

Retailising Space

Architecture, Retail and the Territorialisation of Public Space

Mattias Kärrholm

RETAILISING SPACE

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Public Space

Mattias Kärrholm

Malmö University, Sweden and Lund University, Sweden

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Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ix</i>
1 Introduction	1
Retail/Shopping Spaces, Architecture and Everyday Life	4
Towards a Territorology of Architecture	12
The Territorial Structure of Public Space	18
The Structure of the Book	20
2 Retail Autonomisation – Territorial Separation	23
A History of Retail Spaces and the City – The Case of Sweden	24
The Modernisation of Retail Trade (1850–1950)	25
The Department Store Era (1950–1970)	27
Malls and Big Box Retail Landscapes (1980–2000)	29
Actors in the Swedish Urban Retail System	31
Separation and Autonomy	32
3 The Pedestrian Precinct – Territorial Stabilisation	37
The Pedestrian Street	39
Some Concluding Remarks	63
4 Shopping and the Rhythms of Urban Life – Territorial Synchronisation	67
Synchronisation of Urban Rhythms: A Short History	70
Commercial Synchronisations in Malmö	74
Retailing	74
Flows and Movements	76
Cultural Events and Special Occasions	78
Activities	80
Bodily Rhythms	81
Collectives	83
Architecture and Synchronisation	84
Synchronisation and Territorialisation: Towards Isorhythmic Public Space?	91
Some Concluding Remarks	93

5	The Transformation of Retail Building Types – Territorial Singularisation	95
	Building Types	96
	Territorial Sorts	99
	Building Types of the Consumer Society	103
	Singularisation	108
	Some Concluding Remarks	114
6	Architecture and the Production of Public Space – Territorial Complexities	119
	Interstitiality	119
	Public Domain as a Matter of Concern	123
	Architecture and the Production of Public Space	126
	Serial Collectives and Territorial Complexities	127
	Interstitiality and Material Responsivity	129
	Some Concluding Remarks	131
7	Retailising Space (Towards an Architectural Territorology)	133
	<i>Postscript: A Short Vocabulary</i>	137
	<i>References</i>	141
	<i>Index</i>	157

List of illustrations

- 1.1 Territorial tactics at the square Gustav Adolfs torg, Malmö (photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)
- 2.1 Nordiska Kompaniet, a Swedish department store inaugurated in 1915 and still in use (author's photograph from 2008)
- 2.2 Burlöv Centre, a 40 year old shopping mall outside Malmö inaugurated in 1971, an example of the first generation of suburban Swedish malls (author's photograph from 2011)
- 2.3 Svågertorp, a big box retail area in Malmö developed around the year 2000 in connection to the Öresund bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen (author's photograph)
- 2.4 Nydala square, Malmö. A typical Swedish local neighbourhood square from the 1960s. Store vacancy was more than 20 per cent in 2009 (photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)
- 3.1 Västerlånggatan, Stockholm (author's photograph)
- 3.2 The pedestrian precinct in Malmö (author's photograph from 2008)
- 3.3 Pedestrian precinct, Malmö. Showing extension of the precinct, 1978, 1996 and 2006 (mapping of 2006 from Gehl and Gemzöe 1996: 25)
- 3.4 Lilla Torg, a part of the Malmö pedestrian precinct acting as a kind of food court (author's photograph)
- 3.5 Old restaurant on upper floor, looking down at newly established Espresso house café at Caroli City, Malmö (author's photograph from 2007)
- 3.6 The shopping mall Storgatan located at Malmö pedestrian precinct (author's photograph from 2006)
- 3.7 A temporary pedestrianised street during Malmöfestivalen (2006), a city festival that have been held annually in Malmö since 1985 (author's photograph)
- 4.1 Bread vendor in Ankara (author's photograph from 2010)
- 4.2 Temporary food stalls at lunch time, Malmö University (author's photograph from 2006)
- 4.3 A car-boot sale in Lund, Sweden (author's photograph from 2011)
- 4.4 Entré Malmö shopping mall. Part of the food court overlooking the motorway going north (author's photograph from 2010)

- 4.5 Entré Malmö shopping mall (author's photograph from 2010)
- 4.6 Shopping mall at Copenhagen airport (author's photograph from 2006)
- 4.7 Shops at Malmö Central station (author's photograph from 2006)
- 4.8 Shop at Malmö City Library (author's photograph from 2006)
- 4.9 The Square Triangeln at the south end of Malmö pedestrian precinct 2009 (photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)
- 5.1 Entertainment retail. Shopping mall Dolce Vita in Tejo outside Lisboa, inaugurated in 2009. The complex comprises 300 stores, 11 cinemas and a Kidzania which is a kind of edu-tainment retail for children (author's photograph from 2011)
- 5.2 Shopping at Caffè Florian, the famous café/museum/shop in Venice, Italy (author's photograph from 2009)
- 5.3 Tourist buses outside a shopping mall in Ankara (author's photograph from 2010)

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Introduction

In recent decades we have witnessed a proliferation of new kinds of retail space. Retail space has cropped up just about everywhere in the urban landscape, at libraries, workplaces, churches and museums. In short, retail is becoming a more and more manifest part of the public domain. The traditional spaces of retail such as city centres and outlying shopping malls are either increasing in size or disappearing, producing new urban types and whole environments totally dedicated to retail. The proliferation of new retail space brings about a re- and de-territorialisation of urban public space that also includes the transformation of materialities and urban design, and even of the logic and ways through which these design amenities meet the needs of retailers and/or consumers.

In the wake of the consumer society, research has pointed out a tendency by which shopping seems to have less to do with just quality and price, and more with style and identity-making. Consumers appropriate certain brands and increasingly tend to use their shopping as means of social distinction and belonging (Zukin 2004). Retail architecture and design also tend to become more elaborate and complex, focusing on branding, place-making and the creation of a shopping-friendly atmosphere (Klingmann 2007, Lonsway 2009). Although consumption increasingly seem to be connected to symbolic values and differentiation rather than basic needs, and design increasingly seem to be about enhancing and supporting the mediation of these immaterial values, materialities (as always) continues to act in very concrete ways. The basic notion of this book is that the materialities of retail space are not just about symbolic values, theming, and so on, but that the new consumer society has also brought about new styles of material organisation, and new means of material design affecting not just our minds but also, and just as much, our bodies and movements in the urban landscape.

The main aim of this book is to develop a *conceptual and analytical framework coping with the role of architecture in the ongoing territorial productions of*

urban public spaces in everyday life. This conceptual framework is developed through a series of essays focusing on recent transformations of *urban retail environments*. How does the retailisation of public domains affect our everyday life? And more specifically: What are the different roles played by the built environment in these transformations of public space? In *The Oxford Companion to Architecture* it is stated that:

Shops and stores are the most ephemeral of all building types. The ultimate architectural fashion victims, their need to remain up-to-date ensures that even the most expensive schemes, by the most renowned architects, have fleeting lifespans. (*Oxford Companion to Architecture* vol. 2 2009: 834)

Although this might create problems for the architectural historian, the transformative world of contemporary retail spaces is a gold mine for the architectural researcher interested in the role of architecture in the construction, stabilisation and destabilisation of spatial meanings and usages in our every day urban environment. This book takes on an architectural and territorial perspective on this issue, looking specifically at transformations by way of how urban consumption is architecturally and territorially organised, that is, it suggests and develops a kind *architectural territorology*.

The book thus combines a theoretical perspective on space and built form with discussions on retail and urban transformation. The book primarily takes its point of departure from research on built form and architecture, but it could also be seen as an attempt of integrating the field of architectural research with urban studies. Theoretical works that provide more advanced tools and concepts for the analysis of architecture in an urban context are still quite few, but well needed within the rising field of architectural research. Urban studies, on the other hand has traditionally tended to rely heavily on social theory and has not yet elaborated much on architectural or material theories

The book primarily takes a territorial perspective, focusing on how urban spaces are delimited, controlled, designed and inscribed with certain meanings, that is, territorialised. The book is thus part of the research tradition of architecture and the built environment, and the scientific field that one could call territorial studies or territorology (Brighenti 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2010e, Kärrholm 2004, 2007). It is primarily 'constructive' in its approach, borrowing theories and concepts from philosophers and theoreticians such as Bruno Latour, John Law and Annemarie Mol, in order to develop a way of dealing with architecture and the urban environment as a place of constantly ongoing territorial transformations.

The book is organised around a series of more or less independent case studies, each pinpointing a certain aspect of the territorialisation process. I discuss the production of commercial territories in terms of deurbanisation, urban design, urban rhythms and building types through four different kinds of territorial processes: separation, stabilisation, synchronisation and

singularisation. These processes are discussed empirically and theoretically throughout the book.

Empirically, the book collects a broad historical material, at times going back to the nineteenth century, but it focuses primarily on the consumer society as it has manifested itself from the 1990s and onwards. The investigations are focused on the case studies, for example, the historical evolution of retail spaces in Sweden, an investigation of the retail landscape of Malmö (Sweden's third largest city with some 280,000 inhabitants in 2009), and a discussion of the retail building type evolution in post-industrial societies. The empirical studies made connect to a tradition within architectural research that focuses on the built environment and how it relates to the activities of its users (for example, Gehl 1980, 2010, Rapoport 1990, Hillier and Hanson 1984, Werne 1987, Hertzberger 1991, Markus 1993, Hillier 1996, Evans 1997, Dovey 1999, Habraken 1998, 2005, Nilsson 2010, Lang and Moleski 2010, just to mention a few). The qualitative study of Malmö is primarily based on studies of newspaper archives and planning documents from 1995–2009, observational studies and photographic documentation (mostly during 2006–2007, and 2009).

The book takes a European perspective, and the examples and cases used are mostly from Sweden. Sweden is quite comparable to other Western countries, but it has also been at the front edge of retail development (especially during the first decades after World War II), and certain examples of retail space evolution are thus quite manifest here, which makes Sweden provide good examples of the phenomena that I discuss (but which can be found elsewhere too). Retail can also be seen as an inherent and important aspect of the welfare state and its policies. Sweden, with its long history of welfare policies, makes a particularly interesting case when it comes to investigating the rise of the consumer society and its impact on public space. The historical documentation on retail space made by Bergman (2003), Mattson and Wallenstein (2010), and others also makes it possible to contextualise the empirical cases in a good way. It should, however, be noted that the contribution of this book is not foremost empirical (it is, for example, not intended to be a grand narrative of the evolution of Swedish retail in the 1990s). Rather, its contribution has to do with the general questions and theoretical considerations the empirical cases rise on the role of built form in the process of territorialisation. Although the Swedish case may not be typical, I hope nevertheless to illustrate aspects of how the retailisation of space territorialises aspects of everyday life in the public domain. The empirical cases are, by necessity, reductionist. They are temporary fixations that facilitate the development of new theoretical tools. The role of the empirical cases is thus to form basis for a discussion of new ways of looking at in public space transformation and for the development of analytical tools that can enable investigations and new perspectives on the role of built form in public space transformation and retail territorialisation.

Retail/Shopping Spaces, Architecture and Everyday Life

To begin with, let me clarify what kind of spaces I have addressed in this book. There are several interesting and intermingling spatial concepts on retail which have received interest during the last couple of decades, for example, consumption space, retail space and shopping space. Consumption space may, in its broadest sense, entail everything from arcades, department stores, casinos, and bowling alleys to housing areas, cruise ships and even whole cities (Miles and Miles 2004). Although the rise of the consumer society (Bauman 2007) is an important context for my investigation, I do not discuss the whole spectrum of possible places for consumption, but instead limit my considerations to urban space for shopping and retail. In Vernet and de Wit's *Boutiques and Other Retail Spaces*, retail architecture is defined as: 'those market spaces, both real and virtual, that affect the relationship between supply and demand' (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 16). This would include open markets as well as shopping malls, boutiques and Internet stores. However, if we are to look at the act of retailing from an everyday perspective we also need to address the wider scope of spaces appropriated for shopping activities, that is, all shopping spaces. The spaces of shopping culture do not end in the store but continue out into the street and on to cafés, parking facilities and even all the way in to the private home, where the computer may play an important part in the production of shopping opportunities (cf. Gregson et al. 2002). In this book, my interest more specifically lies in the urban and public spaces that are designed or used to any extent for retail and/or shopping related activities, this would of course include shops and malls, but also cafés, pedestrian streets, railway stations and even more restricted and controlled places such as airports. My excursions do not, however, take me as far from public space as the home, and not as far from architectural space as the Internet. Retail architecture, or better put, retail spaces including larger retail areas, open air malls and pedestrian precincts, are thus main focus, but it must also be bourn in mind that shopping practices saturate the whole of the urban landscape. Opportunities to buy and sell pop up everywhere, and shopping involves a whole set of other activities and places (cf. Zukin 2004). It is also from the perspective of shopping as an activity that the transformation of public space becomes most apparent. Research and studies on shopping and retail have increased in recent decades, and these issues have become more and more important in the planning of cities, regions, municipalities, and so on. Consumption research has a long history with the work of theorists such as Thorstein Veblen, Max Weber, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, and Jean Baudrillard (see for example, Miles and Miles 2004, or Hetherington 2004, for an introduction). There is also more pragmatic empirical research on consumption patterns and consumption behaviour, beginning as early as the 1930s and 40s in countries such as for example, Sweden (Ekström 2004, Ekström and Brembeck 2004). However, more widespread interest in shopping as a research area arose in connection with postmodernity, and

more specifically with what is sometimes called 'the cultural turn' during the 1980s, and increased rapidly during the 1990s. Shopping became seen both as a part of our lifestyle and our society, and research focused, for example, on shopping as part of our everyday practices, as a social activity or as a meaning and identity-building activity (Miller et al. 1998, Gregson et al. 2002, Zukin 2004, Hetherington 2004). Shoppers were also sometimes described as a trope or a sign of the times, often based on the work of Baudrillard or Bauman (Shield 1992, Goss 1993, Gregson et al. 2002: 597). The consuming revolution and the start of the consumer society are notoriously difficult to pinpoint in time. There has always been an intimate relationship between markets and cities and between cities and public life. In northern Europe cities, some cities evolved around market places (for example, cities with generic names like, *købstad*, *köping*). In fact, the archaeologist Peter Carelli (2001) has discussed the evolution of a consumer culture as parallel to a process of urbanisation in the Swedish town of Lund as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, suggesting the possibility of conspicuous consumption as a kind of indicator of urbanity itself (Carelli 2001: 99–209). Some researchers argue that the consumer society has its roots in the sixteenth century with new goods, a growing interest in fashion, and investments in the trade infrastructure. Others argue that the consumer society developed in the wake of or even parallel to the Industrial revolution. Perhaps we can settle on Don Slater's notion that the consumer society is intimately linked with the whole of the modern project, and that consumption has greatly influenced society over several centuries (and probably even longer). More interesting than the efforts of setting a specific date on the consumer society or describing some kind of linear progression is to study how different consumer cultures have evolved and transformed over the years, that is, a more genealogical or even cyclical approach (cf. Slater 1997: ch.1, Miles and Miles, 2004: 25–29).

From a contemporary perspective, the post-war period in general and the 1980s in particular are often singled out as important points in the history of consumerism. During the 1950s, mass consumption was well under way in most Western countries. Consumption then became an important aspect of the social community, where the goal of both the individual and the family was often 'keeping up with the Joneses' (Slater 1997: 12). During the 1980s, it has been argued that this slogan was in a sense reversed (at least if viewed from the perspective of advertising and business) to 'keeping a difference from the Joneses' (Slater 1997: 10). Marketing, advertising and design became increasingly important ingredients in a capitalist society and the issue of production was now in many cases subordinated to a focus on consumption. The 1980s are also often singled out as the time when the consumer society became visible, and when shopping started to take on a more constitutive role in the Western world, both for societies and for our social life and identity. Consumption became a way of creating identity and an important means of distinguishing oneself from other people, groups or classes.

Shopping spaces become more and more important parts of urban development, and they have even been described as emblematic of our time. In her book *Landscapes of Power* (1993), Sharon Zukin describes how our cities have gone from being 'landscapes of production', to being 'landscape of consumption'. Miles and Miles take this even further in *Consuming Cities* (2004), where they describes how life in modern cities is reduced to the point where consumption has become the city's primary function, arguing that: 'the city has been consumed by consumption and as a result has lost track of its broader social role' (Miles and Miles 2004: 172). For Bauman this change towards consumerism is seen as coupled with the fulfilment of immediate pleasures and a short-sightedness that leads to objectification and commodification of people, so even the consumer becomes a commodity (for example in Internet dating, Bauman 2007).

The new interest in consumption, retail and shopping is also evident in the field of architecture and urban design. Retail architecture was not much appreciated during architectural modernism and functionalism, and, for example, seldom made it into the compulsory course literature in architecture and architectural history (although there are a few exceptions, such as Eric Mendelssohn's Shocken Buildings in Germany or perhaps William Crabtree's Peter Jones department store in the UK). Today, architecture has become an important competitive tool, branding is the buzzword of the day (Klingmann 2007, Lonsway 2009) and a series of contemporary star architects like Jean Nouvel, Rem Koolhaas, Herman Hertzberger, Ben van Berkel and Caroline Bos, and Daniel Liebeskind have taken the task of designing shopping centres and malls. Meanwhile, architects who used to be more anonymous are being raised to prominence. Victor Gruen (the father of the mall) is now celebrated or investigated in one book after another (Hardwick 2003, Wall 2001, Chung et al. 2001). An architect like Jon Jerde, specialised in retail facilities, has also attracted increasing attention. The move of retail architecture onto the scene of 'high architecture' began as early as the early 1970s with the influential pioneering work *Learning from Las Vegas* (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972), following a more general post-modern ambition to erase the line between high and low culture. One of the seminal texts to raise this issue in architecture during the last decade is *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (Chung et al. 2001), one of the books produced in Rem Koolhaas' *Project on the City*.

The change and expansion of retail environments have also had a major impact on the city and on urban development in general. Graham and Marvin describe in *Splintering Urbanism* (1999) how shopping environments contribute to fragmentation of the urban landscape. The enclave planning of shopping centres has been adapted to central city locations, for examples as BIDs (Business Improvement Districts, a form of urban renewal projects, partly or wholly financed by private property owners and businesses) and pedestrian precincts, acting as a kind of 'malls without walls'. New shopping centres and retail parks are growing up on the outskirts of towns and contribute

to this fragmentation of the urban landscape. But Graham and Marvin also point out shopping as an important integrative factor. Trade and shopping are means of creating a living urban environment in which people can meet and see each other. In many cases this is done within the framework of large enclaves, described by Koolhaas in terms of bigness, by Graham and Marvin as rebundled complexes, and by Jerde as colonies of cohesion (Graham and Marvin 2001: 222–227). Shopping is thus not just something that threatens to destroy or fragment the city, but has also been put forward as something that can enrich city life. The important urban function of retail has been acknowledged by researchers of urban design since Jane Jacobs in the 1960s (Jacobs 2002, Gehl 1980, Hemmersam 2005, Bergman 2003). In fact, department stores became important public places already during the nineteenth century (Hetherington 1997, Bergman 2003), as they opened up new spaces in the city that were readily accessible to (middle-class) women. This is, in a sense, echoed in the interesting article by F. Erkip, and in her discussions on the introduction and role of shopping malls as important public spaces in Turkey during the 1990s (Erkip 2005). Today, the integration of shopping and city life has gone further than ever before. In *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (2001), Leong describes how shopping has developed and gradually expanded in size and scope to, in principle, saturate all public activities. Leong even states that ‘shopping has become one of the only means by which we experience public life.’ (Leong 2001b: 134). Shopping has outgrown the role of being an important urban function and become a necessary condition for urbanity itself. McMorrough develops similar thoughts in the same book, where he argues that shopping environments are increasingly becoming a kind of ideal for the city, a recipe for urbanity (McMorrough 2001a, Hemmersam 2005). The strategies of design and spatial organisation that were once developed for shopping centres are now used for city planning and urban design. But the influence is, of course, double, the town and its shopping environments reflect each other. The shopping mall want to become a city, the city wants to become a shopping mall. How does this equation balance? On the one hand, we have commercialised cities and urban life characterised by the privatisation, domestication, and commodification of public space (Zukin 1995, Atkinson 2003), and fragmentation of the urban landscape as a whole. On the other hand, commercial businesses and retail spaces are a constituent part of city life and a contributing factor to the integration of people and the possibility of interacting. Again: On the one hand retail and shopping might be seen as controlling, manipulating and even reducing the potential or richness of public life. On the other hand, shopping is something many people enjoy and (to some extent must) engage in, and as such it creates both opportunities and meaning in our lives. Miles call this ‘the consuming paradox’ (Miles 1998), but in fact, it is not a paradox at all. Influence, power, stabilisation or whatever one wishes to call it always both reduces and produces, it involves both destruction and production (cf. Foucault 1977)

Research on the retail environment has often tended to examine the history of an individual building type rather than looking at the transformation of the retail environment as a whole (or the structure as a whole). It has, for example, focused on studies of shopping malls (Goss 1993, Dovey, 1999, Bergman 1993) arcades and gallerias (Geist 1983, Bergman 1996, Benjamin 1999), squares (Korosec-Serfaty 1982, Olsson et al. 2004, Kärrholm 2005, Nordin 2009) city centres (Gehl and Gemzöe 1996, Olsson 1998, Omland 2003) second-hand stores, flea markets and car boot sales (Gregson et al. 1997, 2002, Cross 2000), department stores (Lancaster 1995, Koch 2007), and so on. Very few studies, however, attempt to describe the retail landscape in its entirety, and although this has been done at some places (for example, Wrigley and Lowe 1996, 2002) they seldom investigate the various roles of built form (although see, for example, Crewe 2010 on how architecture and fashion might indeed affect the social and political landscape of the city).

To put it bluntly, however, one could say that research into shopping has in the past (for better or worse) tended to be polarized in a number of ways. It has dealt either with centre or periphery; either with everyday routine purchases or with high fashion and recreational shopping; it has either been concerned with how individuals create their identities and try to aggregate cultural capital through the shopping experience, or with how retailers could control their customers in meticulous detail (Hetherington 2004: 157); it either has to do with describing the ever-larger shopping malls and magical cathedrals of consumption (Ritzer 2005), or how people sell goods from the trunk of their cars at local car parks or find other alternative ways of pursuing informal small scale retail (Gregson et al. 1997, Cross 2000, Olsson 2007). The best attempts to capture the wide repertoire of different shopping environments may be the historical works. In a Swedish context, for example, Bosse Bergman's extensive work on the history throughout Swedish shopping spaces and city life is a really good source of information on the various retail forms of Swedish history (Bergman 2003).

*

In this study, the focus is on a conceptual development through an investigation of the retailisation of the urban landscape as a whole, and although I have limited myself to a few case studies, and perhaps most importantly to the pedestrian precinct, I relate my analysis to the retail environment as a whole. The context to which the investigation relates is not primarily commercial development in general but the everyday urban life in the public domain. In this sense the book is clearly indebted to the French theories on everyday life as put forward, for example, by Lefebvre, De Certeau, Augé and Perec (see Sheringham 2007, for a very good introduction).

The everyday perspective is also present in my view on architecture, which is quite inclusive and, in a sense, democratic (following the tradition of, for example, Rudofsky 1964, Habraken 2005, Till 2007, and Nilsson 2010).

Architecture is here seen as a process, not solely dependent on architects but always also constructed, produced and negotiated by others, for example, by the ones using the place. As an object, architectural form is here considered as the man-made material organisation of our everyday environments. This comprises our material and constructed environment in all its guises and scales, and the architectural environment thus embrace everything from kerbs and skate ramps to high-rise hotels, retail parks and urban landscapes. In this sense I fully support Aldo van Eyck's old credo: 'Yes, we must stop splitting the making of a habitat into two disciplines – architecture and urbanism' (van Eyck 2008: 60). Architecture of all scales might have effect and thus become an actor in all sorts of everyday life situations (cf. Kärrholm 2010).

Territorology

Territory presents selective openings, or deterritorializations, and closures, or reterritorializations. Someone or something is included because someone else or something else is excluded. These operations give birth to ongoing processes of separation and fusion, which are expressive and semiotic. (Brighenti 2010a: 14)

The main theoretical approach of this book is territorology, and one of the main objectives is also, as mentioned above, to use the recent retailisation of urban spaces in order to outline and carry out an investigation of the territorial roles of architecture: In what ways does the built environment stabilise or participate in the territorialisation of public space as brought about by retail business and retail spaces? In order to make this clear I provide a short introduction to territoriality as it is viewed and used in this study.

Territoriality is a very rich area of research and it has, over the last century attracted the attention of a long line of different academic disciplines, such as anthropology (Speck 1915, Hall 1959, Ingold 1986), zooethology (Howard 1920), human ethology (Ardrey 1966, Lorenz 1966, Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970), environmental psychology (Altman 1975, Altman and Chemers 1980, Brown 1987, Taylor 1988), sociology (Goffman 1963, 1971, Shils 1975, Brighenti 2006, 2010a, 2010b), human geography (Soja 1971, Gottman 1973, Sack 1986, Paasi 1999), human ecology (Malmberg 1980), political geography (Storey 2001, Delaney 2004; Painter 2010) and architecture (Newman 1973, Habraken 1982, 1998). It has been used in discussions of a wide variety of subjects such as war (Ardrey 1966), regional identity (Paasi 1999), neighbourhood and a sense of belonging (Pollini 1999), bus routes (Rivano-Fischer 1987) and even dog walking (Patterson 2002), and one might argue that this 'inner diversity constitutes part of its very richness' (Brighenti 2010a: 53). Some attempts have also been made to bridge the gap between different approaches (for example, Malmberg 1980, Delaney 2004), but although these attempts have embraced territoriality research from a variety of disciplines, the overall perspective often tend to be biased towards their own disciplines. However, a recent and more convincing attempt has been made by the Italian sociologist Andrea Brighenti, who has coined the expression *territorology* and also suggested a theoretical

platform towards a general science of territory (Brighenti 2010a). In his article, Brighenti states some of the basic components of a territorology and describes territory as a non-essential, imagined (but not imaginary), expressive and functional phenomenon. Typical questions of a territoriological study would, for example include: Who is drawing the territorial boundary? How is it done? What kind of drawing is it? Why is it done? (Brighenti 2010a: 61–62).

Although my own interest in territoriality is narrower in scope, I very much sympathise with the quite dynamic approach of the general science of territory that Brighenti suggests. Territorial issues are interesting but rich and diverse, and they could very much benefit from some kind of interdisciplinary infralanguage (Latour 2005a) where more specific concepts could be added only after studies have been done within a certain discourse or field of research. To date, the field has been much fragmented, causing some confusion and also a lot of mix-up of definitions (see Kärholm 2004 for some recording of these).

Taking my cue from territorology, I also agree with many of the basic issues stated by Brighenti, for example, that a territory must be seen as an act or a process rather than an object, and that territories are ‘acts of inscription in the visible’ (Brighenti 2007, 2010). Owing to my interest in built form I do, however, find it important to stress that territoriality is a socio-material process, that is, materialities and artefacts, play important roles in the process of territorialisation. In order to develop this discussion further, I have coupled territoriality with the perspective of actor-network theory (Latour 2005a), or, perhaps better and more generally put, with material semiotics (Law 2009) and a kind of actantial approach that allow materialities to be fully accounted for in territorial processes (Kärholm 2007, cf. Sandin 2008).

I presented an introduction to architecture, territoriality and actor-network theory in my PhD thesis from 2004 (and later in Kärholm 2007). Actor-network theory is increasingly used in architectural theory and research (Till 2007, Fallan 2008; Nilsson 2010), urban studies (Farías and Bender 2010) planning research (Boelens 2009) and in studies of architectural design processes (Yaneva 2010), all discourses that tend to be very specific about materialities and thus supplement actor-network theory in a positive way. The specific actant perspective I use in this book is touched upon below in conjunction with a presentation of the concept of territoriality. However, actant theory is also further presented and discussed in Chapter 3, when I discuss the different roles played by materialities in territorial stabilisation.

Table 1.1 Some early definitions of territoriality

HALL (1959): The act of laying claim to and defending a territory is termed territoriality. (Hall 1959: 187)

SOMMER (1966): an area controlled by an individual, family, or other face-to-face collectivity. The emphasis is on physical possession, actual or potential as well as defence. (Sommer 1982: 268)

LORENZ (1969): Territorial [behaviour is] the defence of a given area. (Edney 1976: 172)

PROHANSKY, ITTLESON & RIVLIN (1970): Territoriality in humans [is] defined as achieving and exerting control over a particular segment of space. (Edney 1976: 193)

PASTALAN (1970): A territory is a delimited space which an individual or group uses and defends as an exclusive preserve. It involves psychological identification with the place, symbolized by attitudes of possessiveness and arrangements of objects in the area. (in Edney 1976: 193)

SOJA (1971): a behavioural phenomenon associated with the organization of space into spheres of influence or clearly demarcated territories which are made distinctive and considered at least partially exclusive by their occupants or definers. (Soya 1971: 19)

GOTTMAN (1973): Territory is a portion of geographical space that coincides with the spatial extent of a government's jurisdiction. (Gottman 1973: 29)

SHILS (1975): [territory is] a meaningful aspect of social life, whereby individuals define their scope of their obligations and the identity of themselves and others. (Shils 1975: 26)

ALTMAN (1975): Territorial behaviour is a self-other boundary regulation mechanism that involves personalization of or marking of a place or object and communication that it is 'owned' by a person or a group. (Altman 1975)

DYSON-HUDSON & SMITH (1978): We define a territory as an area occupied more or less exclusively by an individual or group by means of repulsion through overt defence or some form of communication. (in Brown 1987: 507)

FOUCAULT (1980): Territory is first of all a juridico-political one: the area controlled by a certain power. (Foucault 1980: 68)

MALMBERG (1980): Human behavioural territoriality is primarily a phenomenon of ethological ecology with an instinctive nucleus, manifested as more or less exclusive spaces, to which individuals or groups of human beings are bound emotionally and which, for possible avoidance of others, are distinguished by means of limits, marks or other kinds of structured display, movements or aggressiveness. (Malmberg 1980: 10–11)

TAYLOR (1988): Territorial functioning refers to an interlocked system of sentiments, cognitions and behaviors that are highly place specific, socially and culturally determined and maintaining, and that represents a class of persons – place transactions concerned with issues of setting management, maintenance, legibility, and expressiveness. (Taylor 1988: 6)

BELL ET AL (1996): For us, human territoriality can be viewed as a set of behaviours and cognitions a person or group exhibits, based on perceived ownership of physical space. (Bell et al. 1996: 305)

SACK (1986): In this book territoriality will be defined as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called territory. (Sack 1986: 19)

HÄKLI (1994): territoriality which objectivates people is exclusively a phenomenon of more 'developed' societies which are formally administered. (Häkli 1994: 33)

CROUCH (1994): This paper takes territories as limited places where people find some degree of shared cultural identity. (Crouch 1994: 2)

Towards a Territorology of Architecture¹

To view architecture from a territorial perspective seems like a quite obvious thing to do. Architecture is *per se* the construction of borders, and issues of territoriality are important and inherent aspects of material design and everyday use. We are constantly obliged to observe territorial divisions and classifications, such as parking lots, motorways, and walkways in our daily activities in the city. Territorial regulations affect our behaviour and movements in urban space, both explicitly and in more obscure ways, and these types of regulation are often supported by material forms and designs. Territorialisation, one could even say, is one of the primary features of architecture and the built environment, but it has never been much used as a coherent or analytical concept in the discipline, as, for example, compared to the popular concept *place* (although some of the more notable examples include Newman 1973, Habraken 1982, Habraken 1998, see also Hertzberger, 1991, 2000, and Smithson and Smithson 1993).

Territories are thus basic parts of human everyday life. Sitting at an urban square it is quite easy to recognise the material nature of everyday territorial production. People sit where there are benches; they wait for busses at bus stops, and so on. One might also come to realise how vital territories are to everyday life: knowing how to behave on both sides of a pavement kerb could very well be a matter of life and death. In fact, we are constantly obliged to take different territorialisations into consideration, territories such as pedestrian crossings, cycle paths and parking space, all have their proper designs and rules of conduct. Some places are signposted with territorial rules, such as 'no smoking', 'no parking', or 'no walking on the grass'. At other places, territorial regulations can be a more latent part of the ongoing life. Behaviours and practices regarded as improper also often involve some kind of territorialisation. When parents tell their children such things as 'you must take off your cap' or 'you have to be quiet', it often implies a tacit specification: 'at this place' or 'in this territory'.

Territories are everywhere, but how do we define them? One of the most quoted definitions is the one given by Robert D. Sack in *Human Territoriality* (1986) where he claims that:

Territoriality will be defined as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic are. This area will be called the territory. (Sack 1986: 19)

To Sack, territoriality is a deliberate strategy or attempt to delimit a territory. It is very wide in its scope, and it also been used by researchers from disciplines other than geography, for example, environmental psychology (Mac Andrew 1993) and anthropology (Rapoport 1994). Still, if we are interested

¹ Parts of this section have been published in (or are elaborated summaries of findings in) Kärholm 2004, 2005 or 2007.

in the relationship between territorial control and everyday practices, Sack's perspective might be problematic, since it conceals the fact that imagined control or surveillance might be just as effective as intentional strategic control. Furthermore, routinisation and socialisation are important to the ways in which we use different territories; incorporated behaviours and practices that are not so quickly undone. Territories cannot, in this sense, be turned on and off at will (as suggested in Sack 1985: 2), since they tend to remain productive long after their walls are torn down. Following this line of thought it would be more appropriate to define territoriality as *spatially delimited and effective control*, than as an attempt or a strategy. Territories need to be constantly produced and reproduced (by way, for example, of control, socialised behaviours, artefacts, and so on) in order to remain effective – borders and control are thus often the result of territorialisation, rather than vice versa (Brown and Capdevila 1999) – and one could thus describe territoriality as a kind of *spatial institutionalisation* (Paasi 1999), suggesting that a certain place could be regarded as more or less territorialised, rather than as being territorial or non-territorial. Territories can be pointed out and traced in the urban landscape, they are visible and material, and could as such be distinguished from micro-territoriality or personal space (Goffman 1963, Hall 1959) and also from metaphorical territories (such as the claiming of a field of expertise). The territory is always a material phenomenon, but it is the effect of socio-material relations and not an object in itself (cf. Brighenti 2010a: 53). One way to describe the territory is as an *actant*;² it brings about a certain effect in a certain situation or place, or to put it more precisely – in a network (Latour 2005a). A network is a complex of associated actants and could be used to describe an event or an effect. Bus stops are, for example, important territorial actants in the public transport system. The bus stop functions as a territorial actant in the sense that it produces stopping buses, together with people waiting for buses within certain bounded spaces. If we wanted to analyse the 'bus stop territory' further, we could go on with the analysis by describing how the actants which, in turn, make the bus stop assemble into a territorial network. One would then have to follow the actants that, together, constitute the stabilised and framed network of the bus stop. These actant could for example include the signpost, the timetable, the buses, the bus shelter, the passengers, and so on. The 'actor-network' is a kind of description that empirically tries to pinpoint what it is that makes things happen, including people, categories, scents, rules, atmospheres and artefacts.

If we follow an actor-network approach (Law and Hassard 1999, Latour 2005) it becomes clear that territories are never static. As soon as new actors and actants are mobilised or old ones disappear, a process of de- or reterritorialisation begins. Territories are not 'ready made' that can be

2 Here, I distinguish between actor and actant, related to the one suggested by Greimas and Latour (Greimas 1987: 106–120, cf. Hammad 2002, Latour 1999: 303, Latour 2005a: 71), following the line of semiotic discourse where actant is used in the analytical mode (often to denote a certain kind of actor), describing the active element in a situation, whereas 'actor' has more figuration, and is something closer to concrete individuals.

established once and for all. This notion is highly evident in the way Deleuze and Guattari handle the concept in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987). They use musical metaphors and the first territorial claimers in research (birds) to treat territory as a part of an ongoing process of territorialisation. Every territory has a certain rhythm or territorialising refrain, setting the theme for the coding of a certain space, moment or artefact (cf. Brighenti 2010a: 12–13). The connection between human and animal territoriality is thus not mainly to be found in any inherent instinct, but in an analogy of expression. Territories require constant work and expression. Brown and Capdevila have described this very well in a paragraph that seems very close to the notion of territoriality as put forward by Deleuze and Guattari:

Here is why the word ‘territory’ is so apposite: because the order and security it provides are not static phenomena, but mobile. Much like the space marked out by a territorial animal, territory constantly shifts as it is continually remarked and re-presented in different ways. And much as these territorial creatures can only extend their territories at great cost, so we might also note the sheer difficulty of sustaining this process of remarking. (Brown and Capdevila 1999: 41–42)

Here, then, territoriality is regarded as effective, expressive and visible, rather than the name of some (political, sociological or psychological) strategy, intention or inherent instinct. These later aspects were very much in focus in the territorial theories of the 1960s to 1980s. What I am suggesting here, in line with actor-network theory, is a territorology that focuses on the traceable behaviours, activities, rhythms, materialities that bring about the territorial effect at a certain place. The territorial strategy thus needs to be judged and described from the territorial effect, where the intentions behind the territory are of less interest than the actors that stabilise the territory and make it work.

From a perspective of architectural research it seems reasonable to distinguish a *territoriality of places* from the more common approach of a territoriality of people/institutions (as used for example, in psychology and geography). The latter approach investigates territoriality through the actions and behaviours of certain individuals, institutions or groups (Altman 1975, Sack 1986). If we are to study the territorial and socio-material power relations that affect everyday life, we need to look at territoriality *in actu* rather than at the instincts, intentions or strategies that anticipate that territory. A territoriality of place denotes such an approach where territorial effects are traced to actants and the active power relations producing the territory at hand.

In other words, the question of how territorial effects are produced, reproduced and kept alive is taken here as a prerequisite to the question of how the territory was constructed in the first place (which, however, could be a question of historical interest). As an answer to this question, but also to show the wide scope and richness of the territorial landscape, I have in earlier texts suggested four different modes of territorial production: territorial strategies, tactics, associations and appropriations, (see for example, Kärholm

2002, 2004: 81–97, 2005, 2007). In this book, I will foremost be occupied with territorial strategies and territorial associations, but I think that it is important to keep the wider flora of territorial productions in mind.

Table 1.2 Forms of territorial production

	Impersonal control	Personal control
Intended production	Territorial strategy	Territorial tactics
Production through use	Territorial association	Territorial appropriation

Territorial strategies and territorial tactics are seen here as intentional attempts to mark or delimit a territory. In other words, the territorial control is directed explicitly towards the ordering of a certain area (the territory). Territorial strategies, as used here, represent impersonal, planned and to some extent mediated control, and often involve the delegation of control to things, rules, and so on. This kind of territorial production has especially been dealt with by geographers (for example, Soja 1971, Gottman 1973, Sack 1986, Delaney 2004). Territorial strategies are planned at a distance in time and/or space from the territory produced, whereas territorial tactics involve claims made in the midst of a situation and as part of an ongoing sequence in daily life. Territorial tactics thus often refer to a personal relationship between the territory and the person or group that mark it as theirs. This could, for example, involve the marking of a bus seat, a restaurant table or a reading place at the library. Territorial tactics have mostly been studied by researchers interested in environment and behaviour, and was a favoured subject in studies of territorial defence of the 60s and 70s (for example, Rivano-Fischer 1987, Malmberg and Malmberg 1981). One way to describe the relationship between strategy and tactics, is done by Certeau when he quotes Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow (Prussian general who fought against Napoleon): ‘Strategy is the science of military movement outside the enemy’s field of vision, tactics within it’ (von Bülow in Certeau 1988: 212). Tactics are rational and purposeful intentions done on the battlefield, in the midst of things, whereas strategies are planned from a distance and thus often have the means to mobilise more resources. It must however be noted that territorial strategy and tactics cannot be wholly equaled to Certeau’s rather specific and special use of the concepts. Certeau description of strategy is in a sense quintessential to all forms of territorialisation:

It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city/... (Certeau 1988: 36)

Here it also becomes clear that it is not possible to link Certeau's concepts directly to territorial strategies and territorial tactics. The distinction between territorial tactics and territorial strategy is not based in that the latter has some sort of innate or *a priori* given official validity. Nor is there a preconceived duality in which the territorial tactics necessarily work against a strategy. One of the points of conceptualising different forms of territorial productions is actually to enable a more complex description of power as a kind of landscape, rather than as a vector. The relationship between territorial tactics and strategies can be active, symbiotic or oppositional, but we can also imagine that the two forms may exist simultaneously (on the same site) without significantly affecting each other.

Territorial associations and appropriations represent productions that are not planned or intentionally established, but are consequences of established and regular practices. These practices may be the effects of rational and planned decisions but are not made with the explicit intent of producing a territory. The object of territorial association represents an identifiable area, characterised by a certain usage and those specific conventions and regularities that underpin this usage. These areas do not necessarily have to be considered by any person or group as 'their own' – but are nevertheless associated to by others as pertaining to a certain function or category of users – examples could include bathing places, climbing trees or a gravel path in the park where people play boules. This third kind of territorial production, looking at the way places are coded by meaning and usages is probably the least studied. It has to some extent been studied by architects and philosophers (Smithson and Smithson 1993, Hertzberger 1991, 2000, and is covered by the way it is handled by certain philosophers, for example, Deleuze and Guattari 1987, Husserl 1973, Steinbock 1995). Territorial appropriation produces territories through a repetitive and consistent use of an area by a certain person or group who, at least to some extent, perceive this area as their own. The object of territorial appropriation could, for example, be one's home, one's street or one's regular table at a restaurant. This kind of territoriality has most often been studied by environmental psychologists and sociologists (Altman 1975, Altman and Chemers 1980, cf. Korosec-Serfaty 1976 and Pollini 1999).

One reason for the differentiation of four different forms of territorial productions (and one might probably develop more), is that it makes quite clear that a territory should not be mistaken for the space that it occupies, and that different territories can be produced at the same place. For example, a bench could be the territory of sandwich eating students at lunchtime while a group of skaters could appropriate it at night. Another group could appropriate the bench in summertime and mark it by way of territorial tactics. The bench is also a piece of street furniture and is maintained and regulated by way of a territorial strategy, thus making it an object of at least four different forms of territorial production over time. Almost every place in the city is a place consisting of several territorial layers, city spaces are indeed palimpsests of superimposed territorial productions.



1.1 Territorial tactics at the square Gustav Adolfs torg, Malmö (photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)

In this book I thus suggest territoriality as one important way of investigating the roles of built form and material design. There are of course other ways in which architecture might play a part in the forming of, for example, retail landscapes than through territorial production, but they are not explicitly dealt with here. One of the most dominant ways and methodologies (within architectural research) by which the built environment has been investigated in recent decades is space syntax. Space syntax comprises a set of methodologies and theories about spatial structures and configurations, such as the distribution of rooms in a house or streets in a city. The relationship between shopping facilities and the built environment (both interior and exterior) has been dealt with through a discussion of pedestrian movement and spatial integration by Bill Hillier et al. 1993, in the classical article 'Natural Movement', and has also been dealt with in articles and books more explicitly dealing with shopping spaces such as van Nes (2004, 2005), Sarma (2006) and Koch (2007). Although spatial structures may be regarded as important actants in a lot of different territorialisations, they are not the main focus of this book. A territorological approach could be seen as complementary to space syntax or other theories on spatial structures. To analyse spatial structure must always include territorial issues (for example, what spaces goes in and what spaces goes out of the analysis?), however, it is beyond the scope of this book to investigate or develop relations between territorology and space syntax.

The Territorial Structure of Public Space

Before we go on to the specific case of retail space, and how retail in certain senses territorialises public space, we need to consider the territorial structure of public space. Traditionally, territorial research has mainly been concerned with the exclusion and the privatisation of space (such as Hammad 2002, Altman 1975) and the typical cases are often example of how certain places become more and more exclusive or on how well controlled they are, for example, the private home, the gated community or a prison. However, by developing an actor-network perspective and different forms of territorial production, the concept of territoriality is just as satisfactory for dealing with public space, that is, aspects of how new territorial productions are established and how they open up a place to a wider range of uses. One important point when discussing territoriality in terms of different forms of territorial production is the possibility of changing focus from singular territorial domination to territorial co-operation and intertwining, and thus supplementing the focus on privatisation with that of 'making public'. Before I describe the effects of retailisation it is necessary to acknowledge public space as a landscape of de- and reterritorialisation

There are, of course, many definitions and ways of dealing with public space (Weintraub 1997, Madanipour 2003, Sheller and Urry 2003, Iveson 2007, Brighenti 2010c). One common approach has been to see public space as a space characterised by the co-presence of strangers (an approach attributed to such thinkers as Phillippe Ariés, Erwin Goffman, Lyn Lofland and Richard Sennett). This notion of public space is often contrasted to more political conceptualisations of public space or public spheres (as, for example, discussed by Habermas), and has sometimes also been referred to as a public domain, a concept defined by Hajer and Reijndorp as a place where 'an exchange between different social groups is possible and also actually occurs' (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 11). Public space is in this sense, as Brighenti has suggested, 'integrally a site of visibility and intervisibility of subjects' (Brighenti 2010c: 38). Seeing public space as an interpersonal sphere of sociability, one often tends to focus on space available to different kinds of people or groups (Lofland 1998). In order for a place to become accessible to many different people it must, however, also be a place of varied activities. A place that is officially open to all kinds of people but is nevertheless only accessible to a certain category of users, such as cars, bikes or shoppers would, of course, also (indirectly) imply restrictions on which people are allowed to be at that place.

In an empirical investigation I made of territorial productions at three public square in Lund, Sweden (Kärholm 2005), it was found that the square that seemed to be most accessible and open to different groups and activities (Mårtenstorget), also had the largest number of territorial productions, as well as the most flexible material design, enabling it to be mobilised into different territorial networks at different times. It thus seems that 'making accessible'

(and in this respect 'making public') cannot be equated with the erasing of boundaries. In fact the opposite seemed more likely: the access to space has to be subdivided (in time or space) to accommodate different uses, and to make room for as many different categories of users as possible. A certain degree of territorial differentiation and superpositioning could very well bring about a much greater degree of accessibility.

The results of the study should not astonish. Spatial rules and conventions are indeed necessary if we are to be able to act (and co-act) at all. We recall Foucault: power is productive (Foucault 1980). My suggestion is that the publicness of place could be described as the result of different territorial productions (and thus stabilisations) intermingling in one place, and providing it with some kind of territorial complexity. More territorial orders also indicate more possibilities. The danger of exclusive, one-sided use does not lie in territorial homogenisation alone, but in the lack of superimposed territorial productions. One way of looking at public space – adding to others, from Goffman's dramaturgical model, to the idea of mobile publics as put forward by Mimi Sheller (2004) – would be to regard public space as a result of all territorial productions of a certain place.

Territorial division and production seem to support co-operation among a wide range of different interests. Public space always embodies the co-presence of different territorial productions. Following Law and Mol (2004), one could describe such *territorial complexity* by elaborating on three crucial aspects.

First, territorial complexity is characterised by a large number of territorial productions – within each form of production (strategies, tactics, and so on) as well as taken together. At the shopping mall there is for example, often just one dominant territorial strategy. The dominant production need not be a territorial strategy, it could just as well be a place dominated by the territorial appropriation and association of a certain group, thus somehow tending to exclude the possibility of other productions. As these places become scenes of new territorial production, complexity increases (Law and Mol 2002: 7).

Secondly, territorial complexity is characterised by a large number of territorial layers at each place. These multi-layered territorial productions follow different rhythms, shifting between absence and presence in a regular manner over the day, the week, the year, or with less regular phenomena like the weather (rain vs. sunshine).

Thirdly, territorial complexity is characterised by non-hierarchical relationships among different territorial productions. Territorial complexity is about how different territorial productions interrelate. Within territorial complexity one might expect different territorial productions not to be reduced to units within a larger scheme (such as parking spaces in a parking lot, or shops in a mall), but for there to be territorial layers of equal importance at a place. Hence, a place of territorial complexity is also a place of territorial heterarchy. Complexities can include rigid orders, but these orders come and go, and can always be seen within a more complex context of other

orders. A non-hierarchical territorial relationship represents a plenitude of different territorial productions, existing in the same place and without the preconception that one is dominant, or in any profound way outranks the others. Territorial heterarchies might be different in scope and strength, but they do not have any predetermined relationship or hierarchy of one being more correct than the others. Territorial hierarchies might of course be established (at the cost of territorial complexity), but these must be maintained through constant work and the mobilisation of resources.

In discussions about space in general and territorial complexity in particular, it is thus important to acknowledge that the territorial regulation of a place can be at one or several levels. The regulation of a place could involve several different, co-operating or competitive territorial strategies (or other forms of production) set by different organisations, on different scales, and so on. One might guess that a place of territorial complexity might be laden with territorial conflicts. This might well be the case, but such conflicts are probably more often the result of tendencies towards territorial homogenisation or hierarchisation. The territorial strategy of a public bench to act for different groups, ages, and so on, might, for example, be destabilised by the territorial appropriation of drug-users taking over the bench. As other people stop using the bench, the territorial appropriations and associations of other groups and usages might disappear from the place where the bench is located, and complexity decreases. The authorities might choose different paths to increase territorial complexity again. One way is to try to settle the conflict by accommodating for different groups and uses to work at the same place, drug-users, as well as children and families, for example, by additional benches, moveable chairs or other design amenities. Another and perhaps more common way is to find means of evicting the drug-users, thus moving the group or the bench to another place in the city. In terms of territorial complexity this strategy would, however, be the less favourable one.

The idea of territorial complexity opens up for a territorial discussion of materiality and the everyday life of public space. This is also an essential point in this book: public space is a matter of material design, suggesting that material and spatial design must always be acknowledged as a question of political importance (cf. Latour 2005b).

The Structure of the Book

The book is divided into seven chapters. In the four main chapters (Chapters 2–5), I discuss different themes of territorial transformation (territorialisation) in the post-industrial retail environment: separation, stabilisation, synchronisation and singularisation. In Chapter 6 I revisit the question of public space as a territorial complexity again in order to discuss the relationship between public space and materialities in a more comprehensive manner.

Chapter 2, *Retail Autonomisation*, deals with the escalation of consumption and the evolution of retail building types from the end of the nineteenth century until today. The chapter is intended to work as a kind of general introduction to the evolution of retail and specifically to the separation of retail from the city in general. This separation was a prerequisite for the spatial autonomy and the processes of territorialisation that we have experienced during the end of twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries. The chapter specifically introduces the Swedish example (but with international comparisons). Swedish retail, as in other Western European countries, was made more effective and upscale during this period, and tended to grow larger and more visible. A large number of new large shopping areas have been established on the outskirts of cities, whereas stores in the city centre tend to be concentrated to certain streets or pedestrian precincts. In fact one could even argue that the Swedish case shows a 200-year-long process of divorce between the city and retail trade, starting as early as the early 1800s. This territorial separation is, however, not best described as a battle between the urban core and the peripheries, but as a tendency towards territorial autonomy and agglomeration in the context of ever-increasing urban landscapes. The chapter should be read as a kind of introduction or panorama of retail and functional separation, and sets the stage for the conceptual development and discussions of retailisation that follows in following chapters.

The third chapter, *The Pedestrian Precinct*, sets out to describe the process of pedestrianisation in Malmö, Sweden, as an example of territorialisation, that is, as a stabilisation of a territory of consumption. In this chapter I conceptualise four different ways of investigating material stabilisation involved in the territorialisation and commercialisation of a centrally located pedestrian precinct. Malmö has been quite successful during the last decade in terms of retail business, and the ongoing pedestrianisation has resulted in a large and coherent pedestrian precinct, consolidating the city centre as a shopping district. On the basis of an empirical investigation, I discuss how this urban type (and its paraphernalia) has developed in Malmö, and how it has stabilised over the decades as a 'territory for shopping'. This territorialisation has also been accomplished by material means. The main aim of this discussion is to investigate the delegations and mediations involved in the process. In doing this, I propose a spatial perspective on materialities, discussing *networks*, *bodies*, *framings* and *sorts* as four intersecting ways in which materialities can be described as having territorial impacts on the everyday life and culture of the pedestrian precinct.

The fourth chapter, *Shopping and the Rhythms of Urban Life*, deals with the impact of retail rhythms on urban life and the urban landscape, with a special focus on tendencies towards synchronisation. The chapter begins with a short history of synchronisations in public space, arguing that retail business has become an increasingly important actor in the production of urban temporal landscapes. Six different types of spatial synchronisation are discussed, derived from studies of the city of Malmö, Sweden. I also discuss the role

of architecture in this development, conceptualising two different material strategies of urban rhythm control. Finally, I discuss the problems associated with increased spatial synchronisation, as imposed by retail businesses, on public life and space, arguing that urban synchronisations might lead to isorhythmic tendencies and a decrease in the territorial complexity of public space. This chapter thus contributes an empirical study and an analysis of retail impact on urban timescapes, as well as more general theoretical concepts that allow these issues to be investigated.

In the fifth chapter, *The Transformation of Retail Building Types*, I connect back to Chapter 1, but now with a narrower historical scope (the 1990s and onwards) and a more theoretical approach. In the Western world of today we see changes that indicate a transformation from a society of production to that of consumption (Bauman 2007). New building types for consumption, such as factory outlets, entertainment retail, eatertainment, theme parks, multiplex theatres, lounge malls, lifestyle shopping centres, food courts, farmers' markets, flagship stores, and so on, seem to be continually evolving. In this chapter, I elaborate on the concept of singularisation in order to discuss how building types evolve. The chapter can as such be seen as a small contribution towards a theory of building types. I also discuss how the recent proliferation of retail building types could relate to recent problematic transformations of public space and everyday urban life (the destruction of interstitial spaces).

In the sixth chapter, *Architecture and the Production of Public Space*, I go back to my main question: What different roles does the built environment play in the ways that retail transforms public space. Here, I give a more general account of the role of architecture in public space transformations, complementing the previous discussions on different forms of territorial homogenisation with an elaboration on how it also could be possible to induce a greater territorial complexity by means of urban design.

Finally, I end with a short conclusion and a postscript, summarizing a few of the points and concepts that I have introduced throughout the book. The postscript is written as a vocabulary summarizing some of the important concepts for a territorial analysis of architecture and built form. Architectural territorology is thus finally presented as a list of concepts that can be used for analysis and investigations of the ever-transforming meanings, activities and roles of the built environment.

Retail Autonomisation – Territorial Separation

Cyrus is said, on hearing the speech of the herald, to have asked some Greeks who were standing by, 'Who these Lacedaemonians were, and what was their number, that they dared to send him such a notice?' When he had received their reply, he turned to the Spartan herald and said, 'I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves. If I live, the Spartans shall have troubles enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves about the Ionians.' Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market-places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and indeed have not in their whole country a single market-place.
(Herodotos 1859: 291)

In the paragraph above, Herodotos suggests that the Persian king Cyrus despised the Greeks for having public squares and market places in the middle of their cities. Although one might discuss the historical veracity of Herodotos' statement, it shows that market places have not always been a way of materially organising the trading of goods. However, market places remain a crucial historical starting point for almost all of the retail spaces discussed in this book. In 1990, the well known architectural historian Mark Girouard wrote in *The English Town* that:

Many markets have been held in the same place for eight hundred years, and a few for over a thousand. The only centres of resort to rival them in age and importance are the churches. (Girouard 1990: 10)

In the light of this quotation, one can begin to comprehend the historical significance of retail relocation and the move to the urban outskirts that has taken place over the last hundred years in European history. A lot of the old market places and central shopping districts have declined, or at least gained competitors in outlying stores, outlets or shopping malls. This separation of retail from the traditional urban fabric is interesting and it is also an important prerequisite for the retail development we see today. Retail has become increasingly autonomous vis-à-vis urban centres and the old city territory. This should, however, not be seen only as a move towards the outskirts (as so often has been the case), but as a territorial separation, an autonomy of retail where agglomeration and topology become more important than the traditional geometrical logic of the city (as described for example, by various gravity models, cf. Albrechts and Mandelbaum 2005, Dupuy 2008) This means that both centres and peripheries could be winners in one case, but losers in the next.

In this proemial chapter, I use the case of Sweden to describe the evolution of retail environment as a historical process of concentration in terms of power and space. This concentration has enabled retail businesses and spaces to become more autonomous vis-à-vis the old cities, and also to evolve more elaborate and powerful strategies of territorialisation. The aim of this chapter is thus to set the stage for the conceptual development and discussions of retailisation in subsequent chapters, but I will also give an outline of how retail businesses have become an increasingly important and autonomous part of the territorial production in society, and how these productions have developed strategies that are more concerned with the accumulative logic of retail agglomeration than with urban centrality or urbanisation (cf. Kärrholm and Nylund 2011). In the beginning of the nineteenth century, retail was often closely connected to cities, and urban markets were restricted by laws, tolls, regulations, and so on. (cf. Nordin 2009). Today, retail is much more autonomous vis-à-vis the old urban centres. The process of separation is an important prerequisite for the territorialisation processes that we witness in the evolution of consumptions societies all over the Western world today.

A History of Retail Spaces and the City – The Case of Sweden¹

In recent decades, the Swedish retail environment has changed quite dramatically. The average distance from home to store has increased, whereas stores have become larger and moved to extensive retail areas often in outlying locations (Franzén 2004). Although we have witnessed some remarkable changes over the last couple of decades, with the 1990s being a critical decade of rapidly escalating consumption, the retail evolution in Sweden began as early as during the 1950s, with higher standards of living for large groups of the population. During the 1960s, consumption increased by 3 per cent per year per capita – and thus the 1950s and onwards is characterised as a new era of consumption in Sweden, following the example of many other Western countries (cf. Slater 1997, Miles and Miles 2004). This new type of collective consumption in Sweden can be described as coinciding with the evolution of a welfare state, and of ‘welfare cities’ (Albertsen and Diken 2004), with improved access to useful goods and services for the majority of the inhabitants. In order to understand the eventful post-war era, as well as to contextualise the new course the retail sector seems to be taking today, I need to begin by sketching a somewhat brief history of the years from 1850 to 1950.²

1 Part of this chapter is a somewhat expanded version of the description of retail spaces in the first half of Kärrholm and Nylund 2011.

2 For further reading, and some interesting case studies on the construction of the Swedish welfare state, as well as its relation to consumption and architecture, see Mattsson and Wallenstein anthology *Swedish Modernism* (2010). See also Bergman 2003.

The Modernisation of Retail Trade (1850–1950)

At the middle of the nineteenth century, some important changes in legislation paved the way for a more modern organisation of the retail sector. These changes include the abolition of the Swedish city toll gates in 1811 and the important decree on the freedom of retail business in 1865 (*Näringslivsfrihet*), which allowed for retail sales in the countryside.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, retail sales were often periodic (markets), ambulatory and located in cities. House-to-house peddling had been ongoing in the countryside since at least the sixteenth century, but was often actively counteracted and combated by the state (with some notable exceptions, for example, in Västergötland). During the second half of the nineteenth century, after the new legislation, a lot of rural general stores (*handelsbodar*) opened, often with a wide assortment of goods, and they remained quite common in the Swedish countryside until the 1960s (Bergman 2003, Kaijser 1999).

The Industrial revolution, urbanisation and deregulation of trade had, by the end of the nineteenth century, resulted in a great need for low wage salaried employees. New legislation, better education and an expanding labour market then made it possible for more women to enter the labour market (at least unmarried women). The pace of this evolution was further increased after the franchise reforms in 1919 and 1921, when women were granted suffrage.

In terms of spatial organisation, the European retail sector evolved quite slowly until the nineteenth century. Pevsner has suggested that the stores, in terms of spatial form, did not actually differ much from the *Mercatus Trajani* of Rome in 110 A.C. (Pevsner 1976). City shops were often quite simple and goods were sold over the counter. Swedish market stands, for centuries a dominant form of Swedish retail trade, looked much the same until the nineteenth century (Nordin 2009: 269–273), and the spatial layout of the rural general stores did not differ much from stores in the towns.

Whereas buildings for production (of goods, knowledge, money and healthy, moral working people), such as factories, hospitals, schools, prisons, manufacturing halls, libraries, and museums had their heydays largely during the nineteenth century (Foucault 1977, Markus 1993), the number of building types concerned with consumption, for example, hypermarkets, shopping malls, pedestrian precincts, category killers, did not begin to increase until the second half of the twentieth century. The number of people working in retail was also quite low and quite steady until the late nineteenth century. Between 1750 and 1850, this amounted to around 10,000 people (approx. 0.5 per cent of the Swedish population). At the end of the twentieth century these numbers had changed dramatically, and the retail trade in Sweden today

employs some 500,000 people (figures from 1996–2006), or 18–19 per cent of the population (and accounts for 13–14 per cent of Sweden’s GDP).³

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some new kinds of retail building types were constructed in Sweden. The covered market made its first appearance in 1882 when the first market hall (*Saluhall*) was built at the square of Hötorget in Stockholm (Nordin 2009: 200). The first arcade in Stockholm was *Birger Jarls passage*, inaugurated in 1897, and the first



2.1 Nordiska Kompaniet, a Swedish department store inaugurated in 1915 and still in use (author’s photograph from 2008)

3 These statistics are from HUI, Handelns utredningsinstiut, www.hui.se/web/Samhallsekonomi.aspx, 2009-08-17, and Projekt Mercurius, Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, at www.mercurius.nu/skarp/index.php?main=3andid=117andtype=article, 2009-08-17. See also Edvinsson 2005.

department store was K. M. Lundberg, which opened in Stockholm in 1898. Both the market hall and the arcade had by then been popular building types for decades in France and the UK, for example. As retail moved indoors, the outdoor markets became burdened with more and more restrictions during the early decades of the twentieth century, and a decision to totally prohibit open market trade was actually discussed in Stockholm as early as 1915 (but it never came into force). As a result of these regulations, Sweden had less open market trade than any other country in Western Europe by the middle of the twentieth century, (Nordin 2009: Chapter 16).

The Swedish Cooperative Union (KF), established in 1899, played an important role in the rationalisation and concentration of distribution of goods in Sweden, and during the inter-war years most merchandise became less expensive, and many new goods and articles were introduced. In 1930, one of Sweden's most famous low cost chains, *EPA*, was introduced with a store in Örebro, and was soon to be followed by another chain, *Tempo* (later and still Åhléns). The *EPA* shops, originally called *bazaars*, soon aspired to become department stores. They owed their success to a more open exposure of goods as well as low, uniform and grouped prices (Fredriksson 1998).

The Department Store Era (1950–1970)

The real revolution in terms of Swedish mass consumption began, as mentioned above, after World War II. This is in accord with the fact that from the mid-twentieth century and onwards, more jobs were salaried: the number of self-employed people began to decrease (in absolute numbers) in 1941, whereas the number of 'housewives' began to decrease somewhat later, in 1953 ('housewives' here used as a kind of statistical category equivalent to the difference between men and women in employment, Edvinsson 2005).

In 1947, Sweden's first self-service shop opened in Stockholm. A lot of chains of more specialised stores were introduced in the 1950s, and some, such as IKEA and Hennes and Mauritz, experienced international expansion as early as the 1960s. The most notable evolution of the Swedish retail trade during this era was probably the rise of the Swedish department store. During the 1950s, department stores began to increase rapidly, and in 1956, KF, The Swedish Cooperative Union, introduced their chain of department stores, *Domus*. The *Domus* chain became the hallmark of the Swedish welfare society. In less than ten years KF built an astonishing 114 department stores all around Sweden, and almost all middle-sized Swedish cities had a *Domus* at the main central square by the 1970s (Bergman 2003: 140–141, cf. Svensson 1998). 1970–75 was the peak of the Swedish department store era; in 1975 there were a total of 378 department stores for a population of 8.2 million. By then, Sweden had the highest density of department stores per capita in Europe (Jansson 2007: 27). Food, formerly sold at speciality stores such as bakeries, butchers and fishmongers was now often sold in large supermarkets (see Table 2.2), and the number of small businesses decreased rapidly (Boverket 2004). This

change took place for many reasons, such as self-service, larger volumes and new centres of distribution, as well as new highways, automobilisation and ongoing urbanisation. The 1950s saw a decrease in farms and a depopulation of the countryside, and the decade can probably be regarded as the last decade of a more extensive Swedish agrarian society (after the 1950s the number of farmers decreased very rapidly, see Jordbruksverket 2005).

Table 2.1 Decline in number of stores with everyday merchandise in Sweden (source: Jacobsson 1999)

Year	Number of stores (everyday merchandise)
1950	39 000
1960	24 000
1970	11 500
1980	9 200
1990	8 300
1997	6 900

Table 2.2 Hypermarket expansion in Sweden (stores larger then 400 square meter). (source: Elvingsson 2001)

Year	Number	% of market
1951	-	-
1960	25	3
1970	800	30
1980	1550	57
1990	1860	66
1994	2060	74
1997	2060	77

The development of a retail landscape with fewer and larger stores was further amplified by the introduction of the car-orientated hypermarket outside the city centre. The first hypermarket in Sweden was *Wessels*, which opened in Malmö 1962, and during the 1960s others were introduced in Rotebro, Värby and elsewhere. Central shopping malls came early to Sweden, the most famous being *Shopping Luleå*, designed by Ralph Erskine, which opened as early as 1955. The construction of suburban shopping malls started around 1970 (Bergman 2003). Chain stores were developing, as communication about commodities and goods became better. Although the first chains stores were established in the USA as early as the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1950s and 60s, when the US global economic influence became stronger, that chain stores started to spread in Sweden (cf. Coleman 2006).



2.2 Burlöv Centre, a 40 year old shopping mall outside Malmö inaugurated in 1971, an example of the first generation of suburban Swedish malls (author's photograph from 2011)

Malls and Big Box Retail Landscapes (1980–2000)

After massive suburbanisation of the Swedish cities during the 1960s and 70s when a great deal of new residential housing was built on the urban outskirts, in suburbs, and in municipalities surrounding the larger cities, there was a kind of countermovement in the form of an urban renaissance, beginning in the 1980s (Gehl and Gemzöe 1996, Bergman 2003). This had to do with criticism of modernist planning and architecture, and was also due to the fact that people had more money and more free time. The pedestrianisation of central locations began in the 1960s and has continued. During the 1980s and 90s Sweden, like many other countries, saw the rise of individualised consumption, where people started to see shopping more as a leisure time pursuit than a necessity, and as a way of constructing their identities (cf. Zukin 2004). Thus, the question of the urban milieu as an area for leisure time became more important, as did the question of urban design. A large number of squares and streets in Swedish city centres were refurbished during the 1990s with new paving, street furniture and outdoor restaurants. The department store concept, promoting a very wide but not very varied assortment of goods within each category, did not live up to the expectations of contemporary consumers, who also wanted to use shopping as a means of social distinction, and a rapid decline in the number of department store followed from 1975 and onwards. By 2000, they were virtually extinct. Malmö, for example, had 18 department stores in the early 1970s, but none in 2008 (Malmö stad 1972, 2008). Centrally located department stores were converted to malls and

arcades of smaller shops (often chain stores), whereas the outlying shopping facilities expanded into landscapes of hypermarkets, malls, category killers, retail strips, and so on.

An ongoing rationalisation (after 1945) of food retailing owing to state interventions to promote cheaper food and to technical developments, resulted in what Franzén describes as an oligoptic market structure from the 1960s and onwards (Franzén 2004). In 1972, ICA and KF had two thirds of the food store market, and in 1988 nearly three quarters. From the 1980s and onwards, this evolution was coupled with increasing sizes of stores. The average size of newly built food stores went from 600 square meters during the 1980s, to about 1,500–2,000 square meters by the end of the 1990s (Vägverket 2003).

This was not a phenomenon restricted to food retail; it was certainly also the case for bulky consumer goods such as furniture, and soon even for clothes, accessories, shoes, sports equipment, and so on, in what came to be the building type of the 1990s: the category killer. The 1990s and the 2000s also saw the rise of a new popular retail formats all over the Western world, such as factory outlet centres, entertainment centres, and themed retail centres (Coleman 2006). Thus, outgrowing both urban and often also suburban locations, retail trade (especially food), tended to move towards the outskirts, adjacent to large motorways, and so on, forming landscapes of big boxes. One is the retail landscape along the E4 highway, the main artery and motorway leading through Stockholm in the north-south direction, which more than doubled from 250,000 square meters in 1996 to 520,000 in 2006, including important additions to the retail areas of Slagsta and Kungens kurva (where the world's largest IKEA is located, Bergman 2008: 124).

2.3 Svågertorp, a big box retail area in Malmö developed around the year 2000 in connection to the Öresund bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen (author's photograph)



Actors in the Swedish Urban Retail System

As retail spaces have become concentrated, to larger and more autonomous and powerful, so have private actors. The state has traditionally been an important actor in the planning and formation of the built environment in Sweden, but its role has diminished over time, especially in the retail sector. Successive deregulation seems to have taken place. In some ways this dates back to the nineteenth century, with legislation that improved the possibilities for free trade. In terms of retail planning and localisation the control can only be indirect, with reference to certain values of national interest, the environment, and so on, through the County Administrative Boards. The planning monopoly of the Swedish municipalities is, at least theoretically, a powerful tool, but its role seems to have diminished from the 1980s and onwards. During the post-war era in the 1940s and until the 1960s, planning was quite strongly focused on neighbourhood areas with local retail centres as well as plans for urban expansion. During the less expansive years from the 1980s, planning has, although the formal instruments for planning of course still exist, in reality often been more of an activity that happens after a certain investor shows an interest in establishing retail business at a certain place. Unfortunately, this has continued to apply after 2000 when the urbanisation and development of some urban areas shifted into a higher gear. In practice, the municipalities have often been enthusiastic and non-restrictive in relation to investors, allowing initiatives from private investors to enhance the economy of the municipality. There has also been competition between municipalities, where municipalities often want to be the first to secure one of the major malls in a certain region (Franzén 2004, Kärrholm and Nylund 2011).

Before 1950, the Swedish retail market was dominated by a plethora of small private actors. During the 1950s and 60s this changed, as the retail companies and actors became fewer and larger. The stores of ICA and KF and how they came to totally dominate the Swedish food market is a case in point, and has also been investigated by the state (SOU 1996: 144, SNS 1999, Riksdagens revisorer 2000).

International chain stores and large companies as well as shopping malls are other examples of major actors increasing their power. International retail companies such as IKEA or Lidl, building companies such as JM, and real estate companies dealing with retail properties have become important actors in the planning of urban retail. There are also companies specialising in shopping malls, both in terms of planning, building and real estate management, such as Steen and Ström who own almost 60 shopping malls in the Scandinavian countries and, who are now developing an additional 29 (numbers from spring 2009, www.steenstrom.com). Europe's largest international owner of shopping malls, Unibail-Rudamco, also owns a lot of malls in Sweden and is going to build the Mall of Scandinavia in Arenastaden outside Stockholm. They claim that it will be the largest shopping mall in Scandinavia.

Parallel to the expansion of outlying large-scale retail areas and large actors locating their facilities on the outskirts of cities, the city retailers have become better organised during the 1990s. This has happened both on the national level, with organisations such as Swedish city centres (*Svenska stadskärnor*), and perhaps more importantly at the level of the municipality with City Associations (*Cityföreningar*). These associations are joint ventures. The owners of *Malmö Citysamverkan* are, for example, the City of Malmö, 35 commercial property owners and 400 shops and restaurants. The overall aim is to attract people (consumers) to the city centre, and thus take up competition with the other major actors such as outlying malls.

Separation and Autonomy⁴

In old Swedish and European towns, retail took place in spatially quite shallow and integrated parts of the urban structure. Markets were often located at the central square, at the city gates or along the more well connected streets leading into the centre. With the rise of arcades and department stores, retail started to expand deeper into the spatial structure. This strategy is further developed by large retail areas, outlying mega-malls and big box landscapes where shoppers are invited deep into the spatial structure of large buildings or areas (for a discussion of how the relation between 'inhabitants' and 'visitors' could be structured differently, see Hiller and Hanson 1984, Markus 1993, Hanson 1999). These territorialisations are all examples of spatial strategies that pre-set the territorial agenda and as such counteract territorial complexity.

Although the first steps toward a divorce between the city and the retail trade were taken as early as 1811 with the closing of the city toll gates, and in 1865 with the important decree on the freedom of retail business (*Näringslivsfrihet*), allowing for retail sales in the countryside, the process has been ongoing throughout the twentieth century. The final breaking of the band between cities and the retail trade apparently took place during the 1990s, when the turnover from outlying shopping facilities more than doubled, and retail localisation finally seemed to have more to do with retail agglomerations and accessibility by car in a topological system than with cities or centrality. Retail spaces do, of course, still have a relationship with urban agglomerations (and the number of customers) but at regional rather than city level.

Lewis Mumford commented in the 1930s that motorways and railroads enabled development of non-hierarchical regions where: 'no single centre will, like the metropolis of old, become the focal point of all regional advantages: on the contrary the 'whole region' becomes open for settlement' (Mumford 2003: 96). Although this transformation of the urban structure was noted early on, it did not become thoroughly conceptualised until the 1990s (partly owing to a vast number of influential hierarchical conceptualisations, for example, Christaller's central place theory, The Chicago School ring

⁴ Part of this section can be found more expanded in Kärholm 2011.

model, The Athens Charter zoning systems, and Newman's *Defensible Space*). Today, however, we are witnessing a seemingly never-ending conceptual production discussing these urban transformations on the scale of the region in terms such as *Zwischenstadt* (Sieverts 2003), *Netzstadt* (Oswald and Baccini 2003), *città diffusa* (Boeri et al. 2003), network urbanism (Dupuy 2005, 2008), the network city (Abrechts and Mandelbaum 2005), the edge city (Garreau 1991), the regional city (Calthorpe and Fulton 2001), and splintering urbanism (Graham and Marvin 1998). These conceptualisations, and to some extent also mappings (Boeri et al. 2003, Abrams and Hall 2005) of urban landscapes, networks and nebulae imply that regional scale is rapidly becoming an issue of growing importance (Boeri et al. 2003, even play with the idea of seeing the whole of Europe as one urban region, echoing Doxiades' notion of a world city, *Ecumenopolis*). New regional developments, infrastructures and policies also affect and involve our everyday life. People commute more and longer, tourism is an ever-growing industry, and new institutions are being established on new scale levels. Aldo Rossi suggested as early as the 1960s that the new urban scale of the metropolitan area was more or less defined by the size of the local labour market (cf. Lobsinger 2006). In the Swedish province of Skåne (where Malmö is situated) the number of estimated labour markets decreased from 16 to 4 between 1970 and 2000, whereas there were, and still is, a steady increase in the number of commuters. Spatial planning is thus facing a new context in which distance has more to do with time than kilometres, and in which urbanisation, green zones, investments, centres and so on, seem to be facing scale shifts (Hajer and Zonneveld 2000, Albrechts and Mandelbaum 2005, Dupuy 2008).

The change of perspective from city to urban landscape does not only involve a scale shift. It increases scale complexity as it adds new scales of relevance to the urbanisation process (Kärrholm 2011). These changes are thus not just a question of relocation. As the old scheme of centre and periphery gradually changes to multi-centred regional urban landscapes, retail development actually seems to have more to do with assemblage, density and territorialisation than with position vis-à-vis the old city centres. The centrality of a place is not automatically defined by the position of the old town centre but rather by its relation to other places with strong identities and attraction. This change has promoted a new kind of competition, where even the old city centres follow the logic of territorialisation, with stores concentrated within the frame of identifiable areas, such as pedestrian precincts.

It has sometimes been assumed that cities change in parts rather than in their entity (for example, Frey 1999: 45), and architectural inventions are often district solutions, with the city built from the bottom up. This is, however, an oversimplification (cf. Hillier 1996). Caniggia and Maffei suggest that different scales have different time intervals of change, and they have also pointed out a hierarchical change where de- and reterritorialisation not only influence new spaces, but can also destabilise entire hierarchies of spatial institutionalisations. As retail areas, such as the big box landscapes, were



2.4 Nydala square, Malmö. A typical Swedish local neighbourhood square from the 1960s. Store vacancy was more than 20 per cent in 2009 (photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)

territorialised on a new scale, a lot of issues, activities and forms, formerly handled or enacted on the scale of a street or a single square, now seem to take place on a larger scale as a result from these vast landscapes. Local neighbourhood centres are a case in point, where a lot of local services and shops have closed down, forcing people to do their everyday shopping at large outlying malls. The ongoing development and expansion of the retail areas in Malmö,

like Svågertorp with IKEA as one of its latest additions (in 2009), will not, for example, just impact on the neighbouring local retail centres. This expansion has already had a considerable impact on all the local retail centres in Malmö, where new retail areas are now being produced and enacted on new and different spatial scales (in the Malmö region, for example, Svågertorp, Hyllie, the pedestrian malls of the inner city, Pilelyckan and Center Syd). New retail business is thus being established on new spatial scales affecting the whole field of retail establishments, destabilising previous structures and starting the process of finding a new balance and hierarchical structure on other scales (Caniggia and Maffei 2001, Alppi 2006). Such territorial transformations call for a new approach to architecture and planning that does not always take pre-fixed spatial categories as its cue. Urban transformations affect and shed light on the notions of pre-defined territories, sizes and hierarchies. It can be argued that the old city centre might in some respects be losing its place as a privileged node in the urban region: this Mumfordian shift (as we may call it) indicates a *horizontal* de- and restabilisation of scales, as the old urban and rural centres are deterritorialised and dispersed, for example. Centres are, however, also reterritorialised and we can thus also speak of a Caniggian shift (if such an expression is possible), indicating a *vertical* de- and restabilisation of scales where centres de- and reterritorialise not just geographically but also hierarchically.

I think we need to be more aware of the ongoing production of different scale shifts. These can be horizontal (Mumfordian) or vertical (Caniggian), minor or major, but since they are constantly at work, we need to address them more consciously. Delaney has pointed out the difference between vertical and horizontal territoriality, and argued that territoriality is most often discussed as a horizontal phenomenon, that is, as inside or outside the border of a certain territory (Delaney 2005: 31–33). Delaney specifically

points out the need to discuss the relationship between levels of territorial production. Such a discussion could be seen as a way of acknowledging that territories are almost always 'embedded within complex constellations of distinct but mutually constitutive spaces through which power is distributed and redistributed' (Delaney 2005: 33). As retail separates itself from the need of spatial proximity to residential areas it also begins to follow a different logic, a logic of agglomeration and territorialisation. The process of decentralisation and separation has made retail less dependent on local processes of urbanisation and more dependent on co-localisation with other retail businesses. This involves a vertical destabilisation of territoriality where a traditional three-level-hierarchy (of regional-urban-local), in effect, can become a two or even single-level-hierarchy where regional centres seem to be the winners. In short, retail seems to follow a flatter mode of spatial organisation (which, of course, might again be differentiated vertically over time). These changes came in the wake of large scale territorialisation processes affecting and affected by the built environment in different ways. In terms of architecture, the functional separation of retail was part and parcel of anti-urban ideals dispersing urban life through a dissolution of the traditional urban tissue (Panerai et al. 2004) and a modernistic architecture that wished to see 'buildings as enclosed, self-contained systems against all evidence of the contrary' (Forty 2000: 94). Large scale designs (Koolhaas 1995) and theming (Klingmann 2007, Kolb 2008) are just some examples of architectural trends that sustain this kind of development towards autonomous retail worlds. In a world of constant flux (retail here serving as a prime example), processes of de- and reterritorialisations seem to be the only thing we really can count on. What we need is thus conceptual tools that can be used to track and discuss these ongoing territorial transformations, also from the perspective of architecture and spatial organisation, and this takes us to the next chapter.

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The Pedestrian Precinct – Territorial Stabilisation

In Oxford Street there are too many bargains, too many sales, too many goods marked down to one and eleven three that only last week cost six. The buying and selling is too blatant and raucous. But as one saunters towards the sunset – and what with artificial light and mounds of silk and gleaming omnibuses, a perpetual sunset seems to brood over the Mable Arch – the garishness and gaudiness of the great rolling ribbon of Oxford Street has its fascination. It is like the pebbly bed of a river whose stones are forever washed by a bright stream. Everything glitters and twinkles. The first spring day brings out barrows frilled with tulips. Violets, daffodils in brilliant layers. The frail vessels eddy vaguely across the stream of traffic. At one corner seedy magicians are making slips of coloured paper expand in magic tumblers into bristling forests of splendidly tinted flora – a subaqueous flower garden. At another, tortoise repose on litters of grass. The slowest and most contemplative of creatures display their mild activities on a foot or two of pavement, jealously guarded from passing feet. One infers that the desire of man for the tortoise, like the desire of the moth for the star, is a constant element in human nature. Nevertheless, to see a woman stop and add a tortoise to her string of parcels is perhaps the rarest sight that human eyes can look upon.

(Woolf 2008: 199)

In Virginia Woolf's 'London' (of the early 1930s), the process of pedestrianisation had not yet begun, but the enjoyment of walking and the desire for a gentle and retail friendly pace was already fashionable (and had, one could argue, probably been so at least since the arcades opened during the early nineteenth century). In this chapter, I focus on the transformation of the city centre into a pedestrianised territory of consumption, paying particular attention to the parts materialities and architectural design have played in this process. In doing this, I propose a spatial perspective on materialities, discussing *networks*, *bodies*, *framings* and *sorts*, as four intersecting ways in which materialities can be described as having territorial impacts on the everyday life and culture. The chapter also illustrates the advent of a new building type or urban type: the pedestrian precinct. The case I have chosen for this study is Malmö. Malmö is a city from the 13th century that became an important Swedish industrial city during the 1800s and was most famous for its large wharf Kockums that expanded after the First World War and became Malmö's most important work place during the twentieth century. After a recession during the 1970s Kockums tried to restructure, but then finally closed down its business in Malmö in 1989. Other companies followed and the city was soon in a crisis. From 1995 and onwards a lot of large scale investments were done to enhance the situation (for example, the opening of Malmö University, the construction of the Öresund bridge and the large housing exhibition in 2001), and already in the early 2000s Malmö had become one of Sweden's best examples of a city going from a post-

industrial state of rapid decline into a neo-liberal and expanding regional centre (Baeten 2011). In terms of retailisation, this included the expansion of malls on the outskirts, a decline of retail in the local squares of city districts, and pedestrianisation of the inner city with new outdoor restaurants, city festivals, events and extensive renovation of city centres (cf. Bergman 2003, Cronholm and Bergström 2003). This expansion – partly owing to better connections to Copenhagen and the ongoing development of the Öresund region, attracting the attention of planners, the media, consumers and others – makes the Malmö region an intriguing place for studies of European urban transformations. During the time of this study, the retail spaces of Skåne have expanded by 41 per cent (1999–2005) and an additional 72 per cent increase was planned for in 2006. Malmö municipality accounts for the largest part of these regional expansions. (Bergström and Wikström 2002, Länsstyrelsen i Skåne län 2007). After a retail business recession during the 1980s, Malmö came to be one of Sweden's most successful cities, with increasing numbers of customers and stores. Today (2009), the city centre has a larger share of the choice product retailing than all the car-dependent shopping centres taken together. One main aspect of this success (in addition to focusing on choice products rather than food) is the pedestrian precinct, constituting the centre of recent urban investments, improvements and identity-building, and also contributing to a certain homogenisation.

Privatisation, homogenisation and commercialisation of public places has been high on the research agenda during the last couple of decades, discussed in terms such as increased policing of the public realm (Fyfe and Bannister 1998, Mitchell 2003), the revenge of the middle class (Smith 1996, cf. Katz 2001), domestication by cappuccino (Atkinson, 2003, Zukin 1995) and the notion of commercialisation, and shopping as conquering and constituting the logic of the city as a whole (Crawford 1992, McMorrough 2001a). A large proportion of this kind of research has been focused on aspects of exclusion, highlighting spatial power as exercised, for example, by security guards and using surveillance techniques, while neglecting its more subtle expressions such as gestures, socialisations and atmospheres (Allen 2006). Although far more uncommon, there is also research describing power as a much more ambient phenomena. John Allen does this when he focuses on the ways in which power can be sensed and experienced as a certain atmosphere, and how it can work in subtle and suggestive ways, for example, focusing on aspects of inclusion rather than exclusion.

This chapter focuses mainly on the more subtle types of spatial power, including material and corporeal perspectives in order to account for and conceptualise some of the ways in which materiality produce territorial effects. Although I sympathise with ideas such as Allen's about how power works through ambient qualities of space, such insights could also benefit from a detailed description and modalisation of the differences made by matter. Allen goes as far as to contrast his perspective of ambient power against that of power as expressed by means of physical form, stating that: 'power does not

always have to take a raw, physical form, where presence is barred by guards or gates or controlled by surveillance measures' (Allen 2006: 453), seemingly forgetting that materiality also plays important (although sometimes ever so subtle) roles in the exercise of ambient power. Although architecture and the built environment have often come to stand for durability and the symbolic representation of major power resources (Allen 2003, Dovey 1999), the role of architecture is much more extensive, affecting the mobilisation of the different rhythms, flows and activities of everyday urban life. In fact, architecture and urban design seem to play a growing part in the territorialisations of public urban spaces. As new technologies and artefacts proliferate in a ceaseless flow (Latour 1993), material and corporeal issues have become more important and elaborated in contemporary urban life and society (Dant 2005: 136–138). This has also been evident in the renovations of European squares and public places during the 1990s and onwards, where many new material elaborations such as paving, street furniture, hedges, fences, fountains, outdoor cafés, and so on, are gathered together. In research, there is also a new awareness of the difference that material artefacts and environments can make to the popularity, attractiveness, social mix and economic success of public places. In fields such as consumer behaviour, commercial planning and urban design, researchers are constantly seeking tools for and ways of understanding how material organisation and design can be used to accomplish certain objectives (getting people to gather, to stay at a place for a long time, to circulate, to buy, to consume, to appropriate a certain brand, and so on).

Below, I focus on the development of the pedestrian precinct as an example of a place where material elaborations, actors, and urban design appear to have been mobilised in order to territorialise the precinct as a place for a culture of consumption. In the first part of the chapter, I give a short history of pedestrian streets in Europe and Sweden, followed by a brief description of the evolution of the Malmö pedestrian precinct. In the second and main part, I go on to elaborate on how the Malmö pedestrian precinct has stabilised over the decades as a 'territory for shopping' (Kärrholm 2004, Sack 1986), and how this process of territorialisation can be seen to be the result of complex mediations relating to material designs and environments. I do this primarily by describing four ways of investigating the territorial stabilisation of materiality, and, although I take my cue from Allen's discussion of ambient power (Allen 2006), my theoretical analysis of the territorialisation process draws upon actor-network theory (Latour 2005a) and the theories of spatial topologies as developed by Law, Mol and others (De Laet and Mol 2000, Law 2002, Law and Mol 2001, 2002).

The Pedestrian Street

Pedestrian streets were introduced in Europe after World War II and became common in Sweden during the 1960s. Initially, they were seen as a way of

planning city transport and enhancing the city environment by improving the safety and comfort of pedestrians. Planning urban spaces exclusively for pedestrians was nothing new. Sidewalks have been known to exist already in Anatolia in Turkey around 2000 B.C. (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht 2009: 15–16), and the Latin word for sidewalks, *semita*, was used already by the Etruscans. In ancient Rome, traffic used to be stopped with stone barriers during certain hours of the night, and paving stones that served both as pedestrian crossings and as a way of slowing down traffic could also be seen in Pompeii, (Rudofsky 1969: 279). There are also examples of pedestrian protection in older Hebrew law. When it comes to retail areas specifically, pedestrianisation has a history that goes back to the old oriental bazaars and the Mercator Trajani in Rome (Uhlig 1979). After Roman times, however, western European planning focusing on pedestrians was uncommon, even rare, although there are a few exceptions; in Venice no horsemen were allowed to ride at the Merceria (Venice's foremost shopping street) after nine o'clock in the morning, and not at all over Piazza San Marco. Riding was permitted on the busy shopping bridge of Rialto, but only at a slow pace (Rudofsky 1969: 63).

Planning for pedestrians was not implemented on a larger scale until the nineteenth century. In principle, this coincided with a rising status of the activity of walking. With cabs and trains becoming common, walking was no longer just a necessary evil, but could, at least in certain strata of society be upgraded to an activity for pleasure and recreation (Urry 2000: 50–53). The Palais Royal, Paris, became an important pedestrian public space after the French revolution, housing cafés, shops, and so on, and is often mentioned as the cradle of building types such as the arcade and the department store (Geist 1987: 59–62, Hetherington 1997a). The rising importance of the *flâneur* (mostly in arcades and on the open public spaces, streets and boulevards) and the *flâneuse* (often in department stores) occurred parallel to an intensification of vehicular traffic. This included an explicit division between space for walking and space for other means of transport, that is, a territorial division between movements at different speeds.¹ Sidewalks had existed in ancient Rome, but they were a very unusual feature of the European city during the Middle Ages. In Paris, they were imposed along the major and important streets during the mid-eighteenth century, but not until the mid-nineteenth century did sidewalks actually become common features of the city (Geist 1983: 62–63).²

1 It is interesting to note how the material figuration of this territorial division (the kerb) seems to be less important in Swedish traffic spaces of today. Bicycles intermingle with cars at street level (with a territorial demarcation of a white line at best), and cars increasingly share the street with pedestrians (in order to slow down traffic at *gångfartsgator*). A micro study of kerb dimensions through the history of different cultures could perhaps tell us something interestingly about shifting perspectives on the territorialisation of traffic.

2 In Paris, for example, the total length of sidewalks increased from 267 meters in 1822 to 260 kilometers in 1848, Kostof 1992: 209–210.

The pedestrian street in the twentieth century

The idea of completely car-free urban spaces was expressed in the early modern movement and functionalist planning as, for instance the Athens Charter from 1933. The success of the pedestrian street after World War II is, however, also closely linked to the rise of the American shopping mall. In the United States there are examples of car-orientated trade as far back as the 1920s, and the shopping centre emerged during the following decades especially in the Los Angeles area, which hosted 350 supermarkets by the end of the 1930s (Longstreth 1997: 187). It was not until the late 1940s and early 50s, however, that the construction of shopping malls really picked up speed, and by the late 1950s there were 2,640 shopping malls in the United States (Longstreth 1997, Coleman 2006). Of special interest are also the *shopping courts* of southern California. Shopping courts were popular during the 1920s and consisted of retail stores with Latin and Hispanic imagery, organised around outdoor pedestrian spaces. They were often very modest in size, with no more than a dozen shops, and located outside the city centre (Longstreth 1997: 273–275).

The first modern central pedestrianisation of a street (with regulated car traffic) is said to be the 550 meter long Limbeckerstrasse in Essen, Germany, which became a pedestrian zone in 1924. Some other early attempts followed in the Ruhr area during the 1920s and 30s, such as in Rendsburg and Cologne. However, it was not until after World War II that the construction of pedestrian streets began on a large scale, probably owing to the opportunities for major redevelopment that were possible owing to the bombing during the war. The first large-scale example of a central pedestrian precinct in Europe, and also the most important one, is Van der Broek and Bakema's Lijnbaan in the centre of Rotterdam, 1951–1953. Lijnbaan received a great deal of attention in its time, and it also won the approval of contemporary architects, including influential urban theorist Lewis Mumford (Es 2004). Another important point of reference for the development of the pedestrian precinct as an urban type was the rebuilding of Coventry in 1955 after plans by progressive city architect Donald Gibson (Hubbard and Lilley 2004, Coleman 2006). The most numerous examples can otherwise probably be found in Germany, where a lot of towns were pedestrianised during the 1950s and 60s (cf. Monheim 1975).

In Sweden, the first pedestrian street was designed by David Helldén in Hökarängen, Stockholm in 1948, and completed in 1952. The pedestrianisation of Sergelsgatan in central Stockholm had already been suggested by Helldén in consultation with Sven Markelius and Carl-Fredrik Ahlberg in an earlier but never realised proposal from 1945–46 (Rörby 2002). The construction of the Swedish satellite towns around Stockholm in the 1950s was an important part of the new wave of pedestrianisation (also from a European perspective, Coleman 2006: 44), followed by the planning of centrally located pedestrian streets in the existing city centres at the end of the 1950s (for example, in Uppsala and Helsingborg, see Thunwall 2002: 61–63). The very first pedestrian street in a Swedish city centre was Kullagatan in Helsingborg. Designed with

Lijnbaan in Rotterdam as a model, it was inaugurated in October 1, 1961 (discussions about pedestrianisation had, however, been going on since 1955, when the street was regulated as a one way street). Several other Swedish cities were then already on their way to planning their own pedestrian streets and during the 1960s (according SCAFT Group calculations) a total of 73 pedestrian streets (about 9,800 meters of length in all) were built (KTH 1970).

In this early phase of pedestrian street planning, it was not unusual to simply plan for a single long street, and 22 of the pedestrian streets planned in the 1960s were longer than 200 meters (*Innerstad-Gångstad* 1970: 6). Norra Storgatan in a small town like Eksjö, Småland, (then with some 10,000 inhabitants) was 450 meters long (Sveriges köpmannaförbund 1968). In Stockholm the main pedestrian street, Västerlånggatan, was inaugurated in 1963, and it is now a two kilometres long line running from Järntorget in the Old Town, first as Västerlånggatan, then as Drottninggatan, ending at Tegnérsgatan.

Although the long main streets often were the first to be pedestrianised, there were other exceptions. Some other early attempts to pedestrianise actually show the totally opposite (and not very successful strategy), where the main shopping streets of the town were kept for cars, whereas the smaller streets perpendicular to the main street were closed to traffic (Bergman 2003: 158–159).

In Sweden, the planning of pedestrian streets thus began in the late 1950s, became reality in the 1960s, and peaked during the early 1970s. 1970–75 has even been described as *Gågatuepoken* – the epoch of the pedestrian street (Nordqvist 1984). Beginning in the 1970s, the pedestrian street was also



3.1 Västerlånggatan, Stockholm
(author's photograph)

adopted by the critics of large-scale car-orientated planning, with a desire to conserve old town centres. In the days of early modernism, pedestrianisation was seen as a way to ensure that vehicular traffic could flow as smoothly and quickly as possible. As urbanisation and the number of cars increased, cars soon became a problem. The old city centres became congested and inaccessible, which led to problems for trade and service facilities (Uhlig 1979: 6). In the proposal for a (never realised) pedestrian mall in downtown Syracuse, New York in 1943, the editors of *Architectural Forum*, George Nelson and Henry Wright Jr wrote that: 'the pedestrian lost his right to do anything but dodge. Shopping developed into a hazardous, nerve-racking duty from which no one might escape' (cited in Longstreth, 1997: 269).

From pedestrian streets to pedestrian precincts

Despite its modernist and functionalist origins, the pedestrian street thus soon became an important theme for writers on urbanism such as Gordon Cullen, Jan Gehl, William Whyte, Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard, interested in the social life, history, scale and aesthetics of the traditional urban fabric. As early as the Golden Lane project in 1952, architects Alison and Peter Smithson had criticised the traditional CIAM perspective of the street as a space of neutral movement between different functional zones of the city. In the Golden Lane project they argued for the street as an important social space and suggested a pedestrian street suspended in the air. Although the Smithsons later admitted that the desired effects of the project were probably unrealistic, the aim of creating the street as a pedestrian space for occupation and social activities rather than for instrumentalistic movement, rhymes very well with the development in urban design that was about to emerge during the decades to follow (Betsky 2004, Hight 2009).

The golden years of Swedish pedestrian streets, 1970–75, coincided with the peak of the Swedish department store. Sweden, as noted earlier, actually had the highest density of department stores per capita in the whole of Europe during these years, and the central pedestrian streets were almost always dominated by a *Domus* or *Tempo/Åhléns* (Jansson 2007). The large department stores, often acting as important anchors, started to decline in numbers from the mid-1970s (Bergman 2003: 165) and the growth rate of Swedish pedestrian streets also began to decrease. However, whereas the department store as a building type would virtually disappear during the following decades, the pedestrianisation of city streets continued, perhaps at a slower pace but still enough to confirm it as a stable urban type in Swedish cities of the 1980s. In the 1980s, chain stores made their appearance in Swedish cities together with new central shopping arcades and malls (Bergman 2003: 182). Although these new indoor streets competed to some extent with the outdoor ones, they were often located along pedestrian streets, contributing to the further concentration of retail businesses to pedestrianised areas. Pedestrianisation

also interacted with the renaissance of urban life that began in the late 1980s (Gehl and Gemzöe 1996, 2001), and the pedestrian street went on to become the main arena for many of the strategies and investments enhancing a new concept of public life during the 1990s. In various Scandinavian cities single pedestrian streets expanded to form larger structures – *pedestrian precincts* – and Copenhagen stands out as the prime example in Scandinavia of pedestrianisation and its great success, in fact the pedestrian precinct of Copenhagen grew almost as much between 1988 and 1996 as between 1962 and 1973.³

Paradoxically, the strengthened position of the central pedestrian precincts could, to some extent, be regarded as associated with the success of shopping malls and centres outside the city. In times of commercial recession, the expansion and redevelopment of the pedestrian precinct was used as a commercial strategy for the city centre. Thus the primary aim no longer had to do with issues of transportation, congestion and safety, but rather with attractiveness (Robertsson 1991), thus also moving the issue of design higher up on the agenda. As late as 1991, Robertsson described the Swedish pedestrian streets as:

basic hard-edged and simplistic. Landscaping (i.e., trees, flowers, shrubs, grassy areas) or other design amenities, such as fountains and public art are minimal. Even pavement covering the streets tends to be utilitarian and lacking in aesthetic interest. (Robertson 1991: 308)

However, during the 1990s the issue of urban design and the street environment returned to the agenda, The Swedish Urban Environment Council (*Stadsmiljörådet*) was founded in 1988, and by the end of the 1990s approximately 70 Swedish cities were involved in some kind of urban renewal project. These large new investments in the urban design of public spaces were also accompanied by new arrangements for recreational activities, markets and festivals (Bergman 2003: 178–179, Olsson 1998). Together these efforts seem to consolidate the city centre as a uniform place rather than a grid connecting different kinds of places.⁴

The role of pedestrianisation in terms of increased sales and shopping is debated, but has often been regarded as positive. When car traffic was closed off on Ströget, Copenhagen in 1962, sales increased by 30 per cent within a year, and the number of pedestrians increased by 35 per cent.⁵ In Sweden, the first attempts at pedestrianisation were often criticised by the shopkeepers and sometimes the streets were opened to traffic again before the real effects could be properly evaluated (cf. Sveriges köpmannaförbund.1968: 9–10). After

3 Gehl and Gemzöe 1996, Beridchevsky 1984. In Gehl 1991, Gehl suggested expansion of the pedestrian streets of Stockholm in order to form a precinct much like the one in Copenhagen.

4 In an empirical study of Gothenburg, Sören Olsson points out that city life during the twentieth century has tended to be concentrated to certain streets, at the expense of squares and other streets (Olsson 1998). In the late 1990s it seems clear that the most successful streets in this competition were the pedestrianised ones.

5 Berdichevsky 1984 and Gehl 1989.

the inauguration of the pedestrian street in Ekesjö in 1965, it was reported that trade fell by 35 per cent. In another small Swedish town, Nynäshamn, the pedestrian street was reopened to traffic in 1980 after protests from the shopkeepers.⁶

From the 1990s and onwards, the success or failure of a pedestrianisation must be judged by criteria such as branding, location, accessibility and attractively. It is about good communications, a focus on fashion and specialists rather than on everyday goods, and precincts that are large enough to attract shoppers. The recipe for an unsuccessful pedestrian precinct could thus be expansion or redevelopment rather than re-opening it to traffic. In the Skåne region, the larger cities including Lund, Helsingborg and Kristianstad have followed a rather successful development of pedestrianisation quite similar to that of Malmö, whereas smaller towns have had a much harder time in sustaining their pedestrian areas as important places of shopping (like the small town of Sölvesborg where the pedestrian street was re-opened to traffic in 2008).⁷

The pedestrian streets of Malmö

The first pedestrian streets in Malmö were inaugurated in June 8, 1978. The main street, Södergatan, started at Stortorget, acted as a kind of entrance to the city centre from the harbour (where the ferries from Copenhagen docked in those days) and the Central Station. Together with the side streets Baltzarsgatan and Skomakaregatan, the streets made the form of a cross, which was a fairly common arrangement at the time (Kungsgatan-Korsgatan in Gothenburg 1970 is another well-known Swedish example of this).⁸

In 1964, Malmö's (then) tallest building, *Kronprinsen*, was built just west of the city centre, hosting a large shopping mall on the bottom floor. During the early 1970s, a new large scale shopping mall followed just east of Stortorget, *Caroli City*, on the old shopping street of Östergatan in 1973. In spite of these new retail areas east and west of the city centre, Södergatan and the north-south axis gained in importance as the city expanded south, and the pedestrianisation emphasised this development. An analysis of sales in 1981 showed that sales had increased after the opening of the new pedestrian streets and another report in 1983 was entitled 'Pedestrians streets vitalize city centre' (Persson 1983). However, as early as the early 1980s, two other trends were also clear: sales on non-pedestrianised central streets declined and retail with large goods (car-orientated) moved to the outskirts. An important expansion of the pedestrian precinct took place in around 1990 when Södra Förstadsgatan was closed to traffic. The shopping mall Triangeln, built in 1987, marked the new end point of the precinct and the commercial centre of

6 Most examples of unsuccessful pedestrianisations could probably be found in the United States. See, for example, Roberston 1990 and Gifford 1997: 365–366.

7 However, there are also notable exceptions to this, for example in Svedala, a village adjacent to Malmö with a quite successful pedestrian street.

8 Elmberg 1974. Cf. Monheim 1975: 55, for some of the morphological principles of German pedestrian streets.

Malmö continued its slow but steady movement towards the southern parts of the city centre (Uddenberg 1979, Henriksson 2005).

The area has expanded further since then, most importantly to Lilla torg, and a small grid of pedestrian streets has developed over the years. Today the pedestrian precinct includes four squares, four shopping malls, and more than 300 stores (at least half of them in shopping malls). Further spatial extension is planned, including the square of Davidshall, and temporary extensions are also made on a regular basis, for example during the annual City Festival, *Malmöfestivalen* (established in 1985). More strategic and long-term support for the precinct is also explicit in the Comprehensive Plan for Malmö, *Översiktsplanen*, where it is stated that the spaces for pedestrians should be extended by means of pedestrian streets (Malmö Översiktsplan 2001: 220).

3.2 The pedestrian precinct in Malmö (author's photograph from 2008)



3.3 Pedestrian precinct, Malmö. Showing extension of the precinct, 1978, 1996 and 2006 (mapping of 2006 from Gehl and Gemzöe 1996: 25)



The pedestrian precinct has thus become an increasingly important and expansive part of Malmö, attracting the interest of planners, retail managers, politicians, investors, and so on, and it is slowly turning into a showcase and a symbol of Malmö city as a whole. The programme for the Malmö Urban Environment has further enhanced this development, since the prescribed design (of benches, litter boxes, billboards, kiosks, bus stops, and so on) is manifest in the pedestrian precinct, where the density of street furniture is high. There have also been some major changes, such as the renewal of the central squares, as well as part of the main artery (1999–2005). Much of the old building stock was renovated and new malls were opened. Today the investments in the town centre can safely be described as successful, both commercially and in terms of attention and popularity. Malmö has recently also received a number of national awards, such as City Centre of the Year in 2000 and in 2005, Bicycle Town of the Year in 2004. Malmö became Sweden's first Fairtrade city in 2006. Lilla torg was awarded Meeting Place of the Year in 2002.

The territorialisation of pedestrian space

The territorial strategy of the pedestrian precinct is primarily about demarcating a certain territory for pedestrian use, prohibiting car traffic, and limiting cycle traffic within the area (on territoriality, see Delaney 2004, Kärholm 2004, Sack 1986). Such a strategy can be accomplished by different means and in many ways (Book and Eskilsson 1999: 70, Nordqvist 1984: 41, on different types of pedestrian streets). In Malmö as in many other cities, pedestrianisation often meant new street paving, distinguishing the areas from its surroundings, some simple furniture or planters, and some new traffic signs signalling the implementation of territorial rules. A pedestrian precinct can also host a large variety of different territorial productions within it. These include planned territorial productions, such as the territorial strategies of outdoor cafés, shops, market stalls, fountains and bicycle stands, or more informal territorial productions that emerge from activities of daily life, such as the territorial appropriations of certain groups or individuals who turn a corner, a bench or restaurant into their 'own' favourite spot, or territorial associations that link certain places to a certain usage, like 'the festival place' or 'the sun bathing spot'. It is characteristic of a pedestrian precinct that it not only attracts necessary activities such as shopping or walking through, but also optional activities, which people only perform if the conditions are right, for example sunbathing and people-watching (Gehl 1987, Yuen and Chor 1998). The pedestrian precinct of Malmö has, in recent years, developed a new and ever-increasing flora of both formal and informal territorial productions, with the more or less specific paraphernalia associated with them.

How have material aspects contributed to the use and development of this urban type/territory? The territorialisation of the pedestrian precinct is not just about institutionalisation of a place in the minds of people by way of representations, brandings or associations, it is also about setting limits and

creating opportunities for different activities. It is about the stabilisation or institutionalisation of a specific set of usages and, in the end, the production of a pedestrian precinct culture. Indeed, materiality plays its part in these processes of territorialisation. One could even argue that the role of materiality goes deeper still, as it acts upon the actions of subject in different ways by encouraging certain behaviours and possibly discouraging others (see Warnier 2001, on materiality and subjectivation and Nilsson 2010 for a discussion on the built environment as a *terrain*). Material design provides us with basic and vital qualities, providing surfaces for walking, roofs for shelter, and so on. It might locate seating to certain areas and set the rhythm for certain haptic or senso-motoric practices. It might also aid us in everyday decisions and moral dilemmas: should I pay the entrance fee or not? The gate and the ticket machine facilitate such decisions, and might also keep the decision at a non-discursive and sometimes even pre-conscious level (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 124; cf. Latour 2002).

Spatializing materiality

In recent years, many efforts have been made to find new ways of theorizing materiality in the social sciences (for example, Dant 2005, Latour 2005, Miller 2005, Warnier 2001, 2007). Some of these studies (sometimes referred to as *material culture studies*) have the advantage of accounting not only for what materiality and form are but also for what they do. These studies, however, are often focused on the individual artefact (the object, the thing, the commodity), rather than on complex and spatially assembled artefacts (such as public places). To some extent, materiality also needs to be studied and theorised in more spatial ways, for example by discussing how multiple artefacts are assembled in order to produce the different material effects of settings, frames, places, territories, spatial structures and urban morphologies. Although these settings, territories, and so on, could act as mediators or actors in their own rights, a discourse dealing with the issue and ontology of spatialised materialities is, at least in any more profound and coherent sense, yet to be constructed.⁹

In this chapter I expound on the territory as an actor/actant, making use of some general insights and concepts from material semiotics and actor-network theory, ANT (Latour 2005a). ANT has been described by Latour as a sociology of associations, where the important institutions or structures are not predefined, but are traced as the effects, or networks, of associated human and non-human actors. Using ANT can thus be described as a way of dedifferentiating the world (Albertsen and Diken 2003), favouring detailed concrete descriptions and narratives rather than explanations given with the help of super-categories such as society, nature, the social, and so on. One key feature of the theory is that it grants non-humans and artefacts a type

⁹ For examples of these kinds of efforts see, in the perspectives of phenomenology (cf. Casey 1993) spatial semiotics (Hammad 2002) architectural power (Dovey 1999, Markus 1993) spatial configurations (Hillier 1996) and time-geography (Hägerstrand 2009).

of agency (Latour 2005a: 63–86). However, Latour's tracing of networks and artefacts has not been much elaborated in terms of spatiality (but see, for example, Murdoch 1998, Kärrholm 2004, Nilsson 2010). In fact, Latour discourages his students from using place as a starting point for an empirical inquiry altogether: 'Places do not make for a good starting point, since every one of them is framed and localised by others./.../Circulation is first, landscape second' (Latour 2005a: 196). Instead, landscapes, places, spaces, topoi and territories are seen primarily as the products of networks, rather than as actors constituting networks (cf. Latour 1998). Such an asymmetrical view on space seems strange to an architectural researcher and should not be accepted, spaces are always both produced and part of an ongoing production (Lefebvre 1991)

ANT is very explicit in terms of the powers of materiality, and has been described as a kind of *semiotics of materiality* (Law 2009). It would, however, be fair to claim that ANT could be just as good in discussions on spatial aspects as on material ones, and that ANT could thus accurately be described as a *semiotics of spatiality/materiality* or just of *objects*.¹⁰ To the interesting ANT-discussions on material artifacts – such as doors, keys, and sleeping policemen, that have been put forward – one could add discussions on spatial artifacts, such as pedestrian crossings, town squares and dining rooms. Following this line of thought, a territorial practice of power can be described in terms of network stabilisations (as noted in Chapter 1), where connections between a set of actants (such as rules and regulations, borders, sub-territories, walls, locks, pavement, behaviours, norms) become increasingly stable and predictable. The advantages of this perspective are several. First, it opens up a way of investigating the meaning of spatiality, materiality and artefacts through the roles they play in different territorial networks, where some functions might remain constant while others change. The same object might thus be a different actant in another territorial network production, implying a plenitude of potential actant roles for every object (cf. Law 2002, Law and Singleton 2003). However, in order to account for the difference that places and territories make in terms of production, it is not enough to trace their networks and the stories/genealogies of network constructions. John Allen has pointed out the Foucaultian idea that power (in contrast to resources) is not pre-packaged, but is instead inseparable from its effects, criticizing Latour for losing sight of more simultaneous mediations of power (Allen 2003). ANT focuses on the possibility of overcoming distance (in time and space), and on the successive and incremental dimensions of power, constituted by enlisting more and more actors, making them obligatory and thereby stabilising the network (Latour 1992, 1996).

A classical ANT-analysis describes networks by following the trail of actors/actants that (over time) construct a certain socio-technological innovation or stable unit like the camera or a certain scientific result. It can, however, also

10 For example following Harman's wide definition of objects as 'something with a certain unity and autonomy' (Harman 2009: 152) whether it is human, non-human, material or non-material.

been used to describe more immediate effects, for example, stabilising a person at the supermarket as a 'shopper' by means of actors such as revolving doors, sale signs, trolleys, price tags, and so on. The concept of actant is used both in ANT (Latour 1999: 303) and in Greimasian semiotics (Greimas and Courtes 1982, Greimas 1987, Hammad 2002, Sandin 2003). The concept, however, goes back to Victor Propp's analysis of folktales in the 1920s (Sandin 2003: 120). In ANT actants and actors are sometimes used synonymously, although actant seems recently to be the preferred term. In *Reassembling the Social* (2005), Latour reinstates a Greimasian differentiation between the concepts, noting that: '*anything* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or if it has no figuration yet, an actant.' (Latour 2005a: 71). I distinguish between actor and actant in this Greimasian sense too; the actant is generally regarded as more abstract than the actor, that is, actant is as a kind or type of actor. In the dictionary *Semiotics and Language* (1982), Greimas and Courtes quote French linguist Lucien Tesnière, from whom they have borrowed the term 'actants are beings or things that participate in processes in any form whatsoever' (Tesnière in Greimas and Courtes 1982: 5). Actant is furthermore described by Greimas and Courtes as a syntactic unit that precedes any ideological or semantic investment.¹¹ Although I have no claim to being able to differentiate between syntactic, ideological and semantic aspects of an artefact, I follow this line of semiotic discourse in the sense that I see the words actant as a ways of describing elements that modify a situation, and that this is part of an analytical way of describing a certain course of events. I use actant as a kind of analytic concept and to be clear about the notion that it denotes things that modify situations and make a difference, rather than acting in their own right (as acting is understood in every day language), I will, when possible, favourise actant to actor.¹²

Tim Dant has pointed out that ANT, although it emphasises the importance of a 'sociology of the missing masses', has actually never, in detail, been used to study 'the interaction or the lived relationship between human beings and material objects' (Dant, 2004: 81).¹³ Places, as well as material objects, are often entangled in a whole range of different and perhaps even conflicting networks, traditionally studied in isolation in different disciplines. In order to be useful from a perspective of material/spatial studies, the de-differentiation of ANT would thus need appropriate re-differentiation (cf. Albertsen and Diken 2003, and suggestions made by Latour 1998).

At a general level we can find this re-differentiation of objects and spatial topologies, for example, in the writings of John Law and Annemarie Mol. In a series of articles, they challenge 'the tendency of networks to insist that there is nothing valuable, nothing firm, beyond the network.' (Law 2002: 97, cf. Law 2002, Law and Mol 1994, Law and Mol 2001), and then they go on to

11 Greimas 1987: 106–120, Greimas and Courtes 1982: 5–7.

12 For some criticism of the de-humansation and de-differentiation of ANT see Lee and Brown 1994, Pels 1995, Vandenberghe 2002 and Hacking 2002: 17.

13 It should, however, be noted that although Dant's criticism might be correct, his own interpretation then fails to do ANT justice (see Nilsson 2010: 85–86).

supplement network topologies with, for example, fluid topologies, Euclidean topologies and fire topologies (Law and Mol 2001, Law and Singelton 2005). A network tends to be stabilised as tasks become delegated to more and more artefacts telling the same story, as certain actors become durable and indispensable, and as the network relations find a more stable shape. Law and Mol, however, suggest that there are other possibilities than networks for attaining continuity and stability. One point is that networks often depend on stability in Euclidean space. Stable regions or Euclidean objects/spaces may be made by means of networks, but they also make networks durable. Networks and Euclidean stability are in some sense co-dependent (Law 2002). Actor-network (for example, a road with a speed limit) is dependent on the fact that the actors stabilising the network (for example, a traffic bump) also keep their Euclidean and geometrical shape. If the network is demobilised, signs taken down, rules changed, and so on, the road might still uphold some of its old effects as long as the traffic bump keeps its Euclidean stability.

Another point is that even if things change in a network or in Euclidean space, an artefact might retain its continuity in fluid space. Fluid spatialities imply that no particular structure (network or Euclidean space) is privileged, but that things may change shape and still retain their identity and use, as long as they change bit by bit, do not become defined by a particular boundary, and the actants to some extent remains within the same family. Actors can thus disappear or be exchanged as long as there remains a certain family resemblance between the assemblage at hand and the assemblages with which it is associated (Law 2002, Law and Mol 1994, 2001). A third and final point is that there always seem to be actants that are not part of the network, but that are still needed in order to sustain a certain effect, which depends to some extent on an absent configuration or context thus not enlisted in (but other than, and made absent from) the network (Law and Mol 2004, Moreira 2004).

Table 3.1 Forms of territorial stabilisation (topologies after Law and Mol 2004)

Spatial topologies	Forms of territorial stabilisation
Network	Networks
Region	Bodies
Fire	Frameworks
Fluid	Sorts

Forms of territorial stabilisation

Topologies, as developed by Law, Mol and others, are quite abstract, but useful for investigating how stability is created in a world of transformations and change, and thus they suit the empirical case of this chapter well. However, these topologies usually have a very high degree of abstraction,

making them too general for most empirical work. In the following, I develop four different ways of organizing the material stabilisation of a territory – each representing its own ways of contributing to the territorialisation of the precinct. Although I am indebted to the concepts introduced by Law and Mol, the conceptualisations I elaborate on are not to be regarded as pure applications, but as transformations or more specific examples of these topologies, within the field of urban design studies. They are first and foremost a means of accounting for some of the ways in which materialities contribute to the territorialisation of the pedestrian precinct. The pedestrian precinct as a territory is a result of a *territorial network* of actants, including rules, legislations, conventions, interacting people, objects, street paving, and so on, stabilised in a network topology. This territorialisation is, however, accomplished not only by means of network stabilisation, but also by entities external to the network: by actants that gain and produce stability from outside the network through persistence in form and what that form can afford, for example, in terms of bodily movements and gestures (bodies); actants that gain their stability from fluid and more ephemeral associations (sorts), and actants stabilised by absent, yet formative friends (framings). These four suggested ways of discussing the actants, material relations and paraphernalia that stabilise the territory of the precinct represent four analytical positions and are not empirical phenomena that can be found in pure form. Neither are these different forms of stabilisation mutually exclusive, but they can be more or less manifest in different examples and situations. Thus they represent an analytical effort to distinguish possible themes of a description (where further forms could be added to the list), and do not in any sense represent an absolute classification into different categories of power.

Territorial networks

One way of dealing with the materiality of the pedestrian street is to see it as part of a network topology or as assemblages of humans and non-humans. The pedestrian street is stabilised by actants that work together in networks in order to enable pedestrians to walk and dwell within the area. These actants (if, for the moment, we exclude the humans and non-humans not working from within the territory) support a territorial network and are, in the case of Malmö, for example, concrete plinths, speed bumps, and road signs that prohibit the entry of vehicles, as well as benches, railings, ramps, litter bins, paving, shops, and shop windows; objects that facilitate pedestrian uses and attract more people. Even pedestrian movement itself could be seen as part of a territorialisation process in the context of a pedestrian mall. Shoppers and others (moving to and fro) within the area could be seen as actants who sustain and stabilise the borders of the territory, by marking a certain behaviour within it. This movement within the territory is, in turn, stabilised by the retail strategy of using malls as anchors at the ends of the pedestrian precinct (central malls such as Triangeln and Hansagallerian in Malmö). Public transportation facilities within the territory, feeding the precinct with people, can also be

regarded as important actors in a process of territorialisation. In the case of Malmö the borders of the pedestrian mall include train stations, bus stations and parking facilities. In short, the pedestrian precinct is a territory supported by a network of heterogeneous human and non-human actors (Latour 2005).

Basically, turning a street crowded with traffic into a pedestrian street makes it possible to accommodate many more artefacts such as benches, chairs, tables, sign posts and planters. In the case of Malmö, more and more objects have been added over the years, and as more and more actors work together mediating the same story (the precinct as a territory of a certain shopping culture) the *prescription* of the network becomes stronger (Latour 1996). We find new street pavement throughout the precinct, there are new entrances, certain specialised areas such as the restaurant-dense area around Lilla torg, or 'the fashion area' following Södergatan from Baltzar City all the way down to Triangeln, new themed malls, new outdoor restaurants, and so on, in short: material, conceptual and programmatic modulations and delegations that are much more explicit, coherent and numerous in the pedestrian precinct than in other parts of the city centre, and that contribute to the stabilisation of the precinct as a territorial network.

We can also find sub-territories within the pedestrian precinct. One of the most evident examples of a territorial network within the Malmö pedestrian precinct, stabilised over the years, is *Lilla torg*. Lilla torg became an important part of the pedestrian precinct when one of its streets was closed to traffic in the late 1980s in order to accommodate restaurants. In 1995, the restaurant owners paid for new street pavement on the square. In 1996, one restaurant owner bought six LPG heaters for his open air restaurant, and soon many new artefacts such as new outdoor furniture, large sunshades, fences, blankets, new menus and more heaters followed at other restaurants. Ten years later, this small square had 150 heaters with underground gas conduits, and



3.4 Lilla Torg, a part of the Malmö pedestrian precinct acting as a kind of food court (author's photograph)

the restaurants have outdoor seating for a total of 2000 guests. Previously, occasional or mobile material actors (such as heaters and furniture) have now become fixed or, at least in practice, more and more stationary and obligatory to the network. Lilla torg has also become a venue for many events, including a beach volleyball tournament, a squash tournament, performances, a skating rink in winter, and a large screen television for summer sport events. This small square has become a place with a stable atmosphere/usage made durable through the enlisting of more and more actants. Today Lilla torg is a registered trademark, a tourist magnet and a restaurant dense area, playing its part as an important actant in the territorial network of the pedestrian precinct as a whole, affecting everyday practices and social interactions in urban life in Malmö. The square has even been used, rhetorically, as a rough model for the development of other squares in Malmö, notably Möllevångstorget.

Territorial bodies

Networks are often stabilised by linking more and more obligatory actants to them, but some actants seem to be more autonomous than others, mediating similar effects even when mobilised in different networks. The fact that certain artefacts are firm, material and embodied gives them some inertia. A wall that has lost the role of demarcating a territory (and lost its position in a former network topology) might still be difficult to climb or pass, and readily lend itself to new territorial production. In theory, every object has possible effects outside the network at hand, and can be used in a de-civilizing way, inflicting pain and impeding movement. In other words, it can be used in ways that undo its programme and everyday meaning (Scarry 1985). Each artefact seems to have an inexhaustible range of possible uses. Still, empirical intuition tells us that something stable remains about the ways in which certain material things create recurrent bodily effects (not outside networks, or in all conceivable networks, but at least in several *different* networks). The effects of a speed bump on car drivers will probably remain more stable in different situations, cultures and times than would a Swedish road sign. So some relations between material form and body (in this case the body consists of car + human) remain more stable than others, and could thus better be described through a more traditional Euclidean topology, dealing with distances, heights, entrances, angles of slopes, textures, and so on, than by their role in a certain network (Law 2002). The concept of territorial bodies bears similarities to the concept of *terrain* as developed by Steinbock (1995) and Nilsson (2010), where the terrain is produced as relation between a certain bodily (senso-motoric) culture or set of actions and the material characteristics of the environment on which these actions count (Nilsson 2010: 130–132).

The transformation of the pedestrian precinct in Malmö can also be discussed in relation to two more basic bodily functions – *movement* and *occupation* (Hillier 1996). A similar distinction has been made by Rapoport (1987: 83), who defines *dynamic* and *static* as the two main classes of pedestrian activities. The pedestrian precinct has encouraged the movements of pedestrians, and –

in the spirit of shopping mall design – this encouragement has to some extent been accomplished (and set in stone) by means of material design. Many new materialities and artefacts have (since the start of the pedestrian street in 1978), been enlisted to support mobility and circulation, including smooth street pavement, pedestrian crossings raised to the level of the pedestrian street, mobile furniture, sliding and revolving doors. Looking at details we can easily detect differences between the pedestrian precinct and adjacent streets or areas, where the former have large smooth spaces to accommodate temporal networks such as festivals and markets, while the latter are more striated with kerbs, grass, low walls, hedges, traffic lanes, and so on. The latest renewal of the pedestrian street also ensured that shop entrances along the pedestrian streets were on a level with the street, whereas other central stores are usually connected to the street by a few steps. There are also more and more objects that set out to synchronise the rhythm of bodily movements with commercial interests, for example, escalators, automatic doors, optic sensors, and ticket machines.

The logic of territorial circulation and movement go hand in hand with the production of discrete spaces for occupation within this landscape of walking bodies. Today, more and more seats and tables are cropping up on the pedestrian streets, and the outdoor season is constantly being prolonged (Bianchini 1995, Gehl and Gemzöe 2001). In the early 2000s there was a clear increase in the number of open air cafés and restaurants that applied for (and was granted) licenses to serve outdoors even during the winter in Malmö. Seating possibilities ensure longer stays in the pedestrian precinct, and they keep up the number of people consuming, and circulating in the territory, for as long as possible. The seating areas are also very consciously designed as islands in a stream of circulating people – that is, they are subordinated to the function of movement taking place in the stream of pedestrians rather than in an adjacent space. There has been a trend towards spatially integrating food courts, restaurants and cafés with the flows of consumers. In Swedish malls and department stores, as late as the 1980s, restaurants were often located on the upper floor, and much more clearly separated from the circulation spaces.

3.5 Old restaurant on upper floor, looking down at newly established Espresso house café at Caroli City, Malmö (author's photograph from 2007)





3.6 The shopping mall Storgatan located at Malmö pedestrian precinct (author's photograph from 2006)

Material elaborations that support movement might also be viewed as actants in a territorial network. If this was the only way to describe territorial effects, however, important aspects would be missed. Some territorial effects seem to depend much more on the stability of material form than on the stability of the network organisation. Some territorial rules are set in stone rather than in programmes, thus keeping certain usages stable even if network actants and connections disappear and the network topology is distorted or transformed (cf. Law 2002, De Laet and Mol 2000). These usages have to do with our embodied being in the world, and the limitations/possibilities that materialities induce for our bodily actions and techniques; limitations/possibilities that are set by other means than the network organisation and which are thus valid in other contexts as well. In the Malmö pedestrian precinct, the territorial form/body of the precinct stabilises the consumer culture through a material design that allows for all sorts of different activities and programmes. Nevertheless, it actually suggests and stabilises certain bodily relations of these activities by sustaining a continuous system of distribution at the scale of the pedestrianised citizen (malls, walkways, entrances, and so on), keeping this system adjacent to discrete spaces of occupation (cafés, seating, shops, stalls, and so on). This balance between spaces that afford seating, standing, resting, and those that afford movement is important. The successive construction of such a fine-meshed spatial structure has well-known advantages for a shopping culture (cf. Chung et. al. 2001), whereas usages that depend on other and more large-scaled spatial structures need to find suitable spaces outside the territory.

Territorial framings

Materiality also participates in localizing the pedestrian precinct. In fact, many materialities absent from the territory still contribute to the stabilisation, definition and framing of its present qualities. This should not be interpreted as being synonymous with all the extra-territorial actors that support the territory from outside the area. In a network there are, of course, actants actively supporting the territory both from outside and from inside the territory.¹⁴ Following Law and Mol, the spatial organisation of framing could be described by another topology, (fire), where constancy is dependent on 'simultaneous absence and alterity' (Law and Mol 2001). It can thus, to some extent, be described through the logic of figure and background: the frame sets the figure; the territory takes its qualities from the background other than its figure (which is not part of its network). The territorial stabilisation of framing depends on a discontinuity between the territory and the stabilizing frame. It is 'the unawareness of the presence of "others" that sustains the stability' (Moreira 2004: 65). Although some actants sustaining the territory as a network are lost, it remains effective to some extent as long as the frame is still there to support it.

One aspect of territorial framing is how the shops connected to the precinct in different ways define and affect the milieu of the outdoor pedestrian street. Urban sociologist Mats Franzén has written about the unintended effects on public space brought about by more heavily controlled borders between open public space and shops, restaurants, and so on. (Franzén 2001). Shops, restaurant and bars often tend to have explicit and implicit rules determining the kind of people and behaviours that are allowed inside. The unintended effects of these rules have a cumulative impact on the public space. Franzén calls this the 'tyranny of small decisions' (Franzén 2001: 214), and points out that there might be a risk that well-adapted citizens hurry inside, whereas others are left outside, leaving public space to be populated by some kind of lower class. The empirical case of the Malmö pedestrian precinct, however, indicates the opposite: more exclusive shops along the street and more alert guards inside the malls do not seem to result in a negative reflection projected on the outdoor street. Instead, it is the contrast between the pedestrian precinct (including the shops) and its surroundings that seems to increase, thus suggesting a tendency towards spatial homogenisation at the scale of the precinct as a whole, both indoors and outdoors. One of the classic Swedish urban examples of a micro-scale 'framing problem' is the 'bench of the alcoholics', which is often established outside *Systembolaget* (the Swedish alcohol retailing monopoly). The usual debate is whether or not the bench should be removed (the debate is conducted in Malmö and Lund, and probably in most Swedish towns). In the pedestrian precinct in Malmö, this debate ended not with the removal of the bench, but with the closing down of

14 Territorial framing is similar to Latour's concept of framing (Latour 1996), only by adding *territorial* I suggest that it has more to do with localizing and placing the territory itself, rather than just staging and framing territorial actions (whereas a *territorial* network to some extent already suggests a framed network).

that particular store, moving the problem outside the precinct altogether. At the moment, the only *Systembolaget* in the precinct is located inside one of the malls where patrolling guards can keep an eye on the crowd.

The main effect of territorial framing is, however, not on the scale of the shops or of a certain street, but at the level of the pedestrian precinct as a whole. The commercialisation and homogenisation of large parts of the city centre also means that activities that used to be ambient, and seeds for change in the city life such as children, skaters, graffiti-artists, festivals and local groups are on their way out of the territory. Malmö has been comparatively good at acknowledging and tolerating alternative urban practices but these have often been territorialised outside the commercial city centre. *Stapelbäddsparken* is a large, international skate park, inaugurated in 2006 and located in the old harbour area, but at other places in Malmö we find 'no skating' signs. The graffiti wall at the Parking house *Anna* was the first legal graffiti wall in Sweden, inaugurated in 1983, and has now been followed up by a new legal wall at *Folkets park*. Both are located outside the old city centre and well outside the pedestrian precinct. The last central public playground disappeared when an old 'vacant' lot in the middle of town became the site for the Baltzar City shopping centre.

One could continue to list things that suddenly find themselves (literally) in or out of place in these ongoing processes of territorialisation, and through this not-belonging actually take part in the definition of the territory. In fact, the pedestrian precinct is dependent on many absent artefacts and structures. One could, for example include factories and workers who produce goods (impossible to have in a pedestrian precinct), as well as residential complexes, housing potential customers and shoppers. In terms of materiality, the pedestrian precinct (being a small-meshed well connected net, designed for walking and shopping) plays, or may play in due time, a part in the production of suburban dwelling areas, large open spaces for parking, large-scale infrastructure and production sites – there is, in short, an interesting relationship and interdependency between the urban type and the morphology of the urban landscape. Many large-scale material structures are needed to sustain the fine meshed small-scale net of the increasingly mono-functional pedestrian precinct. This also includes a shift of territorial scale. As the pedestrian precinct has been territorialised as an urban type on a scale between the urban core and the street, a lot of issues, activities and forms, previously handled or enacted on other scales, are now taking place on the scale of the pedestrian precinct.

In terms of territorial framing, the pedestrian precinct is stabilised by the decreasing number of shops in the part of the city centre that is not pedestrianised, by the increasing capacity for traffic and parking at places adjacent to the territory and by the development of new housing areas in proximity, such as *Västra Hamnen* (whereas there is a decrease in the number of residential buildings within the precinct area). These activities need to be absent from the pedestrian precinct, but they still support the area and play a

part in its success. This is in some sense an absence that needs to be present, because without it there would not be enough goods and shoppers to support it, and yet if all these activities were included in the precinct it would implode, or certainly risk losing its identity.

Territorial sorts

John Allen describes ambient power in terms of the:

character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it [the urban setting] and which in turn seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt. (Allen 2006: 445)

Materiality can contribute to this character or atmosphere in different ways ('character' and 'atmosphere' are both aesthetic concepts in architectural theory, Forty 2000, Albertsen 1999). One way is through *territorial sorts*. A territory can be produced by way of association, where the proper usage is induced by the association of one place with another of the same 'sort' (Kärholm 2004). For example, one might recognise a place as a 'public library', and therefore behave accordingly. This association and recognition of a specific territorial sort is often quite dependent on the materialities that induce it (for example, bookshelves, seating and a loans desk). A certain scent, a configuration of artefacts, and the sense of an atmosphere can make us recognise a certain type or *sort* of place (a bakery, a city hall, a restaurant, a park, a dog exercise area, and so on), and also bring to mind some of the 'proper' and territorialised ways of behaving at this sort of place. Indeed, one might relate the notion of territorial association to what Thomas De Quincey once called involutes. In *Suspiria de Profundis* he described how: 'our deepest thoughts and feelings pass to us through perplexed combinations of concrete objects, pass to us as *involutes* (if I may coin that word) in compound experiences incapable of being disentangled, than ever reach us *directly*, and in their own abstract states.' (De Quincey 1896: 39). Involutes suggest that materialities can often be associated with human experience, and also that human experience can be structured and ordered by being embedded (and embodied) in the material world. These effects can be quite powerful, and are much desired and worked for today, for example in commercial enterprises such as advertising and branding.

Territorial sorts can be described as spatialised involutes, associated with a certain way of acting. Territorial sorts are central to architecture in general and building programmes in particular, where the desired functions of a certain building might be described in brief by the listing of territorial sorts, for example, a dining room, a living room, a kitchen, a broom closet, and so on. (Markus and Cameron 2002). This listing of territorial sorts, although often associated with a more or less specific set of artefacts, still guarantees a certain amount of freedom to the innovative designer, leaving him or her to explore and exploit some of the countless possibilities within the sort. By

territorial *sorts* I thus mean a set of actants working within a fluid topology, sharing a family resemblance. Two places can be of the same territorial sort by sharing not the same actants, or similar actants, but actants from the same 'family'. Thus, none of the actants is obligatory to the territorial sort. The network might be transformed but the territory still remains effective (and to some extent 'the same'), since it can be associated with the same *sort* of territory (cf. Law 2002, De Laet and Mol 2000). A disused bus stop that has changed both materially and programmatically, might still be associated with a bus stop, and thus temporarily used by someone waiting for the 'next bus'. Of course, there also comes a point where too many replacements have taken place, and the association is broken, the bus stop is no longer recognised, or has been transformed into a new territorial sort (for example 'a former bus stop').

The strength of the territorial sort lies in its creative possibilities; it is not dependent on a disciplined network but can spread, taking on connotations and making connections more freely (De Laet and Mol 2000). This means that sorts can often be produced through a territorial association, given that some material basics are provided for. An urban embankment is not usually a bathing place, but in Malmö, after the construction of such an embankment at the housing exhibition 2001, it unexpectedly became a much-frequented bathing place, and one of Malmö's most popular public places during the summer. The urban bathing place is a generous territorial sort that could be lent not just to planned urban beaches or swimming pools, but to almost any waterside venue.

Over the years, more and more territorial sorts have been added to the city centre: the city festival, the open air restaurants, the fountains, and the farmer's market. Old urban sorts such as the piazza, the market, the festival and the carnival, could, thanks to their fluidity, be easily lent, represented and transformed in the context of the new urban landscape, and still remain recognisable as a certain territorial sort. The reproduction of uniform and similar places today is legion. In most middle-sized 'successful' Swedish town there are similar sets of chain stores, a central mall, a pedestrian street and a design programme for the urban environment – an evolution of a city without qualities (*Eigenschaften* to follow R. Musil), or a generic city (Koolhaas 1995). This makes associations between places readily accessible. Through chain store concepts, urban environment programmes and city festivals, some territorial sorts have also been transformed into networks, since actants are locked into certain network positions through the compulsory demand for a certain design, a certain colour, and so on, and they lose their fluidity and ability to transform (without breaking the association to the sort). Still, commercial planning is always experimenting with new territorial sorts, new concepts for stores (for example, the Internet café, the bookshop cafe, the library shop) and the material artefacts associated with them, making the pedestrian precinct the cradle for many of the new urban and commercial sorts. In Malmö, for example, we can see the coordination of different events,

such as *Malmöfestivalen*, *Folkfesten*, sculpture parks, art gallery nights, city walks, horse and dog days and Saint Lucia day – mostly focused on the pedestrian precinct. The pedestrian precinct itself has become a stage for all sorts of events and temporary territories. This staging tends to be designed with material forms (together with sets of props), readily associated with other sorts of similar places, that is, other festivals, farmers' markets, and so on, to be found in precincts in other city centres. During the last decade public places have often been redesigned. In this respect the pedestrian parts of the city can be compared with those parts that are not yet pedestrianised. Davidshall's torg, Värnhemstorget, the western side of Gustav Adolfs torg, and other central but not yet fully pedestrianised squares are much more fixed in terms of territorial sorts. The territorial sorts at these places have a tendency to be moulded, homogenizing spaces, while pedestrianised areas often tend to leave potential for new and even overlapping sorts in the form, for example, new or expanding outdoor restaurants, markets, festivals and commercial events (cf. Kärholm 2005).

The possible effects of a subtle but readily associated territorial sort should not be underestimated. Territorial sorts seem to play a large part in the stabilisation of usages within the precinct as a whole, as well as within its different sub-territories, and it is important for retail and commercial enterprises to retain the possibility of transforming and establishing new territorial sorts.

3.7 A temporary pedestrianised street during *Malmöfestivalen* (2006), a city festival that have been held annually in Malmö since 1985 (author's photograph)



The territorialisation of a pedestrian precinct

The territorialisation of the pedestrian precinct should not be regarded as a story of city centre versus urban periphery, but instead as a kind of liberation process; the city centre is no longer the given reference point of the city, but has become a place that has to be justified and judged on the basis of the things that happen there (like every other place in the urban landscape). Rem Koolhaas has tended to romanticise the periphery, arguing for the advantages of blankness versus the disadvantages of identity and thus subscribing, as I see it, to the myth of the artistic genius or godlike inventor (Koolhaas 1995). Contrary to Koolhaas, one could argue for an *ex nihilo nihil fit* view, since places throughout history (and for good reasons) tend to build on previous investments (monetary, psychological, social, and so on.) and do not start from scratch. The interdependency between a territory and its hinterland, between different de- and reterritorisations of the urban landscape is an important subject for further investigation. The pedestrian precinct is painstakingly mobilised and maintained by different activities, rules and regulations – as well as by the delegation of control to a large number of non-human actants. In recent decades we have witnessed a proliferation of material artefacts (cf. Dant 2005) together with a homogenisation of material and morphological expressions that support this territorialisation.

The forms of stabilisation are ways of describing a specific territorialisation (and thus of co-operating within a given territorial production). An outdoor café might, for example, be regarded as more or less stabilised by all three forms: (1) artefacts supporting comfortable seating while impeding the through movement of passers-by, (2) a strong network constituted by actants such as waiters, menus, tables, chairs and a good chef, (3) a pedestrian precinct surrounding it, providing no place for sitting and resulting in hungry and thirsty customers and (4) of course by an atmosphere and design readily associable to ‘the outdoor café’. Territorial stabilisations might also be used to describe territorial conflicts across different territorial productions: the material redevelopment of a certain square might thus stabilise the territorial association to a certain territorial sort (square-as-park), while destabilizing another (square-as-market-place). Most of the material designs of the precinct would benefit from being discussed from the perspective of all four proposed modalities. The four modalities can be discussed separately and might at times even stand in opposition to each other. An extended and contextual empirical investigation could put these modalities to use by looking at how they interact, comparing the pedestrian precinct with other public places. At a place such as the pedestrian precinct in Malmö, the territorial framing is strong, and it is also backed up by territorial networks, bodies and the proliferation of sorts. At other less meticulously designed public places, the territorial framing might be there, whereas the territorial body might be a relic of earlier usages, and the territorial networks might be weak, indicating that the place carries a potential for redesign (a ‘design gap’). At places dominated by cars, there often seems to be a strong territorial body directing flows, separating traffic,

and so on, as well as a scarcity of informal territorial sorts, since predictability is important, and the proliferation of new and unpredictable usages might be regarded as dangerous.

There are, indeed, interdependencies among the four modalities that need to be further investigated, which could be an important continuation of the work initiated in this chapter. Based on the investigation at hand, it seems fair to suggest that the interference and aggregation of these four material means of stabilisation contribute to a strongly materially supported territorialisation, as well as to the evolution of a kind of pedestrian precinct culture, emphasising a polarisation between the Malmö pedestrian precinct and the rest of the city. The territorial productions of the pedestrian precinct have opened up more activities and opportunities for the citizens of Malmö, and a lot of these territorialisations also seem to be moving in the same direction, promoting consumption and further stabilising the city centre as a territory for shopping/entertainment, defining the pedestrian precinct as an increasingly mono-functional urban type. This goes hand in hand with more dystopian descriptions of the ubiquity of shopping, and the city as a shopping mall (Hemmersam 2004, McMorrough 2001a, Leong 2001b).

Some Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have demonstrated some material aspects of spatial power, mainly by using and developing some notions of ANT and spatial topologies (Law 2002, Law and Mol 1994, 2001) in the empirical context of a pedestrian precinct in Malmö. I have suggested four material forms of territorial stabilisation. To sum up, *territorial networks* are stabilised by the proliferation of increasing numbers of obligatory artefacts. In the pedestrian precinct, an increasing number of territorial productions mobilising larger and larger networks of material actants (both human and non-human), contribute to the demarcating of a territory. The sheer proliferation and the formalisation of the paraphernalia supporting different territories within the precinct (and the precinct as a whole), separate it from its surroundings. Also, the use and impact of stabilisation by way of *territorial bodies* seems to have increased and, at a general level, to sustain the area as accessible and comfortable for walking consumers. A proliferation of material designs (actants) that facilitate movements within the territory have been introduced to the pedestrian precinct during the last two decades. The importance and scope of *territorial framings* has also increased. As the pedestrian precinct has become mono-functional it has also become more dependent on absent materialities, for example on large-scale environments (housing areas, production sites, and parking areas) to support the precinct in terms of consumers and products. Finally, there is a proliferation of new *territorial sorts* either specific to or at least concentrated to the pedestrian precinct. Old sorts of urban types from traditional European cities are transformed and sometimes disciplined or

even locked into a network topology by companies such as JC Deceaux, or by Urban Environment Programmes. However, new sorts are constantly being introduced, often by commercial interests, always on the lookout for something new to maintain the interest and renew the purchasing desires of the consumers. The pedestrian precinct has become the stage for more and more territorial sorts readily associated with similar places and pedestrianised areas in cities around the world.

How, then, do these four conceptualisations advance our understanding of urban transformations? First, they can be seen as analytical tools for urban design and architectural research. Using them, it might be possible to systematise and investigate more thoroughly what urban designers might know intuitively, namely the multiple spatial effects of certain material designs. They represent conceptual tools that make it possible to study how different spatial aspects and effects of materiality co-contribute to or interfere in different ways with different places, and to discuss the effects of different design proposals for the same place.

Second, these new concepts have implications for discussions about public space and its transformation. Taking the perspective of ANT and territorial production, public and private space are not to be regarded as two different, pre-defined categories found in the city, but as labels that can be more or less easily attributed to places of different territorial productions in the urban landscape. Territorial production and control are as much material as they are social. The suggested conceptualisations might advance our way of thinking about public space since they enable discussions of the relationship between material design and territorialisation. Through territorialisation, material design plays a part in what you can and what you cannot do at certain places, contributing to both factual control and a sense of direct or indirect control (cf. Kärrholm 2005). The pedestrian precinct in Malmö, and its proliferation of materially supported territorialisations, is a good example of this point. For a more fully-fledged analysis of public places, one might want to supplement this discussion with a more socially orientated one (cf. Mitchell 2003). However, the purpose of the chapter was not to give an exhaustive description of commercialisation, its scope, its powers, or its full effects on public life and space, but to acknowledge some of the differences made by materialities, which often tend to be overlooked. There is, in fact, a shortage of conceptualisations and theories that acknowledge the spatial impact of material design. Although it is often accepted that materiality makes a difference, the question of *how* this happens is seldom discussed.

The fact that my main focus has been on the role of materiality should not be read as a kind of determinism. People are free to oppose, misunderstand and transform the patterns of action these materialities tend to stabilise – people are not powerless; they always have the power to act (Foucault 1980) – but materialities will nevertheless always be there to have some kind of impact (predictable or not). I therefore conclude by pointing out one of the limitations or weaknesses of this study. Although it addresses some of the

ways materialities organise and cause territorial effects and stabilisations, it does so at an abstract level, not fully describing the concrete power relations and contexts in which these stabilisations are enacted. This book is mainly a study of materiality and how it can be described (in order to facilitate a detailed account of some of its impact). Power is, as Allen has suggested, both associational and enforcing, and could involve different features such as:

The erosion of choice, the closure of possibilities, the manipulation of outcomes, the threat of force, the assent of authority or the inviting gestures of a seductive presence, and the combinations thereof/... (Allen 2003: 196)

This view of power is related, as I see it, to my attempt to evoke a material plurality, adding different modalisations of material stabilisation, and pointing out some (a small part) of the complexity of our engagements with the material world. By discussing materialities and how they are organised, I have suggested some of the manifold ways in which they might participate in the different modes of territorial power that are enacted in public space. These material ways of stabilising territorial actions are otherwise easily overlooked, and different materialities run the risk of being reduced to a monolithic 'the material', or even worse, become merely passive products of social actors and institutions.

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Shopping and the Rhythms of Urban Life – Territorial Synchronisation

I've talked a lot about death. But I'm going to tell you about the breath of life. When a person has stopped breathing he's given mouth-to-mouth resuscitation: one mouth glues itself onto the mouth of another and breaths. And then the other begins to breathe again. This exchange of breath is one of the most beautiful things I've ever heard tell about life. Truthfully, the beauty of this mouth-to-mouth is overwhelming to me.

Clarice Lispector, *Stream of Life* (1989: 52)

The rhythm of breathing gives life as Lispector so eloquently expressed it in this paragraph of her breathtaking book *Stream of Life*. A similar point has been made, and perhaps more persistently, by Henri Lefebvre in *Production of Space* (1991) and *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) where he describes the ways in which our bodies and our everyday lives are saturated and produced by rhythms.

In the previous chapter, I gave an example of how an urban retail area is becoming larger and more homogenised, transforming parts of the city into a territory of consumption. This is not a unique case. Shopping areas and malls all over the Western world seem to be territorialising and thus they 'withdraw from the wider urban fabric' (Graham and Marvin 2001: 268), in order to become camp-like facilities (Diken 2004) or huge out-of-context complexes (Koolhaas 1995). However, in addition to these large-scale territorialisations we have the seemingly contradictory tendency of retail deterritorialising and spreading, making use of public places, such as railways stations, bus stations, museums and libraries, for consumerism. Retailers are trying to organise and synchronise commercial rhythms with important urban rhythms and the mobilities of everyday life. Mobile retail businesses and vendors minimise investments and rent costs by utilising public space, and their mobility allow them to synchronise with the main urban rhythms. During the second part of the nineteenth and almost all of the twentieth century, this type of retailing was effectively restricted and legislated against in Western societies. Today, there seem to be a global growth in the numbers of retail businesses without fixed or specially designed territories (Cross 2000, Gregson et al. 2002, Olsson 2007).¹

If territorialisation indicates an increase of specific spatial control, synchronisation seems to imply a de- and reterritorialisation of space, where new commercial activities are added and coordinated with the existing rhythms of a place. These two trends of territorialisation and synchronisation

1 Certainly other kinds of 'mobile vendors' exist as well, for example in the genre of domesticated leisure and consumption (on-line shopping, dial take-outs, home deliveries, watching movies on-line, etc.). However, I focus here on the impact of retail on the activities of urban public places. Although relations between public life and the increase in domesticated on-line shopping have been noted (mostly negatively), they are not the focus of this book.



4.1 Bread vendor in Ankara (author's photograph from 2010)



4.2 Temporary food stalls at lunch time, Malmö University (author's photograph from 2006)

feed into and counteract each other in various ways. In this chapter, I initiate a discussion of the somewhat neglected aspect of the retail environment which, although clearly related to territorialisation, can sometimes be seen as an opposing tendency, feeding on variety rather than homogenisation – the commercialisation of urban rhythms through strategies of synchrony. However, as I will show in this chapter, synchronisation can also play an important part in processes of territorialisation. The commercialisation of public space is not just about spatial control, it is also about temporal control, and while the retailisation of public space might imply the addition of new uses, it can also come with a more general tendency of synchronisation. The aim of this chapter is to describe and expand on different types of retail synchronisation in order to enable a more thorough analysis of how retail take part in the transformation and territorialisation of public space in the urban landscape.

Henri Lefebvre suggests rhythmanalysis as a possible method of investigating everyday life (Lefebvre 2004). Lefebvre's notion focuses on rhythm as already related to space and body (cf. Simonsen 2005). The concept of the everyday implies a rhythm in itself – a focus on activities that occur every day – and the study of urban rhythms has recently also received attention from geographers (for example, Crang 2001, Amin and Thrift 2002, Mels 2004, Simpson 2008, Edensor and Holloway 2008, Edensor 2010). The urban landscape is a place of heterogeneous temporalities and rhythms set by clock time, working hours, seasons, timetables, bodily functions, and so on, leaving places hectic and dense at some times and deserted at others. Synchronisation is taken to be a strategy of assembling, framing and coordinating these flows and rhythms in time. It must thus be understood as a form of con-temporality (as used in for example, time-geography, cf. Crang 2001, Carlstein 1980) and not as an a-temporality (or indeed a-spatiality) as the structuralist use of synchrony/diachrony sometimes seems to imply (cf. Massey, 2005, 36–38). As a case of synchronising, one could, for example, study how the timetables of busses are adjusted to the schedules of schools, working hours, or the opening hours of stores at weekends.

Synchronisation and territorial stabilisation are related. On the one hand, the synchronisation of retail might also involve a destabilisation of a certain territory, suggesting or temporarily establishing usage that is considered improper from the perspective of a certain territorial regulation or regularity. But on the other, the synchronisation of steady rhythmic flows of people with the opening hours of shops and malls could also be the beginning of the territorial stabilisation of a certain shopping area such as a pedestrian precinct. Urban territories can be stabilised by material design, laws and regulations, and social behaviour, but also by means of synchronisation. By scheduling events such as markets, car-boot sales or festivals to certain places, this synchronisation also plays an important part in territorial production, and as such it can also have an effect on territorial complexity.

4.3 A car-boot sale in Lund, Sweden (author's photograph from 2011)



Synchronisation of Urban Rhythms: A Short History

Before turning back to the case of Malmö again, let us examine a brief spatial history of urban synchronisation as an example of its development during the industrial era in the Western world, especially as related to the phenomena of de- and resynchronisation. The reader is invited to be aware of the difference between synchronisation (con-temporality, timing different events with each other), and synchronisation (con-spatiality, producing different events in the same space, but not necessarily at the same time). In time-geography these concepts have been used in discussions on innovations and how they bind up certain times-space trajectories. Time-geography has thus been used as a way of analyzing whether or not the resources needed for a certain innovation process meet the required needs of synchronisation and synchronisation (Pred 1977, Carlstein 1978, 1980: 47).² I use the concepts in a similar, quite general way to describe two basic phenomena affecting the lifeworld. The background history sketched below gives a context to the recent changes discussed in detail later, and shows why spatiality needs to be taken into account when we are dealing with synchronicity.

Synchronising I: Desynchronisation

The planning and architecture of Western societies, from the late eighteenth century and onwards, was to be preoccupied with synchronic strategies, synchronising people and usages for effective production, turning the material world into a predictable, frictionless, scheduled environment by

2 Cf. Carlstein: 'The synchronisation of resources and the substitution between resources must thus be seen in the spatial context of how they are synchronised in space and coupled in time-space' (Carlstein 1978: 157).

way of territoriality (Foucault 1977, Sack 1986; Markus 1993). Robin Evans, for example, describes the invention of the corridor (1997), and how it facilitated purposeful movements and circulation by reducing all incidental communication to a minimum and arranging spatial privacy. The corridor enabled the proliferation of new territorial units within the building. Functions were separated and activities of similar kinds were synchronised by means of territorialisation, and a desynchronisation of activities in space. Evans also mentions Alexander Klein's *Functional House for Frictionless Living* (1928) as an example of how to plan a house in order to separate different types of movements within it, thus desynchronising different types of rhythms (Evans 1997). During the twentieth century this kind of logic was implemented on the large scale at urban and regional levels. In Swedish planning it took place, for example, through the neighbourhood model and traffic planning (Sandstedt and Franzén 1981). The street was considered dangerous and therefore freed from practically all activities except movements, as is suggested, for example in Le Corbusier's *Ville Contemporaine* from 1929 (cf. Sack 1986). Different districts of the city were assigned different functions through zoning regulations. Space was homogenised and desynchronised of different activities, to produce predictable landscapes where every activity had its special place, for example, streets were reserved for transport, residential areas for housing, squares for retail and public activities, and playgrounds for children's play. This 'civilising process' (Elias 2000) resulted in and was combined with new predictable timescapes. Opening hours of shops (in Sweden, retail opening hours were regulated in laws and regulations of different kinds from 1909–1972), working times, holidays, and so on became more regulated, producing synchronised rhythms of urban life. By territorialising movements and flows, and even pedestrian behaviour (Hornsey 2010), modern planning also created space for both slowness (for example, the pedestrian street) and speed (the motorway). In the article 'Pacemaking the modern city', Hubbard and Lilley (2004) discuss how rhythms and movements of different speeds were planned in post-war redevelopment of Coventry. Rhythms of different sorts were isolated and synchronised, and most places were turned from polyrhythmic into isorhythmic places ('a rhythm falls into place and extends over all the performers' Lefebvre 2004: 68), with a bureaucratic apparatus for imposing the change. Spatially, this often resulted in the implementation of a tree structure, where different kinds of territorialised movements are predetermined or anticipated by the planner, as contrasted against the spatially integrated grid plans with an integration pattern taking the form of a net or a *deformed wheel* (Hillier 1996). The neighbourhood unit was thus in one sense primarily planned for movements between work place and home rather than, for example, movements between adjacent areas. A lot of spatial connections had to be created by the residents themselves, turning residual space into pathways and shortcuts (Wikström 2005). Time-wise, modern planning seemed to work on the basis of something like the *logic of the monastery*, where schedules are all distinctly set and movements synchronised (Lynch

1980: 127, Kwinter 2001: 15–18). Artefacts and actors of synchronisation, such as bells, were mobilised in monasteries as early as during the early Middle Ages, and soon spread to town squares and public space, followed over the centuries by others such as clock towers, watches, public loudspeakers, and so on. (Kwinter 2001). A good example of scheduled life can be found in the mealtimes, work times, weekends, laundry days, vacations, paydays and other events that were institutionalised in modern, industrialised Western societies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These schedules and rhythms to some extent also produced and were produced by the spatial organisation of territorial division and desynchronisation.

Synchronising II: Resynchronisation

New synchronising tendencies are also of importance, and include recent changes brought about by new means of synchronising urban life, including mobile technology and information technology (Drewe 2004, Hassan 2007), new organisation of infrastructures (Graham and Marvin 2001), and new habits of working, shopping and spending leisure time (Zukin 2004). Urbanists have, since late the 1990s pointed out infrastructure as a major issue of contemporary architecture and the urban debate (Graham and Marvin 2001: 32, Albrechts and Mandelbaum 2005). Time, it has been argued, is more important than distance, and commuting time is an important factor in determining the maximum size of an urban landscape: 'locational strategies tend to opt for places that are optimal in terms of 'connectivity' rather than proximity' (Hajer and Zonneveld 2000: 348). Others, such as Crang (2007) and Hassan (2007), have argued that the importance of fixed time and clock time is decreasing, whereas relational time is becoming more important. Usefulness is defined by a 'connectedness to other times, places and activities' (Crang 2007: 83). Instead of setting a fixed meeting time with a friend I might set up a meeting time on the cell phone when I get to the station, and instead of scheduling a purchase to a free Saturday morning, I can use a break at work for online shopping, and so on (Crang 2007).

Kevin Lynch suggested as early as 1972 that 'synchronisation is slipping its hold' (Lynch 1980: 82). To some extent this might be true, but it is not the end of the story. Today, we may see fewer restrictions on opening hours, working times and holidays. However, this specific desynchronisation and destabilisation of uniform patterns of behaviour and schedules, set in an industrial era, does not imply that synchronisation as such is releasing its hold on the urban life of public space. On the contrary, as the capitalism of a Fordist mode of production is transformed to a postmodern and fluid form of flexible accumulation (Harvey 1989), the field opens up for new kinds of synchronisation initiatives. These initiatives often come from private investors such as retail businesses, sometimes made possible by new, flexible or projective forms of planning (Schönning-Sørensen 2007). Retail businesses, restaurants and cafés are among the important actors in a new trend toward synchronising and resynchronisation. Shops, of course, contribute to urban

rhythms in concrete and important ways, as they set a certain rhythms to a place, relating to for example, opening hours, weekends, holidays, paydays, and daily cycles. Spatial commercialisation could thus be described as the adding of certain rhythms to a public place, and these rhythms need to be both synchronised and synchronised in order for the business to be profitable. Contemporary retail planners have become more skilled and powerful in the art of capitalising on city rhythms. Investors and entrepreneurs have come to realise the monetary potential of relatively unexploited evenings and nights (Bianchini 1995), winter months (Gehl and Gemzöe 1996), different cultural seasons and festivals (Olsson 1998, Ganetz 2001), and other non-retail activities such as travelling, leisure, religion, health care and culture (Leong 2001a, 2001b). The processes of synchronisation in public space are still present, although it is no longer a question of desynchronisation, but rather, as discussed below, of resynchronisation – things are aligned both in time and space in order to maximise profits.

The commercial rhythms and synchronisations of urban space are most obvious at the shopping mall. By out keeping climate, seasonal changes, and daylight, a kind of *tabula rasa* is produced, where commercial rhythms rein free and set the order of the day (Goss 1993, Dovey 1999, Ganetz 2001), producing their own time. The shopping mall is, however, not a new invention, and goes back at least to the mid-twentieth century. Today, the retail strategies of synchronisation are not only isolated in black boxes, they are also coupled to the resynchronisation of activities in open urban spaces, as we go from the logic of the *tabula rasa* (and spatial homogenisation) to a one more related to the *palimpsest*. The palimpsest effect, as described so well by Thomas De Quincey (1896), involves the writing of a text over an already existing text (by which the old text is transformed from figure to background).³ Retail businesses tend to add new rhythms to a certain place, contrasting, underlining, overwriting and transforming the old ones. This resynchronisation does not mean that we are dealing with a total simultaneity of action, or with the polyrhythmic landscapes of, for example the nineteenth century public streets, neither is it the total isorhythmia of modern planning. The consumerist landscapes I am talking about are better described as hierarchical polyrhythmic landscapes, such as the palimpsest. The horror of the palimpsest, according to De Quincey, was the sudden experience of everything simultaneously, when things long thought of as dead suddenly rose from their slumber, and, deprived of their chronological order, produced chaos (De Quincey 1896). The process of resynchronisation needs some kind of temporal ordering in order to become intelligible (and profitable). It is not, as we shall see, a total retreat from the regulated spaces of modernist planning back into the transformative and more unpredictable events of past public spaces, but rather to a place of intersecting territorial productions and

3 A palimpsest is according to De Quincey in his text 'The palimpsest of the human brain', 'a membrane or roll cleansed of its manuscript by reiterated succession', (De Quincey 1896: 341). Freud later used the same metaphor, comparing the human brain to the city of Rome (Amin and Thrift 2002: 19–21).

temporally controlled hierarchical synchronisations, where the hierarchy of rhythms is determined by a capitalistic logic of consumption.

Commercial Synchronisations in Malmö

Malmö has, at least in a Swedish context, been quite commercially successful during the last decade, with increasing numbers of both customers and stores, and it has also been one of the fastest growing municipalities in the region in terms of retail development (Länsstyrelsen i Skåne län 2007). The pedestrianised areas of the old city core have grown, and sales have increased with the introduction of new malls and shopping galleries. Large-scale car-orientated shopping areas have also been further developed (for example, Svågertorp, Burlöv Center). This has brought about a commercialisation of public life, where new mono-functional territories (of retailing) are developed, and where the old city core can now be described as divided into two parts (following a figure-background logic) – a largely pedestrianised mono-functional shopping area, and ‘the rest’: offices, housing, institutions, and other functions, characterised by the fact that the number of shops is slowly decreasing (Kärrholm 2008). Malmö had a total of about 1,800 stores in 2001. Since then the number has decreased, but with a simultaneous steady increase in sales and size. The central shopping district has increased sales in terms of choice product retailing, whereas everyday merchandise has become increasingly available in car orientated places (Malmö stad 1999, 2004). The centre of Malmö is advertised as a shopping city with 800 shops and 300 cafés and restaurants. On the Malmö Tourist Information website we are encouraged to ‘Re-discover shopping, Malmö-style!’ Based on studies of the retail environments of Malmö, I present (or sketch) below six different types of synchronisation: synchronisation to the rhythms of retailing, movements, events, activities, bodies and collectives. These are ways in which commercial activities synchronise urban rhythms at certain places in order to increase consumption and sales. They are not always (but sometimes) intentional strategies, but nevertheless they seem to be part of a more general tendency towards resynchronisation as discussed above.

Retailing

Commercial actors tend to organise in order to synchronise the timetables of their most important events, opening hours and special offers, with the intention of ensuring a critical mass of shoppers. This synchronisation is stabilised as joint ventures and organisation, and is most evident in the city core, where *Malmö Citysamverkan* (‘City cooperation in Malmö’) was founded in 1995 in order to increase sales, improve co-operation between shopkeepers, and make the city more attractive. Their strategies include offering courses

at the City Academy, working for longer and better-synchronised opening hours, less vandalism, more safety, and arranging events on Saturdays and holidays (www.malmocity.nu). The founding of collaborative organisations such as *Citysamverkan* became a trend during the 1990s both at local and national levels. The national equivalent, *Svenska Stadskärnor* ('Swedish city cores') was founded in 1993, with both private entrepreneurs and municipalities as members. In Malmö, apart from *Citysamverkan*, there are also smaller, local organisations, such as ÖsterGruppen, focusing more locally on the eastern part of the city core – 'Our goal is to create a more attractive Östercity, our Shopping mall' (www.ostercity.se) – and *Lilla torg*. *Lilla torg* is a public square, but as of 2004 it is also a registered trademark owned by the restaurants owners around the square. In short, urban life has come to be more of a recreational public events culture, where different kinds of (often commercial) organisations produce scheduled events for leisure time and consumerism. In the 1960s *Lilla Torg* was an integrated part of local everyday life, with a covered market (*saluhall*) (Korosec-Serfaty 1982), whereas today it is, as described in the previous chapter, a thematised, museumised and to some extent privatised place, a trademark and a stage for all sorts of events.

Another example of city life synchronisation in terms of organisation is the large city festivals that became popular in Sweden during the late 1980s (Olsson 1998, Bergman 2003: 178, Marling and Zerlang 2007). The festival marketplace is one type, developed in the tradition of older markets, carnivals, and so on, that became institutionalised and commercialised during the 1990s (Ellin 1997: 183). Malmö has one of Sweden's first (from 1985) and most popular city festivals. Seventy-five percent of the city inhabitants are said to attend the festival, and shopping has become an important part of it in recent years. Since 2004, one of the central streets, Regementsgatan, has been temporarily pedestrianised during the festival in order to accommodate shopping.

All the scheduled events of festivals, organisations and collaborations, as well as the organisation for shop-owners, represent ways of creating, organising and synchronising new rhythms and flows of people throughout the year, redistributing and attracting people in an effort to increase sales as well as the predictability of customer behaviour. Through the organisation of different events they tend to evoke daily, weekly, monthly and yearly consumption rhythms of different kinds, turning irregular consumption into repeated and regular purchases.

A spatial parallel is the branding, thematisation and synchronisation of certain districts or streets, such as restaurant districts (Östergatan and *Lilla torg*), or fashion streets, such as the main artery of Malmö's pedestrian precinct (from the central station to the shopping mall *Triangeln*), with a total of 85 fashion shops in 2007. This kind of thematisation can be found on different scales, even with indoor examples such as the planned fashion street in one of the larger regional malls, *Center Syd*.

In short, there has been a clear tendency towards organising, synchronising and resynchronising different kinds of retail businesses in Malmö during

the last couple of decades. This has been done through large-scale events such as *Malmöfestivalen*, and small scale events such as the beach volleyball tournament at Lilla torg, or through advertising campaigns both in the centre and at the retail areas on the outskirts.

Flows and Movements

A second type of synchronisation is that of retail adjusting to important spaces for urban flows and movements. Retail is dependent on public space and a steady flow of people, and shops have always tended to be located at places people pass by, for example, on the most spatially integrated city streets (Hillier 1996). With the increasing importance of the car as well as of different forms of public transport, these localisation patterns have become more complex, as flows of different characters emerge. The Swedish retail environment has changed in recent decades, and a lot of retail business has moved from local areas and neighbourhoods to car-orientated places on the outskirts and (sometimes) to pedestrianised areas of the old city cores with good access to parking and public transport. The average distance from home to store has thus increased (Franzén 2004). These changes are not just a question of relocation but about a shift, where distance seems to become less important and spatial integration and connectivity more so (cf. Hassan 2007). Shops, from grocery stores to petrol stations, have decreased dramatically in number in recent decades (Boverket 2004), but the ones that do prosper are usually large and well-connected to important nodes and arteries of the urban landscape. These places are often coordinated by way of advertisements. Commercial advertisers utilise urban rhythms, for example, of people commuting to work. Large billboards are placed at important places, along pedestrian streets and highway exits, at bus stops, train stations, and so on (Cronin 2006).

In Malmö, retail has largely adjusted to interurban flows during the last decennium. The concept of route planning (*stråkplanering*) has also become important in Malmö planning, with projects that focus on routes such as Bennets väg and Norra Industrigatan (cf. Persson 2004, Malmö stad 2006). The commercialisation of important routes is also an important part of the proliferation of big box retail landscapes like the one organised along Agnesfridsvägen.

The largest retail investments in Malmö focus primarily on regional rather than intra-urban movements. The increasing number of shops at train stations, bus stations and airports is one aspect of this focus, and there are also large-scale examples. Svågertorp and Hyllievång, the two largest shopping areas in progress (the first with about 30 hectare of 'category killers', the second with plans for a mall of 70,000 square meters) are being planned in conjunction with the first Swedish highway exit on the road from Denmark, and the first Swedish train stop on the line to and from Denmark. Another example is

Entré Malmö (The Gateway to the City), a large projected entertainment centre with 25,000 square meters of shops and 11,000 square meters of entertainment (cinemas, restaurants and so on), located at the east end of the Malmö city core (one of the main gateways to the city) just next to the bus hub at Värnhemstorget.



4.4 Entré Malmö shopping mall. Part of the food court overlooking the motorway going north (author's photograph from 2010)



4.5 Entré Malmö shopping mall (author's photograph from 2010)

The increasing synchronisations of retail with movements in Malmö also include a small increase of mobile vendors, such as food vendors outside large workplaces like the University (see Figure 4.2), or transport nodes like the railway station. However, the tendency primarily involves a more permanent resynchronisation of fixed retail businesses and shopping centres with important communication centres and transit nodes in the urban landscape, such as Hyllie and Värnhem.

Cultural Events and Special Occasions

A third type of synchronisation is that of retail activity to the rhythms of cosmological (night/day, winter/summer, and so on) and cultural seasons, or other kinds of more or less institutionalised moments such as paydays and rush hours. It is, for example, well known that majority of annual sales take place in December, most monthly sales after payday, most weekly sales during the weekend, and most daily sales after 4 p.m. (Bergström and Arnberg 2005).

The modernisation of the city from the eighteenth century and onwards brought about a larger independence from the rhythms of night and day, and climate changes. In Europe, public lighting was regularised during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it followed the natural rhythms of day, night and seasons until the end of the nineteenth century. In Paris, for example, public lighting was, in the early days, only used from October to April (Schivelbusch 2005: 70–71). The number and total hours of lit street lights was sometimes reduced on clear moonlight nights. It was not until late nineteenth century that one could talk about brightly lit cities all through the night and year. Advertisements and window shopping expanded the possibility of retail to communicate with customers even when the shops were closed during the evenings and nights (Nordin 2009: 134–137).

One important modern example of temporal adjustment to institutionalised events is the prolongation of opening hours to evenings and weekends, the proliferation of after-hour supermarkets, and so on, that has been going on since the 1960s to adjust opening hours to people's non-working time (Bergman 2003, Gehl and Gemzöe 1996). In Sweden, unregulated opening hours were introduced in 1972, but the trade unions have since fought for regulation, and the topic is still being debated today (during the 2000s). The shop owners in Malmö and Lund are currently discussing opening hours, suggesting a shift to later hours in order to better coincide with after-work time (and the opening hours of shopping malls). In some parts of Malmö (Lilla torg, Östergatan), we can also see how restaurants, nightclubs and night-time entertainment blend with shops, keeping the city populated both day and night (cf. Bianchini 1995). Related to this is also the prolongation of seasonal activities, where outdoor restaurants try to exploit a longer season with blankets, gas heaters, and so on. In 2000, there was a clear increase in the

number of open air cafés that applied for, and were granted permits to serve outside even during the winter months in Malmö.

There are also synchronisations that adjust, and indeed transform, cultural seasons and holidays. Retail businesses profit from cultural seasons by reconstructing them as commercial seasons: school start, Halloween, Father's Day, Christmas, Valentine's Day, Winter sports holiday, Mother's Day, and summer vacation (Ganetz 2004, cf. Goss 1993) have all become transformed by association with, and production of, specific advertisements, special offers, events and sales. The commercial seasons of summer, autumn, Christmas, and so on, do not coincide perfectly with their cultural or cosmological equivalents. At the mall, 'autumn' begins in mid-August when the children go back to school, Christmas starts just after Halloween but is over before New Year's Eve (and not as traditionally in Sweden at *Tjugondag Knut*, twenty days after Christmas) – in short, retailers use the seasons to create new rhythms shaped according to the logic of commerce (Ganetz 2004, Cronin 2006, 2010). In the end, this impacts on the role, scope, and even dates of cultural holidays and seasons. Malmö has, of course, its share of festivals and events, and their effects are massive today, mostly owing to the improved organisation of commercial actors and shop owners, as described above. Commercial seasons, such as Christmas, are major events permeating the urban landscape as a whole. The synchronisation of retailing with seasons and certain moments in time also contributes to the territorialisation of public places (at the relevant times); as well as producing metaphorical territories, where the object of control and 'ownership' is not a certain area but a certain date or moment in time, such as night, winter, Christmas or Halloween (introduced in Sweden by retail businesses as recently as 1995). Cultural events have also become an important part of the investments in the growing Malmö tourist industry. Continuous 365-days-a-year events as well as more spectacular once-in-a-lifetime events are important parts in the strategy of attracting more tourists to Malmö. A telling example of these investments is the already mentioned skate park at Västra hamnen, inaugurated in 2006. Other examples are the big multi-arena for 15,000 spectators in Hyllie, and the football stadium with a capacity for 25,000 spectators, inaugurated in 2009 and 2010, respectively (Malmö stad 2007).

During the twenty-first century we have also witnessed an increase in public and private events adjusting to shopping. For example, people can now vote in national elections at the shopping mall *Mobilia* in Malmö, or get married at the shopping mall *Center Syd* in Löddeköpinge, and the Swedish tax authorities have at times set up offices at a number of shopping malls to help people with their income tax returns. This could be regarded as an interesting interplay by which public events feed on retail rhythms and vice versa, but it also implies that public events play a part in the increasing importance and further legitimisation of retail rhythms.

Activities

A fourth type of synchronisation that has received attention in recent years is the synchronisation of retail activities with the rhythms of other non-retail activities such as museums, libraries, airports, cruises, railway stations and petrol stations (Leong, 2001b, Miles and Miles 2004). These phenomena are referred to as *captured markets*, and are also described as spaces for 'pleasurable waiting' (Lloyd 2003: 107). *Hosted markets* would, from my point of view, be a better term since some of them, such as libraries and petrol stations, are not so much spaces of 'captured consumers', but activities hosting retailing opportunities.

4.6 Shopping mall at Copenhagen airport (author's photograph from 2006)



4.7 Shops at Malmö Central station (author's photograph from 2006)



Airports are well-known, paradigmatic examples of how shopping has become adjusted to the rhythm of air travel – and vice versa (hybridising the functions of both shopping and air travel). Airport passengers only have a limited amount of time, so the strategy is for retailers to make as much profit as possible in this time. This implies a focus on known brands (quick and easy to recognise), recognisable shop types, expensive commodities, large entrances, no shop windows (no window shopping), a lot of product exposure, and commodities traditionally sold behind a counter becoming self-service. Queues are minimised and shops must be spatially intelligible, so the customers can see the scope of the retail space and the exit when entering (Freathy and O'Connell 1998, Lloyd 2003).

Besides railway stations and airports, the large museums are perhaps the places where retail seems to have increased the most, and some museums have even opened retail outlets.⁴ Traditionally, museum shops were small with a few book titles and a post card stand. The opening of the shopping mall at the Carrousel du Louvre inside the Louvre in Paris in 1993 was, however, an important sign of a new trend, where retail was expanded and separated from the museum to the extent of forming a territory of its own. As McTavish has noted, this territory is not to be found clearly within the borders of the museum but it occupies a rather unclear position, in a sense both inside and outside the museum area (McTavish 1998). In Malmö, the number of hosted markets has more than doubled during the past decade. The City Art Gallery, the City Library, and various museums have all introduced, developed or expanded their shops. The numbers of shops at older retail spots such as the local airports (Sturup and Kastrup) and the railway station have increased. One can also see more and more 'total environments', both on large and small scales that mix restaurants and cafés with entertainment, playgrounds for children, and shopping of different kinds (Big Bowl, Laser Dome, *Entré Malmö*, IKEA, and so on). Shopping has become integrated with a number of previously more autonomous activities and enterprises. Bookstores have included cafés and even wine bars. Malmö public services invite shopping, but public services have also found their way out to the Malmö malls. This type of synchronisation is perhaps the one that feeds most strongly upon a process of resynchronisation, adding retail to activities that often were regarded as separate in planning during the 1960s and 1970s.

Bodily Rhythms

A fifth type of synchronisation is the synchronisation of retailing with various bodily rhythms. The intention underpinning utilising bodily rhythms is often to get people to spend more of their time in retail environments. Retail designers try to make use of and feed upon different bodily rhythms such as

⁴ At the other end of the spectrum we have the trend of shops arranging their exclusive goods in museum-like settings (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 26–27).

4.8 Shop at
Malmö City
Library (author's
photograph
from 2006)



pace, hunger, fatigue and thirst, for example, through commercial food courts (Bell 2007). Two of the earliest twentieth century strategies of adjusting to bodily rhythms were escalators and muzak, both introduced to keep shoppers on the move, to set a pace (Leong 2001a). The synchronisation of shopping with certain bodily rhythms has also led to the development of phenomena such as eatertainment and entertainment retailing. In order to keep shoppers at the mall, pedestrian precinct, store, and so on, shopping opportunities are combined with good seating facilities, food, drinks and entertainment. When a bodily rhythm such as hunger sets in, shopping for commodities can shift to shopping for food, and the synchronisation of rhythms thus enables a body, exhausted from a certain rhythm, to rest for a moment by tuning into another. The body has been described by Lefebvre as a 'bundle of rhythms' (Lefebvre 2004: 80) with each part having its own rhythm. The body thus produces polyrhythmia and eurhythmia, a plenitude of different but associated rhythms (Lefebvre 2004). At a deeper level, this synchronisation of shopping with the rhythms of the body 'links our embodied biographical movements in the city with the biographies of commodities' (Cronin 2004: 12). The life cycles of commodities, jingles, and so on, follow us, and we may associate them with certain times in our lives. By nurturing and caring for our bodily rhythms, the retail environment has also come to play a new and, in one way, more important role in our lives. Bodily rhythms, although vital, are often unreflected and tacit. This fifth type of synchronisation might therefore act in subtle ways, but it may very well have a much larger impact than realised

at first (cf. Thrift 2004 on tendencies to politicise the 'the simple fact of living itself', Thrift 2004: 147).

It is interesting to note that the possibility of this kind of bodily exploitation by retail trade and planning was to some extent made possible by decades, or perhaps even centuries, of efforts in the Western world of trying to create body-neutral environments ready accessible to a general 'user' (Forty 2000). Conscious and ever-more sophisticated attempts had been made in urban planning and design to create environments as free of sounds, tastes and odours as possible. During the 1970s architects like Buckminster Fuller even made suggestions for cities with totally controlled climates (Zardini 2006: 104).

In Malmö, this growing awareness of bodily rhythms is quite explicit in many new commercial investments, such as the cropping up of restaurants and cafés in the central shopping districts, cafés inside stores, the entertainment centre *Entré Malmö*, a massive increase of outdoor seating facilities on the pedestrian streets, and so on. There were 225 outdoor restaurants with permits in Malmö 2004. When some of these permits were extended to the winter months, this was criticised in the daily newspaper by *Apoteket* (then the OTC with prescription drug monopoly, now deregulated) since they thought that it encouraged people to smoke more (another bodily rhythm produced and cared for by commercial businesses). Another aspect of this is the recent pedestrianisation of Malmö inner city, with new smooth surfaces, automatic doors and increased seating possibilities. A small square like Lilla torg now has seating possibilities for 2000 guests in summertime, making it a kind of oasis (for paying customers, that is) in the shopping district of central Malmö.

Collectives

A sixth type of synchronisation is that of retail synchronising with the schedules, rhythms or needs of certain collectives or constellations such as car owners, people pushing prams, parents on parental leave, young people, retired people, students or children. This is often one aspect of a strategy aiming to influence the identity of shoppers, (cf. Miller et al. 1998, Zukin 2004) as well as to shape commercial cultures, and to commodify cultural differences (Jackson et al. 2000). The collectives pinpointed by retail businesses are often *serial collectives*. Seriality is a concept developed by Sartre in his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960) to describe how people relate to classes. It has also been used in gender studies (Young 1994). Seriality can be described as a number of individuals who have a certain way of living or being in common but who do not form a social group or community. Serial collectivities can be formed temporarily in public spaces, for example, a queue of people waiting to board a bus, or people waiting at a red light. Serial ways of being can be sustained through micro-territorial strategies that avoid social interaction

with co-present individuals, that is, strategies such as picking up a mobile phone, reading a newspaper or looking the other way (Österberg 1995: 67–68).

The opening of the new central, conceptual mall *Storgatan* in Malmö 2001 (with only fashion stores) got a lot of headlines when they announced 'Under 30' as their slogan, referring to young people under 30 years of age as their main target group. Shopping malls outside the city centre like Nova Lund often focus on families, with facilities such as toy stores, game stores, fashion stores and fast food restaurants. Some cinemas have introduced specific afternoon screening for adults with infants called 'baby-bio' ('cinema for parents with infants'). Conceptual retail producing, or trying to produce a profit from certain groups has been increasing since the late 1990s. One striking example is the increasing number of retail clubs, loyalty cards, and so on, that are produced by different companies in order to create fidelity among their customers.

This type of synchronisation might at first seem to desynchronise (that is, spatially segregate) different groups or serial collectives, but the tendency is not so much a desynchronisation as a differentiation of different groups within the same spaces. Different groups and activities might thus be spatially integrated (resynchronised), but at the same time temporally segregated. This is one of the most obvious ways in which time-organisation strategies striate consumers into different niches, often constructed and defined by the retail business, but sometimes also in an effort to attract existing groups. Differentiation through group synchronisation is, however, often combined with other strategies. Retail adjusting to consumers who are pressed for time or shift workers involves synchronisation with flows (for example, busses and trains), and activities (waiting at the bus or train station), certain hours (night time, early mornings), whereas retail adjusted to consumers with plenty of time (for example, students or retired people) involves synchronisation with certain activities (such as recreational activities), bodies (bodily functions such as thirst and hunger) and retail (shopping facilities).

Architecture and Synchronisation

As suggested above, synchronicity and rhythms opens up a new field of inquiry for the architectural researcher. There are many possible aspects to discuss, but in this context I limit myself to some more general comments on territorial temporality and then a brief presentation of two of the most manifest ways in which the synchronisation and territorialisation of rhythms seem to be handled by way of architectural and urban design in the urban environment of Malmö.

Territorial temporality

In the article 'Aesthetics of place-temporality in everyday urban spaces', Filipa Wunderlich argues that specific urban places often have a place-specific

temporal character; they are perceived as having a certain intersubjective place-temporality (Wunderlich 2010). This place-temporality is described as a sensual and aesthetic experience. Wunderlich investigates the phenomenon through questions like how slow, fast, calm or agitated is this place? Is there a sense of flow (are people in the place immersed in activities to the degree of losing sense of time)? And finally, what soundscape does this place have? (Sound being one of the key ways of perceiving the rhythm or tempo of a place, cf. Lefebvre 2004).

The architectural environment carries and induces certain rhythms in the sense that vertically and horizontally it divides and articulates different places and facades in a rhythmic fashion (cf. Wunderlich 2010, Lawson 2001). In a more praxeological or senso-motoric meaning (Warnier 2007) it also sets the rhythms of flows by the localisation of openings, entrances, windows and streets at some places, and walls or closed facades at others, thus contributing to the shaping of the movement, flows and trajectories of citizens, through the design of a certain spatial integration (Hillier 1996) or *complementary space* (Hägerstrand 2009).

From a territoriological perspective it would be interesting to disconnect the notion of place temporality from the quite holistic concept of place. To analyse territorial temporalities one would instead need to look at the temporality induced by a certain territorial production and thus make it possible to disseminate the intermingling of several temporalities at the same place. In an interesting article of the disciplinary dressage of pedestrian behaviour during the 1920s and 30s in London, Hornsey points out the possibility that the London pedestrian, owing to the complexity of the road network, was probably less automated and less coherent than pedestrians in comparable cities in the US or Australia (Hornsey 2010: 111). Disciplinary devices such as guard rails and 'compulsory crossings' were only partly deployed in London, and most traffic situations thus remained to be solved in a more improvised manner. Hornsey's article points out the notion that different usages could also be acknowledged as having a specific temporality, i.e. at every place there are a lot of different and intermingling temporalities, and one way of analyzing these is to look at the synchronisation strategies employed in a certain territorial production, like at those of the pedestrian precinct in Malmö. This also means that one could pinpoint some of the architectural elements or actants that enlisted in the specific effort of territorial synchronisation, and the conducting of a specific territorial temporality.

Consumption spaces are often very specific and recognisable as a place temporality; they represent an easily recognisable sort of place as they set a certain atmosphere by means of muzak, automatic doors, the pace of the escalators, circulation spaces, and so on. But they also imply a synchronisation of different territorial productions. The synchronisation of these territorial productions is handled in several ways, but some of the actants could surely be found within the architectural realm. Below, I sketch two architectural principles of territorial synchronisation (backed up by short biographies)

The rhythm box

The Swedish architectural theorist Finn Werne has pointed out the problem of seeking new forms of architectural design under the banner of a constantly elusive *zeitgeist*:

.../ society and 'time' changes at a rapid pace and this continuous renewal leads to a paradox: permanent change becomes the right style of the time, the permanent production of new and original works of architecture, i.e. a constant dissociation from the historical context and all former styles. (Werne 1997: 57, my transl.)

These problems became evident during the nineteenth century and were not only confined to the question of architectural style, but also to the question of finding a proper form and spatial layout for the proliferation of all new functions needed for the industrial society. The recurrent demand for new functions coupled with uncertainty about future demands resulted in a large number of type or model solutions. Even when, for example, very specific kinds of institutional building types were designed (Kristenson 1990) they were all surprisingly similar. The façades or architectural style used could be different and adapted to the specific function, but they were all more or less designed as detached and discrete objects independent of the urban texture, with some kind of generic spatial design (for example the well known panopticon model). Technical inventions like cast iron, and later steel frames, allowed for large, open indoor spaces without any supporting pillars. The concept soon became popular for many of the new building types since it allowed for recurrent refurnishing and reconstruction of space. In 1849, James Ferguson suggested that industrial buildings could be used as a model for British Museum:

You have two acres of floor, on which you may arrange your kingdoms and classes in any form or according to any system you may think it best to adopt. (Collins 1967: 234)

Bon Marché in Paris, opening as the world's first specially built department store in 1852, and expanded in 1867 by G. Eiffel and L. C. Boileau has the same kind of spatial logic (Pevsner 1976, Coleman 2006). The stairway is a fixed unit, whereas the rest is primarily characterised by permanent change produced by a constant exchange and flow of new goods and merchandise.

These changes during the nineteenth century contributed to the establishment of a kind of material and territorial principle we could call *the territorial box*: a large number of buildings had a uniform territorial skin, and an emptiable/refillable interior, established in order to accommodate a general territorial order. Buildings for different functions in society were constructed as boxes or satellites in an open urban space. Places, formerly mingled as a complex plenitude of territorial productions were thinned out, hierarchised and wrapped up into a free-standing building. Architecture was thus adapted

both to a larger degree of territorial replacement and control (cf. Sack 1986: 169–196).

Territorial box is thus used here to denote a free-standing building often constructed with spatial distance to its environment (cf. the notion of ‘space bubbles’ in Markus 1993: 102) that could accommodate a variety of different territorial strategies. This calls for quite an arbitrary relationship between the form and its content or function (giving rise to the desperate modernist quest to find or even prove a link between form and function).

The principle of the territorial box came to fulfilment in the late nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth, and as buildings were constructed as neutral frameworks or sheds (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972), the territorial sorts needed to be established by other means than just the building. Venturi points out the need of signs or just printed labels for this communication, but one could also, as Amos Rapoport writes in *The Meaning of the Built Environment* (1982), describe how meaning can be produced in the semi-fixed realm rather than the fixed. At a conference, Rapoport observed how coffee cups, plates, papers, proxemical distances between people, and so on, changed as the days of the conference went by. He thus realised that it actually was the semi-fixed objects that provided most information about the situation at hand:

...a great deal of the meaning had been encoded in the semifixed realm. Nothing, however, could be deduced from the fixed-feature elements – the walls, floors, and ceilings. (Rapoport 1990: 101)

Rapoport also discusses the role of the semi-fixed realm in built environments such as, for example, the proto-city Catal Hüyük (Rapoport 1990: 90). In parallel with my discussion above one could, however, argue that the rise of the role of the semi-fixed realm is to some extent also a cultural and historical phenomenon that became specifically important as the ‘territorial box tendency’ evolved in the industrialised part of the world during the nineteenth century.

Parallel to the evolution of the territorial box, there was territorial division of the open public spaces of the city. The street became disciplined, markets moved indoors, new regulations were implemented, children were expected to play at playgrounds rather than on the streets, and so on. (Franzén 1982, Sack 1986: 169–172). Perla Korosec-Serfaty writes about this development of the open public spaces in *The Main Square* (1982):

...as early as the 19th century, new kinds of spaces are designed, that encourage new forms of urban sociability: the café, where men were generally more welcome than women; the park, where families stroll, where leisurely dandies show off, and which will later turn into the favourite space of middle-class children. In other words, at the very same time streets become ‘empty’, urban space is increasingly partitioned, foreshadowing the radical separation of activities (professional life, recreation, family life) and of their corresponding zones. (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 16)

The territorial complexity of the street thus decreased, and the amounts of street furniture, sign posts and all sorts of urban elements increased. Haussmann increased the accessibility of Paris. His engineers, including Eugène Belgrand and Jean Alphand designed uniform sets of benches, kiosks, lamp posts, signs and urinals to support and territorialise activities along the streets (Frampton 1980: 24). These new territorial paraphernalia supported a micro-territorial division of the public space that proliferated parallel to the large-scale zoning of the city with new parks, botanical and zoological gardens, sports facilities, and suburban residential areas. This also meant that all kinds of urban activities became territorialised and accompanied by themed props or artefacts: public playgrounds were equipped, public transport and traffic were uniformly designed; governmental services such as postmen, policemen and health care workers, got national uniforms and symbols, and so on.

The territorial box and territorial props often go hand in hand, and this is very clear in commercial architecture. Betsky has noted that commercial architecture is often characterised by the fact that it falls into the background, it becomes a backdrop for merchandise, things, advertisements, and so on. (Betsky 2001) Architecture has opened up to become large floating spaces. A need for advertising space, the attention of customers, the displaying of goods has, one could say, led to a *war of the walls*, paving the way for large open spaces with moveable walls and screens, billboard campaigns and large transparent glass façades with projected images. The theme of the store or the function of the building, formerly to a large extent expressed in the façade is now delegated to territorial paraphernalia and props. This floating space is, in one sense, flexible but it is also meticulously controlled. In the example of the mall and the hypermarket it has, as noted above, even developed into a black box, a shutting out of external rhythms in order to achieve full control over the ones produced inside. In this sense, the mall is not just a territorial box but, coupled with territorial props (including sounds, smells, and so on) it also makes a kind of *rhythm box*.

Studying the pedestrian precinct one could argue that places like Lilla Torg or the pedestrian precinct as a whole can also be described in terms of a rhythm machine or a rhythm box. Through a uniform design, territorial props, lighting, heaters, mobile urban elements, a material infrastructure for strategic control of rhythms is designed, producing an eurhythmia specific to the pedestrian precinct. Part of the city is set as a rhythm machine. As one walks down the pedestrian streets of Malmö one also begins to realise that the façades are becoming more transparent, whole façades as entrances, and storefronts that take up two storeys, are ways of opening the structure, eliminating exteriority within the precinct by forming one large 'interior'. Even the façades seem to have lost some of their status as a boundary between inside and outside as things are coming together and creating a uniform space for consumption. Furthermore, architectural elements which keep out

sun, cold, heat, shadow, and so on, together helps to induce this territorial temporality of consumption.

Scale transfer nodes

As a territory such as the pedestrian precinct becomes more homogenous in terms of temporalities and morphologies it also becomes increasingly dependent on scale transfers. The term scale transfer node is used here to denote a place where the different kinds of movements (local, urban, regional, national, international), that is, of different spatial scales, come together, and a change of world becomes possible.⁵ Typical examples include railway stations, bus stations and underground stations, where local movements mix with urban movements and passers-by (for example, the spaces where both local and global spatial integration are high, Hillier 1996). On a micro-scale, a scale transfer point might be something as simple as a bicycle stand or the kerb of the sidewalk where you shift from your parked car to walking. A scale transfer node is thus a place with an ordered plurality of mobilities. One of the first well-articulated and important scale transfer nodes in the cities were the railway stations. Although stagecoach stations, harbours, and other transit places had existed previously, the railway station was one of the first scale transfer nodes that also became an important architectural commission (Markus 1993, Bakerson 2010). Today, the notion of the railway station as a communication node that brings different scales of transport together is of increasing importance. After a decline in train traffic during the 1960s and 70s, train travel picked up again during the 1980s and 90s. In Sweden as elsewhere, this involved a new conceptualisation of the railway station, where the old stations were transformed into 'travel centres' (in Swedish: *resecenter*). In Sweden these transformations came in the wake of a more intensive focus on services, and involved different strategies of synchronisations, for example with retail, but perhaps more importantly also a synchronisation between the timetables of local public transport (buses) and longer distance trains. Sometimes, this involved the building of new bus terminals adjacent to the railway stations, such as the City terminal in Stockholm, 1985–1989, and Nils Ericsson terminal in Gothenburg, 1996 (Bakerson 2010).

In Malmö we have some recent examples of the architectural articulation of scale transfer nodes, for example important bus stations like Södervärn, Värnhem and Gustav Adolfs torg. Far more important, however, are the Malmö Central station and the two shopping malls of *Triangeln* and *Entré Malmö*, with distinct and more or less integrated systems for cars, pedestrians, bicycles and public transport. Both of the shopping malls are important landmarks, *Triangeln* marks an end of the main pedestrian artery (and has as an underground train station since 2010); and *Entré Malmö* is at one end of the north-south motorway just next to Värnhemstorget.

5 A related concept of some bearing here is Dupuy's concept adhesion, where adhesion refers to a situation where 'the space through which it passes is determined in relation to the interface between it and the space' (Dupuy 2008: 254).



4.9 The Square Triangeln at the south end of Malmö pedestrian precinct 2009
(photograph by courtesy of Paulina Prieto de la Fuente)

Synchronisation and Territorialisation: Towards Isorhythmic Public Space?

Architecture thus plays a role in the general and specific ways by which rhythms are synchronised in the city. Architecture can both act more or less as a rhythm machine, supporting the temporal control of a certain territorial production, or act as a scale transfer node, collecting and ordering different rhythms at a specific place. Although I have only been able to briefly touch upon the subject, my hope is that these examples can open an avenue for further investigation of the territorial temporalities set by architectural means and forms. The fact that architecture might play a role here is good in one sense – architecture is there to make a difference, to make ends meet, to create an atmosphere, to induce rhythms, movements, to intermingle territories, and so on – but we also need to become more aware of this role, since some effects might be unwanted, too coercive, or in the long run give rise to new problems.

The six types of synchronisation above were presented as an analytical way of discussing different aspects of the spatial synchronisation of retail in urban life. These types are always intertwined and act together to maximise effects. They are general phenomena at the very core of retail activity and have, as such, probably been present for as long as there has been retail business. The point is, however, that today (in Malmö, and I imagine in a lot of other cities) one can observe these synchronisations on a scale and of a pace that seems so manifest and stable that it calls for further investigation. Architectural and urban design efforts are very much a part of this construction. Furthermore, these tendencies go hand in hand with a *resynchronisation* that enables retail to feed upon existing or constructed urban rhythms. Today, one needs not go to a shopping mall in order to observe how commercial actors organise and synchronise different rhythms. It is easily recognisable all over the urban landscape, and is reshaping it. How then do these synchronisations affect public space and life? They bring about a certain amount of synchronisation, a kind of palimpsest effect that to some extent breaks with the spatial homogenisation of modern planning and architecture (as sketched above). On the one hand, they open up to new possibilities in space, while on the other they increase temporal and privatised control of certain events. Synchronisations also form part of different territorial productions; retailing territorialises public space by way of rhythms and strategies of time. Deleuze and Guattari have developed a view on territories as not static or given, but always ongoing and becoming. They have done this through the use of musical metaphors (taking their cue from animal territoriality, as birds sing to mark their territory). Each territory is shaped by a certain rhythmic activity or refrain, constituting a basis for different melodies, signals or loops (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). In fact, territorialisations and territories have everything to do with movement and becomings (cf. Brighenti 2010b). Territories need to be maintained and nursed in order to be effective, and the management of territories often involves strategies concerning time. Hammad made this very clear in his interventional studies at the convent La Tourette in Arbresles (in

1982), a series of territorial experiments in which he tried to evict people at a conference from their rooms and also to get a group of people (including the prior) to leave their usual table at the refectory. In these studies he found temporality to be very important. Different territorial rules might be applicable at one time but not at another (Hammad 2002: 98 f., cf. Kärholm and Sandin 2011), and timing, to put it briefly, is an important actant.

Synchronised and synchorised rhythms are part of a spatio-temporal ordering and thus they cannot help but take part in some kind of territorialisation process. However, the new resynchronising tendency of retail synchronisation indicates that these territorial effects are no longer about territorial division as they used to be in the days of modernist planning. In Malmö today, rather than a simple relation between one type of synchronisation and a certain territorial production, we now have a process that affects the territorial composition of public space.

Traditional public places in Malmö are often the venue of several intermingling territorial productions, i.e. territorial complexity. In places of territorial complexity, the access to a place has to be subdivided (in time or space) to accommodate different uses, and to make room for as many different territorial productions as possible. A certain degree of territorial sorting and overlapping could very well result in a much higher degree of accessibility (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 120–121), as spatial rules and conventions enable us to act (and co-act) in different ways. Several territorial orders also indicate several possibilities. The danger of exclusive one-sided spatial use lies not only in territorial homogenisation (of one territorial production becoming more stable), but in places with no superimposed territorial productions.

The current trend towards the synchronisation of retail with urban rhythms, often adds to the number of territories at public places, but the addition of territorial productions does not necessarily lead to a greater degree of complexity, since the addition of territorial productions are synchronised so that they only follow one or a few rhythms, mainly controlled by commercial interests. In the new public spaces of the Malmö shopping districts, activities are resynchronised. New activities, events, collectives, flows, and so on, are both being and ordered by means of synchronisation. Commercial actors utilise existing rhythms, enhance them and rewrite them, and consequently tend to hierarchise polyrhythmic landscapes of local life according to a logic of consumerism. Or, they might produce an isorhythm, reducing complexity not primarily by turning orders into a singular order (as in the modernistic tendency towards spatial homogenisation), but by inscribing different orders in a system guided by a common denominator (the rhythms of consumption). If polyrhythm indicates diverse rhythms, isorhythm is when temporalities coincide and are orchestrated as if they were under a conductor's baton (Lefebvre 2004: 67). Complexity, as explained in Chapter 1, is not just dependent on the number of entities that constitute it, but also on the structuring of those entities. The territorial complexity of public places in Malmö is thus both sustained by new territorial productions, and impoverished by a temporal

ordering that structures these productions according to a single logic. As territorial productions become scheduled, opportunities for the unexpected decrease. When writers and planners speak enthusiastically of an urban renaissance and new public life, they tend to forget that in addition to the spatial homogenisation (as discussed by Smith 1996, Katz 2001, Zukin 1995, and so on) there is also the potential danger of temporal homogeneity. Owing to its extra-territorial nature, isorhythm might affect the urban landscape as a whole, suggesting rhythms, schedules, movements, moments, and so on, that apply simultaneously to different areas of the city. Specific events such as the Malmö City festival, specific shopping areas like the City mall or Svågertorp, or commercial seasons such as Christmas affect the whole region.

Although individual or 'grassroots' resistance to commercial rhythms is always possible and present (Certeau 1988), even in Malmö, it is as yet unusual for the public authorities to resist them. There are, however, a few new public initiatives that may be seen as a possible (but in no way exhaustive) way of tackling or even counteracting this kind of development. In planning, the explicit notions of time and urban time policies were developed in Italy, beginning in the late 1980s (Belloni 1998; Mareggi 2002). In 2000, 'Territorial Timetable Plans' became compulsory for Italian municipalities with more than 30,000 inhabitants. These time plans co-ordinate opening and closing hours of public services (schools, libraries, public offices, and so on), synchronising opening hours with people non-working time, and they desynchronise certain movements in order to decongest rush hours (Mareggi 2002). Such efforts are laudable, since it is not synchronicity *per se* that poses a threat to the complexity of urban life, but isorhythm.

Some Concluding Remarks

New rhythms and cycles were introduced during the industrial society, i.e. the linear, dominating rhythms of production (Lefebvre 1991). Today, the rhythms of consumption are becoming increasingly important, and are considerably more adjustable and flexible (although the rhythms of production have also changed in this direction, cf. Sennett 1998). The rhythms of consumption are sensitive to existing cosmological, cultural and corporeal rhythms, and retail businesses are often manipulative in trying to find ways of utilising them as they increasingly take part in a resynchronising synchronisation of urban life. This can be seen in Malmö, where a formerly multi-functional and polyrhythmic city core is becoming increasingly designed as a rhythm box for the synchronised beats and refrains of consumption. And it can equally be observed in the shopping malls on the outskirts, where suddenly new and public activities are made possible such as attending marriages, filling in tax forms and even voting for Parliament. Large retail complexes, such as railway stations, malls and hypermarkets, more often tend to act as scale transfer nodes, territorially ordering and monitoring a plurality of rhythms. Although

synchronisation is, to a large extent, a result of strategies, these strategies often involve material means and architectural design – design which in terms of both effectiveness and inertia, brings its own voice into the situation

Today, it seems that the rhythms of consumption are always there, whatever we do, we can always do it to the rhythm of shopping. The commercialisation of the rhythms of seasons, movements, bodies and activities do perhaps create a certain sense of security, but this ubiquity is also a distraction can sometimes slow down the evolution of diversity, new experiences and cultures (Young 1989: 180–182). One could also, easily argue that these rhythms are not for everyone, and not all people's everyday lives are synchronised to retail. In Malmö, as in a lot of other places, there are large groups living far from both shopping malls and the city centre and who do not have the money, means or interest to make use of this new timescape. Indeed, it seems fair to argue that aspects of gentrification, homogenisation and exclusion need to be analysed as temporal and not just spatial phenomena.

Rhythms are 'differences with repetition' (Lefebvre 2004: 90), and thus always carry a potential for change. The possibilities of change are also an important factor in the strategies of commercial enterprise, as they feed upon trends and new rhythms in society. Commercial actors are thus not only dependent on the knowledge of the rhythms of urban life, but also on the polyrhythmic activities themselves, since total predictability, stabilisation and stagnation equals death to commercial profits and the production of new desires. However, in order to prevent the commercial rhythms from reigning freely and continuing a kind of mallification of public places in the urban landscape, these activities need to be balanced or at least acknowledged in planning, for example, by considering these aspects when drawing up urban time policies. Although the effects of retail synchronisation might look benign, they are important to acknowledge, since they tend to influence the whole of the urban landscape.

Strategies of synchronisation might seem to bring heterogeneity or synchronicity from the local perspective of a specific public place, as they introduce new activities or colonise new places or times. Such a view could, however, be deceptive, since these additions come with an isorhythm that not only affects the territory or place at hand, but also the structural relationship between different kinds of territorial productions, contributing to large-scale transformations, the exclusion of certain groups and de-autonomisation of certain functions that in the end diminishes territorial complexity at local as well as at a regional levels. Synchronisation can thus play an important part in processes of territorialisation as well as in the interrelationship and structuring of different territorial productions in the urban landscape as a whole.

The Transformation of Retail Building Types – Territorial Singularisation

Prison no longer means a space only, but a space with express reference to its inhabitants: for it is a prison only through being destined for prisoners, without whom it would be a mere building. What gives a common stamp to those who are gathered in it? Evidently the prison, since it is only by means of the prison that they are prisoners. What, then, determines the manner of life of the prison society? The prison! What determines their intercourse? The prison too, perhaps? Certainly...

(Stirner 1995: 194)

The power of building types has never been so forcefully expressed as by German philosopher Max Stirner in *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 1844. Stirner tried desperately to fight the different kinds of power structures and relations set down and maintained by society and the State: concepts, laws, stones and spaces. The role of building typology increased rapidly in the Western world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Building types became, as pointed out by philosophers such as Bentham and Stirner (although from two opposite perspectives), an important means of controlling usage and accommodating specific societal functions. The idea of the building type resembles the idea of the machine; it is a medium for producing designed and preconceptualised outcomes. However, building typology also came to play an important part in the urbanisation process, and became one of the ways in which buildings started to have effect on urban planning and development on a large scale. As we saw in Chapter 2, the deurbanisation of the retail sector meant that retail building types were increasingly developed as single objects or autonomous entities separated from the urban tissue. This process of deurbanisation and decontextualisation, coupled with the proliferation of new building types, took place parallel to the decline and fall of the urban block. According to Panerai et al. (2004), the death of the urban block began during the mid-nineteenth century with Haussmann's spatial reorganisation of Paris, continued with Berlage's reinvention of the Amsterdam block during the early twentieth century, Ernst May's Frankfurt plan in 1925–30, and ended with Le Corbusier's implosion of the urban block into one single building in *Cité Radieuse* and with the *Unite d'habitations* in 1947–52 (Panerai et al. 2004). The objectification and the view of architecture as an abstract container or machine during the twentieth century was also produced by means of new concepts and metaphors, such as form, space, function and design, focusing on the building as an abstract object (Forty 2000). One could say that during the modernist days of architecture, the city was increasingly idealised and visualised as a series of detached monuments rather than as an urban tissue.

In this chapter, I describe a part of the territorialisation process that could be called singularisation. Singularisation is the process by which a certain

place, building or whatever becomes unique. It could be used as a strategy to enhance a certain territorial impact, as in branding, but it could also indicate that the territory becomes singular in the same way as a strong or thick place (in a phenomenological sense as, for example, described in Casey 1993, 1996, cf. Geertz 1973, on thick descriptions), that is, as something unique and irreplaceable. Strong territories can be unique and therefore well-known, but they could also be unique and not known at all. There are, of course, also strong and multiplied (non-singular) territories that are both well known (easily recognisable) and redundant, such as a prison cell or a parking lot. However, in the context of retail spaces the singularisation process forms an important part of strategical territorialisation, as I will show and discuss in this chapter.

Through the focus on territorial sorts and singularisation as a process, the chapter is also (humbly) a small contribution towards a theory of building types as seen from the perspective of territorial production and public space usage. Below, I describe some theoretical aspects of the recent evolution of new retail building types, and discuss how the proliferation of these new types is de- and reterritorialising the urban landscape.

Building Types

The concept of building typology is traditionally seen as based on two different kinds of logic, either a logic of form (materiality and construction) as the morphological schemata of Jean-Nicolas-Luis Durand's *Preçis* (1802–5), or a logic of function, like the division into different usages in Nikolaus Pevsner's *A History of Building Types* (1976). Much of the discussion of building typology is also centred on the relationship between these two aspects, form and function, and how they interrelate (Allpere 1985: 58, Forty 2000: 304). Durand, although perhaps mostly known for his morphological excursions, was early to pay attention to both types of classification (Durand 2000). Pevsner's book is structured according to a functional classification, but some of his groups are based on architectural form, such as the 'market halls, conservatories and exhibition buildings' described in Chapter 15 (Pevsner 1976: 235–256). In this sense, the one logic is, of course, never totally separate from the other.

The classification of buildings and architecture according to form or morphology has a rich and variegated tradition in architectural research. We have, for example, classifications of spatial structures in space syntax (Hillier and Hanson 1984, Hillier 1996), of landmarks and nodes (Lynch 1961), of different kinds of historical building types, genetic plan units and morphological regions (Conzen 2004), of different kinds of morphogenetic classifications into, for example, grid blocks, lamellar houses, row houses and mega blocks (Rådberg and Friberg 1996, Rådberg 2000, Persson 2008), or of quite specific house types such as the American saddlebag houses, telescope houses and the father-son-holy ghost houses (Holl 1983), just to mention a few.

In fact, to architectural researchers in general, and to architectural and urban morphologists in particular, an important and ongoing challenge is to find good and relevant categories to describe and classify the built environment. As we know, the form of the classical orders was, for example, discussed at great length from the renaissance until the eighteenth century. Looking back on previous research, however, building typologies based on function and usage seem somewhat less studied and theorised about than the ones based on form (although see for example, Markus 1993 and Steadman 2000). It is true that a rudimentary functional classification can be found as early as in the work of Vitruvius and of Alberti, but it did not become a serious question for architecture until the eighteenth century and the early days of the Industrial revolution. One of the first architectural theorists to raise the question in a more profound way was the French architect Antoine Babuty Desgodet. Desgodet gave a series of lectures on building types, which began in 1722. In his collected lectures from 1719–28, *Cours d'Architecture*, there is a manuscript entitled *Traité de la commodité del'architecture, concernant la distribution et les Proportions des Édifices...* in which Desgodet describes the building types of his time such as the hospital, the hôtel de ville, the Palais de Justice, as well as different kinds of palaces and private houses. (Herrmann 1958: 47–50). Although Vitruvius and later Palladio had mentioned different kinds of temples, Desgodet's text can (to my knowledge) be regarded as the first structured description of building types (cf. Markus and Cameron 2002: 26). Jaques-Francois Blondel would soon become considerably more influential with his *Cours d'Architecture* (1771–1777), and he has sometimes been regarded as the father of a building typology based on a functional classification. Blondel made a division into 64 different *genres*, focusing on discussions on the kind of *caractère* (a concept initiated by Germain Boffrand in 1745) that could be regarded as suitable for the different types (Kruft 1994: 148–150, Forty 2000: 120–123). Blondel, however, is also known to have been influenced by Desgodet, and it has even been claimed that he copied entire chapters from Desgodet's manuscripts (Herrmann 1958: 53).

A couple of decades after Blondel, Jean-Nicolas-Luis Durand made the first thorough systematic comparison of different building types, especially with regard to form, but also to function (Kruft 1994, Hearn 2003: 179–183, Durand 2000). In his *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre* (1800) Durand discusses the elements of building and the composition of these elements as well as the different kinds of building usages (Durand 2000: Chapter 3). Although Durand has become a figurehead for plan morphology, the classification of buildings in terms of function was also a central concern to him. Even his groundbreaking book *Precis* (1802–5), although famous as the first architectural treatise focusing on architectural form itself (rather than more general issues on building, Picon 2000: 1–2), actually starts off with a short enumeration of a number of public and private building types including markets, schools, libraries, museums, town houses, tenements and workshops (Durand 2000: 77).

After Blondel and Durand, the nineteenth century came to be a century of new building types, and new books on buildings for different usages were published. In architectural theory this can be seen in works of general scope such as Gottfried Semper's *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik* (1860–63), as well as in books dealing more specifically with certain building types such as della Santa's *Della Construzione e del Regolamento di una Pubblica Universale Biblioteca* (1816) Papworth's and Papworth's *Museums, Libraries and Picture Galleries* (1853) and J.C. Loudon's *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (1839). These kinds of building type specifics were also published in the form of government regulations and recommendations throughout the twentieth century (cf. Allpere 1985: 105, Markus and Cameron 2002).

An important issue in the theories of building typology has always been the distinction between *a priori* and *a posteori*. The meaning of this question was set by Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremere de Quincy, who introduced the concept of type and typology in architectural theory during the 1780s, where it soon came to replace Blondel's concept of *genre*. Quatremère de Quincy used type as a way of developing archetypes or *a priori* forms. His investigations of the origins of architecture also led him to distinguish between three original types: the cave, the tent and the hut. In some sense, following Quatremère de Quincy, Durand also had an ambition to present a kind of *a priori* models for architecture. The plans he presented in his works were to be regarded as ideal types. On the other hand, especially from the later half of the nineteenth century and onwards, there are books of plans and types that were clearly derived *a posteori* from built examples, such as the encyclopaedic *Handbuch der Architektur* (consisting of 143 individual titles printed between 1880 and 1943), or Ernst Neufert's famous *Baueunwurfslehre* (1936) that still is printed in new editions.

A more serious attempt to discuss the typological process and its effects both *a priori* and *a posteori* was initiated during the 1950s when Saverio Muratori and later Giulio Carlo Argan, Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian Luigi Maffei from the Italian school of typology published their first works. These Italian morphologists saw the building as part of the urban tissue and described the relationship between individual buildings and a larger historical context of urban development. Their approach began, to some extent, as a critique of a modernistic, ahistorical way of planning based on functional aspects alone (cf. Allpere 1985: 128, Caniggia and Maffei 2001). This approach is interesting since it introduces typology as a process where older building types are transformed and developed into new ones. M.R.G. Conzen, representing another tradition of urban morphology, was also interested in historical transformation, but tended to treat this transformation in terms of descriptive segmented phases rather than on-going processes (Conzen 2004, Abarkan 2003).

Territorial Sorts

With this rich and varied history of building type conceptualisation and theory, we first of all need to establish a way of talking about types. The formation and transformation of building types is crucial to the understanding of the recent changes of the retail environments. One of the key features of the building type is that it is a kind of abstraction that allows for mobility. This is, for example, evident in Guggenheim's and Söderström's description of the building type as:

a classification that does not link buildings to their site or place of origin, but to other, usually social and functional classifications, devoid of local references. (Guggenheim and Söderström 2010: 5)

Michael Guggenheim has also interestingly described building typologies as quasi-technologies and buildings as mutable immobiles (Guggenheim 2010). Building types, according to Guggenheim, sometimes serve as technologies or in Latourian terms as black boxes defined by the fact that they have a predictable input and output. But sometimes they also serve as mere 'masses of material' (Guggenheim 2010: 165) de- or recoded, and freed from their original network stability. I agree with Guggenheim that this uncertainty is to some extent what makes the urban space so enjoyable: 'we orient ourselves with types and we enjoy being surprised by the failing of our own classification of types' (Guggenheim 2010: 175). I would like to take Guggenheim's description of building types a step further, and try to make it more precise by discussing it in terms of territorial sorts and as a fluid kind of stabilisation (cf. Law 2002).

One of the most important researchers on the movement and globalisation of building types is Anthony King. In several texts (King 1984, 2004, 2010), he has pointed at 'the bungalow' (meaning 'from Bengali') as a key example of how a certain building type spread globally during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The concept of the bungalow was borrowed from India during the days of British colonialism and then developed in the UK and the US from 1870 to 1900. King remarks that the success of the bungalow in the UK was to a certain extent attributable to C.F.A. Voysey, an architect who acted as an important interface between the arts and crafts movement and the modernist movement. The bungalow type also played a very successful role in the development of the modern urban landscapes with their horizontal, suburban residential areas of detached private houses (King 2004, King 1984). King argues that the style of arts and crafts was never as national or British as is sometimes claimed, but that it was also very much a part of colonialism and a system of global connections. Although King's example of the bungalow is one of the best described examples of a global building type, the hybridisation and transformation of building or urban types moving from one place to the next is legion. Architectural history is full of examples, from the imposition of the spatial structure of Paris on Cairo by Napoleon and his troops (Habraken

1998: 218–220), to the African origin of the American shotgun house (Vlach 1986).

Network stabilisation makes the building type mobile (or what Latour calls an immutable mobile, Latour 1987: 226–227), it becomes a reproducible type. The more one can describe an object as the effect of network stabilisation, the more predictable it becomes and the less we can enjoy the feeling of ‘being surprised’: all actants are there, firmly fixed in their positions and doing their job. My point which I think is also evident in King’s empirical descriptions of building type globalisations, is that building types almost never act as immutable mobiles. They always transmute and shift as they transport. In fact it even seems that this is what makes the whole idea of building types so useful. In a sense they seem to be very fluid, and are thus better described as a kind of mutable mobiles (Law 2002).

What does it mean that we recognise or do not recognise something as belonging to a certain type? This recognition (or the absence of it) could easily and in an instant override a meticulously well-constructed and stabilised network (cf. Guggenheim 2010: 166). In actor-network theory this could be described as an effect of fluid stabilisation (De Laet and Mol 2000, Law 2002). Following this line of thought, one way to allow for a more dynamic description of building types than to see them as networks, black boxes, archetypes or prototypes, would be to see them as territorial sorts. A territorial sort could, as explained in Chapter 3, be used to describe a set of related territories that can all be associated with the same kind of function or to the same set of functions, such as museums, libraries, schools, banks, pedestrian precincts, alcoves or telephone booths. The territorial sort is produced through the association of a certain assemblage of materialities, rules, humans, spaces, and so on. It can also be described as an abstract vehicle that allow for a certain kind of building to move and be transformed without losing its identity. In this sense it is the effect that defines the sort: materialities and actors that make up the sort may change but as long as the effect remains similar, the sort is sustained. This also means that territorial sorts are not dependent on one aspect alone (an obligatory point of passage) to sustain their effect as a network might be, and they would thus differ from building types as defined, for example, by Caniggia and Maffei, who state that building types: ‘indicate any group of buildings with some characteristics, or a series of characteristics, in common’ (Caniggia and Maffei 2001: 50). Two different examples of a territorial sort might, at least in theory, *have no actor or actant in common at all*, provided that there is a series of other examples of this sort that have actors or actants in common with both.

One crucial aspect of the building type or the territorial sort is the name. Thomas Markus writes: ‘As long as there is no word for it, that is as long as function-language cannot cope, we cannot feel at home.’ (Markus 1993: 30, Markus and Cameron 2002: Chapter 3). Markus also points out the fact that a name is often so strong that it is used both to embrace the building and the activity that goes on in the building, like a school or a library. The formation

of a new kind of territorial sort is often closely connected to the formation of concept. But, although important, the name must not be obligatory; the effects of a territorial sort might remain even without it. In his article 'Notes towards a global historical sociology of building types' Anthony King states that: 'types exist only when buildings are named and used according to their names' (King 2010: 23). I agree with the notion that having a name is important, but the basic effects of, or the expectations of, a certain type could, at least in theory, be the same even if the name changes. Territorial sorts, as well as building types, are complex. We might call them by one name, but what they do might vary, and vice versa. Although the name of 'arcade' might have a relationship to the effects of the arcade, this relationship does not mean that we cannot find the one without the other. Two different arcades might be seen as the same sort of place, but then again, they might not. This aspect of arbitrariness is, to my mind, important to acknowledge, since it implies that territorial sorts can be defined by the multitude of lived practices and meanings that brings it to life (that is, through territorial association) rather than just by ways of a territorial strategy. The naming of a building type is often seen as the inscription on place of a 'proper' use (in Certeau's sense of the word, Certeau 1988), whereas the territorial sort could (but must not) be independent of the meanings induced by the official name or type of place (that is, the territorial strategy), a place mapped as parking lot might not be a parking lot at all but could instead be used as an illegal dumping place. Certeau gives us some notion of the complexity of names when he states that Place de la Concorde is so much more than just an idea:

A whole series of comparisons would be necessary to account for the magical powers proper names enjoy. They seem to be carried as emblems by the travellers they direct and simultaneously decorate. Linking acts and footsteps, opening meanings and directions, these words operate in the name of emptying-out and wearing-away of their primary role. They become liberated spaces, spaces that can be occupied. A rich indetermination gives them, by means of a semantic rarefaction, the function of articulating a second, poetic geography on top of the geography of the literal, forbidden or permitted meaning. (Certeau 1988: 104–105)

Similarly, territorial sorts can be disguised by many different names. On the question: 'What kind of place is this?' a Malmö citizen might answer: 'it is a kind of Lilla torg', 'it is Davidhalls torg', 'it is my neighbourhood', and so on.

In a topological sense, territorial sorts consist of a set of actants that bear a certain family resemblance. This means that territories can change bit by bit but not in great leaps. Of course one might reach a point where the territorial sort could no longer be recognised, where too many actants have been replaced, or something too unfamiliar to this specific sort of territory has been introduced (cf. Law 2002). The association to a specific sort of territory can then no longer be made: the hospital is now a university and there are only traces to show that this place was once something else. The interesting thing about fluidity, however, is that the more different actors that can be connected to the sort, that is, the more possible shapes and figures a certain territorial

sort can take on, *the more moveable it becomes*. As the variety and the total number of distinct configurations of a specific sort increase, the possibilities of making an association increases as well. Whereas Latour, in his logic of the immutable mobile, states that things becomes moveable through a stabilised network topology, a territorial sort such as the open air market becomes mobile owing to its mutability (like the Zimbabwe bush-pump in de Laet and Mol 2000). Since it is fluid, that is, it can change actors and take on a number of different forms, it can also be easily adjusted to the specific circumstances of different places. An open market can change the design, the number of stalls or the spatial layout, but still remain the same recognisable territorial sort. Fluid stabilisation is often strong in low-tech phenomena such as buildings, whereas high-tech phenomena often seem much more dependent on network stabilisation (cf. Nilsson 2010).

To see building types as sorts allows for a better description of movement and transformation than could be managed using the word type alone (with its connotations to words like prototype and archetype). The point of using *territorial* sorts instead of, for example, building sorts is also made in order to enable a description that does not delimit the phenomenon to a certain scale or to simply the structure or form of a certain building. The effects of a school are not dependent on the school building alone, but must also involve teachers, classrooms, blackboards, pencils, pupils, and so on. Morphological research has often missed the artefacts. In the end it might be only the furniture or something in the semi-fixed realm that distinguishes a picture gallery from a library (cf. Rapoport 1990: 101). When Hillier, the space syntax morphologist, stresses the importance of spatial configuration and integration, he does not deal with objects but with the urban tissue alone (Hillier 1996). Hägerstrand has, in my view, described material space better when, in a discussion of complementary space (the space at disposal for movement), he also realises how things continuously change spatial configurations, for example, as cars line up in a queue, they also change complementary space and restrict each other's possibility of movement (Hägerstrand 2009: 88).

The territorial sort is produced by actants that might include architectural forms, spaces, textures, objects, users and technical innovations. If we look into the evolution of building types we will also see that specific artefacts have often played a crucial role. In retail architecture, the possibility of making larger window panes during the mid-nineteenth century became crucial to the development of larger and deeper stores (Pevsner 1976: 258). Price labels, packaging systems and artificial light were all important actants for the rise of the department store, the shopping cart was an important actant in the success story of the supermarket, and so on. At the urban and regional scales, new territorial sorts and building types, such as pedestrian precincts, shopping malls and department stores, all affect and transform the way cities and urban landscapes are being formed and developed.

Building Types of the Consumer Society

At the time of the Industrial revolution, society began to be divided into an increasing number of administrative, functional and social units. Territorial control became stronger and more abstract. Territories became anonymous and their content had to be possible to transform or move whenever production demanded change (Sack 1986). Different usages and functions were thus no longer bound to certain places by tradition but had to be replaceable. The construction of a finely-meshed, differentiated and moveable territorial structure played an important role in the effectivisation, disciplining and capitalisation of different kinds of societal functions and behavioural patterns (Foucault 1977). The Industrial revolution also brought about a proliferation of more or less specialised new building types. Thomas Markus describes this well in his seminal work *Buildings and Power* (1993), pointing out building types that produce and establish relationships with people (schools and prisons), things (factories and markets) and knowledge (museums and libraries). One of the most famous examples of the works concerning building type and the belief in the ability of its spatial structure to produce a certain outcome is of course Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon* (1794). If one considers the full title of his work it seems to invest a certain power and expectation in the category of building type: *Panopticon; or the Inspection-House: containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to any Sort of Establishment, in which Persons of any Description are to be Kept under Inspection: and in Particular to Penitentiary-Houses, Prisons, Houses of Industry, Work-Houses, Poor-Houses, Manufactories, Mad-Houses, Lazarettos, Hospitals, and Schools: with a Plan of Management Adapted to the Principle: in a Series of Letters, Written in the Year 1787, from Crecheff in White Russia, to a Friend in England.*

During the early nineteenth century the metaphor of the building as a machine also became more common (Vanderburgh, 1994: 325, Forty 2000: 192), and there were architects, theorists and philosophers who were preoccupied with the functional and moral impact of buildings, including J.N.L. Durand, Gottfried Semper, Joseph Gandy and Max Stirner (cf. Werne 1993: 319–322).

The development of the building types during the Industrial revolution is quite well documented today (Markus 1982, Markus 1993, Sack 1986, Pevsner 1976). But the (global) architectural history of the building types of the consumption society remains to be written. As noted in the introductory chapter, there are monographs on specific types such as the department store or the arcade, but few works (if any) of architectural history cover the whole scope comprehensively. Architectural discourse became increasingly entangled in the consumer society after World War II, with pioneering groups such as Archigram and architectural theorists like Reyner Banham (Mattsson 2004). *Learning from Las Vegas* (1970) became one of the most important books for putting the world of consumption and popular culture on the map of architectural design. However, it is impossible to put a date when retail buildings became an accepted part of architectural canon and history. It is

nevertheless clear that a great deal has happened since Pevsner published his book on building types in 1976. From a very slow development of new types we have suddenly seen an explosion of new types and hybrids, just within a couple of decades.

The trend towards shopping as a lifestyle increased during the 1990s and in shopping environments more effort was put into design, atmosphere and ambience. A shopping mall could not make profits from goods alone but needed to create an environment that could increase the comfort of the consumers, making their stays in the mall longer and thus more profitable. In the older shopping malls, supermarkets had been the most important anchors. Now, new anchors of leisure time activities began to increase. In the Malmö-Lund area anchors such as the food court and large fashion stores of Nova Lund (2002), or the bowling alley and the multiplex cinema of Entré Malmö in 2009 are examples (cf. Jerde 2004: 7–8). Other examples of mall anchors, although not yet in the Malmö-Lund area, include leisure facilities such as health clubs, swimming pools, sport arenas, and so on. The Swedish mall of the year in 2009 (Retail awards) was, for example, Forum Nacka, a mall that reopened in 2008 as a *lounge shopping* mall structured into four different ‘lifestyle routes’, with a variety of lounges such as a jazz lounge, a kids’ lounge, a parents’ lounge, a satellite lounge and a music lounge.

Other rising concepts during the 1990s were in-store dining, with cafés or even wine taste sessions at bookshops and elsewhere. In a more global context we also have the opposite, in-café stores, like Starbucks or the tourist magnet Caffè Florian in Venice. There are also examples of cafés that offer new merchandise for their customers every week.



5.1 Entertainment retail. Shopping mall Dolce Vita in Tejo outside Lisboa, inaugurated in 2009. The complex comprises 300 stores, 11 cinemas and a Kidzania which is a kind of edu-tainment retail for children (author's photograph from 2011)

5.2 Shopping at Caffè Florian, the famous café/museum/shop in Venice, Italy (author's photograph from 2009)



The integration of retail with leisure activities or important everyday activities is sometimes not constructed from scratch since, as mentioned above, retail businesses often exploit existing attractors and magnets inside or outside the city such as railways stations and airports (Jerde 2004: 34). This integration is not just on the large scale; there is also retail combined with small-scale services. Scott Brown and Venturi, for example, pointed out what they call *profit centres*, that is, the integration of shopping into everyday life outside stores such as hotel rooms with mini bars, phone services, Internet services, laundry services, and home refrigerators that can sense when milk is running out (Scott Brown and Venturi 2001: 596).

It should be noted that these integration efforts are not only initiated by retail businesses, but also by public services. The stores developed in public libraries and museums are cases in point. Another good example of this is the *idea store*. The idea store is a building type in spe and consists of a local library with different kinds of information services, studios, café, and a local history archive. A number of idea stores were introduced in London during the first decade of the twenty-first century, designed by the David Adjaye, promoting local culture and citizenship. The connection of a local public library to the concept of retail and consumption is interesting, and it is not just used a matter of connotations but also of spatial design (Allison 2006: 10–11). The idea store on Chrisp Street in London (2001–2004) was constructed on top of an existing shopping centre from the 1950s. Perhaps the most well-known idea store is in Whitechapel (2001–2005) well-connected to the commercial activities of the sidewalk outside (Allison 2006: 158–207, Heyns 2008). The concept has since received attention outside the UK, and influenced, for example, *Garaget*, a local library with a café, creative workshops, and so on, which opened in Malmö 2008.

Integration of uses has become increasingly important and, it is not a coincidence that the *Building Type Basic Book* on retail is coupled with mixed-use facilities (Jerde 2004). Hotels, offices, cultural venues are all part of the new consumer society and the proliferation of new consumer spaces. This hybridisation is, as we shall see below, an important prerequisite for the production of new building types and sorts.

In addition to integration, another trend has been the concentration of retail into big box landscapes. If one were to write the contemporary history of retail spaces in Malmö-Lund it would to a large extent be about the evolution of large retail areas such as Svågertorp, Center Syd, Pilelyckan (Nova Lund), Stora Bernstorp and Tofterup. Some of these areas started off with a mall acting as a large magnet, like Nova Lund and Center Syd, attracting more and more category killers. In Sweden, the big box retail areas sometimes began in disused industrial zones during the 1980s and 90s. The first stores were often DIY stores or car dealers, but soon malls, factory outlets and other category killers followed. In one Swedish enquiry it turned out that 90 per cent of the municipalities had retail in these formerly industrial zones (Bergström and Arnberg 2005). The prime reasons are often good intra-urban or regional accessibility by car, co-localisation with other retail businesses of the same kind, cluster effects, cheaper rents and larger plots (Bergström 2000: 22)

Although *the big box syndrome* is often typical of urban peripheries, one of its manifestations is also the commercialisation of older urban centres, where stores expand over older court yards or buildings in courtyards, as well as upper floors (Coleman 2006). Stores get bigger, take up first floor space and consequently also raise their storefronts to double height. Some city districts could in this sense also be described as a big box landscapes. The boxes might be more densely organised but size, monofunctionality and even

car accessibility might sometimes well equal the retail areas located on the outskirts (cf. Chapter 3).

Atmosphere is one of the basic concepts of aesthetics (cf. Albertsen 1999), and Gernot Böhme, one of the main theorists of atmosphere as an aesthetic concept writes:

...architecture produces atmospheres in everything it creates. Of course, it also solves specific problems and fabricates objects and buildings of all sorts. But architecture is aesthetic work in the sense that it always also generates spaces with a special mood quality, i.e. atmospheres. (Böhme cited in Borch 2009: 235)

Recently, the philosopher Sloterdijk has written on atmospheres in *Sphäre III* (Sloterdijk 2004, Borch 2008, 2009). He points out the role of climate control systems, environments and atmospheres for both political and social conditions. Sloterdijk stresses, for example, the important role of hothouses, and states that the palm house 'to this very day can be considered one of the most beautiful achievements of world architecture' (Sloterdijk 2005: 944–945). The hothouse was also one of the first and most effective vehicles for the transportation of atmospheres, allowing the jungle to literally move into large European cities such as London.

The role of smell, music and temperature saw a special refinement and development in the retail architecture of the late twentieth century. In literature on retail and marketing we find the concept of atmospherics used in the early 1970s (Kotler 1973), and in terms of more comprehensive *atmospheric theming*, one of the pioneers was certainly Starbucks, the first store opening in Seattle 1971. The Starbucks design was highly conscious of the five senses of the customers. With artworks, music, aromas and commodities, Starbucks managed to create an atmosphere of its own, and also, as Klingmann states, to associate coffee with a set of activities such as relaxing, reading and conversing (Klingmann 2007: 36–37). In one sense one could even argue that Starbucks created their own kind of building type, not associated mainly with a single usage, not with the usual architectural aesthetics of the spatial layout or the façade, but with a specific atmosphere. As atmosphere becomes increasingly important as an aesthetic category, one could perhaps argue that it also plays a part in the constitution of territorial strategies producing building types where the name of the types are set by the brand of the stores, as in Starbucks, IKEAs or McDonalds.

The role of atmosphere is, however, not just an important part of branding, it is also (and perhaps more importantly) a means of theming and creating a comfortable and desirable environment for the customers. Atmospheric design also gets more important as shopping becomes a global or national attractor in shopping tourism.

5.3 Tourist buses outside a shopping mall in Ankara (author's photograph from 2010)



The rising role of the atmosphere in material design is one of the reasons why building types are better conceptualised as territorial sorts: it is the territorial production of association through actants such as atmospheres, artefacts, materials and people, that sets the form-function link (if such an expression is allowed), not just the walls, or the plan, or the building in itself.

Territorial sorts can create new associations and thus connect new actants to existing sorts; for example, through connecting wine or coffee to book shops, museums to stores, stores to cafés, vintage to fashion, and so on. To a large extent it is the fluidity of the territorial sort that has made this proliferation and hybridisation possible. However, as the territorial sort becomes ordered, predictable and thus profitable, the notion of network stabilisation becomes more important. It is precisely this kind of constant changes, rather than the discussion of the most recent empirical examples of retail type invention, that I believe we need to develop further.

Singularisation

One important way of producing new retail building types, and associations to new territorial sorts, is singularisation. The business, the company, the store and the building itself needs a 'face'. It needs to be recognised both as a place where one can buy goods, but also as something unique and different from its competitors. How can one describe this recognition? Can things even have a face? Emmanuel Levinas asks this question in an essay from 1951. As opposed to Levinas who, in *Totalité et infini* (1961), seemed to answer this

question with a no, the phenomenologist Edward Casey gives us a definite yes (Casey 2007: 365). In *The World at Glance* (2007), Casey finds support in the theories of Deleuze and Guattari to dissociate the face from a specific place on the human body, and applies it to hands, legs, things and places. The face, in this context, then becomes an expressive surface of a singular identity that can be separated from the body or substance it helps to express (Casey 2007: Chapter 11).¹ The human tendency to read/design faces into our environments is well known in architecture, where the relationship between the façade and the face has a long history. The face has been used to describe, mould and legitimate façades in works from Francesco di Giorgio's study of the cornice at the end of the fifteenth century (Rykwert 1996: 59–61), to pure mimetics, as in the burlesque architecture of the gateway and windows of Palazetto Zuccari in Rome 1590, to more modern and abstract interpretations such as James Stirling's Clore Gallery in London or Henning Larsen's Nation Centre in Nairobi. The analogy of face and façade was quite common during the late eighteenth century, but disappeared as more rational and universal demands on buildings began to make themselves manifest during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Architectural theorist and critic Colin Rowe has even criticised modern architecture for its lack of facial properties. The façade was, to Rowe, an important vehicle for making clear the idea of the building, and as such it was necessary for a good interaction between man and building (Vidler 1992: 85–87). But if everything has a face, as Casey suggests, then Rowe's critique may miss the point; the face might still be there, not necessarily in the façade, but anywhere. One of the roles of the critic (or any user) would then be to localise the face/faces of the building (rather than always expecting them to be fixed to the same place).

Connected to the idea that a building, artefact or place has a face, is the notion of expressiveness and singularity that makes it possible to identify an object or place as unique. This, as Casey suggests is, often done at first glance. In the context of building types one might, for example say that when we confront a certain place, such as an IKEA store, we can in split second identify it simultaneously as a store for furniture, as an example of a retail building type (the category killer), as an IKEA store, and so on, but also, and perhaps most importantly as a place of its own; beyond all stereotypes. It is something that is impossible to reduce to a category, type or to any other building or place (cf. Casey 2007: 269–270). Every place and object, although connected to a lot of different things, also has a singular quality that makes it irreducible to anything but that place or object itself.

The trajectory from a certain type or category towards a new and unique identity may be called singularisation (cf. Kopytoff 1986, Casey 2007). All things that meet us in the world have singularity, even the most often-reproduced of commodities.² It is, though, also possible to discuss the

1 Casey also makes use of J. J. Gibson's concepts of *surface* and *substance* in this discussion.

2 I do not go into the Deleuze's concept of 'the singular' here. Suffice it to say that for Deleuze the singular is an essential aspect of life, that is, that which is the same in us all (beyond for example, individuality and personality). Deleuze's concept is an ontological one, and although related to the

singularisation of a certain aspect of a thing. The anthropologist Igor Kopytoff was, to my knowledge, the first person to use the concept of singularisation in a context of consumption and commodities (Kopytoff 1986). In his essay 'The cultural biographies of things', Kopytoff discusses singularisation as a decommodifying process, that is, as a way of parting an object from the capitalist logic of exchangeable goods. The singular is not an absolute concept, nothing is only singular, and no commodity is, at least theoretically, totally replaceable. The singular can thus better be described in terms of degree, and discussed as a process of singularisation rather than in terms of an object simply being singular or not. Singularisation is a process that defies classification (cf. Kopytoff 1986: 70), and can as such be initiated by for example, religious or cultural institutions that want to keep certain object 'sacred'. In *Capitalism's Eye* (2007), Hetherington describes how objects are transformed and singularised into museum artefacts. The object is detached from the market, kept static and made 'invaluable' (Hetherington 2007: 171–173). Singularisation can also be used in the production of symbols of power. Kopytoff gives a number of examples of how people in authority reserve certain artefacts for themselves only: 'The kings of Siam monopolised albino elephants. And the British monarchs have kept their right to dead whales washed ashore' (Kopytoff 1986: 73). There could also be objects that are forbidden for resale such as medicine or the indulgences of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally, there could be objects that are singularised and decommodified since they are regarded as worthless. These may be common everyday things and non-commodities like individual stones, individual matches or scraps of food (Kopytoff 1986: 74–75). To make something useless is thus just as much a process as making it 'invaluable'. Both cases imply that the things become impossible to trade.

Singularisation is a core issue in architectural theory and for the architect as a modern profession. The Western world and cultures have been very interested in singularisation, and the need for progression, accumulation and the celebration of new inventions goes hand in hand with the modern project. Maybe it is also against this background that we must see the oft-cited definition of architecture proposed by Pevsner: 'A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture' (Pevsner 1983: 15). Pevsner here seems to mean that architecture, as opposed to mere building, needs an aesthetic ambition, but one can also note a certain demand for singularisation. Architecture cannot simply be reproduced, it has to include something new and unique (however small) every time, and it needs to make this kind of singular quality visible. Definitions of architecture like Pevsner's are in fact quite common (see for example, Hillier's long discussion in Hillier 1996, or Werne 1997: 12–13), and in some sense they clarify a demand at the very core of the profession: if architecture could exist by mere reproduction, the profession would not be needed.

concept I use here in the manner of Casey and Kopytoff, it would give our discussion a somewhat different direction (cf. Deleuze 2001: 25–34).

The proliferation of new territorial strategies and building types during the industrial revolution can be seen as part of a singularisation process, where certain functions were pinpointed (singularised) and designed, and then *desingularised* into new kinds of building or room types. Singularisation is always a prerequisite for desingularisation and for the production of a building type, and as such it lies at the very heart of architectural practice as well as of spatial production in general from the Renaissance until today (cf. for example Lefebvre's genealogy of abstract space in Lefebvre 1991: Chapter 4). Even Palladio, sometimes referred to as the first modern architect (Habraken 2005), singularised the villa as a specific kind of building, which eventually became desingularised as a 'Palladian villa' and as a reproducible 'Palladian style'. Palladio designed signature objects that were readily projected to other sites and exportable to other countries. The Palladian 'design' was applicable and moveable to buildings and landscapes everywhere (Habraken 2005). Le Corbusier's *Cité Radieuse* is a kindred spirit of this singularisation process, the urban structure should be torn down and the city should be made up of free-standing buildings alone, where every building is a reproduced Corbusian monument (Panerai et al., 2004: 116).

The architecture of Palladio was, according to Habraken, not just buildings located at a certain place but also a kind of materialised principle. He compares Palladio's buildings with those of Mauro Codussi. Codussi was a Venetian architect of the Renaissance who, instead of creating decontextualised objects, integrated his buildings in the urban texture, constructing them as part of what Habraken calls 'the field' rather than as isolated *objets d'art* (Habraken 2005: 48–49), that is, part of the ordinary rather than the extra-ordinary (Habraken 1998). Habraken's plea for an architecture of the field denotes an architecture of context where the role of the architect is to contribute to the life and form of the urban environment by responding to its demands and structures in an open way without thinking, for example, of self-expression or strategic style. What Habraken calls for is what I would like to call a critique of the singularisation of architecture, and should probably not be interpreted as a call for desingularisation, but for *asingularisation*.

As we can see, singularisation is a process that is active at many different levels in the theory and history of architecture and, as noted, it could even be argued that it is part and parcel of the profession itself. It is, however, also an important means by which building types are born. Singularisation allows for a breaking of the fluid stability of a territorial sort and for the institutionalisation of a new kind of sort or type through a process of desingularisation. Retail businesses sometimes find themselves entangled in processes of singularisation, where something in the concept of the store or brand needs to become 'other' to the ordinary territorial sorts of stores, malls, department stores or hypermarkets. The business needs to produce and maintain an identity of its own, it needs a process of singularisation. In terms of building types this has often taken the form of hybridisation, where

change is accomplished through a strategy where new functions are added and integrated with the old ones (or vice versa).

The strategy of hybridisation is one of the more common means by which buildings are singularised and new building types are born (cf. Markus 1993: 31). For example, take John Soane's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields in London. Soane built number 12 as a home and office for himself in 1792, and later also bought numbers 13 and 14, and had them rebuilt. At the time of Soane's death in 1837, his house could be seen as a hybrid building, an example of a dwelling, an architect's office, an educational institution, an archive, a library, a museum, a mausoleum and a public institution (Furjan 2009). Soane singularised his home, transforming it by adding one function after another, and finally by the innovation of a new kind of building type: the private home and its collections as a public museum.

The focus on the market hall, one of the major successes in terms of building types for consumerism during the nineteenth century, probably began with the type being the subject of the Grands Prix competition in Paris in 1792. The assignment, however, was then not just to draw a market hall, but to draw a building that also could accommodate other functions, such as law courts and a police station (Markus 1993: 304). One of the most important and fertile hybrid buildings (in the genealogy of spaces for consumerism) was the *Palais Royal* in Paris after the French revolution and, as mentioned above, it has been argued that both the arcade and the department store emanated from this building (see further in Hetherington 1997, and Geist 1983).

Today, when the singularisation of spaces of consumerism is legion, it is thus no wonder that hybridisation is the order of the day. Hybridity is often a concept for that which does not yet have a name. Some of the more famous examples include Tschumi's contribution to the Kansai airport in Osaka competition (1988), a proposal with business, commerce and culture 24/7 (Klingmann 2007: 113). Small scale examples are Rem Koolhaas' Prada epicentre stores (the first was built in New York 2001), comprising different programs such as a library, a clinic, an archive, e-commerce, gathering places, and so on. (Klingmann 2007: 125–126). As noted above, the unity of a building type, such as an epicentre or a flagship store, is not set by one specific prototype or function per se but rather by a sort of atmosphere.

Singularisation can sometimes occur within the building type or territorial sort, not so much breaking the bonds of the old territorial sort as expanding the existing sort with a larger repertoire, or establishing a *sub-sort* within it, with the mobilisation of new actants that might eventually come to bear a family resemblance with the old ones. This is what we could call a *typical singularisation*, and it often introduces a new prefix for an old sort, such as mega- in front of mall. The desire to establish the largest mall, the largest of its kind, is almost part of the original mall concept, and thus when, for example the West Edmonton Mega-mall opened as the world's largest mall in Canada in 1986 (Shields 1989) it worked within the given parameters of the mall, but also contributed to a distinction between malls and mega-malls.

In other cases, singularisation might be considered an *atypical singularisation*. Victor Gruen's Southdale in Minneapolis opening in 1956 as the world's first mall with an indoor climate (Wrigley and Lowe 2002: 218–220) is a case in point. The atypical singularisation is thus a process that can be said to have (a postiori) produced the first of its kind.

Franck and Schneekloth use *type operation* (Franck and Schneekloth 1994) to indicate that building types exists as a two-sided operation or movement between abstraction and exemplification. Every building type is part of an ongoing circulation of images, names, usages and buildings. The movement between concrete and abstract of the type operation is one way in which users (or researchers) try to conceptualise and understand a certain building type in a process of constant change, where new examples are constantly being added and old ones are changing. What are the common attributes of all these examples? As I encounter new ones, my view on the type changes. Type operation is thus a basic phenomenon, but in describing the transformation and production of *new* building types, the process of singularisation is more essential.

In *Boutiques and other Retail Spaces* (2007), Vernet and de Wit describe the relationship between the 'boutique' as a type and a concept. The concept boutique is known in French from the thirteenth century and can be traced back to the Greek word *apotheke* that means 'a place where things are put away' (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 35), implying that the boutique is both a kind of stockroom for goods and a shop. Soon, however, boutique came to mean only the transaction space, the shop, and not the storage area. During the nineteenth century the word took on a much more specific meaning as it was used for stores selling luxury goods to the middle class. After World War II the connotation changed again as 'boutique' was used in contrast to the large-scale stores in malls and department stores, and the word came to indicate a small-scale store with some kind of specialised assortment of goods. The boutique was then often owned by an independent retailer and most often focused on female clientele. However, in parallel, international retailers and chains started to use the concept as a way of marketing stores as exclusive and with an air of luxury. As Vernet and de Wit illustrate, the concept has now been transformed from its original meaning as an ordinary store with storage, to an ordinary store, to a store for a certain class, to a specific kind of not-chain store, and then to a specific kind of chain store (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 35). The associations and connotations that go with the concept of boutique have changed several times. It is perhaps most interesting to note how international retailers picked up the concept in order to singularise their shops and make them stand out from the ordinary mall store. However, transformations and strategies initiated and implemented by large international retailers are always doomed to become desingularised.

The processes of singularisation and desingularisation have always been important to retail business, where 'business as usual' is dependent not on the status quo but on the toing and froing of a stable singularisation process. It lies

at the heart of retail business to mix the possibility of making the customers feel safe and at home (and for the businesses themselves to have predictable profits), with the pleasurable surprises, new goods, and the production of new desires. It is often said that there are two ways of creating loyalty with the customer: routine of the everyday and/or a sense of luxury (Vernet and de Witt 2007). These seemingly paradoxical demands are accomplished through processes of singularisation and desingularisation, and most retail businesses are keenly aware of keeping these kinds of processes active at all times. The singularisation process can play an important part in territorial strategies that are transforming existing territorial sorts as well as producing new ones. This process can play an important part of an ongoing retail territorialisation of public space, but it might, for example, also be seen in the quite ordinary ways in which a specific territorial appropriation produces one or several territorial associations.

Some Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I began by examining the concept of building type, suggesting territorial sort as a way of describing the proliferation and transformation of new building types. I then went on to describe this proliferation as a process of singularisation where retail spaces are singularised and then desingularised in order to become reproducible and predictable. Processes of singularisation lie at the heart of architecture and architectural theory, but can also be used to describe societal processes (especially in the retail sector) where architectural design plays an increasingly important role. I have also argued that the process of desingularisation involves a change in territorialisation where stabilisation takes on the form of network rather than sort.

Although this chapter has largely been a discourse on building types, it should be noted that the evolution and spread of new building types or territorial sorts, also relates to the transformation of urban space, so by way of conclusion I comment briefly on three ways in which the ongoing processes of territorial singularisation might affect public space and territorial complexity (thus adding to the territorialisation processes described in the previous chapters).

First, the singularisation process affects the anatomy of the urban landscape. The relationship between building typology and urban morphology seems to be an integrated one, and at times difficult to distinguish as two distinct subjects (on typo-morphology, see for example, Rossi 1984). The influence of new retail types on the urban landscape can be traced as retail spaces have grown larger and more heterogeneous in terms of the number and types of actants enlisted. This has been described in previous chapters as the stabilisation of a large retail area such as the pedestrian precinct, as the stabilisation of an ambient phenomenon such as synchronisation, and in this chapter it was followed up by a discussion on building typology evolution coupled with a shift of focus

from objects to atmospheres and from boxes to big box landscapes. Today, a great deal of the singularisation process has to do with an environments rather than with a building (cf. Sloterdijk 2005), whether it is Malmö city centre, Center Syd, Svågertorp or Nova Lund. Although some of these names, like Nova Lund and Center Syd originally just referred to a single building, they now signify whole branded areas of shopping.

Second, the focus on architectural design is becoming increasingly important in the contemporary singularisation processes of the retail sector, but perhaps not so much in terms of improving the environment of the general user (as in the modernist days) but more in terms of branding and promoting a certain interest. When it comes to the classic notion of function and usage, major emphasis seems to be placed on the predictability and reliability of usage and its related urban form. From the old metaphor of architecture as music in space, or frozen music (as declared famously by Friedrich Schelling), we now, perhaps more than ever, seem to have some neurotic need of constant change, change for the sake of change and thus an architecture on the move. The process of change needs to be kept alive at any costs, but it must not reign freely. It needs to be governed, packaged, territorialised, singularised and desingularised. This may have always been the case to some extent in the history of retail, but now there is a stronger focus on the architectural environment, and not just on the building, the goods or the practices of shoppers. New brandscapes evolve through the rich and deliberate production of associations and connections. Territorial association is, as noted earlier, one very dynamic way of producing territories. However, in brandscapes and retailsapes these new territories are quickly desingularisation and stabilised as networks. The production of territorial associations tends to be controlled both in number and in kind. It could be argued that a proliferation of new territorial sorts could increase possibilities, since a larger variety of sorts gives greater freedom of choice. As these new territorial sorts get adopted by consumer logic, territorial complexity will, however, soon decrease. Although I sympathise with the idea store concept, Bauman's notion makes sense: as everything is turned into commodities and stores of one kind or another, the world becomes saturated by consumer logic (Bauman 2007). The other problem is that the singularisation process is set on constant repeat. Territorial sorts evolve from territorial strategies in order to get desingularised and stabilised by means of territorial networks and thus lose their fluidity.

Third, singularisation is to some extent an important public issue. What buildings in the city are singularised and why? In modern complex societies, processes of singularisation are fairly common. The desire for the unique and valuable is part and parcel of capitalist logic, but our history is also full of debates and battles over what buildings, monuments or objects deserve institutionalised singularisation. What objects belong to a museum, what buildings should be protected? In his study of Dresden, Jarzombek notes how Dresden went from serving as a Nazi city to an ideal planned socialist

city and then to a neo-liberal Westernised city. Jarzombek discuss these transformations through the role of singular monuments/anti-monuments such as Frauenkirche or the Synagogue (Jarzombek 2001). The power struggles of singularisation are important to acknowledge, and in order to do this one has to see the increasingly important role of the building types of retail and consumerism in a historical and spatial context. Historically and prior to the Industrial revolution, processes of building singularisation were often initiated by the prince, the feudal lord or the church. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this changed as nations, governments and states became important commissioners of monumental buildings and statues. This also involved a new and abstract role of buildings as described by Paul Frankl in his *Principles of Architectural History* (1914):

In the older church and palace there had been a permanent inhabitant whose actual or supposed relationship to the changing visitors was a fixed and lasting one. Now buildings become shells occasionally used by people who want to be restored to health, to bathe, learn, read or buy. These buildings cannot be identified with one personality; they belong to everyone and therefore to no one. (Frankl 1968: 182)

The monumental buildings of the nineteenth century were often institutions commissioned by the state: universities, town halls, schools and hospitals. In a wonderful essay written by Robert Gutman (originally in 1989) on Louis Kahn's Richards Research Laboratories, a building completed in the early 1960s (Gutman 2010), this is taken a step further. Rather than just working from the program of an abstract client, Kahn goes (as many modernists did) all the way to a Neoplatonic position of the building as the manifestation of an idea. It was not primarily the interests or programs of the state or the University of Pennsylvania that Kahn tried to interpret and materialise in architectural form, it was the research laboratory as a kind of generic human institution. It was 'the idea of the laboratory' that was to be built, not the intentions of the client. Indeed, even though the building actually became regarded as a huge failure by its users, it was considered a canonical building among the architects (Gutman 2010: 114).

The modernist building type as illustrated here by Kahn's research laboratory was often regarded an a priori type. There was never a question about singularisation. On the contrary, the nature of Kahn's architectural endeavours was anti-singular to its core. In this sense, the Neoplatonic modernist era was a kind of golden age when it comes to building types – the idealised type was the primary object and the starting point of the architectural design. Today this has changed. One may still see the client as a kind of abstraction, such as 'the market', but one could also see the return of a more personalised (or at least specific) commissioner in the form of global business companies and retail chains. Furthermore, the aim is not for the anti-singular, but for establishing processes of singularisation/desingularisation. If we study the buildings that aspire to be monuments today – the ones aiming

at becoming singularised into one of the extra-ordinary exclamation points of the urban tissue – the role played by retail businesses has certainly increased, whereas the buildings of the state have become somewhat downplayed. Again, the large shopping mall *Entré Malmö*, which opened in 2009 (see Figure 4.5), is a telling example. Together with the recent retail expansion of railway stations and airports, and in the case of Malmö, the new first station from the continent, *Hyllie*, and the large shopping mall built there, one will be soon be able to state with some accuracy that every city entrance is a mall, and that the building types of consumerism are increasingly making their monumental marks upon the city.

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Architecture and the Production of Public Space – Territorial Complexities

[The city] is transformed for many people into a 'desert' in which the meaningless, indeed the terrifying, no longer takes the form of shadows but becomes, as in Genet's plays, an implacable light that produces this urban text without obscurities, which is created by a technocratic power everywhere and which puts the city-dweller under control (under control of what? No one knows): 'The city keeps us under its gaze, which one cannot bear without feeling dizzy' says a resident of Rouen.

(Certeau 1988: 103–104)

In this quotation from Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Certeau points to the lack of obscurity made possible by different (but in themselves obscure) spatial strategies and conceptualisations. The quotation might hold true for the city as a whole, but it fits even better as a description of retailisation, a process where everything obscure becomes transparent. So, in spaces where everything is bathing in the light of retail and no (actual) surprises seem to be allowed, how could it be possible to produce new publics?

I began this book with a presentation of a territorial outlook, describing public space in terms of territorial complexity. Territorial complexity was conceived of as the co-existence of a large number of non-hierarchical and polyrhythmic territorial productions at one place. The preceding chapters have all pointed out increasingly sophisticated and materialised territorial control, erasing ambiguity as well as the possibility of serendipity and unforeseen ways of behaviour in urban retail areas. It has thus, hopefully, been made obvious how these processes of territorialisation tend to diminish the complexity of public space. The processes, here discussed as separation, stabilisation, synchronisation and singularisation/desingularisation, have everything to do with architecture and urban design. Architecture plays an important part in all forms of territorialisation, and could contribute both to an increase and a decrease of territorial complexity. In this chapter, I will try to address territorial complexity from another perspective. By describing public domain both as a multitude of interstitialities and as an issue of concern to new collectives, I will try to add some words on how architectural design could be made a co-producer of 'publicness' and territorial complexity (rather than the opposite).

Interstitiality

A multitude or complexity of synchoric territorial productions could provide a potential richness of possible interstitialities or in-betweens. Indeed, one could argue that a polyterritorial place often suggests this possibility of interstitial

production to its users to a much larger degree than a monoterritorial place. It is where different and seemingly unrelated phenomena suddenly meet that interstitialities are produced. Interstitiality presents a seed for something new, a hybrid. When Hajer and Reijndorp describe the public domain as ‘those places where an exchange between different social groups is possible and also actually occurs’ (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 11), the definition connotes a meeting of differences which seems to allow or even call for interstitial practices and spaces (cf. the city of thresholds as put forward by Stavrides 2010). This stand could be seen as further backed up by Luc Lévesque, who has described public space in terms of an ‘interstitial constellation, made of discontinuous and even often left-over spaces in the city’ (Lévesque discussed in Brighenti 2010d: 121).

In-between space as a concept was imported from the work of Martin Buber into an architectural discourse by Aldo van Eyck in 1961 (Lefaivre 2002: 24; van Eyck 2008: 54–55). To van Eyck, and later to his colleague Herman Hertzberger, the in-between was, simply put, a place full of interrelations. In a sense it connotes the meeting of two spatial programs, often the meeting of private and public spaces, something like a threshold which: ‘depending on how you interpret it, belongs more to the house or more to the street and hence is a part of both’ (Hertzberger 2000: 215). The works of Hertzberger and van Eyck represent explicit examples of two architect’s perspectives on the in-between, where the focus lies on interstitial material places (the front garden, *de stoep*, the porch) rather than on interstitial practices. Hertzberger devotes whole chapters to the subject in his books on space for students in architecture (Hertzberger 1991; 2000). Lefaivre has pointed out that Eyck’s more than 700 Dutch playgrounds made during the post-war period were unique in the way in which they were integrated into the ‘living fabric of the city’ (Lefaivre 2002: 28–29) on the many empty sites left after the bombing of Amsterdam during World War II.

Despite the interest shown by some architects in the concept of the in-between and the interstitial, the concept has not been theoretically developed or investigated in terms of its function in everyday urban life. The importance of architecture and the built environment when it comes to producing in-between or interstitial spaces must not be underestimated, and it should not be reduced to merely the physical (geometrical) space between two other spaces or buildings. This is in part a conceptual problem, since ‘in-between space’ or ‘interstitial space’ has been given too many and too broad meanings, making it impossible to be precise about its nature or effects. For example, when Hertzberger discusses in-between space as an important theme in the work of Paul Cézanne, he might be correct in claiming that Cézanne raised the general consciousness of space in his times (Hertzberger 2000: 217). However, the spatial aspect of Cézanne’s paintings highlighted by Hertzberger through a discussion of his still life paintings has more to do with the dualities of figure-background or object-space than with interstitial space. In order to make

the concept of interstitial space effective in discussions of architecture and everyday life, we need to be more precise about its meanings and objectives.

Before it was ever used in architecture, psychologist Bruno Bettelheim, who studied under Freud, pointed out the importance of in-between spaces in *Love is not Enough* (1950), where Bettelheim wrote about life at the Orthogenic School for Emotionally Disturbed Children, one of the laboratory schools at the University of Chicago during the 1940s. Bettelheim discovered that these children's preferred places of play at home were often in-between spaces like stairways and hallways, rather than bedrooms or dining rooms (Bettelheim 1950: 116). When the School decided to equip a nice living room for the children, it was transformed as soon as the kids were allowed to take over: 'It was as if it were contrary to the children's desire to admit any clear-cut division of functions between rooms or to take up activities in line with what a room is designed for' (Bettelheim 1950: 117). The same held true for more private spaces. The private dormitories soon became deprivatised, enabling the children to shift from rest to play (Bettelheim, 1950: 117–118).

In some situations, Bettelheim allowed some children to break with the strong territorial expectations and rules that seemed oppressive to them, like the need to eat in the dining room. Sten Andersson, Bettelheim's Swedish translator, has suggested, in an essay entitled 'The Psychology of Things', that Bettelheim regarded things as inscribed with meaning. Certain things, like a knife or a fork thus seem to contain certain demands on their users (Anderson 1980: 50, cf. Werne 1987). To me, however, it seems clear that the phenomenon Bettelheim was describing is primarily spatial, or to put it more precisely, territorial. It is in the spatial distribution of the artefacts that a certain territorial expectation becomes stabilised. It is not primarily in the fork or knife itself, but in the ways a certain set of artefacts becomes associated with a dining situation or space, that certain behaviours and expectations become stabilised and can thereby act oppressively or seem oppressive (Kärrholm 2004). One makes an association to a certain sort of territory as well as to the rules commonly associated with this kind of territory. Bettelheim's therapy empowered the children to undermine these disciplinary rules and associations. By allowing them to eat in bed, territorial associations were deterritorialised. Bettelheim helped the children produce interstitial spaces that gave them the possibility of appropriating and associating to a territory of their own.

So in-between spaces, or interstitial spaces as I call them here, play important roles in human life. This includes the ability to create space wherever one might want to, in order to develop actions of one's own rather than just reacting to strong territorial strategies and their regulation. This has been studied in children and young people and their ways of appropriating public spaces that belong to the world of adults (cf. Lieberg 1992), but it is important in relation to all human beings (see, for example, Korosec-Serfaty 1973, or Lefebvre 1991).

Another role of interstitial practices, and this is the role that has been most developed by commercial agents and retailers, is the possibility of charging

a certain space or territorial situation with potentially new and atypical performances. This kind of interstitial practice has to do with the addition of new rules and things to an existing territory, the adding of new things to a space where, at least at first, they do not seem to belong (like the living room produced by Bettelheim's children), is one possible and very basic strategy of interfering with an existing territorial order. The accumulation of practices can deterritorialise any proper meaning of a place (Certeau 1988: 105), induce a more heterarchical order, adding new rhythms and territorial productions to any given place and thus increase the territorial complexity.

Interstitial space, in this sense, is not about the topological order of rooms (like Hertzberger's thresholds) or the particular activities taking place there; it is always a socio-spatial or socio-material process. Bettelheim's children transformed certain territorial sorts such as living rooms and bedrooms, by means of materialities, things, actions, rules and associations. Interstitial space can thus be described as spatial production through territorial transformation, and has to do with territorial orders produced by an assemblage or network of people, objects, spaces and rules (Latour 2005a). Interstitial space is thus, in my opinion, an integral part of territorology, and adds to territorial complexity, for example, by producing new territorial associations, appropriations and tactics, as well as by challenging the hierarchy of existing dominating territorial productions at that place. By way of comparison with interstitial space we can take the related yet wholly different concept of non-place. To Marc Augé non-places like airports, hotel rooms and shopping malls are areas without sufficient significations to be regarded as places (Augé 1995). In some cases these non-places really lack clear, dominant territorial production, and thus they can be seen as places of weak or heterogeneous territories in-between stronger and more homogenous territorial productions. In other cases, however, the territorial production might be very strong (such as at certain areas of the airport), and whether or not they are interstitial spaces, remains to be investigated from case to case. A first point is therefore that interstitial spaces are dependent on, and can even be defined in terms of, how they relate to one or more stronger adjacent or overlapping territorial productions. This indicates a double identity of being (a) and also being (b). It also implies a sequential transformation from (a) and (b) and then on to something else, (c).

A second point is that interstitial spaces are not predefined or located at certain predefined spaces such as hallways, staircases or residual spaces (cf. Wikström 2005), and so on, but can be found or produced at any place. Bettelheim describes in-between space as ill-defined and as the 'absence of stability' (Bettelheim 1950: 116), and this is true in the sense that interstitial spaces lack or defy a dominant territorial strategy as well as an easily associated territorial sort. Interstitial spaces defy classification and can be described as *terrains vagues* (Solà-Morales 1995), located in-between strong territorial programs. However, a *terrain vague* here must be understood as something applicable to all places, not just to the vague or *unheimlich* places on the

outskirts of traditional cities, such as industrial areas, ports and contaminated sites, as Sola-Morales suggests. They can, in fact, also be produced within spaces of strong, strategic territorialisations in city centres, in shopping malls, and even in courts of law and prisons.

In line with this, a third point is that there are at least two kinds of interstitial spaces. There are the ones that take advantage of weak or heterogeneous territorial programs in-between stronger ones (like the ones in the books of Hertzberger, at *terrains vagues*, in residual spaces, or in staircases and halls). There are also the ones that 'carve' out space within strong territorial strategies (like establishing a skaters' territory at a mall), locating in-between associations made to other territorial sorts ('a skaters' place'), and the association sustained by the territorial strategy (the mall), thus creating uncertainties and new rules that defy existing classifications and regulations within the 'territory of the enemy' (cf. Certeau 1988). Thus interstitial practices and in-between spaces might be produced through associations to certain strong territorial sorts inside the borders of a strong territorial strategy.

Finally, a fourth point is that in-between spaces are related to in-between times (cf. Bettelheim 1950: Chapter 5). Interstitial production often includes a temporary deterritorialisation, and in-between times could also be used as a way of detecting interstitial spaces. Time is actually always of the essence when it comes to interstitial practices, and people with a lot of time on their hands often have better opportunities for creating interstices. For retail businesses the places of waiting, drinking, eating, and so on, are increasingly exploited, as retail tends to synchronise with the rhythms of urban life. The attempt by retail businesses to capitalise on urban rhythms is not only a matter of synchronisation, as discussed in Chapter 4, but could also be described as the colonisation of in-between times. Today, retail seems to be pinpointing (or even creating) these kinds of events in order to control and capitalise on them (cf. Kärrholm and Sandin 2011). The ongoing commercialisation of different kinds of waiting spaces such as lobbies, waiting rooms, departure halls, museums, railway stations, libraries and airports, could be regarded as a kind of commercial colonisation of in-between times and moments. Moments that used to be quite weak in terms of territorial program are being inscribed with a kind of shopping logic. Airport shopping facilities are a good case in point, since they have even taken matters one step further. By actually creating, adjusting and monitoring the time between check-in and departure, in-between moments are created only to be filled with shopping (and security controls).

Public Domain as a Matter of Concern

So how do we keep the possibilities for interstitiality open? How do we create places for things we do not yet know what they are? To secure and monitor a production of interstitial practices seem to be a contradiction in terms. Perhaps

it could nevertheless be possible to give a few pointers. To me, one key strategy for such a 'mission impossible' would be to let go of the very dominant 'place' and 'place-making' as central themes of the architectural discussion. The phenomenological idea that place 'takes precedence of all other things' (Aristotle cited in Casey 1996: 51, cf. the place theories following in the wake of Heidegger such as those of Christian Norberg-Schultz) is perhaps not the best of truisms to use as a role model for architectural design. No one place or *genius loci* could accommodate everything, architecture cannot come from just one place (cf. for example the concept of territorial frameworks and sorts discussed above), neither can its effects ever be limited to one place alone. Architecture is constantly produced and reproduced on different scales, this also means that architecture always is a part of an ongoing spatial and temporal production taking place somewhere else or at some other time (and certainly also beyond the horizon of a 'phenomenological subject').

I began this book with a somewhat topographical (cf. Iveson 2007) or architecturally orientated discussion of public space in terms of places of co-visibility and co-presence of strangers. I will now start from a more processual perspective, and with a question: What constitutes a public set of actions? The American pragmatist Walter Lippman has argued that issues are what call the public into being (Lippman 1993, Latour 2005b). In *The Phantom Public* (1927) Lippmann argues that there is no such thing as 'the public', or more precisely, that the public is defined situationally as 'those persons who are interested in an affair' (Lippmann 1993: 67). So: 'When the official fails, public opinion is brought to bear on the issue' (Lippmann 1993: 63), when problems or issues arise that no one is taking care of properly, it becomes a public affair. This proposition was also advocated by John Dewey in his book *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), but Dewey's views on the rise of new technologies and objects were more optimistic. Whereas Lippmann argued that the rise of new technology created a complex society that made the citizen incompetent, Dewey took a more democratic attitude, arguing that complex affairs could and must be handled. Later they both seemed to agree that technocracy and new objects actually might enable, rather than disable, a public and democratic citizen involvement. In fact, as asserted by Noortje Marres, Lippmann and Dewey both came to argue for the important role played by objects in democratic politics (Marres 2005: 208–209, cf. Latour 2005a, 2005b).

If we take the Lippmann-Dewey notion of public one step forward (along a trajectory of actor-network theory), one could argue as Marres indeed does, that it is issues and not groups that spark a public into being (Marres 2005). This 'public' should thus not be seen as a group or a community of just people; it is an issue affecting things and people, humans and non-humans. In order to account for this I would like to suggest the concept of *serial collectiveness*, indicating the non-group quality of a series (Sartre 1976) and the heterogeneity of the collective in terms of gathering all kinds of objects and entities, both human beings and non-humans (Latour 2005). The public

is defined in terms of issues that spark the public into being, that is, issues affecting (and mobilising) a *series* of people, things spaces, and so on. where there is no given community or institution to take care of the issue. In this sense the public could in a more abstract way be described as a '*territory of affection*' (Brighenti 2010d: 125). A first crucial and certainly also architectural question would thus be how to identify the affected members of a serial collective, and so to identify both the issue and the ones affected by it. Publics are in this sense always produced in respect to something else, that is, in respect to a matter of concern (Latour 2005b, 2005c, Marres 2005), and the first associations to be made are the ones between the issue and the actors that it concerns. These associations are a question of negotiation: Who are the insiders and who are the outsiders in relation to this issue or controversy at hand (Latour 2005b)? Who is a member of the serial collective and who is not? Iveson has made a similar suggestion when he points to the fact that public domain and public places are constructed and come into being only when turned into a venue of public address (Iveson 2007). Places of public issues can thus not be pre-located to certain places or domains. Seeing this problem from a spatial perspective, it becomes clear that the situation of raising a new public issue always brings at least two corollary spatial questions in its wake:

First, the notion of series indicates a problem of identification: there is a need to detect and identify a series, that is, *how do we create a spatial landscape that make the different members of a series visible both to each other and to others?* Since there is no way in which one could know all the different kinds of series to which one might belong during a lifetime, it seems crucial to produce spaces where different kinds of paths cross. If the public is an issue, and not a being, or as Brighenti would have it: if the public is more about bridging than bonding, and 'better imagined as a register of interaction, a regime of visibility' (Brighenti 2010d: 117), then the public domain is as much about movement as it is about staging. In a Latourian sense, it is the opportunities for new associations that are of the essence here, opportunities for new connections and the very fundamental aspect of meeting with, or encountering (*påträffandet*, as discussed interestingly in Hägerstrand 2009: 67–75). There would thus be a need for different kinds of territorial complexities, that is, for different kinds of meetings and coincidences. These meetings could be part of citizens' participation programmes, collective spaces, local gatherings, shopping places, or whatever, suffice it to say that the production of new territories is a prerequisite for the production and constant reproduction of public domain. In this sense, a concept like serendipity (Merton and Barber 2004) actually seems to have some bearing on the debate concerning what public domains should accommodate. Serendipity (accidental discovery) and its role in science and as a strategy seem increasingly important to recognise in a world obsessed with predictability.

Second, if we have an issue affecting a series of actors, and these actors recognise themselves as a series, then *where is the space where this issue can be raised?* Or, to put it in more Latourian terms: what kinds of spaces need to be

mobilised in order to stabilise a certain issue as an issue of public interest? Lefebvre dealt with these kinds of questions in *The Production of Space* when he suggested the necessity for any new group (or issue) to go through a *trial by space*:

groups, classes or fractions cannot constitute themselves, or recognize one another, as 'subjects' unless they generate (or produce) a space. Ideas, representations or values which do not succeed in making their mark on space, and thus generating (or producing) an appropriate morphology, will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies. (Lefebvre 1991: 416–417)

New activities need to produce and reproduce space in order to exist. In an interesting study on religious communities, Katarina Nylund has claimed the need for such spaces in a Swedish context, where (to Sweden) new ethnicities and religions have appeared in recent decades, but where a lot of groups are still struggling to secure a space of their own (Nylund 2007).¹

Looking back at these two questions, we could now rephrase the description of the public space as presented in the first chapter (based on Goffman, Lofland and others). Public space defined as the covisibility of individuals belonging to different groups is (of course) only one aspect of public space. One vital aspect lacking in such a description is the need for public space to be able to respond to new activities. An important function of co-visibility is to enable serial collectives to gather, and to set an arena for the negotiation of what goes in and what goes out. The aim of the public space is never to integrate or assimilate different groups, but to establish tolerance and knowledge that enable different groups to acknowledge each other as well as their similarities and their differences. Territorial borders, thresholds and fringe zones are of the essence in this respect (Stavrides 2010), and this is also what makes territorial complexity a good metaphor for the publicness of space: territorial complexity implies a richness of borders and thresholds.

Architecture and the Production of Public Space

One cannot prelocate the arena for public debate or a space where all public issues can be handled. It is not given that the centre of a city such as Malmö must be an important public domain. There is, however, a need for a register of spaces that intermingle in ways that (at least theoretically) could allow intervisibility between different activities, groups and series of society. This is what makes the recent processes of retailisation problematic, not that

¹ On a more ontological level, Lefebvre's notion of a trial by space do not only hold for groups or organisations but could, in a sense, be seen as a necessity for every living creature. This was early on recognised by Spinoza through his concept *conatus* – every beings effort of wanting to be, a striving for self-preservation – and in Nietzsches will to power, that is, the will to will. These philosophers (including Lefebvre) also pointed to the material and spatial body as wholly integrated part of being that could not be seen as subordinated to a soul or a mind (cf. Spindler 2009, 2010).

they colonise this or that place – it is never just about one place alone – but that they tend to restructure and fragment the public domain as a whole. Through the territorialisation of space, through stabilisation, synchronisation and desingularisation, retailisation is part of an ongoing fragmentation and homogenisation of the public domain, where associations are either broken or stabilised through networks all over the urban landscape.

It is important to be aware of the role that architecture and urban design plays in the production of publics. This has been made clear in my earlier discussions on territorial complexity; since territorial production becomes stable and durable through materialities, architectural design always plays a part in the production of territories, and thus of territorial complexity and publicness. Following the logic of my argument, architectural production, however, also needs to address at least two further aspects:

1. To accommodate serial collectives, that is, to make different categories and usages visible.
2. To accommodate interstitial production, that is, to make room for new issues that arise in ongoing everyday life.

Serial Collectives and Territorial Complexities

Space is always produced, but in every situation it is also always there from the beginning, allowing for some things to take place while impeding and concealing others. Some things are made possible or visible, others are hidden, made impossible or are at least difficult to accomplish without effort and resources. Space is thus not just something that can be mobilised at will, it is never just another enlisted actor, it is also an ‘already there’ of uncharted possibilities (Harman 2009). This is, in a sense, also what makes the retailisation of space problematic: it stabilises, synchronises, singularises and desingularises urban territory in ways that follow a single logic; it sets a uniform landscape that tend to be poor, both in variety and in different sorts. The way in which retail spaces evolve on new and larger scalar levels might risk restraining the performance and production of new serial collectives as it imposes a hierarchical order on territorial production. At the same time, materialities and spatialities always carry the potential of interstitial production and new relations, or as Graham Harman puts it: ‘objects are irreducible to their relations with other things, and always hold something in reserve from these relations’ (Harman 2009: 187).

Above, I used territorial complexity to describe a variety in terms of usages of a specific place. The notion of territorial complexity is also often an important indicator of intervisibility and co-presence. As Hågerstrand has noted there has been, especially in science and research, a tendency towards neglecting the role of co-presence, disregarding surroundings as uninteresting next-to-each-otherness (*bredvidvartannathet*), taking the object of study away

from its regional, spatial and proxemical context (Hägerstrand 2009: 85, cf. the concept 'positionings-in-relation-to-each-other' in Massey 2005: 111). In order to provide for new serial collectives to form, the next-to-each-otherness of human beings, artefacts, and spaces, one could thus argue for territorial complexities, or for territorial diversity, that is, a multiple set of connected and territorial complex places.

The philosopher Peter Sloterdijk has pointed out that modern architecture was very much about the assembling of people with a specific topic in common, for instance assembly halls, stadiums and convention centres (Borch 2009: 231–232). This assembling of groups or series of kindred souls is also true when it comes to retail architecture. These gathering places are, however, not foremost a question of a shared identity in terms of age, gender, class or ethnicity (although they might be that too), but of function (as a kind of behavioural coding and zoning). Functional homogenisation, functional gentrification,² and functional zoning, seem to be crucial means of segmenting and territorialising the urban landscape. This, in turn, might be a more important aspect of the mechanisms of social segregation (in terms of class, gender and ethnicity) than hitherto acknowledged. I would argue that we need an architectural methodology able to discuss aspects of inter-visibility, connectedness and next-to-each-otherness as inherent aspects of for example, social segregation and territorial stigmatisation. This might seem close to the issues dealt with in space syntax, but the questions that one needs to handle here are not just about spatial connectivity or spatial integration (cf. Hillier 1996). Instead, a much more varied and qualitative set of methods is necessary, methods that can begin to describe the interconnectedness of both the activities and the designs of different urban territorialisations, in time and space, that is, an architectural territorology.

One basic way of accommodating a territorial complexity by way of architectural design could be through a reconsideration of the old architectural theory of flexibility. Flexibility was much liked by the structuralist architects, and came to be used both as a way of extending a functionalist paradigm by adding the notion of time, and as a way of criticizing functional determinism (Forty 2000: 146). Rather than flexibility, a concept which is often used to denote the possibility of changing the built structure in different ways (moving walls, and so on), I prefer Hertzberger's related concept of polyvalence. Polyvalence indicates, according to Hertzberger, a form that can be put to different uses without changing form itself (Hertzberger 2000: 147):

[What]....all the examples that have been cited boil down to is a plea to design in such a way that buildings and cities possess the ability to adapt themselves to diversity and change while retaining their identity. (Hertzberger 2000: 148)

A polyvalent space allows for a rich, overlapping, resilient and non-hierarchical material and spatial production. This often takes place through the

2 For a discussion of functional gentrification, see for example, Sýkora 1993.

establishment of territorialised materialities playing different roles in different actor-networks. These actors might be set in terms of light, textures, borders or just marks in the street paving. In their book *In Search of Public Domain*, Hajer and Reijndorp describe the very interesting and concrete example of (what from a territorial perspective could be described as) how territorial actants in the form of material borders turned Tompkins Square Park in New York into a place of much higher territorial complexity (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 118 ff.). Tompkins Square Park is a park in the East Village that became a hangout for alcoholics and drug addicts during the 1980s, and the battle between different groups in the park was subsequently discussed by gentrification theorists like Neil Smith (1996). Hajer and Reijndorp, however, were not interested in the park as a battlefield, but in how the new design of fences actually allowed for greater public access. The clear-cut territorial division of the park allowed for different and independent groups and functions to co-exist:

On a warm day the homeless occupy the little benches along the pathways, the dog-owners can be found on the enclosed sawdust plot, the youngsters play in the basketball cage, the children play in their playground surrounded by heavy bars, and the anarchists, the little families and the yuppies each sit on their own fenced-in grass plots. (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 120)

Although territorial divisions can be designed in more subtle means than through fences, territorial division is an important mean of accommodating a polyvalent design where different and independent functions can share the same place.

Interstitiality and Material Responsivity

The notions of polyvalent design and the accommodation of territorial complexity are important if we want intervisibility and interconnectedness to allow for the possibility of new and hitherto unforeseen serial collectives. Besides a kind of spatial fluidity accommodating the intermingling of different territorial productions, public domain is also, as argued above, in need of interstitial production: places where events of a pre-classificatory status can take place, that is, events and spaces that do not yet have names. In the field of architecture, space is mainly discussed as a material object (cf. Forty 2000, Kärholm 2004), and from an architect's perspective, one might think it strange that Lefebvre's famous notion about spatial production – that '*(Social) space is a (social) product*' (Lefebvre 1991: 26) – has (at least to my knowledge) not been elaborated in more concrete ways concerning matter in, for example, material culture studies or architectural research. However, in spite of the fact that materiality can be seen as (and for Lefebvre truly is) an inherent part of space, materiality has often tended to be seen as objects, artefacts or structures. As a common ground there must be no doubt that materiality is always produced, not just by technicians, planners or architects, but are

being produced and reproduced constantly, both as conceived materialities, perceived materialities and lived materialities. We are constantly, in the midst of artefacts, architectonics and urbanities, obliged to form and saturate materialities with meaning just in order to get through the day. Architecture is thus produced everywhere and by everyone.

There is not and never can be a *tabula rasa*. On the contrary, the world is always a palimpsest. There are no neutral spaces, no common denominators, the world is already old and 'there'. Husserl described the world as already territorialised, as a *Kulturraum*, or as *die schon humanisierte Umwelt* (Husserl 1973: 206). As the world becomes more urbanised this also becomes more evident in the ways urban materialities are used, reused and reproduced, in ways never imagined by the producers of these materialities – be these new users practitioners of parkour (Nilsson 2010), roof-top communities in Hong Kong (Wu and Canham 2008) or just a child on her way home from school.

Several Swedish architectural researchers have dwelt on the concept of responsivity (in Swedish: *responsivitet*, see for example, Werne 1987, Wikström 2009, Nilsson 2010). The concept is borrowed from the Swedish sociologist and social psychologist Johan Asplund who uses *social responsivity* in order to discuss the ways in which things and people respond in a certain interaction (Asplund 1987: 29). Nilsson and Wikström address responsivity with a more material focus than Asplund, but they do this from two quite different perspectives. Nilsson uses the concept to discuss how materialities (for example, Asplund's example of a kite) can respond in a certain situation and invoke a sense of play, for example, through the body knowing the techniques and material circumstances of the situation (Nilsson 2010: 60–61). Wikström uses the concept to talk about a kind of responsivity of the city, arguing that there increasingly seems to be a lack in the ability of contemporary architecture to respond to the activities and inscriptions of people, even though such expectation might actually be raising due to the constant progress in responsiveness when it comes to other kinds of technologies (Wikström 2009). This is all the more true of shopping environments. Wikström notes, for example, on the shopping mall Entré Malmö that:

No urban environment can be utterly devoid of responsivity, but Entré is a case where the opportunities of users to act and interact with each other and the built environment are strictly limited. (Wikström 2009: 1)

Building on the work of Asplund, Nilsson and Wikström, I would suggest *material responsivity* as an important (but as Wikström also points out, often neglected) aspect of the built environment. The built or material environment can to different degrees have a *will to connect* (Hetherington 1997b, 1999), that is, offer itself for the inscription and practice of different user's.

Michel Serres concept of blank figure (Serres 1991) is of interest here. A blank figure can, for instance, denote a stranger, a scapegoat or a joker in a deck of cards, that is, a person or artefact that could be inscribed in a social

context with almost any kind of agency or signification. The blank figure is in Hetherington's words:

the open possibility of a heterogeneous multiplicity in which the dance of all things can occur without prescription (Serres, 1991). The text has yet to be written in this space. What matters is not so much the multiplicity of interpretations that follow what is written on that blankness, rather it is the effect of that blankness as a form of agency that is of interest. (Hetherington 1998: 126)

The presence of a blank figure suggests an absence that needs to be filled, a figure that appears as a white sheet of paper, yet 'has agency written all over it' (Hetherington commenting on Marcel Duchamp's 'Fountain' in Hetherington 1999: 69).

It is important to address the notion of blankness in material design. The outcome of a Lefebvrian *trial by space* is to some extent dependent on such a material responsivity and therefore on an 'architecture of blankness'. If materialities are not able to respond, or if marks are constantly washed out, then there might be no way of leaving traces and confirm your territorial tactics, appropriations or associations. One could here distinguish between to aspects of material responsivity. Following Nilsson, material responsivity indicates the possibility of materialites to respond to bodily techniques and skills, and this ability, to afford a certain use is an important prerequisite for the production of territorial appropriations and associations. This could include the possibility to climb a certain fence, to use the benches at the park for skating, or to find ways of biking through the park. Such a responsiveness could be seen as the joint production of a bodily culture or a bodily set of practices, and the environment these practices depend on (a co-production that Nilsson, following the phenomenologist Anthony Steinbock, calls *terrain*, Nilsson 2010). Wikström, on the other hand points to the possibility of the urban material environment to respond to markings, graffiti, and material displacements, all being important prerequisites for territorial strategies and tactics. It could be a very basic form of responsivity, as for example the one given by a moveable bench (as can be seen in Figure. 1.1), but it could also involve the possibility of using and reusing a certain space in ways that allow you to leave more permanent marks or signs of your presence. Markings that one could build upon during ones next stay at the place. Retailisation poses problems for material responsiveness. Lilla torg (see Figure 3.4) is a good example of this since the room for non-paying customers has decreased over the year to the extent that one actually could question the publicness of the square (even though it is formally owned by the municipality).

Some Concluding Remarks

The retailisation of public space implies, as has been described in the previous chapters, a strong process of territorialisation. The aspects of retailisation

discussed could all threaten territorial complexity as they tend to establish hierarchic, isorhythmic and highly stabilised territorial structure. In this chapter, I have tried to counter-balance the discussion on retailisation of previous chapters by elaborating more in detail on how it could be possible to induce a greater territorial complexity, and also pointing to the fact that architecture can play important roles in such an effort. Materialities and spatialities are never exhausted. Architecture is never a closed affair, but always open-ended. Territorial complexity is constituted by a large number of territorial productions, by polyrhythmia and by a non-hierarchical relationship between different territorial productions. As architectural design always plays a part in the territorial production, it becomes essential that architecture can be polyvalent and possible to enlist in different territorial networks (not just one) and through different forms of stabilisation. In this chapter, I have stressed the need for public spaces to allow for interstitial production and for new issues to be raised. This also puts specific demands on architectural design, where the notions of intervisibility, interdependence (of different kinds of public spaces) and material responsiveness, need to be addressed and elaborated in more ambitious ways.

Retailising Space (Towards an Architectural Territorology)

Architecture is a powerful way of managing visibilities. Basic architectural artefacts, such as walls, can radically reshape publicness as defined by both social theorists and interaction sociologists, creating specialised enclosed spaces endowed with affordances that foster a specific grammar and practice of interaction. Just as houses protect individual privacy, offices protect commercial secrets, government buildings classified information. In most cases, walls become naturalised and work invisibly in the lifeworld's horizon. Both political philosophers and interaction sociologists tend to downplay somewhat the importance and scope of materiality of the public.

Andrea Brighenti, *Visibility in Social Theory and Social Research* (2010d: 120)

There is a relationship between the ongoing proliferation and control of retail spaces and the transformation of urban public domains. Activities of consumption and shopping increase, become territorialised, singularised, themed and boxed, but also, through strategies of synchronisation and desingularisation, become seemingly more seamlessly integrated into the urban environment and our everyday lives. Consumption is present all around us, not just in shops but in homes and workplaces (for example, with coffee dispensers, subscriptions to daily fruit baskets, and the possibility of Internet-shopping on one's break). An interesting example in the Malmö-Lund region (and in a lot of other cities) is the magazine of the homeless (called *Aluma* in Malmö). It seems as if one of the best strategies for homeless people of establishing an undisputed place in the public domain is to follow the logic of consumption and retail (cf. Bauman 2007). We live in a world where retail is both public – retail colonises public space, we circulate with our weekly groceries in large transparent shopping trolleys at the supermarket (Chochoy and Grandclément-Chaffy 2005) – and more private – we order more and more goods over the Internet and in the privacy and comfort of our own living rooms. Shopping is possible at town squares as well as in hotel rooms and private bedrooms; or to put it briefly, we live in a world where retail and consumption constantly seem to be re- and deterritorialised in our lived environment in new, both inventive and persuasive ways.

Through a series of essays on territorialisation, I have discussed and given examples of how urban public spaces become territorialised by way of consumption and retail. It should, however, at this stage be noted that I do not consider retail per se as problematic. On the contrary, retail is, and probably always has been, an important and often integrating and generating aspect of urban life. Kloosterman and van der Leun, for example, have studied the role of immigrant entrepreneurs and retailers, and their role in the creation of local communities and job opportunities in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Kloosterman and van der Leun 1999). Other such studies indicating the possible social benefits of retail to a local community can, for example, be

found in Lina Olsson's study of unplanned small-scale corner stores at Rinkeby outside Stockholm (Olsson 2007). The argument I put forward has nothing to do with retail being bad or good as such, but with how retail territorialises public domains in ways that seem to restructure and reorientate materialities and everyday life. These territorialisations are ongoing, and over time they also change the urban and regional structure in ways that deeply affect the public domain, ways which need to be analysed and discussed.

Territoriality as I have presented it here is not seen from an enclave perspective but from a perspective that aims at describing the stabilisation of certain spatial effects at different times and on different scales in the urban landscape. This means that territorial productions are prevalent in private and closed spaces as well as in public streets, parks and squares. Territorialisation has, furthermore, been described as a material and spatial phenomenon supported by architectural means such as street furniture, atmospheres, rhythm boxes, scale transfer nodes, two-storey shop windows, street pavement, automatic doors, and so on.

We can now sum up the different processes of territorialisation, using Malmö pedestrian precinct as an example. The pedestrian precinct of Malmö, although located in the middle of the city, could very well be seen as an example of deurbanisation of retail, where retail can reappropriate the city centre following a different and autonomous logic, *separate* from the old urban morphology and the idea of a multi-use area. It becomes *singularised* as place of its own 'the pedestrian precinct of Malmö', and then *stabilised* partly through design but also through the ways in which the rhythms of the territory are *synchronised*, that is, chronically defined and territorialised through an isorhythmia. Finally, the Malmö pedestrian precinct might be *desingularised* as a pedestrian precinct that could serve as a model for other places, for example the neighbouring town of Lund, where the central retailers have a growing problem. These territorialisation processes are not linear, but one typical example could in a simplified and abstracted way be presented as:

Separation→Singularisation→Stabilisation→Synchronisation (→Desingularisation)

In the previous chapters, I have discussed how the commercialisation and homogenisation of large parts of the city centre also means that certain aspects, such as sales and consumer behaviour, are becoming more predictable. As retail tends to agglomerate into large mono-functional areas of consumerism, the non-commercial and potentially interstitial practices of these places move elsewhere. The process of territorialisation is not just a matter of forming larger territories; these territories also tend to be more effectively controlled and functionally homogenous than, for example, the old city centres were just some decades ago.

The main aim of this book was to describe how and in what ways the retailisation of public domain affects our everyday life and use, and furthermore, to develop some concepts that allow for such a discussion. All

through the book I have tried to discuss some of the problems that the ongoing territorialisation of retail might have on the production and reproduction of public domains. I have been careful to see architecture and the built environment as an integral part of territorialisation. Indeed, the aim of the book has been to develop a perspective that allows for a *re-materialisation of urban studies* through the perspectives of actant theory, architectural theory, architectural history, and urban morphology. In the previous chapter, I shifted perspective from retailisation as a specific process of territorialisation to deal more explicitly with public domain, a place of heterogeneous territorial productions. Still focussing on how architectural design might play important roles in these productions, and following a Latour-Lippmann-Dewey trajectory of publicness, I have discussed the double material requirement on public space to accommodate for the intervisibility and acknowledgment of issues mobilising new serial collectives in society, as well as for a material responsibility that allow for interstitial production, and thus for these new collectives to be produced and reproduced in space.

The effects of retailisation on public domain are perhaps not devastating, but they are indeed multiple, sometimes problematic and perhaps even threatening from the perspective of non-commercial activities. The retailisation of space definitely calls for new planning strategies, but also for better tools that make it possible to analyse the roles and effects of architectural design. To my mind, the tools of architectural analysis need renewal and an adjustment that rhymes with the societal changes at hand. The ways of analysis must be chosen in accordance with the question, and the relevant questions tend to change as new problems evolve. This does not mean that old methods must be obsolete. It only means that we constantly need to develop and reconsider methodological issues, and that this should be done in the light of contemporary issues. My hope is that the proposal of an architectural territorology that I have made and worked through in this book could (in all its modesty) be viewed as such an effort.

Theory-making must always be an on-going construction (Amin and Thrift 2005: 223). It is an effort, not a finished product or script to be followed blindly, it must remain open to new suggestions, uses and I thus conclude this book with a plea for an architectural territorology, rather than full theory. An architectural territorology can and must be formulated in many different ways. My hope is, however, that the theme and concepts suggested in this book could prove useful to further inquiries into the subject, both theoretical and empirical.

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Postscript: A Short Vocabulary

I finish this book with a vocabulary summarising some of the main concepts of my discussions. Together, I hope that they could form a rudimentary tool box for a territorial analysis of architecture and the built environment. The vocabulary is a summary of the concepts proposed and tried out through this book, here presented in order of appearance:

TERRITORIAL PRODUCTION: A territory is a spatial delimited and effective control (an actant), and it is always produced. Territories are produced by means of for example, strategies, tactics, appropriations and associations

TERRITORIAL STRATEGY: Territorial strategies are planned at a distance in time and/or space from the territory produced. Territorial strategy is an intentional attempt to mark or delimit a territory, that is the territorial control is directed explicitly towards the ordering of a certain area.

TERRITORIAL TACTICS: Territorial tactics involve spatial claims made in the midst of a situation and as part of an ongoing sequence (in daily life). Territorial tactics thus often refer to a personal relationship between the territory and the person or group that mark it as theirs. Territorial tactics represent an intentional attempt to mark or delimit a territory. that is, the territorial control is directed explicitly towards the ordering of a certain area.

TERRITORIAL APPROPRIATION: Territorial appropriation produces territories through a repetitive and consistent use of an area by a certain person or group who, at least to some extent, seem to perceive this area as their own. Territorial appropriation represents territorial productions that are not planned or intentionally established, but where the territory produced is a consequence of established and

regular practices. These practices may be the effects of rational or planned decisions but they are not made with the explicit intent of producing a territory.

TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATION: Territorial association represents the claiming of an identifiable area for a certain function, and as such characterised by certain conventions and regularities. The territory does not necessarily have to be considered by any person or group as 'their own' - but are nevertheless associated to by others as pertaining to a certain function or category of users. Territorial association thus represents territorial productions that are not planned or intentionally established, but where the territory produced is a consequence of established and regular practices. These practices may be the effects of rational or planned decisions but they are not made with the explicit intent of producing a territory.

TERRITORIAL COMPLEXITY: The territorial complexity of a place is constituted by a large number of territorial productions (within each form of territorial production as well as taken together), by a large number of overlapping territorial productions following different rhythms and schedules, and by a non-hierarchic relationship between different territorial productions.

TERRITORIAL STABILISATIONS: Territorial stabilisation is a way of describing territorial power. There are a number of different forms of territorial stabilisation (territorial sorts, frameworks, networks and bodies are used in this book).

TERRITORIAL SORT: A territory can be produced by way of association, where the proper usage is induced by the association of one place with another of the same 'sort'. For example, one might recognise a place as a 'public library', and therefore behave accordingly. Territorial sort is a way of territorial stabilisation working within a fluid topology (Law 2002). The actants of the territorial sort shares a family resemblance with actants of another example of the same territorial sort. Territorial sort also describes a kind of spatial involute associated with a certain way of acting. Territorial sorts are central to architecture in general, where for example, the desired functions of a certain building might be described in brief by the listing of territorial sorts, for example, a dining room, a living room, a kitchen, broom closet, etc.

TERRITORIAL NETWORK: A way of dealing with the territorial power of materiality is to see it as part of a network topology or as assemblages of humans and non-humans. A territory might be stabilised through the enlistment of more and more actants, such as rules, artefacts, etc. that work together in networks in order to enable certain regularities.

TERRITORIAL FRAMEWORK: The territorial stabilisation of framing depends on a discontinuity between the territory and the stabilizing frame. The territory is supported by actants outside and made other to the territory, which means that although some actants sustaining the territory as a network are lost, it might remain effective to some extent as long as the frame is still there to support it. Territorial frameworks can thus, to some extent, be described through the logic of figure and background: the frame sets the figure; the territory also takes some of its qualities from the background other than its figure.

TERRITORIAL BODIES: Material things might create recurrent bodily effects (not outside networks, or in all thinkable networks, but at least in several different networks). Some relations between material form and body thus remain more stable than others, and could thus better be described through a more traditional Euclidean topology, dealing with distances, heights, entrances, angle of slopes, textures, etc., than by their role in a certain network (Law 2002). The concept of territorial bodies bears similarities to the concept of *terrain* as developed by Steinbock (1995) and Nilsson (2010), where the terrain is produced as relation between a certain bodily (senso-motoric) culture or set of actions and the material characteristics of the environment that these actions count on

SYNCHRONISATION: Synchronisation is here taken to be a strategy of assembling, framing and coordinating different flows and rhythms in time. It must thus be understood as a form of con-temporality (as it is used in for example, time-geography) and not as an a-temporality (or indeed a-spatiality) as the structuralist use of synchrony/diachrony sometimes seem to imply.

SYNCHORISATION: Synchorisation is a concept that often is used together with synchronisation (for example in time-geography) Synchorisation is used to describe a con-spatiality, that is how different events are produced in the same space.

TERRITORIAL BOX: The territorial box represents a building or environment with a uniform territorial skin, and an emptiable/refillable interior, established in order to accommodate for a general territorial order. This calls for a quite arbitrary relationship between the form and its content or function

RHYTHM BOX: A building or environment can often acts as a kind of black shutting out rhythms in order to get full control over the ones produced inside. Coupled with different kinds of territorial props (including sounds, smells, and so on) one could talk of a kind of rhythm box, where rhythms can be induced or constructed independent of a world outside of the territory.

SCALE TRANSFER NODES: A scale transfer node is here used to denote a place where different kinds of movements (local, urban, regional, national, international), that is, movements of different spatial scales, come together and a change of worlds/trajectories/transportation become possible.

TERRITORIAL SINGULARISATION: The trajectory from a certain territorial sort, type or category towards a new and unique identity may be called singularisation. The process of territorial singularisation means that the territory becomes less and less interchangeable and redundant.

TERRITORIAL DESINGULARISATION: A process of territorial singularisation is often followed by a territorial desingularisation. Desingularisation means that the singularised territory is increasingly reproduced in one form or another.

INTERSTITIALITY: Interstitial production is dependent on, and can even be defined in terms of, how they relate to one or more stronger adjacent or overlapping territorial productions. This indicates a double identity of being (a) and also being (b). It also implies a sequential transformation from (a) and (b) and then on to something else, (c). Interstitiality can be described as spatial production through territorial transformation. Interstitial production can take advantage of weak or heterogeneous territorial programmes in-between stronger ones. They can, however also 'carve' out space within strong territorial strategies, for example, by means of territorial association, thus creating uncertainties and new rules that defy existing classifications.

MATERIAL RESPONSIVITY: Is concept parallel to Johan Asplund's social responsivity, borrowed from Wikström (2009) and Nilsson (2010). It is used to discuss the degree and ways in which the material environment responds in different kinds of interactions with everyday users, becoming enlisted in different programmes.

SERIAL COLLECTIVES: Serial collective is a hybrid concept adapted from Sartre (1976) and Latour (2005c), indicating the non-group quality of a series (as the people of a queue) and the heterogeneity of the collective in terms of gathering both humans and non-humans (Latour 2005a). The public is defined by the fact that it is not groups, but issues that spark the public, that is, issues affecting (and mobilising) a *series* of people, things spaces, etc. that in the end will need some sort of a territory.

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Index

- actant theory 10, 13, 49–50, 135
actor-network theory (ANT) 10, 13–4,
18, 39, 48–50, 63–4, 100, 124
Adjaye, David 106
Adorno, Theodor 4
airports 80–1, 112, 122–3
Alberti, Leon Battista 97
Allen, John 38–9, 49, 59, 65
ambient power 38–9, 59
architectural territorology 2, 12, 17, 22,
128, 133, 135, *see also territorology*
architecture, definitions of 8–9, 110, 130
Argan, Giulio Carlo 98
Asplund, Johan 130
Athens Charter 33, 41
atmosphere 1, 38, 54, 59, 62, 85, 91,
104, 107–8, 122
atypical singularisation 113
Augé, Marc 8, 122

Banham, Reyner 103
Baudrillard, Jean 4–5
Bauman, Zygmunt 4–6, 22, 115, 133
Bentham, Jeremy 95, 103
Bergman, Bosse 3, 7–8, 24–5, 27–30, 38,
42–4, 75, 78
Berlage, Hendrik Petrus 95
Bettelheim, Bruno 121–2

big box landscapes 29–30, 32–3, 76,
106, 115
big box syndrome 106
black box 73, 88, 99–100
blankness 130–1
Blondel, Jaques-Francois 97–8
Böhme, Gernot 107
boutique, the concept of 113
branding 1, 6, 45, 47, 59, 75, 96, 107, 115

Brighenti, Andrea Mubi 2, 9–10, 13–14,
18, 91, 120, 125, 133
bungalow, the 99

Caniggia, Gianfranco 33–4, 98, 100
captured markets 80
Casey, Edward 48, 96, 109–10
category killers 25, 30, 76, 106
Certeau, Michel de 8, 15–16, 93, 101,
119, 122–3
Cézanne, Paul 120
chain stores 28, 30–1, 43, 60, 113
city festivals 38, 46, 60–1, 75, 93
Codussi, Mauro 111
complementary space 85, 102
Conzen, M.R.G. 96, 98
Copenhagen 30, 38, 44–45, 80
pedestrian precinct 44
Courtés, Joseph 50
Coventry 41, 71
Crabtree, William 6

Dant, Tim 39, 48, 50, 62
De Quincey, Thomas 59, 73
Deleuze, Gilles 14, 16, 91, 109–10
Della Santa, Leopoldo 98
department stores 4, 6–8, 26–9, 32, 40,
43, 55, 86, 102–3, 111–13
Bon Marché 86
Domus 27, 43
K.M. Lundberg 27
NK 26
Peter Jones 6
Swedish department store era 27–8
Desgodet, Antoine Babuty 97
Dewey, John 124, 135
Dresden 115
Duchamp, Marcel 131

- Dupuy, Gabriel 23, 33, 89
 Durand, Jean-Nicolas-Luis 96–8, 103
 entertainment retail 22, 30, 63, 77–8, 81–3, 104
 EPA 27
 Erskine, Ralph 28
 Essen 41
 Limbeckerstrasse 41
 Eurhythmia 82, 88
 Evans, Robin 3, 71
 Eyck van, Aldo 9, 120
 face/façade 108–9
 flaneur 40
 flaneuse 40
 Foucault, Michel 7, 11, 19, 25, 49, 64, 71, 103
 Frankl, Paul 116
 Franzén, Mats 24, 30–1, 57, 71, 76, 87
 Freud, Sigmund 73, 121
 Fuller, Buckminster 83
 Gehl, Jan 3, 7–8, 29, 43–4, 46–7, 55, 73, 78
 genius loci 124
 gentrification 94, 128–9, 133
 Girouard, Mark 23
 Goffman, Erwin 9, 18–9, 126
 Gothenburg 44–5, 89
 Nils Ericsson terminal 89
 pedestrian streets 45
 Graham, Steven 6–7, 33, 67, 72, 127
 Greimas, Algirdas Julien 13, 50
 Gruen, Victor 6, 113
 Guattari, Felix 14, 16, 91, 109
 Guggenheim, Michael 99–100
 Gutman, Robert 116
 Hajer, Maarten 18, 33, 48, 72, 92, 120, 129
 Habraken, N. John 3, 8–9, 12, 99, 111
 field, the 111
 Hägerstrand, Torsten 48, 85, 102, 125, 127–8
 Hammad, Manar 13, 18, 48, 50, 91–2
 Harman, Graham 49, 127
 Hausmann, George-Eugène 88, 95
 Heidegger, Martin 124
 Helldén, David 41
 Helsingborg 41, 45
 Kullagatan 41
 Herodotos 23
 Hertzberger, Herman 3, 6, 12, 16, 120, 122–3, 128
 Hetherington, Kevin 4, 5, 7–8, 40, 110, 112, 130–1
 Hillier, Bill 3, 17, 33, 54, 71, 76, 85, 89, 96, 102, 110, 128
 Horkheimer, Max 4
 Husserl, Edmund 16, 130
 hypermarkets 25, 30, 93, 111
 idea store 106, 115
 IKEA 27, 30–1, 34, 81, 107, 109
 immutable mobiles 100, 102
 interstitial space 120–3, 127, 129, 132, 134–5, 140
 involutes 59
 isorhythmia 22, 71, 91–4, 73, 132, 134
 Iveson, Kurt 18, 124–5
 Jacobs, Jane 7
 Jarzombek, Mark 115–16
 Jerde, Jon 6–7, 104–6
 Kahn, Louis 116
 King, Anthony 99–101
 Klein, Alexander 71
 Koolhaas, Rem 6–7, 35, 60, 62, 67, 112
 Kopytoff, Igor 109–10
 Korosec-Serfaty, Perla 8, 16, 75, 87, 121
 Larsen, Henning 109
 Latour, Bruno 2, 10, 13, 20, 39, 48–50, 53, 57, 99–100, 102, 122, 124–5, 135, 140
 Law, John 2, 10, 13, 19, 39, 49–52, 54, 56–7, 60, 63, 69, 99–101, 138–9
 Le Corbusier 71, 95, 111
 Lefebvre, Henri 8, 49, 67, 69, 71, 82, 85, 92–4, 111, 121, 126, 129
 rhythmanalysis 67, 69, 71, 82, 85, 92–4
 trial by space 126
 Levinas, Emmanuel 108
 libraries 15, 59–60, 81–2, 100, 102, 106, 112, 138
 Liebeskind, Daniel 6
 Lippman, Walter 124, 135
 Lisboa 104
 Dolce Vita in Tejo 104
 Lisspector, Clarice 67
 London 38, 85–6, 106–7, 109, 112

- British Museum 86
- Chrisp Street 106
- Clore Gallery 109
- Pedestrianisation 85
- Peter Jones department store 6
- Whitechapel 106
- Los Angeles 41
 - Supermarkets 41
- Loudon, J.C. 98
- Lund 5, 18, 45, 57, 70, 78, 84, 104, 106, 115, 133–4
 - Nova Lund 84, 104, 106, 115
 - Mårtenstorget 18
- Lynch, Kevin 71–2, 96
- Maffei, Gian Luigi 33–4, 98, 100
- Malmö 3, 17, 21, 28–30, 32–4, 37–9, 45–7, 52–64, 68, 70, 74–85, 88–94, 101, 104, 106, 115, 117, 126, 130, 134
 - Baltzar City 53, 58
 - Caroli City 45, 55
 - Central Station 45, 75, 80, 89
 - City library 81–2
 - Citysamverkan 32, 74–5
 - department stores of 29–30
 - Entré Malmö 77, 81, 83, 89, 104, 117, 130
 - Folkets park 58
 - Gustav Adolfs torg 17, 61, 89
 - Hyllie 34, 76, 78–9, 117
 - Kockums 37
 - Kronprinsen 45
 - Lilla Torg 46–7, 53–4, 75–6, 78, 83, 88, 101, 131.
 - Malmöfestivalen 46, 61, 75–6
 - Mobilia 79
 - Öresund bridge 30, 37–38
 - Östergatan 45, 75, 78
 - Södergatan 45, 53
 - Södra Förstadsgatan 45
 - Storgatan (mall) 56, 84
 - Stortorget 45
 - Stapelbäddsparken 58
 - Svågertorp 30, 34, 74, 76, 93, 106, 115
 - Triangeln 45, 52–3, 75, 89–90
 - Värnhem 61, 77–8, 89
 - Västra hamnen 58, 79
- Markus, Thomas 3, 25, 32, 48, 59, 71, 87, 89, 97–8, 100, 103, 112
- Marres, Noortje 124–5
- Marvin, Simon 6–7, 33, 67, 72
- Massey, Doreen 69, 128
- material responsivity 129–32, 140
- material semiotics 10, 48–50
- May, Ernst 95
- Mendelssohn, Eric 6
- mobile vendors 67–8, 78
- Mol, Annemarie 2, 19, 39, 50–2, 56–7, 60, 63, 100, 102
- Mumford, Lewis 32, 34, 41
- Muratori, Saverio 98
- museums 1, 25, 68, 80–1, 86, 97–8, 100, 103, 105–6, 108, 110, 112, 115, 123
- neighbourhood centres 31, 34, 71, 76
- Neufert, Ernst 98
- New York 43, 112, 129
 - Prada epicentre store 112
 - Tompkins Square Park 129
- Nilsson, Emma 3, 8, 10, 48–50, 54, 102, 130–1, 139–40
- non-place, *see place*
- Norberg-Schultz, Christian 124
- Nouvel, Jean 6
- Nylund, Katarina 24, 31, 126
- Olsson, Lina 8, 67, 174
- palimpsest 73, 91, 130
- Palladio, Andrea 107, 111
- Paris 40, 78, 81, 86, 95, 99, 101, 112
 - Bon Marché 86
 - Louvre 81
 - Palais Royal 40, 112
 - Place de la Concorde 101
 - sidewalks 40
- pedestrian precinct 4, 6, 8, 21, 25, 33, 37–9, 41, 43–65, 69, 75, 82, 85, 88–90, 100, 102, 114, 134
- pedestrian streets 4, 39–47, 52–3, 55, 57, 60, 71, 76, 83, 88
- pedestrianisation 21, 29, 37–47, 83
- Pevsner, Nicolas 25, 86, 96, 102–4, 110
- place (the concept of) 12–14, 49, 85, 124
 - non-place 122
 - place temporality 84–5
- polyrhythm 71, 73, 82, 92–4, 119
- polyvalent space 128–9, 132
- public space 1–4, 7, 9, 18–22, 40, 44, 57, 64–6, 69, 72–3, 76, 83, 87–8, 91–2, 96, 114, 119–21, 123–6, 129, 131–3, 135
- as territorial complexity 18–20, 119, 127–9, 131–2

- definitions of 18, 124–5
- public domain 8, 18, 119–20, 123–7, 129, 133–4
- Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome 98
- Rapoport, Amos 3, 12, 54, 87, 102
- Reijndorp, Arnold 18, 48, 92, 120, 129
- responsivity 130, 140, *see also material responsivity*
- rhythm box 86, 88, 93, 134, 139
- rhythmanalysis, *see Lefebvre, Henri*
- Rome 25, 40, 73, 109
 - Mercatus Trajanii 25, 40
 - Palazetto Zuccari 109
 - Sidewalks 40
- Rossi, Aldo 33, 114
- Rotterdam 41–2, 133
 - Lijnbaan 41–2
- Rowe, Colin 109
- Sack, Robert David 9, 11–15, 39, 47, 71, 87, 103
- Sartre, Jean Paul 83, 124, 140
- scale 9, 32–5, 57–8, 89–91, 102, 134, 140
 - urban landscape 3 2–5
 - shifts (vertical and horizontal, Caniggian and Mumfordian) 34
- scale transfer nodes 89–91, 93, 134, 140
- Semper, Gottfried 98, 103
- serendipity 119, 125
- serial collectives 83–4, 124, 126–9, 135, 140
- Serres, Michel 130–1
- shopping courts 41
- shopping malls 1, 4, 7–8, 19, 23, 25, 28–9, 31, 41, 44–6, 55–6, 63, 75, 77–81, 84, 89, 91, 93–4, 102, 104, 108, 117, 122–3, 130
 - Caroli City 45, 55
 - Center Syd 34, 75, 79, 106, 115
 - Entré Malmö 77, 81, 83, 89, 104, 117, 130
 - Kronprinsen 45
 - mega malls 42, 112
 - Mobilia 79
 - Nova Lund 84, 104, 106, 115
 - Southdale, Minneapolis 113
 - Storgatan 56, 84
 - Triangeln 45, 52–3, 75, 89–90
 - West Edmonton mega mall 112
- shotgun house 100
- singularisation 3, 20, 22, 95–6, 108–116, 119, 127, 133–4, 140
 - asingularisation 111
 - desingularisation 111, 113–16, 119, 127, 133–4, 140
- Sloterdijk, Peter 107, 115, 128
- Soane, John 112
- Söderström, Ola 99
- Smithson, Alison and Peter 12, 16, 43
 - Golden Lane Project 43
- space syntax 17, 96, 102, 128
- spatial topologies 39, 50–1, 63
- Starbucks 104, 107
- Steinbock, Anthony 16, 54, 131, 139
- Stirling, James 109
- Stirner, Max 95, 103
- Stockholm 26–7, 30–1, 41–2, 44, 89, 134
 - Birger Jarls passage 26
 - City terminal 89
 - Drottninggatan 42
 - Hökarängen 41
 - Hötorget 26
 - Järntorget 42
 - K.M. Lundberg 27
 - Kungens kurva 30
 - Rinkeby 134
 - Västerlånggatan 42
- street furniture 16, 29, 39, 47, 88, 134
- supermarkets 27, 41, 78, 104
- Swedish Cooperative Union 27
- synchronisation 2, 20–2, 67, 69, 70, 72–6, 78–85, 89, 91–4, 114, 119, 123, 127, 133–4, 139
 - desynchronisation 70–3, 84
 - resynchronisation 70, 72–4, 78, 81, 91
- synchrony/diachrony 69, 139
- terrain 48, 54, 131, 139
- terrain vagues 122–3
- territorial box 86–8, 139
- territorial complexity 19–20, 22, 32, 69, 88, 92, 94, 114–5, 119, 122, 126–9, 132, 138
- territorial production, forms of 14–17
- territorial appropriation 14–16, 19–20, 47, 114, 122, 131, 137
- territorial association 14–16, 19–20, 32, 47–8, 52, 59–60, 62, 65, 79, 100–102, 108, 113–115, 121–3, 125, 127, 131, 137–8, 140

- territorial strategy 14–16, 19–20, 47, 101, 122–3, 137
- territorial tactics 14–17, 19, 122, 131, 137
- territorial separation 2, 20–1, 23–4, 32–3, 35, 129, 134
- territorial stabilisation 2, 7, 10, 19–21, 35, 37, 39, 48–9, 51–3, 57, 62–3, 65, 69, 99, 100, 102, 108, 114, 119, 127, 132, 134, 138–9
- forms of 51–2, 62–3, 132
- territorial bodies 21, 37, 51–2, 54–5, 62–4, 139
- territorial framings 21, 37, 52, 57–8, 62–3, 139
- territorial networks 13, 18, 21, 37, 48–57, 60, 62–4, 100, 102, 108, 114–5, 122, 132, 138–9
- territorial sorts 21, 37, 51–2, 56, 59–64, 71, 87, 96, 99–102, 106, 108, 111, 114–15, 122–4, 137–8
- territorial temporality 84–5, 89
- Territorial Timetable Plans 93
- territoriality, definitions of 9–14
- territoriality of place 14
- territorology 2, 9–10, 14, 17, 22, *see also architectural territorology*
- time-geography 48, 69–70, 139
- trial by space, *see Lefebvre, Henri*
- Tschumi, Bernard 112
- Turkey 7, 40
- type operation 113
- typical singularisation 112
- Veblen, Thorstein 4
- Venice 40, 104–5
 - Caffe Florian 104–5
 - Merceria 40
 - Piazza San Marco 40
 - Rialto bridge 40
- Werne, Finn 3, 86, 103, 110, 121, 130
- Wikström, Tomas 71, 122, 130–1, 140
- Vitruvius 97
 - Woolf, Virginia 37
- Voysey, C.F.A. 99
- Zukin, Sharon 1, 4–7, 29, 38, 72, 83, 93