morning supply-chain phase and the female-dominated evening consumer phase. The market's ritual economy, organised around temple worship, flower garland production, and sacred threshold-marking, creates a circuit linking female labour, female consumption, and female devotion that runs across every zone. The study also documents the full penetration of digital payment infrastructure into the market's most informal commercial positions and engages directly with researcher positionality as a form of ethnographic knowledge. The study is grounded in Pink's (2021) reflexive visual ethnography framework and Zukin's (2010) analysis of urban commercial authenticity and spatial power.

*Keywords:* visual ethnography, urban markets, Bengaluru, gender, informal economy, ritual commerce, positionality, temporal space

# **Gendered Space, Temporal Rhythms, and Informal Economy in an Urban Neighbourhood Market - A Visual Ethnography of Hulimavu Market, Bengaluru**

## **Introduction**

Urban neighbourhood markets in South Indian cities are among the densely inhabited public spaces in everyday life. They are where domestic provisioning happens, where neighbourhoods negotiate their social ecologies, and where the city's most informal economies operate in the open air, visible to anyone who chooses to look. Yet their internal social organisation, who works where, who buys from whom, who occupies which part of the lane, and how all of this shifts across the day, has seldom been the subject of sustained academic attention. Markets as social spaces are structurally patterned by gender in ways that are simultaneously visible and naturalised; rendered unremarkable precisely by their constancy (Bhowmik, 2005; Chen, 2016; Zukin, 2010). This paper attempts to illuminate those patterns through a systematic visual ethnography.

Hulimavu Market on Bannerghatta Road, in south Bengaluru's residential belt, sits at the convergence of three spatial types: a wholesale fruits-and-vegetables operation (Halli Thota), an informal pavement economy of bicycle-cart and tarpaulin vendors, and a formal commercial strip of named, addressed, proprietor-identified shops serving diverse retail needs. The market also operates across three temporal registers: the pre-dawn supply-chain phase when produce arrives by lorry; the peak evening trading period when domestic provisioning and ritual purchasing intersect; and a late-night extended economy documented in a supplementary observation. Our team observed all three. The selection of this site was deliberate: established commercial districts in Bengaluru, such as KR Market, Chickpet, or the wholesale flower market, carry substantial scholarly and heritage visibility. The informal neighbourhood market

serving a primarily residential catchment represents an analytically distinct and comparatively understudied category of South Indian urban commercial space, one whose internal organisation operates without institutional framing or tourist documentation.

The driving research questions were drawn from a preparatory discussion within the research team: How is the market's space gendered at different times of the day? Who does what kind of work, and who owns what? What do people who use this space say about when it operates and what it is called? Where are the facilities, including sanitation, and who uses them? These questions were not fully answered within the study's scope, and this paper does not pretend otherwise. What it offers is a systematic, photographically grounded account of what four researchers documented across two visits, interpreted through an explicit theoretical framework, with the limits of that account plainly stated.

Gender and space are co-constituted rather than independently variable. The spatial arrangements of a market do not simply reflect pre-existing gender relations; they actively produce and reproduce those relations through the organisation of who can stand where, who calls out and who waits quietly, who occupies the road's centre and who walks its margins (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999). This is what makes visual ethnography a particularly productive method for this enquiry: the spatial and the social are directly visible in the same frame, inseparable from one another.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Visual Ethnography as Method and Epistemology**

This study adopts an interpretivist epistemological orientation, treating knowledge as situated and constructed through the researcher's embodied engagement with the social world rather than through detached observation of an independently existing reality (Pink, 2021). On

this account, the researcher is not a neutral instrument but a constitutive participant in the knowledge produced. Pink (2021) argues that visual ethnography is not a technique for collecting images but a mode of knowing, one in which the researcher's embodied position in the field, and the images produced from that position, constitute forms of knowledge rather than illustrations of conclusions reached elsewhere. Images, on this account, do not represent a pre-existing reality; they participate in producing knowledge about it. The visual record is shaped by where the researcher stood, what she chose to frame, what she moved towards and what she hesitated to approach. This partiality is not a weakness to be corrected but a resource to be used.

Central to Pink's (2021) framework is the concept of the researcher's embodied experience as a form of field knowledge that purely observational or interview-based methods cannot reach. When a female researcher hesitates to stand near a male-operated stall, that hesitation is not a contamination of data; it is data. It is the same spatial norm, women do not linger near male-operated stalls without a purpose that justifies the pause, operating on the researcher as it operates on every other woman who moves through the space. The embodied response is an instance of the very thing being studied, experienced in real time. This methodological principle shapes the present study's engagement with researcher positionality in Section 5.7.

Pink (2021) further insists on reflexivity as an ethical and intellectual obligation, not a rhetorical gesture. Visual ethnographers are called to document not only what they photographed but what they chose not to photograph, and why, the child who was too aware of the camera, the male vendor whose stall felt unsafe to linger near, the private moment in a public space that the researcher judged out of bounds. These ethical decisions are part of the ethnographic record, and they tell us something specific about the norms that govern the space being studied. This is

consistent with what Rose (2016) describes as the reflexive account: the researcher must attend not only to the sites of production of visual materials but to the site of the researcher themselves, recognising their own values, assumptions, and positionality as active components of the analytical process.

### **Urban Markets, Spatial Authenticity, and Gendered Space**

Zukin (2010) analyses urban neighbourhood markets as sites where competing claims to commercial authenticity play out in spatial terms. She argues that informal commerce does not operate outside the formal market economy but alongside it, filling the spaces formal retail cannot reach and offering the proximity, variety, and flexibility that formal retail cannot perform. The claim to authenticity made by markets like Halli Thota, "direct from farmers to consumers," as their signboard states, is not simply a description of supply chains but a cultural performance aimed at a consumer who values directness and the absence of intermediaries (Zukin, 2010, p. 3). This performance positions the informal market as more genuine than the supermarket, even as its infrastructure increasingly resembles one.

Zukin's (2010) framework is equally productive for understanding the spatial layering observable in Hulimavu Market: the same pavement accommodates a proprietor-named appliance shop with a formal address and a woman selling spring onions from a bicycle cart with no premises. These are not competing versions of the same commerce but different positions within the same layered ecology. The formal and the informal occupy the same physical space simultaneously, with the informal filling the residual positions the formal does not need (Bhowmik, 2005).

The argument this study adds is that gender operates as a further principle of stratification within the informal economy itself. Massey (1994) argues that spatial organisation is never

neutral with respect to gender, the geometries of power that structure who moves freely and who is constrained, who occupies the centre and who the margins, are deeply gendered. McDowell (1999) demonstrates that in commercial spaces, female workers are disproportionately confined to lower-status, lower-paid, and spatially marginal positions relative to their male counterparts. The present study finds both patterns operating simultaneously in Hulimavu Market, at the level of visible spatial arrangement and commercial mode.

Feminist geographers have also argued for the importance of temporal as well as spatial analysis: the gendering of a place is not a fixed attribute but a quality that shifts across the hours and days (Rose, 1993). A space that is male-dominated at one hour may be female-dominated at another, not because the physical space changes but because the activities it hosts, and the social norms governing participation in those activities, shift across time. This temporal dimension is a central finding of the present study.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Design**

This study used a two-visit, multi-zone visual ethnographic design. Visit 1 (evening session) took place on 13 February 2026, between approximately 17:10 and 18:20. Four researchers conducted simultaneous zone-specific observations across a pre-mapped area of Hulimavu Market divided into four spatial zones. Visit 2 (morning session) took place on 17 February 2026, between 06:44 and 07:12, conducted as a full-market walkthrough by a single researcher without zone division, as the market's early-morning state made zone boundaries less analytically meaningful given the limited number of stalls active.

The two-visit design was deliberate and theoretically grounded. Pink (2021) emphasises that temporal comparison is a means of demonstrating that the gendering of a space is not a fixed

attribute but a process that is continually produced and reproduced. Observing the same space at two different points in the daily cycle allows the temporal character of gender patterns to become visible in ways that a single-visit study cannot achieve. The two sessions were not designed to be strictly comparative zone by zone, the morning visit covered the full market rather than individual zones, but together they document the full arc of the market's daily trading cycle from the supply-chain phase through to the evening consumer peak.

The study was preceded by a structured pre-field preparation phase. All four researchers read Pink's (2021) framework and Zukin's (2010) *Naked City*, and a shared briefing document covering planned observational categories, the D/M/T/R note structure, and ethical protocols was prepared and circulated by the team in the days before Visit 1. On the day of fieldwork, the team entered the market together approximately half an hour before beginning formal observations and convened in a tea stall just inside the Hulimavu gate. After discussion of observational priorities and zone logistics, the team conducted a shared walkthrough of the entire market stretch, all four zones together, logging initial observations. The team then regrouped in front of Halli Thota, where zone allocations were decided on the basis of commercial density and site organisation as assessed on the ground. Each observer then took their designated zone, having already established a common observational vocabulary and an on-the-ground understanding of the site.

### **Zone Allocation and Spatial Coverage**

The evening session divided the market into four zones mapped onto a satellite image of the site. Zone 1 (observer: Navdeep) covered the commercial service strip along Maramma Temple Road and towards 5th Cross Road, incorporating female-oriented fashion retail, healthcare, and educational services. Zone 2 (observer: Janani) covered the main commercial



visit written reflexive memos, including two extended thematic vignettes produced by Varshika for Zone 3.

Photographs were coded alphanumerically by session and observer: M for the morning session; NK and NA for Zone 1; JA for Zone 2; VA for Zone 3; and E for Zone 4. The numeric suffix follows the sequence in which photographs were taken within each session. Video recordings are referenced by their zone and approximate timestamp. A full photo coding log for each session is provided in Appendices A through E.

Pink's (2021) D/M/T/R note structure, Descriptive, Methodological, Theoretical, Reflexive, was used as a framework for on-site and post-visit note-making. This structure ensures that each observation is captured at multiple registers: what was seen (Descriptive), how the researcher positioned herself and any practical constraints on documentation (Methodological), how the observation connects to the study's theoretical concerns (Theoretical), and what the researcher's own embodied and ethical responses reveal about the space (Reflexive).

### **Ethical Considerations**

Visual ethnography in a public commercial space raises specific ethical considerations that differ from interview-based or survey research. All researchers operated under the principle that identifiable close-up photographs required the subject's awareness and implied consent; that photographing children required particular ethical care; and that subjects who appeared visibly uncomfortable would not be photographed. These principles are reflected in the field record: Janani's hesitation at photographing three stationary boys who were directly observing the camera (JA5) is documented in the coding log and discussed in Section 5.7. The researchers

identified themselves as students from Christ University when directly asked, and no deception was involved in any interaction.

### **Limitations**

Several limitations require direct acknowledgement. First, both visits were short in duration: the evening session covered approximately 70 minutes; the morning session 28 minutes. Pink (2021) argues that the validity of visual ethnographic knowledge lies in its situatedness and acknowledged partiality rather than despite it, but this does not exempt the study from stating exactly what was observed and when.

Second, Zone 1's evening documentation was incomplete. Navdeep's audio recording covered the whole market rather than her designated zone, and the four photographs taken on 13 February cannot all be confirmed as falling within Zone 1's spatial boundary from image content alone. A set of four supplementary photographs taken during a solo return visit on 24 February 2026 at approximately 22:41-22:43 has been included in the Zone 1 record with full disclosure of their temporal and spatial provenance.

Third, the observation period coincided with the days immediately preceding Mahashivaratri, a major Shaivite festival. This significantly elevated the flower and puja goods trade across all zones and is directly visible in the photographic record. This contextual specificity limits the extent to which findings about the ritual flower economy can be generalised to non-festival periods. Fourth, direct vendor interviews were limited. Zone 3 documents one interview interaction with a female vegetable vendor (E26-E28) whose video recording is available in Appendix G. No direct evidence on sanitation infrastructure and its gendered use was collected, and this gap is addressed honestly in Section 5.8.

### **Field Site**

## **Location and Commercial Character**

Hulimavu Market occupies a node on Bannerghatta Road, one of south Bengaluru's principal arterial roads, approximately 15 kilometres from the city centre. The market serves a mixed residential catchment: the surrounding streets of Hulimavu, Janatna Colony, and Balmuri are primarily residential, occupied by households of varying income levels alongside a substantial rental population and migrant workers. The market itself sits on both sides of Maramma Temple Road at its junction with Bannerghatta Road, extending into the lanes running east and west behind the main frontage.

The satellite data confirms a commercial ecology that is genuinely diverse. Within the four zones, the following categories of establishment are identifiable: fresh produce and wholesale fruit-and-vegetable trade (Halli Thota and informal pavement stalls); pooja and ritual goods alongside fresh flowers (Sri Shiva Ganga Pooja Store, Emik Pooja Store, and ground-level pavement vendors); domestic utensils, housewares, and home appliances (including Rajeshwar Home Appliances); textiles, clothing, and fashion accessories (Bhavani Textiles, Lakshmi Fashion Ladies Tailors, Rachana Creation, and others); consumer electronics and mobile phones (Jay Maruti Mobile, Naveen Enterprises, and various branded dealerships); healthcare and rehabilitation (Jupiter Hospital, Vivekananda Clinic, Donkurti Therapy Centre, and others); food and dairy (Sri Balaji Milk Parlour, mobile cart snack vendors); motorbike repair and servicing; and documentation and welfare services including a Xerox/Aadhaar/PAN card stall whose service column lists government scheme codes alongside commercial document services (JA5).

## **What the Space Is Called**

No single name governs this space as a whole. "Halli Thota" (ಹಳ್ಳಿ ತೋಟ, literally, village garden) is the name of the wholesale-retail produce market anchoring Zones 2 and 3, and its full

branded name is "Hulimavu Halli Thota, Farm Fresh Fruits and Vegetables." Its operating hours are posted as 4:30 AM to 9:30 PM, a near-17-hour commercial day. The broader market cluster is referred to variously in observers' audio as "the market" and in Navdeep's audio as "this market" and "fruit market." There is no consistent use of a single proper name for the full commercial area beyond "Hulimavu market" as a locational descriptor.

This absence of a unified name is consistent with Zukin's (2010) observation that authentic neighbourhood markets resist the branding and unified naming that formal retail districts impose on themselves. The market developed organically rather than being planned as a unified commercial district, and its naming reflects that organic character. Halli Thota's specific name, "village garden" in Kannada, performs an authenticity claim about the proximity of its produce to its agricultural origin, directly supporting the "direct from farmers to consumers" tagline on its signboard. This is the kind of symbolic work Zukin (2010) identifies as central to how informal markets assert their value against the standardised offerings of formal supermarkets.

### **Sacred Infrastructure and the Market's Embedded Geography**

The market's sacred geography is not incidental to its commercial life. Three sacred sites are embedded within or immediately adjacent to the commercial space: a Brahma Temple at Hulimavu (referenced in Navdeep's written reflection as a driver of flower demand in the zone); the banyan tree worship site at the Zone 2/3 junction, with its raised concrete platform, orange festival pennants, and persistent kolam on the road surface (NA4; JA8); and the Sri Renuka Yellamma Devagana shrine on a side lane off Zone 2 (JA11), a permanently installed temple dedicated to a goddess associated specifically with women's welfare and the welfare of marginalised caste communities across Karnataka and the Deccan (Assayag, 1992).

The banyan tree node is particularly significant. It serves simultaneously as a public worship site, a commercial anchor (flower and produce vendors cluster around it), and a social gathering space (the elderly woman seated alone at its platform base in NA4 at 22:43 embodies this multi-functionality). The tree's integration into commercial life is not incidental but structural: in South Indian urban markets, sacred trees and shrines anchor particular types of informal commerce, specifically, the flower and puja goods economy, and provide a form of spatial legitimacy for vendors who have no other formal claim to the pavement they occupy (Mines & Gourishankar, 1990).

## **Findings**

### **The Temporal Structure of Gendering - Morning Versus Evening**

The most consistent structural finding across both visits is that the gendering of the market is not fixed but temporal. The market's gender composition shifts fundamentally between its early-morning supply-chain phase and its peak-evening consumer phase, and the nature of that shift is not simply that one gender replaces the other but that the dominant activity of each phase is itself differently gendered.

The morning session (06:44-07:12) captured the supply-and-setup phase in its closing stages. The photographic record is overwhelmingly male in its visible labour: the Madeswara truck delivering bananas (M02-M03), the Sri Malamahadeshwara workers carrying crates (M08-M09), the Halli Thota workers unloading produce (M10-M11), the early male customers at the mobile fruit cart (M14-M15), the men clearing spilled tomatoes from the road (M27-M28), and the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) sanitation workers washing the road surface (M52-M54). All of these are male. Female vendors are present, M21 (a cycle-cart vegetable vendor near Akshaya Hospital), M23 and M25 (a woman at Lalitha Enterprises), M30-M31 and

M48 (a woman at a tarpaulin stall), but they are peripheral in the frame, operating at the smallest scale and from the most marginal spatial positions.

By contrast, Varshika's audio recording from the evening session closes with a direct empirical observation: "most of the customers in all the shops around this area, highly, highly are female" (Zone 3, Audio Transcript 7). Janani's Zone 2 observation at 17:40 (JA1) shows female figures dominant at both the textile shop and the produce stall frontages. Rathish's Zone 4 audio confirms that female vendors were active on the pavement and female shoppers constituted the majority at flower stalls during the pre-Mahashivaratri peak.

This temporal shift is consistent with feminist geographic accounts of domestic time and market participation in South Asian cities (Roy, 2003; Vera-Sanso, 2006). Women's participation as consumers is structured by domestic schedules, shopping is performed before or after cooking, around school runs, in the interstitial moments between household tasks. Early-morning female presence (M21, M33) corresponds to the pre-cooking provisioning window; evening shopping corresponds to the post-work domestic cycle. Male early-morning presence is differently structured: it is occupational rather than domestic, tied to the supply chain's needs rather than the household's.

A study observing only the morning would conclude that this market's visible workforce is male-dominated. A study observing only the evening would conclude that its consumers are female-dominated. Both are partial accounts. Together they gesture towards the market's full social character across its trading arc (Pink, 2021).

## **Figure 2**

*Female vendor labour across both visits: M25 (Visit 2, 06:48) shows a woman alone at a*

*permanent produce stall; VA2 (Zone 3, 17:16) shows a woman seated on bare concrete stringing garlands.*



*Note.* The contrast in spatial position and commercial infrastructure between the two vendors is discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2. Photographers: Rathish (M25); Varshika (VA2).

### **Spatial Marginalisation of Female Vendors**

The single most consistent pattern across all four zones and both visits is the following: female vendors occupy ground-level, pavement-edge, and mobile-cart positions, while formal shopfront retail is overwhelmingly male in its visible workforce and named proprietorship. This pattern appears in the morning session and recurs without exception across every zone of the evening session.

In the morning: M30-M31 document a woman selling potatoes, turmeric, garlic, and beetroot on a blue tarpaulin spread directly on the ground; M23 and M25 document a woman

tending the Lalitha Enterprises vegetable stall; M48 documents a woman at a small mixed produce operation. In the evening: VA2 (Zone 3) shows a middle-aged woman seated on bare concrete stringing garlands; JA8 (Zone 2) shows two women seated cross-legged on the ground under a Golden Gym hoarding; JA7 (Zone 2) shows two women attending a bicycle-cargo cart positioned directly in front of Rajeshwar Home Appliances; E02 (Zone 4) shows a woman running a fashion accessories stall hung from a compound fence; E25 (Zone 4) shows a woman and her child at a ground-level broomstick and flower stall at the road's edge.

The spatial distinction maps onto a distinction in commercial mode. Male vendors are more frequently observed standing, calling out, and actively soliciting customers; female vendors are more frequently seated or stationary, waiting for customers to approach. Active solicitation requires occupying the lane's acoustic and physical centre; patient attendance is compatible with the pavement's edge. This distinction is consistent with Bhowmik's (2005) account of the structural disadvantages facing female street vendors in Indian cities, and with McDowell's (1999) broader argument that spatial confinement and commercial invisibility are mutually reinforcing conditions of female labour in male-dominated commercial environments.

The direct testimony of the female vegetable vendor documented at E26–E28, Zone 4, corroborates and extends the visual analysis. She has traded from this pavement position for twenty years. She opens at six in the morning and closes at nine at night, a working day exceeding fifteen hours. Her produce comes from City Market. When asked which customers come more, she replied that ladies come more: “ladies come more.” This is not a researcher inference; it is the vendor’s own account of her commercial experience, and it independently confirms the pattern the photographic record establishes across all four zones. When asked how she manages her household while she is here, she indicated that her children and family are at

home. This single exchange documents something the photographic record cannot reach: the domestic arrangement running in parallel to the market day, the household held together by other people while the vendor holds her pavement position together. Bhowmik (2005) notes that the structural conditions of female street vending in India include precisely this invisible domestic infrastructure, the unpaid care work that does not appear in the market and without which the vendor's long working day would not be possible.

JA8 (17:16, Zone 2) is the image that makes this argument most directly. Two women are seated on the bare ground beneath a hoarding for Golden Gym, a first-floor commercial establishment whose advertisement features a white woman in athletic gear lifting weights, rendered in the visual vocabulary of aspirational urban fitness. The hoarding looks outward, over the heads of the two women seated below it, into the street. Pink (2021) argues that visual ethnographic images can perform analytical work without requiring researcher commentary, and this is one of those cases. The physical arrangement is the argument.

### **Figure 3**

*Two women seated on the ground beneath the Golden Gym hoarding at the banyan tree junction, Zone 2 (JA8, 17:16).*



*Note.* The juxtaposition of the aspirational fitness advertisement and the ground-level informal flower trade is discussed in Section 5.2. This is the study's primary analytical image.

Photographer: Janani.

### **Labour, Ownership, and the Service Paradox**

Direct evidence on who owns the formal shopfronts in Hulimavu Market is limited within this study's scope. What the photographic evidence supports is an account of who is visibly present as the working face of each commercial category, who is behind the counter, attending the stall, conducting the transaction.

In formal retail across all four zones, the visible labour is overwhelmingly male: the Halli Thota workers (M10-M11), the Sri Malamahadeshwara counter workers (M06-M09), the Rajeshwar Home Appliances attendant (JA7), the phone shop staff at Naveen Enterprises (VA8),

the textile shop interior staff (JA1, JA7), and the three tailors at Harish Dixenware (E19). Of the named, addressed, proprietor-identified shops documented in the photographic record, all have male figures as their visible workforce.

The tailoring case is analytically pointed. Domestic sewing, the production and repair of garments in the household, is among the most female-coded activities in the Indian domestic context (Jeffrey & Basu, 1996). Market tailoring, commercial sewing for clients, is performed by men in Hulimavu's formal tailoring shops. E19 shows three male tailors at work at JACK-brand commercial sewing machines in Harish Dixenware's interior, with Google Pay and BHIM UPI codes posted at the entrance. The same skill that in a domestic setting is women's labour becomes, in a commercial setting, men's work. This is consistent with the broader Indian pattern of commercial tailoring as a male occupation while domestic sewing remains female (Mies, 1982), and it is documented here through direct observation.

**Figure 4**

*Interior of Harish Dixenware tailors' shop, Zone 4 (E19, 17:36), three male tailors at JACK-brand commercial sewing machines.*



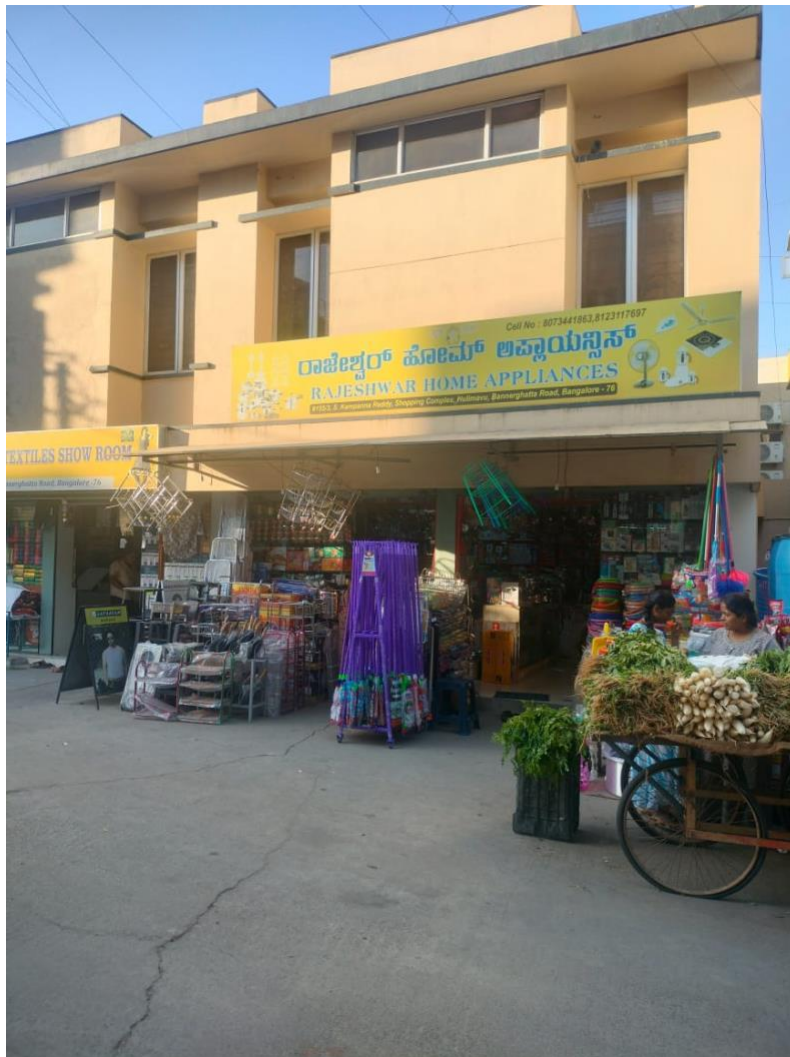
*Note.* The inversion of the domestic/commercial tailoring gender dynamic is discussed in Section 5.3. Photographer: Rathish.

Varshika's written vignette names a further dimension of this pattern the "service paradox": shops whose entire commercial reason for existing is to serve a female consumer base present a visible workforce that is entirely or predominantly male. Zone 1's NK2 shows Bhavani Textiles and Lakshmi Fashion Ladies Tailors, both businesses exist to serve female consumers, with female mannequins at the entrance of the ladies tailoring shop, yet male figures are the visible commercial agents. Zone 2's JA11 shows a male pooja vendor at the stall adjacent to the Sri Yellamma shrine, a shrine dedicated to a female deity, serving a predominantly female devotional population. Zone 3's VA1 shows a male figure behind the Sri Shiva Ganga Pooja

Store flower display while a young woman is the customer. The space is feminised by its purpose and clientele but masculinised by its labour, as Varshika observed.

### Figure 5

*Rajeshwar Home Appliances (formal, named, addressed, with contact details on the signboard) with two women operating a bicycle-cargo produce cart directly in front of it, Zone 2 (JA7, 17:17).*



*Note.* The formal-informal spatial layering and service paradox are discussed in Section 5.3.

Photographer: Janani.

### The Ritual Economy and Female Labour

The market's ritual economy, organised around the production and sale of flowers and puja goods for temple worship, is the commercial domain where female labour is both most concentrated and most structurally central. Female vendors are documented making garlands (VA2), arranging flowers (NK1), and selling fresh-cut puja flowers (E25, JA8) across three zones in the evening session.

These operations sit at the productive link between wholesale flower supply, which is predominantly male in its visible transport and bulk distribution labour (NA3 documents a male vendor at a fully stocked indoor flower cart at 22:42), and ritual consumption, which is female-dominated at the stall level (VA9, JA8, E12). Women make the garlands that women buy for worship. This circuit, female labour producing ritual goods consumed through female devotional practice, directed towards sacred sites with specific female significance (the Yellamma shrine, the Brahma Temple, the banyan tree worship platform), runs through every zone of the market's evening record.

**Figure 6**

*Ground-level flower vendor's spread, Zone 1 (NK1, 17:56), sevvanthi, roses, marigolds, jasmine, and asters in open plastic bags; the edge of a woman's pink fabric is visible at the top-left corner of the frame.*



*Note.* The ritual economy circuit and the pre-Mahashivaratri flower trade are discussed in Section 5.4. Photographer: Navdeep.

The observation is structural rather than coincidental. It is consistent across four independent observers' documentation, and it is consistent with the broader literature on the gendering of ritual labour and commodity in South Indian religious economies (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1976). The pre-Mahashivaratri timing elevated this circuit's visibility without creating it: the large volumes of sevvanthi (yellow chrysanthemums, the canonical offering for Shiva worship) visible in NK1, VA1, E36, and NA3 reflect festival-period demand, but the structural organisation of who produces, who sells, and who buys these goods operates independently of the festival calendar.

### **Figure 7**

*Sri Renuka Yellamma Devagana shrine in a green-painted building, Zone 2 (JA11, 18:19), life-size painted goddess idols, burning diya, jasmine garlands at the entrance; a male pooja vendor is visible adjacent to the shrine.*



*Note.* The female-specific sacred geography and the service paradox at the shrine are discussed in Section 5.4. Photographer: Janani.

The PhonePe QR code in VA2 warrants particular attention. A vendor who has no counter, no signage, no address, no permanent structure, and no shop name has been incorporated into India's unified payment infrastructure by virtue of a single printed card. This is consistent with the broader pattern of Unified Payments Interface (UPI) adoption following the 2016 demonetisation, which accelerated digital payment uptake dramatically across income levels and commercial formality (Reserve Bank of India, 2022). What the photographic record documents is that this adoption has reached the most informal and precarious commercial positions in Hulimavu Market, a woman on the ground with no stall, without any accompanying formalisation of her premises or recognition of her labour.

### **Digital Payment Infrastructure in the Informal Economy**

A recurring finding across all four zones is the depth of digital payment penetration into the market's most informal commercial positions. UPI QR codes, including PhonePe, BHIM UPI, PayTM, and Google Pay, are documented at the following locations: VA2 (Zone 3), a woman on bare concrete with no fixed premises; JA8 (Zone 2), two women at the banyan tree junction; E12 (Zone 4), the Emik Pooja Store flower stall; E36 (Zone 4), a pavement flower stall; E19 (Zone 4), Harish Dixenware tailors' shop; and NA3 (Zone 1 supplementary), a male indoor flower cart vendor.

VA2 carries the most analytical weight. The digital payment infrastructure present at this stall, a PhonePe QR card and BHIM UPI tab, has no minimum premises requirement. It requires only a phone to receive the transaction notification. The infrastructure of digital finance has reached the lowest tier of the informal economy without waiting for formalisation. This is consistent with the Global Findex Database's finding that digital financial access can reach individuals well ahead of any accompanying improvement in their formal economic security or material conditions (Demirgüç-Kunt et al., 2018). The vendor at VA2 can accept digital payment; she cannot access credit, insurance, or vendor registration on the basis of that QR code alone.

**Figure 8**

*Female flower garland vendor seated on bare concrete, Zone 3 (VA2, 17:16), PhonePe QR code and BHIM UPI card placed beside a digital weighing scale.*



*Note.* Digital payment infrastructure at the informal economy's most precarious position is discussed in Section 5.5. Photographer: Varshika.

### **Female Mobility and the Road as Contested Space**

The road through Hulimavu Market is, in terms of volume and noise, predominantly a male-operated space throughout both observation periods: delivery lorries, auto-rickshaws, motorbikes, and bicycle carts are driven overwhelmingly by men (M02-M03, M05, M32, M35, JA3, VA6). Against this background, female scooter riders appear in JA2, VA8, and E21, documented independently across three separate zones within the same evening observation window. In JA2, a woman in a red salwar with a blue helmet cuts decisively through the same congested junction where a silver EV and a male auto-rickshaw are navigating the traffic. In VA8, a woman on a red electric scooter moves through the dense Zone 3 evening crowd. In E21, a woman on a scooter passes through the Drug House lane.

These sightings are not remarkable in the absolute sense, women ride scooters widely in Bengaluru. Their analytical significance lies in their frequency within a short observation window and their documentation across independent observers in different zones: three female scooter riders were independently noted without coordination among observers. Within the specific context of a junction at peak evening hour, dominated by male-operated commercial vehicles, their confident navigation of the space documents the norm being transacted on equal terms, not merely observed from the margin.

### Figure 9

*The same Zone 2 junction within seconds: (9a) JA3 (17:24) shows a man on an Activa navigating around an obstructing EV; (9b) JA2 (17:25) shows a woman in a red salwar on a purple scooter navigating the same congestion.*



*Note.* Female mobility in a male-dominated road space is discussed in Section 5.6. Photographer: Janani.

M33 (morning session) offers a complementary image. A woman in a red saree walks alone down the centre of the road, empty basket in hand, heading towards the produce area at 06:54. Behind her, a male figure attends a crate. She occupies the road's centre. Her early-morning presence in what the surrounding photographic record establishes as a male-dominated

supply lane is a purposive claim on the space, consistent with de Certeau's (1984) account of spatial tactics as the practice of those who do not own the space they move through but navigate it on their own terms nonetheless.

### Figure 10

*A woman in a red saree walks alone down the centre of the supply lane, empty basket in hand, at 06:54 AM (M33, Visit 2).*



*Note.* Temporal female mobility and spatial claim in a male-dominated early-morning road space are discussed in Section 5.6. Photographer: Rathish.

### Researcher Positionality as Ethnographic Data

Pink (2021) argues that the researcher's embodied experience of a field site is not a contamination of data but a form of knowledge about the space that purely observational

methods cannot produce. All four researchers in this study produced evidence of this in their conduct.

Navdeep's written reflection is the most direct: "As a young woman researcher, my own gender shaped my experience because I felt comfortable blending in as a customer and observing women vendors, but I hesitated to stand for a long time near male vendors due to safety concerns and social norms." This is a precise report of the same spatial norm that governs every woman's movement through the market. The researcher did not stand still near male-operated stalls because women do not stand still near male-operated stalls without a purpose that justifies the pause. The norm operated on the researcher as it operates on the women she observed. Her hesitation is an instance of the very thing being studied, experienced in real time.

Varshika's audio self-correction about the EV driver at the Zone 3 junction is a second instance. Having used the phrase "posh girl," she immediately corrected herself in the recording, catching herself compressing a class observation into a gendered adjective. That moment of real-time self-correction is a researcher practising the reflexivity Pink (2021) describes as central to ethical visual ethnographic practice: noticing the interpretive framework before settling into it.

Janani's documented hesitation at photographing three stationary boys who were directly observing the camera (JA5) represents a third form of reflexive ethical positioning. She documented the hesitation alongside the photograph rather than suppressing it. The power differential of the camera over an alert, watching child felt different from photographing a vendor absorbed in work, and she named that difference in her field notes.

Rathish's note on insider familiarity is the fourth instance. Having lived in the Hulimavu area for approximately two years, this observer flagged the risk that familiarity might render the remarkable invisible, that things which would strike an outsider as worthy of documentation

might be smoothed over by the ease of a known space. This is the obverse of Navdeep's discomfort: comfort itself becomes a methodological risk. E29 and E30, photographs in which Rathish appears in the frame at ground level photographing the tarpaulin stall, are the visual record of an observer who placed themselves within the picture as well as behind it, consistent with Pink's (2021) account of visual ethnography as a practice of placing the researcher in, rather than above, the field.

A fifth dimension of positionality operated collectively. The team dressed in standard formals and made deliberate efforts to move with the market's pedestrian flow, make purchases at stalls, and avoid the static, forward-facing positioning that distinguishes an external observer from a shopper. When filming, explicit verbal permission was sought from individuals before the camera was directed at them. When asked what they were doing, team members identified themselves as Christ University students. These practical strategies reflect what Pink (2021) identifies as the participatory orientation of ethical visual ethnography: not the concealment of research purpose, but an active effort to negotiate the researcher's place within the social space being studied, such that observation approximates ordinary participation rather than surveillance.

**Figure 11**

*Observer crouching at ground level beside the tarpaulin vegetable stall, Zone 4 (E29, 17:49), the researcher is in frame with backpack on and camera pointed downward.*



*Note.* The researcher's embodied, ground-level posture is itself a document of the methodology. Researcher positionality is discussed in Section 5.7. Photographer: Rathish.

### **Gendered Facilities - A Documented Gap**

The pre-fieldwork research questions identified sanitation infrastructure, specifically, toilet facilities and their gendered use, as a subject of direct investigation. No photographic evidence, audio observation, or written field note in the present record documents sanitation facilities within or adjacent to the market. No observer recorded seeing or using public toilet facilities; no vendor or customer mentioned them in the conversations documented.

This gap is not trivial. Research on gender and urban markets in India consistently identifies the absence or inadequacy of sanitation facilities for female vendors as a significant structural constraint on women's participation in the informal economy (Chen, 2016; Roever, 2014). Female vendors who spend long working hours at pavement stalls with no access to

toilets face a material disincentive that male vendors, with greater mobility, access to semi-private spaces within formal shops, and fewer social constraints on using public space for urination, do not face to the same degree. The absence of this evidence from the present record is stated honestly rather than papered over.

## **Discussion**

### **The Residual Position - Gender Within Informality**

The major structural argument this study advances is that spatial marginalisation in Hulimavu Market operates at two levels simultaneously. At the first level, informal commerce as a whole occupies the residual spaces of the formal city, the pavement in front of the named shop, the tarpaulin on the ground in front of the bicycle cart, the market entrance threshold rather than the interior. This is consistent with Zukin's (2010) account of informal commerce filling the spaces formal retail cannot reach.

At the second level, within the informal economy itself, female vendors occupy the most residual positions. Male informality has its own hierarchy: a bicycle cart vendor has more infrastructure than a tarpaulin vendor. But the pattern is consistent enough across the photographic record to claim as structural: female informal commerce occupies what remains after male informal commerce has taken its position. Bhowmik (2005) notes that female street vendors in Indian cities are not simply feminised versions of the male vendor but a distinct labour category defined by specific material disadvantages, lower earnings, more precarious spatial positions, and more limited access to vendor associations and collective bargaining. The present study's visual evidence supports this claim at the level of directly observed spatial arrangement.

The claim is structural, not universal. NA3 shows a male vendor at an indoor flower cart at night, occupying a similarly sedentary posture to the female daytime vendors. VA9 documents an elderly couple shopping jointly at a flower stall, softening the female-only consumer pattern. Zone 1's NK3 shows a Fab India sign, a formal, branded women's fashion retailer at a higher price point, in the background, indicating that formal female-oriented retail with different labour dynamics is also present in the zone. Structural claims do not require the absence of exceptions; they require that the pattern be consistent enough to exceed coincidence. This pattern meets that bar.

### **Temporal Gendering and Domestic Time**

The temporal dimension of this study's findings replaces the simple picture of a gendered space with an account of a gendered time. The market does not have a gender; it has a cycle. The pre-dawn and early-morning hours belong to male supply-chain labour, transport, unloading, sorting, stacking. The mid-morning and evening hours belong to female consumer practice, domestic provisioning, ritual purchasing, household shopping. Between these phases, a transitional period exists in which the market reorganises: stalls are being laid out, roads are being cleaned, the kolam at the Halli Thota entrance persists as the trace of the morning's ritual beginning.

This temporal structure has implications beyond the specific case. Rose (1993) argues that the gendering of space cannot be understood without understanding the gendering of time, that spatial exclusions are frequently temporal exclusions, and that access to public space is often conditioned on being present at the right time in the right way. Hulimavu Market instantiates this: the morning market is a male-occupational space that female shoppers transit through quickly and purposively; the evening market is a female-consumption space that male vendors

and proprietors operate. The space is shared across the day by gender; the conditions of that sharing are different in each temporal phase.

### **Authenticity, Infrastructure, and the Limits of Digital Inclusion**

Zukin's (2010) concept of authenticity as a cultural form of power over urban space takes on a specific character in the Hulimavu context. Here, the primary authenticity claim is not about consumer taste or real estate value but about supply chain proximity, Halli Thota's "direct from farmers to consumers" tagline positions its produce as authentic by virtue of shortening the chain between field and table. The informal pavement vendors outside the gate make no such claim; they simply sell. Their prices may be lower precisely because their overheads are zero, but they lack the institutional framework through which the authenticity performance is made.

The UPI QR code complicates both Zukin's (2010) picture and the standard account of the informal economy as outside formal financial infrastructure. VA2's flower vendor has no premises but has a PhonePe account. E19's tailoring shop has Google Pay. The informal economy in Hulimavu is not unbanked; it is informally integrated into digital finance. But as Demirgüç-Kunt et al. (2018) demonstrate through the Global Findex data, digital financial access does not translate automatically into economic security or formalisation: account ownership and the ability to receive digital payments coexist routinely with informal tenure, exclusion from credit, and vulnerability to eviction. The vendor can receive payment digitally without having formal tenure over her pavement position, access to credit, or protection from eviction. Digital integration at the payment layer coexists with informality at every other layer.

### **Conclusion**

This study set out to examine how gender structures Hulimavu Market's space, labour, time, and visibility. The answer, drawn from 67 coded photographs across five observation

sessions by four researchers, is that it does so systematically and at multiple levels simultaneously.

Female vendors occupy the most spatially marginal positions within an informal economy that is itself spatially marginal relative to formal retail. Female consumers constitute the majority of the market's evening user base while being served through a predominantly male formal workforce. The female ritual economy, garland-making, flower selling, temple provisioning, connects female labour to female consumption to female devotional practice through a circuit that runs through every zone of the market's commercial geography. The gendering of the market shifts substantially across the day, with the early-morning supply phase male-dominated and the evening consumer phase female-dominated.

These findings are documented through a visual ethnographic method in which the researchers' own embodied experience, their hesitations, self-corrections, and ethical decisions, is treated as primary data alongside the photographic record. The methodology follows Pink (2021) in treating the visual record as knowledge production rather than illustration, and the partiality of that record as a resource rather than a limitation.

The study also documents what it did not manage to capture: direct testimony on sanitation facilities, systematic evidence on ownership structures, and extended vendor conversations. These are not absences to apologise for but directions for future inquiry. A follow-up study attentive to the bodily constraints of female vendors, toilet access, physical working conditions, safety at different hours, alongside a more systematic effort to document ownership patterns through direct conversation with proprietors, would extend this record substantially.

The arrangement of two women stringing garlands on bare concrete, directly beneath a commercial advertisement for female fitness, does not require further elaboration. That arrangement is the analysis.

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## Appendix A

### Morning Session Photo Coding Log (Visit 2, 17 February 2026)

Observer: Rathish | Full Market Coverage | 06:44-07:12

| <b>Code</b> | <b>Time</b> | <b>Description</b>  | <b>Key Subject</b>                          |
|-------------|-------------|---|---|
| M01         | 06:44       | Shuttered lane junction, single male figure                           | Spatial/Empty                               |
| M02-        | 06:44       | Madeswara truck, raw bananas under blue                               | Supply chain, male                          |
| M03         |             | tarpaulin, male cyclist   | mobility                                    |
| M06-        | 06:45       | Sri Malamahadeshwara Vegetable Shop,                                  | Commercial opening, male                    |
| M07         |             | crates, male workers sorting  | labour                                      |
| M08-        | 06:45       | Male worker carrying blue crate from shop                             | Gendered physical labour                    |
| M09         |             | entrance  |   |
| M10         | 06:45       | Halli Thota entrance, lorry reversing in,<br>kolam at threshold       | Wholesale infrastructure,<br>ritual marker  |
| M11         | 06:45       | Halli Thota interior, male workers sorting<br>plantains and yams      | Interior market, male<br>preparatory labour |
| M12         | 06:45       | Open-air trestle with cauliflower, cucumber,<br>carrots, no figures   | Produce display detail                      |
| M13         | 06:46       | Main junction, traffic police barrier,<br>shuttered phone dealerships | Spatial, retail zone closed                 |

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|      |       |  |   |
|------|-------|--|---|
| M14- | 06:46 | Mobile fruit cart under work lamp, male                          | Early-morning male                            |
| M15  |       | vendor and male buyers   | commercial sociality                          |
| M16  | 06:46 | Two men carrying large produce bags down shuttered street        | Male shopper/carrier<br>mobility              |
| M18  | 06:46 | Banyan tree, three male figures walking beneath, shuttered shops | Spatial landmark, male<br>pedestrian movement |
| M21  | 06:47 | Female vendor on cycle-cart near Akshaya Hospital                | First documented female<br>vendor             |
| M22- | 06:47 | Lalitha Enterprises, woman in checked                            | Female vendor at                              |
| M23  |       | shawl sorting tomatoes and onions                                | permanent stall                               |
| M25  | 06:48 | Same woman vendor, sole figure in frame, active work             | Female vendor,<br>independent sole operator   |
| M30- | 06:52 | Woman at ground-level tarpaulin with                             | Female vendor, most                           |
| M31  |       | potatoes, turmeric, garlic                                       | marginal position                             |
| M33  | 06:54 | Woman in red saree walking alone down road centre, empty basket  | Female buyer, early<br>morning mobility       |
| M35  | 06:54 | Woman on scooter transiting through male-dominated supply lane   | Female mobility in supply-<br>phase road      |
| M36- | 07:11 | Tabebuia tree in full bloom, sunrise light,                      | Temporal/aesthetic sunrise                    |
| M37  |       | SBI Bank sign  | marker  |

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|             |       |  |                                  |
|-------------|-------|--|----------------------------------|
| M48         | 07:12 | Woman at small mixed produce stall, sole operator                        | Female vendor, informal pavement |
| M52-<br>M54 | 07:12 | Two BBMP sanitation workers in green-orange uniform washing road surface | Civic/sanitation male labour     |

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## Appendix B

### Zone 1 Evening Session Photo Coding Log (13 February 2026; Supplementary: 24 February 2026)

Observer: Navdeep | Maramma Temple Road / 5th Cross Road

| Code | Date/Time        | Description   | Key Subject  |
|------|------------------|---|--|
| NK2  | 13 Feb,<br>17:21 | Bhavani Textiles; Lakshmi Fashion Ladies Tailors (5th Cross, Janatna Colony address confirmed); Jupiter Hospital next door; female mannequins, women's clothing on rack | Zone 1 spatial confirmation; female-oriented fashion-healthcare corridor |
| NK4  | 13 Feb,<br>17:23 | Fruit stall with tiered metal shelving, bananas in trays (image quality limited)  | Produce retail; quality note flagged                                     |
| NK3  | 13 Feb,<br>17:54 | Male motorcyclist at road centre; woman in maroon walking pavement margin; Fab India sign   | Street mobility; gendered road-use contrast                              |
| NK1  | 13 Feb,<br>17:56 | Ground-level flower spread, sevvanthi, roses, marigolds, jasmine, asters; edge of woman's pink fabric at frame corner   | Ritual commerce; female pavement flower vendor detail                    |
| NA1  | 24 Feb,<br>22:41 | Sri Shiva Ganga Pooja Store (Zone 2/3 junction); two women and child in transit   | Night commerce; female pedestrian cluster<br>(supplementary)             |

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|     |                  |   |   |
|-----|------------------|---|---|
| NA2 | 24 Feb,<br>22:42 | Internal market lane at night; all visible<br>figures male  | Night mobility; male-<br>dominant composition                 |
| NA3 | 24 Feb,<br>22:42 | Male flower cart vendor at covered indoor<br>stall; PhonePe QR present; dense flower<br>stock                                 | Night flower commerce;<br>male vendor; digital<br>payment     |
| NA4 | 24 Feb,<br>22:43 | Banyan tree at night; MK Mega Mart and<br>Golden Gym signs; orange pennants; worn<br>kolam; elderly woman at worship platform | Sacred/spatial night;<br>worship infrastructure<br>persisting |

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## Appendix C

### Zone 2 Evening Session Photo Coding Log (13 February 2026)

Observer: Janani | Halli Thota Western Approach, Banyan Tree Junction, Main Commercial Strip

| Code | Time  | Description  | Key Subject   |
|------|-------|--|---|
| JA8  | 17:16 | Two women seated on ground beneath Golden Gym hoarding; flower spread on yellow plastic; digital scale; PhonePe QR code; schoolgirls in background         | Female informal vendor; spatial juxtaposition; digital payment infrastructure |
| JA6  | 17:17 | Domestic utensils and housewares shop interior, stacked plastic goods; brass vessels including kalasha and diyas; no human figures                         | Domestic-ritual commerce; no gender subject                                   |
| JA7  | 17:17 | Rajeshwar Home Appliances (named, addressed, bilingual signage); bicycle-cargo cart with leafy greens and spring onions in front; two women attending cart | Formal-informal spatial layering; female-operated cart vs male formal retail  |
| JA4  | 17:20 | Quieter side lane; bicycle-cart stall and table stall; young women and male figure present; Akshaya Medicals sign  | Mixed gender; informal food-medical strip                                     |

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|      |       |   |   |
|------|-------|---|---|
| JA5  | 17:21 | Corner fruit stall; welfare/documentation services column (Aadhaar, PAN, pension listed); three boys with bicycles watching; male vendor at stall                       | Reflexive (observer hesitation); state-market co-presence at column         |
| JA10 | 17:24 | Halli Thota entrance; rangoli at threshold (same as M10); papayas on green cloth outside gate; lone female shopper inside sparse interior                               | Wholesale anchor; ritual threshold marker persisting from morning           |
| JA3  | 17:24 | Main junction; silver EV obstructing road; man on Activa; yellow-green auto   | Spatial/mobility incident; male-dominant vehicular composition              |
| JA2  | 17:25 | Woman in red salwar on purple scooter navigating congested junction; blue helmet; confident posture   | Female mobility through male-dominated traffic space                        |
| JA1  | 17:40 | Panoramic: Rachana Creation textiles with female customers active; large-format retail left; produce stall right; internal lane   | Peak activity spatial overview; female-dominant textile retail              |
| JA11 | 18:19 | Sri Renuka Yellamma Devagana shrine in green building; life-size painted goddess idols; diya burning; jasmine garlands; male pooja vendor adjacent; woman in red nearby | Female-specific sacred space; service paradox (male vendor, female devotee) |

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## Appendix D

### Zone 3 Evening Session Photo Coding Log (13 February 2026)

Observer: Varshika | Halli Thota Interior/Eastern Approach, Sri Shiva Ganga Cluster,  
Bannerghatta Road Junction

| Code | Time  | Description  | Key Subject  |
|------|-------|--|--|
| VA1  | 17:15 | Sri Shiva Ganga Pooja Store (prop. Manjunath.D) full flower display counter, roses, marigolds, sevvanthi, jasmine, garlands; young female customer                     | Formal ritual commerce; female customer, male vendor   |
| VA2  | 17:16 | Middle-aged woman in tan salwar seated cross-legged on pavement stringing garlands; PhonePe QR and BHIM UPI card beside digital scale; second female figure behind her | Female informal vendor; ground-level; digital payment without premises                                       |
| VA3  | 17:25 | Silver EV hatchback blocking junction; woman in orange saree walking; woman with child near EV; auto-rickshaw and male scooter rider                                   | Mobility incident (EV); female-dominant pedestrian composition; observer self-correction documented in audio |
| VA4  | 17:32 | Halli Thota interior: tomatoes (Rs 25/kg price card); pink metal shelving with   | Wholesale-retail interior; formal retail infrastructure; price documentation                                 |

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|      |       |  |  |
|------|-------|--|--|
|      |       | potatoes and produce; organised formal retail; sparse customers  |  |
| VA10 | 17:33 | Pavement stalls under awnings outside MK Mega Mart; woman in pink with backpack in active transaction; MK Mega Mart interior staff visible behind          | Formal-informal spatial juxtaposition; female consumer in transaction    |
| VA6  | 17:50 | Street overview; Namma Yatri auto-rickshaw foreground; woman in green saree and woman in blue walking independently  | Spatial/street overview; mixed mobility at dusk                          |
| VA7  | 17:50 | Peak pedestrian density at Halli Thota junction; woman in yellow salwar with vegetables just purchased; woman in olive kurta in motion; two men in transit | Female-dominant active shopping; male figures transiting                 |
| VA8  | 17:50 | Woman on red electric scooter (OLA S1 type) navigating dense junction with red helmet; Naveen Enterprises, Realme, Samsung storefronts behind              | Female mobility; confident road navigation against male-dominant traffic |
| VA9  | 17:51 | Elderly couple at flower stall, older man reaching into stall examining flowers, older woman beside him directing; white Vespa scooter foreground          | Age-based exception to female-only consumer pattern (Vignette 2)         |

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|      |       |   |  |
|------|-------|---|--|
| VA11 | 18:00 | Residential lane edge; female vendor in blue saree at produce stall; silver Maruti Alto (KA51MB654) in traffic queue; BBMP LED lamps; residential buildings | Residential-commercial boundary; female vendor at margin |
|------|-------|---|--|

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## Appendix E

### Zone 4 Evening Session Photo Coding Log (13 February 2026)

Observer: Rathish | Compound-Wall Pavement Stalls, Tailors' Cluster, Emik Pooja Area,  
Residential Lane

| Code | Time  | Description  | Key Subject  |
|------|-------|--|--|
| E02  | 17:31 | Middle-aged woman in dark floral saree adjusting fashion accessories stall on compound fence, hair clips, imitation gold, children's items                           | Female informal vendor; sole independent operator                    |
| E10  | 17:33 | Male vendor in blue shirt at pink metal produce shelf arranging vegetables (arbi, beans, tomatoes, Rs 10/kg); woman in green salwar transiting briskly in foreground | Male vendor stationary;<br>female pedestrian in transit              |
| E12  | 17:35 | Emik Pooja Store flower stall, roses in black buckets, mango leaves, coconut; woman in blue printed salwar examining goods; female vendor at right; UPI QR visible   | Ritual commerce; female customer-vendor interaction; digital payment |
| E19  | 17:36 | Harish Dixenware tailors' shop interior, three male tailors at JACK-brand electric sewing machines; butterfly wall stickers;   | Formal skilled craft; all-male workforce;                            |

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|      |       |  |   |
|------|-------|--|---|
|      |       | Google Pay and BHIM UPI codes at entrance  | commercial/domestic tailoring inversion   |
| E21  | 17:37 | Drug House pharmacy and Vivekananda Clinic (Women and Family Care) on left; Jay Maruti Mobile right; woman on scooter in motion; male cyclist                          | Medical-commercial strip; female mobility   |
| E25  | 17:37 | Woman in printed salwar seated on pavement with child; broomsticks and jasmine/marigold garlands spread; male fruit vendor behind on cart; motorbikes within one metre | Female vendor in most precarious spatial position; child present; road hazard proximity |
| E26- | 17:42 | Researcher in purple kurta at tarpaulin stall  | Informal interview  |
| E28  |       | (runner beans on teal cloth); vendor extends strawberry punnet; researcher holds field notes and phone   | documentation; ethnographic encounter   |
| E29- | 17:49 | Researcher in teal salwar crouching at   | Reflexive/embodied  |
| E30  |       | ground level beside tarpaulin stall; permanent vegetable shop with pink shelving and signage behind; female vendor in yellow saree left                                | methodology; researcher in frame  |

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|      |       |  |  |
|------|-------|--|--|
| E36  | 17:54 | Flower stall, large sack of yellow<br>sevvanthi, red and pink roses in vases,<br>jasmine garlands, chrysanthemums;<br>PayTM QR visible on stall post; textile<br>shop behind | Ritual commerce peak;<br>Mahashivaratri-eve stock;<br>digital payment        |
| E38  | 17:57 | Halli Thota entrance at dusk, green LED<br>arch lit; Indian flag on gate post; mangoes<br>on display table; sky pale grey  | Wholesale anchor; evening<br>operational state; contrast<br>with morning M10 |
| E41- | 18:00 | Residential lane; Hulimavu Varalakshmi   | Female-dominant pedestrian;  |
| E43  |       | Utsava banner (4th Annual Festival); two<br>women walking independently; vegetable<br>stall at margin; coconut palms   | residential-civic space  |
| E44  | 18:00 | Framed condolence portrait<br>(Shraddhanjali, Kannada) of middle-aged<br>woman mounted on blue scooter; oil lamp<br>and flowers at base; Ashwini Poly Clinic<br>behind       | Civic death ritual; community<br>mourning in public<br>residential lane      |

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**Appendix F**

[Link to Supplementary Materials](#)