

ABSTRACT

The ways in which financial value is produced by organisations through highly mobile products and services is increasingly contested by recognition of the more-than-financial aspects of valuation practices, particularly within discussions on the quality or moral value of work experiences and the dignity of workers. The terms of this debate are complicated by considering the role of nonhuman animals within work and commercial value creation, a subject which is frequently overlooked despite the significance of animal contributions to labour and manufacture. We generate new insights to valuation by reflecting on the mobility of nonhumans. Drawing on the Herdwick sheep breed of the Cumbrian upland fells, we illustrate how the image and narrative of these sheep is enrolled and mobilised to add value not only to Herdwick products but to human work. We highlight how the shepherding process of hefting, or the concept of establishing a deep-rooted connection between sheep and place stands in contrast to dominant logics of speed and efficiency in the agricultural sector and is employed as a script to overcome a devaluation of the worker in this mountainous and isolated region.

KEYWORDS mobility, value, dignity, rural work,

INTRODUCTION

In November 2017, as part of a clinical investigation into Huntington's Disease, researchers at Cambridge University announced that sheep could recognise human faces which, they suggested, showed a degree of sociability more readily associated with 'higher order' mammals such as apes and humans. The attendant flurry of publicity reinforced that sheep were more intelligent and *more human* than previously thought, a narrative that uses human exceptionalism to generate journalistic novelty. For those already attuned to the social significance of other species, however, the 'discovery' that sheep could recognise the facial contours of the 44th President of the United States, Barack Obama, or the UK news anchor and presenter Fiona Bruce, has raised few eyebrows. For shepherds, the idea that sheep are – in their own ways – social creatures with capacities for recognition comes as no surprise. In reflecting upon this sheep story, we are reminded of Franklin's (2001, p.3) argument that sheep have provided a ready supply of stories and folklore that comprise 'snapshots of the simultaneously ordinary and complex imbrications linking humans and domesticated animals' that 'are often used to reveal the paradoxical dimensions of these connections.'

As Franklin states, 'The ways in which sheep are literally folded in to human social life are certainly not limited to rural, peasant or subsistence economies' (Franklin; 2001, pp.3). We agree and, in this article, extend this to an organizational context by enfolding sheep into our own account of social and economic valuation. We focus upon and explore the human-ovine entanglements that create multi-faceted sites of value creation, ideas of dignified and financially worthwhile work, movement and place. By highlighting how the shepherd's craft of hefting creates routines and patterns of belonging between flock and fell, we reflect on the way that this generates legacies. While, as Franklin (2001) argues, most of us have a sheep story to tell, ours is unusual within studies of organization for it investigates the intersection between rural and urban vectors that coalesce to produce constellations of worth; the dignity of shepherding as a mode of work, the price of lamb as a food product, the enjoyment of wool as a texture and craft material, the enchanting visual appeal of sheep as components of the pastoral landscape both as a living and artistic form. That sheep (rather than humans) are symbolically and physically central to these shifting human valuation

mechanisms and productions is a starting point of our investigation, something which is entirely overlooked by most studies of organisation, place and value. Drawing on the examples we have selected, we propose that while the hefting of sheep tethers them to a particular place, such processes work to inscribe mobility within immobility in valuable ways; as loyalty, integrity, authenticity, tradition rather than stagnation or regression which, in turn, promotes different and enhanced perceptions of worth. It is from this cultural recoding that humans see their own choices, tastes and work practises more positively.

The article is organised as follows. First, we review the literature relevant to our focus upon value and capitalism in the UK Lake District as well as issues surrounding mobility and the dignity of work. We then explain our methods and methodology before turning to three brief empirical examples from the region's Herdwick industry. The article concludes by discussing the importance of the examples for understanding the place of Herdwick sheep within conceptualisations of value, mobility and meaning for the Lake District.

Value, capital and aesthetics in the Lake District

Recent crises affecting global capitalism combined with a growing interest in the increasing proportions of service-based and technologically-mediated employment have accelerated a re-examination of theories of value and organizational value production. This has been supported by the austerity-driven demand that the value of cultural and social activities, long understood to be intrinsic, be increasingly expressed in extrinsic terms. Vatin (2013) states that a failure to distinguish between the activities of fixing on a price (to assess) and to add value or esteem to something, creates confusion around rational and affective judgements of worth. In conventional economic analysis, value is thought to emerge from rational market assessment but as Vatin argues, this neglects linguistic and social processes of valuation that are necessary precursors to mercantile activity. Harvie and Kilburn (2010) outline the political struggle of management to produce tools that determine what activity, and by whom, is captured and aligned with value-production but this is not a recent problem. Intriguingly, sheep have long formed an important part of the development of the discourses of capitalism and valuation in UK industry, particularly in the North West. Sheep and wool markets placed Lancashire and Yorkshire as global centres of importance as long ago as the 17th Century (Franklin, 2001) and the industrial revolution of the 19th Century rested upon these centres of productivity and craft for the rise of textiles as a major sector of the booming economy. The vector that connects modern-day concepts of Lake District sheep and wool valuation emerges from this historic context.

The Lake District touches both Yorkshire and Lancashire in its present-day designation as part of the county of Cumbria. It is a primarily mountainous area dominated by the Lake District National Park, the largest in England. A proportion of the park is owned by the National Trust; a charitable association well known in the region for one of its original donors, the Herdwick farmer and children's novelist, Mrs Beatrix Heelis, née Potter. This region has long been a site of controversy with regard to the capitalist value proposition and how we ought to value aesthetic and traditional ways of life. Artists and poets such as Wordsworth, for example, characterised it as a sacred retreat just as the emergence of rail travel made it accessible to a wider, less 'cultured' population (Darby 2000). The debates over access and ownership have never gone away and the recent attribution of UNESCO heritage status to the area continues to underline tensions between settled natives, 'offcomers' and tourists. The main industries of the region are identified in government and local enterprise strategic planning as tourism, manufacturing and nuclear research and development (CumbriaVision 2009; Cumbria LEP 2014) but due to its conservation status Cumbria is subject to planning restrictions which limit (but do not prohibit) the free development of industrial buildings

and infrastructure. Reviews of future economic development of the area highlight poor connectivity and infrastructure as a concern. The success of commerce relies to some degree on the mobility of people and products, but recognised inhibitors to growth include high priced housing, limited infrastructure and underemployment.

Compared to the Lake District's human population of around 500,000 the regional sheep population of three million goes unmentioned in strategic planning documents, although their mobility is highly regulated following crises such as the foot-and-mouth outbreak of 2001. The Herdwick heritage breed sheep and the farmer are actors who co-constitute the Lake District's bucolic and appealing landscape, essential to tourism. Despite their importance, however, the significance of farming is low in strategic plans, perhaps due to the relatively small direct economic contribution of the farmers and limited number of people employed. The Prince's Countryside Fund (2014) reported upland farmers' annual incomes at £6,000 per year on average, well below official poverty measures and a fraction of the regional household median of £25,000 making the conditions of this work poor; requiring long hours for marginal pay and exacerbated by import-driven low market prices for the main outputs of lamb and wool. Hence, many farms rely upon diversification (McElwee & Bosworth 2010, see also Winter & Lobley 2016) to support their income.

Contradictory perspectives on the value and status of inhabiting and working in the countryside has been a permanent feature of rural studies, distinguishing between the actuality of making a life in a rugged rural environment against 'greentrified' notions of timeless and unspoilt natural environments (Smith & Phillips 2001; Dwight Hines 2010) Indeed the journalist George Monbiot (2017) states that the reliance upon sheep farming has turned Cumbria into a desert populated by a 'white plague'. Despite such criticism other studies have highlighted important broader contributions of rural agricultural work for sustainability, social care and inclusion (Leck, Evans & Upton 2014;2016). Yet life for many contemporary agricultural workers in the Lake District remains dominated by exploitative market exchange, with most working tenanted farms and experiencing cash-flow struggles in the face of regulation and financial subsidy administration. The demand for second homes and tourist lodgings within the national park have served to increase the price of local housing which means many farmers now commute from home to field.

Sheep have central significance within these debates. The image of the Lake District in popular English consciousness relies upon a particular history of cultural production (Darby 2000) that valorises the integration of the animal through a 'natural' aesthetic of the pastoral view (Franklin, 2001). Sheep are vital to that aesthetic which fuels both the agriculture and tourist industries. Hence, it is logical to raise the profile of sheep in the story of Lake District industry. In doing so, we extend the work of Coulter (2016) and others who have already made strong cases for the inclusion of - and solidarity with - other species in organisations and work practises (Sayers, 2016). O'Doherty (2016), for example, has argued that we need to learn 'new ways of being within extended multi-species or interspecies ontologies' (p. 407) while Sayers has highlighted the importance of reflecting on humanist preoccupations with writing and text in business research to better account for a-lingual creatures (2016, p. 370). Law and Mol have successfully made the case for sheep to be treated as actors (2008: 59) and, drawing on this, we foreground Herdwicks as enmeshed actants in contested relations of mobility, dignity and value, deserving of close attention.

Mobility, Dignity and Value in Rural Work

Material judgements on value in the regular enactment of social and political systems increasingly depend on explicit attention to connections and flows, exclusions and obstacles; constituting what Hannam et al. (2006) have labelled a 'mobilities turn' or 'mobilities paradigm' (see also Urry

2000;Sheller and Urry 2006). Much mobility research concentrates on different types of movement (of people, objects, capital, information), as well as their intersections and dynamics across multiple systems and scales. This scholarship has concentrated on the governance of movement of people such as refugees (Cresswell 2006), and in rural sites holiday-makers (Hall & Holdsworth 2014) and incomers (Milbourne & Kitchen 2014). There has been limited investigation of nonhuman animals¹ in these patterns and structures, (with the exception of work within geography and critical animal studies, see for example Hodgetts and Lorimer, 2015) Cresswell (2006) emphasises that the conception of place is moral and hence there is a clear contrast between a “sedentarist” and “nomadic” metaphysics in terms of value; in the sedentarist paradigm ‘place’ and ‘roots’ are associated with values of *tradition, loyalty and authenticity*, whereas the “nomadic” perspective on ‘routes’ or transience valorises *novelty, rational autonomy and freedom*. These two perspectives - sedentarist fixity versus nomadic flow - broadly highlight how different values are brought to bear on particular instances of mobility such as the attribution of immoral or amoral attitudes to the homeless or to the (geographically and socially) immobile unemployed.

Rural environments and inhabitants are generally characterised as sedentarist against the nomadic and highly mobile urban in a political and shifting conception of value that is not neutral. Viewed through this lens shepherding appears to reinforce the regressively traditional and embodied tie to the land and, in the uncertain rewards of shepherding, there is further potential for their work to be treated as ‘low value’; not because it carries less intrinsic worth but because the practises associated with care of animals are themselves denigrated by comparison with other forms of primary production. This is tied to a history of mobilities: Wilkie (2010) highlights the nineteenth century reduction in drovers and growth of urban evaluative trading professions alongside increased mechanised weight systems, railway transportation and land enclosure, and through the shift in demand from livestock capable of work or of milk production towards a butcher’s judgement of carcass weight. This shift involved a renegotiation of the relevant expertise of farmers, auctioneers and abattoirs that continues today. Animal handling as rural work continues to struggle to cast off the attribution of stagnation and entrapment associated with lack of opportunity (all features opposed to nomadic/urban values). While contemporary farming is by no means routinely stigmatised, there are difficulties in sustaining value while also committing to rural identities (Milbourne & Kitchen 2014).

For committed residents of rural spaces, a lack of mobility (as well as the difficulties of generating income) can present clear challenges to worth in contrast with urban counterparts, particularly in terms of autonomy (Crouch 1997; Wierenga 2011). The value of agricultural work is also compromised by its association with ‘muck’ and ‘mess’; that most primeval symbol of manual work (Ackroyd & Crowdy 1993; Hamilton 2013). Research on worker dignity has identified how social interaction between workers offers means of resistance and resilience to ‘pollutants’. Lucas (2015) describes how injuries to workers’ sense of self-worth may be remediated by actions of managers or co-workers, and Ackroyd (2007) has stressed the role of strong community bonds and cultures that re-evaluate or contest the significance of stigmatised features of ‘dirty work’. For most Lake District farmers, however, opportunities for collective resistance are few. Co-workers are family and/or animals, and although the broader farming community may be a strong source of resilience and collective voice to campaign for structural change, the community is small and members are dispersed over a wide geographic terrain.

¹ The few exceptions include studies such as Gibson’s (2014) discussion of the production and purchase of Texas cowboy boots as an encounter with the animals’ skin.

While such factors continue to compromise the esteem and capital value of agricultural work (Bolton 2007), farming can also be regarded as a special case of unalienated labour for it offers self-directed, meaningful, productive work not subject to the degradation of conventional employment (Cruz & Abrantes 2014; Crowley 2012; Hodson 2001). For example, studies of dignity and work have emphasised the threats to human worth engendered by the tension between the incommensurable (unique) value of persons as opposed to the commensurable (ubiquitous) price of products, manifest in practises which fail to respect that distinction (Bayefsky 2014), such as wages that fall below a decent standard of living (Sayer 2007) or the treatment of workers as market commodities (Dufur & Feinberg 2007). Sheep farming is different for the human and animal sides of the production process are romantically entangled in a nostalgic promise of mutual identity beyond market relations.

Harvie and Milburne (2010) admit that the global market is one value system of a heterogeneous selection in which market-value is the only value, measured through a universal or ubiquitous equivalent. In a world dominated by this logic, the compression of time and space in the production and transportation of many non-luxury goods (like many foods), retailers and buyers have valorised hypermobility, quantity and speed. Within this, the valuation of labour to produce these goods or services relies upon how it is abstracted (Pitts 2016) to decontextualize the activity from its social context and produce commodified labour-time. Many contemporary forms of information and communication technologies turn labour time into pre-priced tasks; abstracting and mobilising labour-power while effacing the value of the (generally remote) labourer as non-productive (e.g Mechanical Turk or TaskRabbit). While these advocate novelty and freedom (albeit with attendant exploitation), the fast-paced, task-priced economy seems entirely alien to the ancient craft of shepherding

Contests of this ubiquitous market logic emphasise the socially constituted nature of value, including who values and what ought to be valued (Reineke 2010) by engaging in organised practices which make the located producer visible, such as Fairtrade. Although individuals may strive to undertake to challenge devaluation of fixed rural identities, immobile products or production, studies such as those highlighted here show that this requires material, social and symbolic resources. Collective efforts to align such resources offer a means to reclaim 'nomadic' principles of value such as independence or autonomy. Autonomous subjects are those free from interference but also sufficiently mobile to be able to take their skills and labour elsewhere, expressing the discretion to choose movement (or fixity) in space or time as part of value-creating self-activity. For shepherds, however, both autonomy and fixity are inscribed in their repetitive and seasonal behavioural scripts; they are often relatively free to pursue different approaches to production, land management and diversification but are tied in place to the rhythms of seasonal production.

Both goods and workers are subject to fluid judgements of value that relate to their mobility. In the case of goods, for example, Beckert and Aspers (2011) outline how value relies not only on utility, but also on how ownership of the product differentiates the social position of the owner, and on the 'imaginative' ascription of symbolic meaning. Conventional analysis of animal food products conceives of the animal as objective commodity, unable to demonstrate agency in these processes. Yet recent publications have proposed a shift towards a focus on the role of subjectifiers, scripts and performance in valuation (Busch 2007; Miele & Evans 2010; Bertillon & Remmstam 2017) which have begun to identify a broader network of contributors to value. As we shall illuminate in our examples, this applies to the farming of Herdwick lamb (as a food product) and to wool and craft products that capture the essence of place and use it to drive perceptions of quality and contest the market logic of commensurability.

Dore and Michalon (2016) draw on Latour (1993) to highlight how animal relations are encoded in scripts, and manifest in objects such as the leash. The idea of the script as a programme of action that may be embedded in an object is outlined by Akrich and Latour (1992) as a way of articulating relations between technologies and humans and their intent to provoke particular programmes of action. Darr and Pinch (2013) bring this together with a dramaturgical concept of script, as a repeated form of behaviour which may convey morality or identity to explore how these social scripts interact with the material scripts of artefacts - such as shopping bags - to support or contest morality or identity scripts in different contexts. Such scripts include judgements regarding mobility, from the weight of the hotel room key that implores the guest to leave it at the desk (Bijker & Law 1992) to the material sales item that prevents the (honest) consumer from leaving the stall before payment (Darr & Pinch 2013).

The Herdwick, as a product of selective breeding and territorial practices, is both inscribed with and ascribes judgements of mobility. Dore and Michalon (2016) argue that animal-human relations are better understood by reference to their co-functioning multiplicities because their organized relations lie in the production and maintenance of coherence in specific spatio-temporal frames. The Herdwick has direct influence as a subject in the network relations of Lake District businesses and their particular form of organising, hefting, crafts coherence between human, animal and technical actants. Representations of the Herdwick not only constitute a particularly valued 'place' that is the ideal English countryside but actively contest value based on the mobility of object commodities through long, globally convoluted supply chains. Through their unique fixity on the Lake District fells, these sheep signal a different type of slow-growing mobility through repeated routes of hefting. Hefting raises the value of the Herdwick as a 'commodity', but also provides a means for engaging notions of authenticity, loyalty and autonomy that support meaningful and dignified work for those who generate their livelihoods from farming. In our empirical examples, we present a number of disruptions to the traditional humanist model of commodity exchange concept and show how sheep make this alternative form of enhanced valuation possible. Next we turn to our methods and explain our approach to the study.

Methodology

We initially set out to understand how the Herdwick was valued by focusing on the ways in which public narratives produced by agricultural businesses or their representatives set out to integrate or challenge the efficiency logic of highly mobile commensurable products. To do so we identified a range of public documents on Herdwick products, primarily marketing leaflets, websites, reports and packaging. In examining these materials, the combined symbolic and material role of the Herdwick became more clearly evident as a part of a broader project to emphasise the contextualised value of Lake District products and those who produce them as representations of a seemingly fixed tradition and community. We realised that this was a broader phenomenon than that of farmers immediately concerned with the production of Herdwick sheep products, but that the features and characteristics of the Herdwick were being foregrounded as part of a valorising process of (both human and nonhuman) work and particular strategies of economic development.

The focus on the inputs of human labour into value creation is primary throughout studies of value and of struggles over recognition and redistribution. In this sense we might have concentrated solely on how our documentary evidence mediated human narratives but in collecting our materials not only from text and image but also at agricultural and craft fairs, tourist information offices and other events (where Herdwicks were often physically present), we felt that the role of nonhuman actors, both technological and animal, ought to be emphasised. Hence, we draw on the theoretical foundations of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to inform our methodology of foregrounding nonhuman

animals in sociomaterial practices of valuation. We build upon the ANT approaches taken by Callon (1998) in his study of human-scallop relationships, Law and Lien (2011)'s account of the industrial domestication of salmon and Hopkinson (2017)'s analysis of the marketing of rose veal to emphasise the agency and movements of non-human actants in networks of production.

We were confronted by a need to examine this phenomenon beyond a single organisation or the agricultural industry. As Lindberg and Czarniawska (2006) state, actions produce actors who form a network which acts, so a methodology which defines its starting point with the actor (e.g Herdwick farmer) takes those actor's identities as pre-given. The Herdwick, however, emerges as a domesticated breed through many historical cycles of action, causing farming communities to develop practices and traditions that respond to ovine actions – the sheep make the shepherds. In order to follow the Herdwick action-net our data collection concentrated on identifying as many publications or items featuring Herdwicks or their characteristics in images or text (such as a logo including a stylised image) representing businesses and organisations in the Lake District as possible. This sampling was initially opportunistic in nature based upon internet searches, collection of press releases and government reports from council websites but did generate a range of material with a very broad authorship. Throughout our identification of sources, our criteria for inclusion were whether a source explicitly featured the Herdwick or Herdwick farmers, or employed clear representations of the Herdwick (as perceived by human eyes) as a part of their own representation. We undertook an initial content analysis of this material to identify themes and common scripts in the documents, though we felt that the initial opportunistic method of collection prohibited any attempt at a quantitative textual review. We instead concentrated on the distinctive differences evident throughout the emerging thematic narratives in terms of where mobility was located in the relations between producing and consuming actors and present here three exemplars.

Between these heterogeneous networks, actions are translated into one another and produce both organization and judgements regarding value. Wilkie's (2010) account of how the valuation practices of judging livestock have altered over time highlights the ongoing and contingent nature of this process, with different technologies (and recognised expertise) of evaluation and representation in livestock markets changing how animal 'livestock' is translated into 'meat for sale'. Passage through such centres of calculation is more obvious in closely bounded organisations where techniques, documents, computational devices and human actors engaging in evaluation are to be found in accounts departments (Munro 1996). However, in our attempts to identify the processes occurring in relation to Herdwick-connected Lake District businesses, such centres can no longer be limited to the auction mart and consequently are less easy to locate. Czarniawska (2004) states that increasingly these centres of calculation (and discretion) are more dispersed across action-nets.

To follow these action-nets we have concentrated on what Munro (1996; 2001) terms 'intermediaries'; stand-ins for actants' positional accounts. These intermediaries conceal multiple actants as a single representative 'black box', yet many are highly mobile and facilitate multiple translations. Images of Herdwicks produced by a network of photographer, camera, computer software, cars, farmers, sheep and farmyard appear on business cards or leaflets and paper reports as well as on electronic mobile devices transmitted through server architecture and tagged social media campaigns. We feel that successions of such intermediaries can convey both mobility and repeated or routine actions in the form of 'scripts', as in the representations of farming life and Herdwicks conveyed by farmers and other local organisations through tweets and press publications. Herdwicks, though we confer agency upon them in our analysis, are not the sole authors or curators of this content but are part of the action-nets we discuss as live animal, butchered carcass and co-constituting aesthetic agent of farm work, workers and landscape. They appear as such in textual

narratives and in use of their clearly identifiable aesthetic characteristics. As Hopkinson (2017) argues, media publications are frequently where valuations are narrated and contested, and so are promising research material.

Documents, including the transient passage of text and image in online spaces, as intermediaries are both actants and inscriptions. They represent inscribed agential relations (Dore and Michalon 2016) and in doing so attempt to ascribe particular organizational contexts, including roles and programs of action. Our range of documents such as DEFRA reports, Federation of Cumbrian Commoners newsletters, marketing material for sheep products, farms and abattoirs incorporate clear scripts regarding the relations between actors and their mobility. Implicitly, they also embed clear claims to the value of those roles and relations which we seek to explore. In the following section, we present three de-scriptions in which the roles and relations of actors are characterised in relation to those characteristics of tradition, loyalty, authenticity, novelty and freedom specified by Cresswell (2006). These characteristics feature in attempts to organise (and promote) consumption and attempts to organise production. In the first of our examples, the Herdwick is conventionally scripted as a traditional meat product, produced at high quality through the labour of the farming community. This example highlights the enrolment of the concept of traditional repeated behaviours within the price (and consequently unique value) of the product. In the second, the traditional farmer is presented as a steward of place inextricably linked to the animal and its authentic rhythms and locations. Our third example highlights the mobility of creative representations of the Herdwick that direct the mobility of consumers into authentic and seemingly autonomous relationships with the aesthetics of the sheep.

The Valued Herdwick Heft

Organisation 1: Lakeland Herdwick

Protected designation of origin (PDO) is a European protective statute which regulates the sale and distribution of products under a given name to those produced in a specific European region. This protected status aims to ensure some form of recognition is attributed to particular types of production, as a way of supporting traditional communities and methods of production against unequal market competition. Application for the Herdwick to be recognised was made through the Herdwick Sheep Breeder's association (HSBA) and was successful in 2012. A DEFRA commissioned report in 2007 outlined in detail the potential for revival of traditional meat products through PDO recognition, despite the "small size and undesirable conformation" of meat carcasses and outlined that without PDO status, competition between producers left few market opportunities and public money could not support advertisements to convince consumers of the link between production of the Herdwick and Lake District conservation (2007:14). This is despite a series of initiatives and research projects identifying the significance of the breed and its activities to genetic diversity in the UK sheep population, land conservation, and water management which have influenced EU and UK agricultural policies.

The uniqueness of the sheep breed is outlined in terms of taste and quantities of specialist fats, but for PDO this is secondary to the role of the farming process in continuing traditions of production from Beatrix Heelis' farms and producing food fit for royal consumption. Restrictions on some farms mandate the traditional farming of Herdwick sheep. Tradition and history as well as association with royal patronage is frequently referred to in the text of marketing materials where the image of the Herdwick on the fells or running through ancient village lanes is juxtaposed with images of steaming roast dinners in farm kitchens, sheepdogs, snow, grass and drystone walls but rarely in demystifying poses with contemporary industrial machinery such as that used in their tagging, slaughter or

transportation. Attaining PDO status for the meat product does rely upon evidence of mobility restrictions; notably that the animal must be slaughtered within one of three registered abattoirs in Cumbria and that agreed production regulations and documentation on the origin and movements of animals and animal carcasses must be rigorously kept to demonstrate regionality, using ear tags and geographic farm codes branded on the meat post-slaughter.

The stickers on the final products and used in online marketing feature heraldry; a defensive stone-grey shield bearing a ram's head and mountainous terrain employing the colour of Cumbrian granite and image of the fells. This icon was developed by a local design firm as the Herdwick Marque, and associated marketing texts label the Herdwick as both "guardian of the fells" (HSBA 2017) and the "taste [of] England's finest Landscape" (Airey's 2017). Non-PDO Herdwick products such as Cornish Herdyburgers and New York Herdwyck lamb emphasise the distinctiveness of the heritage breed in their text about the independent or self-sufficient nature of their business but do not detail the history or juxtapose the images in the same way.

Organisation 2: Shepherding Herdwick Wool

An emergent product lies in the promotion of Herdwick in conjunction with sheep wool fibre, knitting supplies and associated craft products. Herdwick fleece is frequently considered so low in value to the farmer for shearing to be a cost of maintaining the sheep rather than a valuable product for sale (Rebanks 2015). Despite this, the image of the Herdwick is employed by a range of wool and craft retail businesses and increasingly enterprises are producing items using Herdwick fibre. A narrative of place and provenance is clearly evident in Herdwick wool products, in producer's statements such as "people like to take a piece of the Lake District home with them". Woollen products are offered for consumption made up into clothing or accessories, as suits and bags or directly as cloth. Text advises the features of the sheep as "hardy", and the wool "durable" and "practical", and products feature in images of pursuits such as hillwalking or reading outdoors.

Further images and featured video detail flocks of sheep against a grand sweeping landscape, with the farmer a lone human figure or absent from images while narratives stress the "feisty independence" of the Herdwick. Mrs Beatrix Heelis is featured in images and narratives as an historic female shepherd, her farm flock smit-marked with a clear H. In accompanying text Mrs Heelis is identified as identifying with these 'hardy and independent' animals, becoming their hard-working saviour, and recognised as an expert in times when women were rarely acknowledged as such. One website of a diversified Herdwick sheep farmer who designs fashion items and wool tweed, provides walking tours and works as a professional speaker, describes Herdwick products in a condensed narrative slogan:

"Lakeland - Herdwick - Knitwear. Ancient lands, wool wrought of granite and slate, yarn of shepherds, cloth of Cumbria...Herdwick wool tweed, authentically Cumbrian"

This text is superimposed on an image focussed on a substantial Herdwick lamb being held with forelimbs aloft by a woman's arms clad in a grey knit sweater. Neither the woman's face nor her hands are visible, and her arms seem to embrace the sheep. Other photographs on the page feature the same woman, concentrating mainly on images of old-fashioned hand tools and hands at work, shearing, teasing fibre and sorting fleece, featuring bright red nail varnish against the black-brown fibres and bearing the slogan "weaving a thread through your heart". Red is a contrasting colour featured across multiple representations of Herdwick fibre product, with another Herdwick accessories brand identifying this with the 'smit mark' made to identify the owning farm of the sheep and Rebanks's (2015) account identifying the traditional practice of dyeing tups' fleeces russet prior to a show.

The regional location of production dominates the narratives of these producers along with metaphorical employment of shepherding language (fold, flock, heaf), but with a closer eye it is clear to see that the production process continues to rely on the mobility of the Herdwick fleece, with small ranges of products available, and co-operations between farms needed to establish sufficient quantity or blends of different wool. Large scale spinning and weaving is a part of the process generally undertaken in Yorkshire or Cornwall mills, with the processed wool returned to the Lake district producers for small scale manufacture alongside other heritage woollen tweeds.

Organisation 3: Go Herdwick

A charitable organisation based in the Lake District promoting outdoor pursuits for those with disability engaged in a collaboration with a wide range of artists and local firms to develop the *Go Herdwick* project, a temporary public art sculpture trail comprised of 61 decorated fibreglass Herdwick ewes and almost as many lambs. Sculptures were hosted by local businesses or organisations in accessible spaces and a trail map was publicised by the charity along with a media campaign and mobile applications to encourage visitors to go Herdwick-spotting. From April until September 2016 the sculptures were in place across the Lake District in locations specifically connected to key bus routes and a range of visitors tracked them down, posting tagged pictures and selfies on social media.

Throughout this campaign shepherding terms (and puns) appear in the text and visitors were encouraged to 'hunt' the ewes, named for notable historical figures such as Mrs Heelis or John Ruskin and embrace the characteristics of sturdy and inquisitive territorial sheep, joining the flock through posting social media selfies. In September the sculptures were 'rounded up' and placed on display for 'v-ewe-ing' prior to a charity auction to raise funds for the refurbishment of an historic building; and while some returned to hotels and businesses in the Lake District others were subsequently transported to new homes elsewhere. This event was held in a Windermere hotel and styled as a livestock auction (even down to costuming the assistants), with the "prize sheep" raising £20,000 and travelling to new owners in Liverpool. Some social media accounts continued to feature the sculptures on tour, as they were returned to their original locations or to join employees in their workplace. On the website of one hospitality business who supported the *Go Herdwick* social media campaign, the following text describes why their property is named for the breed; "Hefted Herdwicks encourage each other to live and stay in their own unfenced area with no desire to wander off. This information is passed from the ewe to her lambs. Thus, they recognise the area as their home, and they will always return to their heft."

Mobilising the heft: tradition, authenticity, autonomy

These three examples outline relationships between a variety of actants including technological representations of Herdwicks, Herdwick-produce, human Herdwick-consumers, and Herdwick-workers as well as artistic representations, living sheep and tracking technologies. These networks collaborate to foreground a different type of mobility to Cresswell's (2006) fixed rurality or mobile urban and in doing so present a particular claim to value. The positions and contentious value judgements of multiple animal and technological actants are inscribed within the 'black boxes' of mobile intermediaries. By identifying relations between these intermediaries to de-scribe their value judgements and conceptualising the broad range of non-human actants, we can go beyond Milbourne and Kitchen's (2014) identification of complex rural mobilities employed by human actors to identify more specifically how these each support a similar attempt to counter prevailing understandings of mobility and value by supporting a cultural counter-coup through solidarity (Ackroyd in Bolton 2007; Coulter 2016). This emerges, we argue, from the defining features of the

Herdwick's free and autonomous, traditional, and authentic mobility; judged and *inscribed* as loyalty and purposive belonging rather than stagnation, quality rather than efficiency, legacy rather than immediacy.

The Herdwick's features lie in opposition to those of a valuable and freely-tradable object of industrial production. As a slow-growing breed living in a harsh and isolated environment, it is less productive in the quantity (meat) or quality (wool) of that provided by other sheep breeds. The Lake District climate and landscape grows less grass than lowland spaces in Britain, provides poorer nutrition and ewes birth fewer lambs. The infrastructural limitations to mobility also add substantial costs to marketing and selling such goods. Hence, it may seem foolhardy to promote the Herdwick as a symbol of Lake District farming and the marketing of highly localised Herdwick products appears counterintuitive to an economising market logic that stresses the value of freely commensurable (and de-contextualised) mobile commodities. Why, then, persist with the utilisation of the Herdwick as a motif of economic regeneration?

Agricultural benefit has been a clear espoused aim of Lakeland Herdwick organising, achieved with PDO lamb selling for a higher price than non-PDO meat through an appeal to novelty (in distant markets) and uniqueness. In the case of Lakeland Herdwick meat products, the Herdwick promises an appealing counter-cultural narrative that emphasises its historical and routine embeddedness in the local landscape and in British life. Yet this uniqueness must be affirmed by a framework demonstrating authenticity; the PDO regulatory practices substitute lengthy time-based traceable routines and ongoing relationships across limited space for the extended global supply chains and swift transportation of seemingly commensurable products such as New Zealand Lamb. The specification of PDO acts to inscribe as well as to protect a local territory of producers, providing a regulation on product quality that specifies traditional or heritage methods of production (EU Regulation 1151/2012) and hence restrict the supply of mass produced alternatives. Enhanced value, then, emerges from the enrolment of plastic ear tags, electronic and paper intermediaries and carcass marks required for PDO identification to produce the *incommensurable* speciality status of the object as constituted through the organisations and traceability of its production. The process as a whole contests judgements of value which rely upon market logics. Buying such a product is a statement of one's own identification with these production values and can be regarded as an act of good *taste* in both physical and cultural renderings of the word.

The action-net produces incommensurability by way of making visible a tradition; not only through the tracking network but also through the mobile digital and symbolic intermediaries which translate 'meat' into an authentic narrative of worker-land-consumer guardianship. However, as Cavanaugh and Shankar (2014) point out, promotion of a fixed and traditional place or method may not be representative of accurate historical recreation. In the Herdwick's case, its inscribed aesthetic properties and active behaviours are enrolled in the heraldic marketing images to emphasise a fixed *terroir*. The narrative of hefting as a repeated script does not contradict valued mobilities, however. Lambs *can* be transported and introduced into other geographies. Though in the minority, some social media and web materials do indicate contradictions to the aligned narratives of local uniqueness and authenticity over free and efficient exchange. The animals can be raised elsewhere and their meat still sold as a speciality product, as in the example of Cornish Herdyburgers and New York Herdwyck lamb. They are also enrolled in narratives of breed improvement through the same sources as those who espouse uniqueness. The HSBA (2017) advertises the Herdwick draft ewe as "one of the most cost effective commercial options" for crossbreeding with large and muscular Texel or Beltex sires and a productive means of bringing hardiness, fertility and less need for additional feed into commercially productive meat flocks.

As Hopkinson (2017) argues in the case of rose veal, intermediaries can offer translations of seemingly opposing concerns and the DEFRA report implies that the inefficient shape of the Herdwick lambs for slaughter does not prohibit them from establishing a market niche. The routine territorialism of the ewes is reinforced in the combination of tradition, status and conservation implied by a guardian shield. Their lambs led to slaughter become a *more mobile* yet authentic product which offers imaginative value in a 'taste' of tradition that might offer consumers a means to remediate their own incommensurable value threatened in the course of their mobile and disconnected, alienated, lives. This constitutes *human* actants in these networks as accepting and promoting values that question freedom as a property of urban mobility. As Rebanks states;

*[My Grandfather] knew what cities had to offer, but also had a sense that they would leave you **uprooted, anonymous and pushed about** by the world you lived in, rather than having some **freedom and control**. The potential wealth on offer counted for little or nothing set against the **sense of belonging** and purpose that existed at home.*

(Rebanks 2015:51 *emphasis added*)

The Lakeland Herdwick meat product, as a bearer of cultural value in the associated narratives of authenticity thus acts as a moral call to account. The dominant drive for cost efficient and volume productive mobile commodity production is questioned in the pursuit of organising production in ways meaningful to consumers, but also to producers in search of an occupation constituted as naturally dignified and autonomous as the hefted Herdwick. While global supply chains are associated with countless, identical, faceless products and equally unknown or concealed workers, the Herdwick's characteristics of 'feisty' independence and 'hardy' endurance are further employed to craft an authentic identity script which produces both the enterprising yet feminine shepherd-crafter and the smart and wiley ewe.

These ovine characteristics are carefully aligned with the espoused characteristics of the nonhuman animal, as represented in images and apocryphal tales of a naturalist 'good life' (Owen,2016). The authenticity of the product as a representation of fixed traditional identities is inscribed not only in the wool crafts, knitted hats or woven cloth, but extends to the workers. In these intermediaries (including the products) we find new moral interpretations of the mobility and fixity of sheep, producers, products and consumers where the same concerns over the value of the product and the labour to produce it are reconfigured.

In representations of the labour and of the product in shepherding wool there is a clear alignment of scripts in a narrative of authenticity and loyalty that stresses the value of mobility *fixed within a heft of rooted belonging*; from the tale of Beatrix Potter, an urban incomer, transforming into the stoic local farmer Mrs Heelis, to the presence in product or image of a red-coloured 'smit' mark to identify a Herdwick from a distance within its free-ranging territory or an animal ownership brand. The emphasis on freedom in walking and wandering across streams and hillsides protected by the very fleece to have served its generational Herdwick residents promotes this idealised concept of fixity without claustrophobia, and carefully fuses opposing notions of mobility and immobility. Such representations aim to valorise the products and the life of the producer, but also to indicate appropriate consumption in alignment with the hefted Herdwick; though products can be purchased and taken away, they challenge the consumer to a loyal engagement with the Lake District by return to outdoor pursuits, or in the cyclical movement of the Herdwick product to enact the freedom of the animal through bearing it elsewhere.

The expression of hefting and homecoming has a clear agenda to incorporate visitors within the flock, to embrace a notion of themselves not as consumers of a tourist experience, but as naturalised Herdwicks - and a holiday rental as an idealised 'home' to which they may regularly and naturally return. The mobile tourists and sculptures of the *Go Herdwick* event are not to be mistaken for the sheep that graze the fells. The sculptures are clearly representational, but were ascribed agency, with welcomes and farewells as well as congratulations offered to the sculptures by name and their movements attributed to independent action. As the sculptures were enrolled in the project of mobilising visitors to consume a Lake District experience the ovine technique of hefting was employed to promote particular scripts around consumption that emphasised novelty and freedom. These scripts also concealed a tension between authenticity and inauthenticity, prioritising a 'performance' of agriculture. Like the animal Herdwick, the representations populated the spaces of the Lake District and attracted mobile consumers while at the same time asserting some level of directional control over tourists' routes. These routes established an alignment between the representational Herdwick as an aesthetic contributor to the experience of the landscape and its living counterpart. This provided a bridge between the distant animals of the fell and the more urban spaces of Cumbria's market towns, a place where the tourists could be gathered in after their unique and autonomous ranging just as the 'harvest of the fells', fleeced and returned.

Conclusion

The Herdwick is inscribed with and ascribes properties that Cresswell (2006) attributed to both sedentary and nomadic types of value-judgements associated with mobility; as both independent and free to roam the fells they embody authentic traditional routines of farming that not only co-constitute a quality product but also a worthwhile and meaningful occupational identity shared by farmer and flock. We have suggested that what could be read as anachronistic, sedentary and fixed can also be recoded successfully as 'terroir', loyalty, heritage and authenticity. This has enabled the price of Herdwick products to be enhanced through inscribing their history (Franklin, 2001). Yet this work of recoding does not emerge from these relations without considerable and calculated work aligning scripts and authenticity narratives. In this article, we have contributed new insights into the processes of doing such work by choosing examples that show how the critical mobility of the Herdwick, as animal and product, is enrolled in the struggle for value in the Lake District.

Although Cresswell's (2006) opposition between sedentarist and nomadic paradigms regarding mobility and value has been contested as simplistic (e.g. Jensen 2009) our objective has been to outline the way in which animal mobility enters into these value disputes. We have explored the ways in which value and dignity are contested through social interaction and have extended Cresswell's work to incorporate the nonhuman in the case of Herdwick *hefting* as a creative abstraction of nomadic values integrated with fixed loyalties to place applied to workers, products and consumers. Rather than the attempt to remove superfluous, non-value-productive mobility from the production process in the project of producing Lakeland Herdwick meat, mobility is inscribed through tracking systems. This is more than a powerful and appealing narrative of a particular time and place (Darby, 2000). Though the romanticised concept of an independent, wise and hardy animal and robust independent shepherd navigating an unchanging though harsh terrain is a clear image being employed throughout all three examples discussed here, this narrative relies upon the material animality of the Herdwick to inscribe and ascribe specific qualities and value judgements.

The employment of tradition, authenticity and autonomy is clearly evident in the marketing of Herdwick textiles and crafts we have discussed. The correlation between the values of the workers, both animal and human, in terms of freedom and mobility are closely connected with an inscription

of returning to place. The mobility of animals and products is not superfluous to value, but conducive to it, provided such mobility is engaged in a cycle of return (Law and Lien, 2011). This adds imaginative value to the product, “from socialization, repeated interaction with the good, and participation in shared activities...[that] reaffirms the value of the product and its sacred qualities” (Beckert & Aspers 2011:121-122). For Herdwicks, affirmation does not require slavish repetition for the production of value as a matter of efficiency as in the case of rapid assembly and transportation of goods, but rather as a part of the production of meaning through social solidarity. Engaging in the production of solidarity adds economic value and is also core to establishing the moral value of the work of production (Ackroyd 2007) even in cases where this value is threatened (Lucas 2015). In their position as sources of the product, Herdwick animals become workers, engaged in shared struggles against the challenging isolation of the landscape to produce interspecies meaning-making and solidarity (Coulter 2016).

A shared stoicism in the face of inclement weather and challenging terrain is common to the experiences of many adventurous hillwalking Lake District tourists and the Herdwick sculptures they visited. This mimetic expression of mobility with a fixed loyalty to the Lake District as a human equivalent of *being hefted* drives economic success. As more than an application of aesthetics, however, generating belonging also engages consumption of the Lake District tourist experience to elevate the Herdwick’s transcendent value. The adoption of the Herdwick shape as the basis for the sculptural models connects notions of authenticity to the other Herdwick products of our discussion. Unlike these examples, however, the sculpture trail scripts a particular sort of mobility that keeps tourists some distance from the lived reality of the animal Herdwick populating the fields and fells. While engaged in routes of pilgrimage around the Lake District, the visitors come to recognise and valorise the qualities of the Herdwick without having to experience (human - animal) exchange at first hand. The totemistic qualities of the Herdwick are conferred upon those who can most closely replicate their mode of organising, by loyally consuming the products of Herdwick bodies as well as living, working and returning to their heft: the Lake District.

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