Retailising Space

Architecture, Retail and the Territorialisation of Public Space

Mattias Kärrholm

RETAILISING SPACE

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1

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 Kärrholm 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 (Kärrholm 2007, cf. Sandin 2008).

I presented an introduction to architecture, territoriality and actor-network theory in my PhD thesis from 2004 (and later in Kärrholm 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 Architecture[1]

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) Kärrholm 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 strategical 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 mades' 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, Kärrholm

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