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The case of Stortorget, Malmö

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The temporality of territorial production – The case of Stortorget, Malmö

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Abstract: In recent years, we have seen the development of a more relational approach to territoriality. This perspective, which focuses on events rather than space, also opens up for an elaboration of temporal aspects of territorial production. In this study, I investigate the central urban square, *Stortorget*, in Malmö, Sweden, in order to develop a discussion of a time-space territorology. In 1978, Korosec-Serfaty performed a thorough study of the square, observing its everyday activities. The present study compares territorial productions at Malmö's Main Square during 1978 with those of 2013. The results of the study indicate a change of time-space production in which temporary territorial appropriations and tactics tend to become shorter in duration, whereas the number of temporary and large-scale territorial strategies has increased and the role of these become more important. The study also shows how these territorial transformations include changes (in pace, rhythm, temporal salience and scale) that seem to vertically stabilise the territorial structure of the square, and thus decrease both territorial complexity and the possibilities for new publics to evolve.

Key words: territorology, time-space, public space, materiality, temporality, actor network-theory

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In this article I contribute to the theoretical development of the field of *in vivo* time-space studies of public life (cf. Whyte, 2000; Wunderlich, 2010; 2014; Perek, 2010; Simpson, 2012; Gehl and Svarre, 2013). I do this through the study of the urban territorial production of time-spaces, and more specifically through a comprehensive time-space study of a central square: Stortorget in Malmö, Sweden. The aim is thus to open up public space to a *territorial perspective*. An important part of urban everyday life and power relations has to do with spatio-temporal claims and institutionalisations, that is, the territorialisation of different time-spaces, produced, for example, through parking regulations, opening hours, the schedules of public transports, working hours and temporary appropriations. Traditionally, territoriality has been dealt with as ‘bounded space’ (Storey, 2001, p. 1), a socio-material phenomenon, focusing on space and power. One of the most used definitions of territoriality is, for example, that of Robert David Sack, in which territoriality is described as an “attempt by any individual or social group to affect, influence, and control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area” (Sack, 1986, p. 19). Sack’s definition seems, however, to conceal the notion of temporality, and the fact that routinised and incorporated territorial practices are not so quickly or easily undone. Neither can territories be turned on and off at will (as suggested by Sack, 1986, p. 2). Even though later theorists have pointed to the dynamic and non-stable aspects of territoriality (Delaney, 2005, p. 15 f.; Storey, 2001, p. 6 f.), little has been done to develop the temporal aspects of territoriality. In recent years we have, however, seen the development of more process-based and relational territorology, often inspired by thinkers such as Deleuze and Guattari or Latour (Brighenti, 2010; 2014; Kärrholm, 2012; Palmås, 2013; Citroni, 2014).¹ Here, the focus is on territory as an act rather than a space, and on territoriality as spatio-temporal processes rather than as spatial strategies. Brighenti states, for example, in his proposal for *territorology* as a general science, that: “Territory is not defined by space, rather it defines spaces through patterns of relations” (Brighenti, 2010, p. 57). Territories are thus acts, events, expressive and boundary-producing power relations, and as such not defined by a certain land or area (although always dependent on materialities). In the article “Mobilizing territories, territorializing mobilities”, Brighenti criticises earlier attempts of discussing territories as the dialectical opposite to mobility, arguing that “as soon as we set territories in motion – framing them as acts, processes and events – we also attain a much more territorological understanding of mobilities” (Brighenti, 2014, p. 3). This take on territoriality opens up for a focusing on events, and on the goings-on of everyday life,

rather than focusing solely on the intentions and strategies of obligatory passage points (Callon 1986). It thus enables an approach that takes in the full scope of territorial claims, from informal appropriations and mere associations to planned and administrated strategies, also acknowledging design, bodily perceptions and aesthetics as active co-producers of territories (cf. Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 312 ff.).

One advantage of defining territory as an act or event is the possibility of opening up a more elaborate discussion on a temporal perspective on territoriality. Just as territory ‘defines space through patterns of relations’ (as described by Brighenti above), it should be acknowledged that territories also define times and temporalities. In fact, time and space have always been deeply entangled in territorial processes – from the rhythms of the animal patrolling its territory to the muzak setting the pace of a shopping environment – but even so, in territorial discourse, space has always been prioritised over time.

The Main Square Revisited

Time-spaces are produced and territorialised by different means and have effects on different scales. In this study I have chosen the central urban square *Stortorget* in Malmö, Sweden (fig. 1) in order to do an analysis of territorial time-space production, comparing day-to-day activities on the square in 1978 and 2013. Stortorget was, at its inauguration in 1530s, the largest square in Northern Europe, measuring ca. 131 by 145 metres. It has a long history and is an important and emblematic space for the city of Malmö. The decision to build the square was made with the intention of securing a larger market place close to the seaport. The Town Hall was built in 1546 and, from its inception, Stortorget was an important representational square and a symbol for the city of Malmö. It has, through history, been the place of rebellions, celebrations and executions, and of more mundane activities such as open-air markets or the regular cleaning and maintenance of the Municipal Fire Department’s fire hoses (the large space was needed for the long hoses). The square thus has a special place in the history of Malmö, and the reasons for choosing it for this study are several.

First, and most importantly, in 1982, Perla Korosec-Serfaty published a study of Malmö’s Stortorget, called *The Main Square, Functions and Daily Uses of Stortorget, Malmö* (cf. fig 2). This thorough study was made in order “to study the functions and day-to-day uses of an institutionalized square” (Korosec-Serfaty, 1982, p. 6). Today,

this study offers a great opportunity to compare day-to-day activities then and now. This, in turn provides richness in terms of spatio-temporal claims and change that can be studied and compared at scales that actually spans from minutes to decades.

[Fig. 1 about here]

[Fig 2 about here]

Second, when Korosec-Serfaty carried out the empirical work with a group of researchers in 1978, Malmö was an industrial city in crisis with a declining population of just under 250,000 inhabitants. Today, it has a rising population of about 300,000 inhabitants, it is the centre of a large and growing urban region in southern Sweden, and it can be seen as a successful example of a post-industrial city. In fact, it has even been described as a ‘standard-exceptional’ case of post-industrial change, a cliché in terms branding but exceptional in terms of success and transformation (Holgersen, 2014, p. 14). Malmö was in the 1970s dominated by the large wharf Kockums. The wharf closed in 1987 and Malmö was by then a city in economic crisis, with increasing unemployment. In the mid-1990s the municipal leaders started a visionary effort to rewrite the narrative of Malmö, reconceptualising the old industrial city as a knowledge city. Through a series of large-scale projects – such as the start-up of Malmö University in the old harbour area in 1998, the bridge to Copenhagen in 2000, the national housing exhibition Bo01 in 2001, and the City tunnel in 2010 – Malmö started to redefine itself. It also became the hub of a growing multi-nodal Swedish urban landscape. The population of Malmö started to increase (to a certain extent due to a growing number of immigrants), and the former industrial city is now a consumer city with large retail areas and an increasing number of tourists, but also with increasing ethnic and economic segregation (cf. Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012; Holgersen, 2014, pp. 23-36; and Hedin et. al. 2012, for a more detailed description of this process). One could thus argue that it is as an event city, or even a (segregated) consumer city, rather than as a knowledge city, that Malmö has risen from the ashes. A study of 1978 and 2013 will, however, allow us to compare two sides of a paradigmatic urban change, a city going from the context of an industrial society into a post-industrial consumer society.

Third, the Main Square has an interesting spatial context, as it lies like the eye of a hurricane in a city of large-scale spatial change. If we compare just the square of 1978 with that of today, it looks remarkably similar, even though a lot of the surroundings have been transformed. Korosec-Serfaty’s study was carried out just after the inauguration of the first pedestrian street in Malmö, which opened adjacent to Stortorget

in June 1978, and was thus completed prior to the large-scale pedestrianisation, and subsequent retailisation, of the inner city centre during the decades that followed (Kärrholm, 2012). Many public spaces in Malmö were also refurbished during the 1990 and early 2000s. In 2009, it was finally the turn of Stortorget. An architectural competition was announced (Andersson and Göransson, 2009), but the money ran out and the winning project was never built. The similarities of the square now and then, in terms of urban design, might hopefully help to avoid the more typical discussions of this field, relating a change of use to a change of urban design (as e.g. Gehl, 2010), and instead direct the focus to more dynamic processes of territorialisation, involving things, times and spaces of multiple scales and sizes.

Observing a square

For comparison, the empirical research that underpins this article mirrors the studies of Korosec-Serfaty (1982) as closely as possible. Like the Korosec-Serfaty research, this involves a newspaper study, the analysis of ground floor activities (both comparing 1977 to 2012), structured observation studies and photographic studies (both comparing 1978 to 2013).² The observation studies were performed at peak hour and at off-peak hour over seven days (each day of the week) and from different locations on the square. The 2013 research was conducted at three different places during the months of April, June and August,³ amounting to a total of 42 hours of observation (see fig. 3 and 4). Similar to the earlier studies, the observations were performed on sunny days, when people could be expected to be out-of-doors, and they were planned carefully so as not to coincide with any out-of-the-ordinary planned events on the square. The observation study includes the studying of activities within one given area of the three on the square for the duration of one hour at a time. The observer noted the activity (always choosing the first change of activity within the area) of a cluster (person or group), as well as their gender, age range,⁴ the number of people in the group, and the duration of the activities they performed. One observation sheet was used for each cluster, where each cluster is defined as a person with associated humans (other people possibly accompanying this person) and non-humans (artefacts or animals associated with the person/group, such as prams, bags, dogs, bicycles, etc.). These observations were then compared with those from the same locations in June 1978 (Korosec-Serfaty, 1982, p. 51). The study from 1978 comprises 901 clusters from six observed territories, while the study from 2013 consists of 2079 clusters from three of these territories. The observation study was then

used to describe the formation of clusters on the square, as well as a way of connecting activities to their associated durations.

[Fig. 3 about here]

[Fig 4 about here]

The photographic study was also made at peak and off-peak hours over seven days (each day of the week), but from five different locations (fig. 4). This study was conducted on the same days and months as the observation study (i.e. June 1978, and April, June and August 2013). A photograph was taken from each location approximately every 5 minutes for a total of 60 pictures per hour; the 14 hours of observation resulted in a total of 840 pictures. The people on the pictures were then tallied and sorted according to activity, age range and gender. As with the observation study, the aim was to recreate the study of 1978 as closely as possible; therefore, a similar camera equipped with a wide-angle lens was used. In 1978, a total of 6806 people were counted from nine locations; of these, 5043 were fully categorised (Korosec-Serfaty, 1982, p. 62). In 2013, the pictures from five of these locations allowed for a categorisation of 13 798 people (4341 people were categorised from these same specific points in 1978). In 1978, pictures were only taken when people were present within the area under observation for a total of only 523 pictures, as opposed to the 840 in 2013. It should be noted that the photographic study gives a relative picture of how the square is perceived from a kind of ‘mean snapshot of a week’ – a kind of abstracted time-space, so things remaining longer on the square will, for example, appear on several pictures and be tallied multiple times. The photographic study was used for the mapping of activities and to investigate the use of non-humans.

Through Korosec-Serfaty’s investigation, the study of Stortorget allows for a rich variety of both diachronic and synchronic studies in which different time-space scales, rhythms, etc. are taken into account. The observation study and the photographic study have focused on the square’s eastern region during day-time, following Korosec-Serfaty’s study as close as possible. The study is basically qualitative in its approach, and uses counting and quantification of a number of aspects in order to afford discoveries and facilitate descriptions that may otherwise be inaccessible or indiscernible without counting (Rose, 2012, p. 85 f.). The numbers should thus be seen as indicators of change rather than proof. There are several aspects that might affect the numbers: for example, age, gender and even activity might at times have been misjudged by the observer, and it is difficult to take photos from the exact same position

or angle. The digital technique utilised, which facilitates the enlargement of images, probably also made it possible to categorise more people from the photos today than in 1978. There are always some problems in following up, and trying to redo an old study, rather than setting up the whole study independently. Nevertheless, even though the study might not give any concluding evidence in the strict sense (if that is ever possible), the comparison has at least, as we shall see, resulted in some indications of a changing territorial landscape.

The Territorial Production of Time-Spaces

The focus of this study is on theoretical and conceptual development, rather than on developing new methodological techniques. I use a relational territorial perspective (as described above) in order to develop an approach to time-space studies of public life. The concept of time-space has here been selected instead of space-time (as used in physics). Time-space should not be seen as a vessel; it both produces and plays a productive part in the ongoing activities and situations of everyday life (cf. Schatzki, 2010). Following actor-network theory (Latour, 2005), time-space can, for example, be seen as produced by a network of actors or of actants (types of actors).⁵ My lunch break is thus a planned time-space produced by a series of *actants* such as the half-hour break (clocked-time) allowed to me by my employer, the local restaurants that I am able to reach within this half-hour and my economic situation. As each specific lunch break unfolds, new *actors* do, however, always come into play, so no lunch break will ever be exactly like another.

Time-spaces are thus produced - there are associations to follow or networks to unwind (Latour, 1997; 2005) – but this does not, however, hinder us from treating any specific time-space as an existent for itself (cf. Latour, 2013, p. 86), as a kind of product of a certain autonomy that subsists and that could have its own actor/actant role in a given situation. This becomes clear from a territorial perspective. The territorialisation of time-space indicates that a particular time-space is produced to become objectified and salient (and is thus also given some kind of agency). Schatzki has stressed timespace⁶ as a “constitutive feature of human activity” (Schatzki, 2010, p. ix). I can agree, but this does not mean that time-space should be seen as a necessary *a priori* measure of all events (cf. the critique of this notion in Merriman, 2011). On the contrary, the development of time-space territorology aims to investigate how specific time-spaces

are produced (through events) – as opposed to pre-ordinated – to have bearings on different scales.

Time-space territories can be produced deliberately through *tactics* or *strategies*, or result as a consequence of use, as through *associations* and *appropriations* (Kärrholm, 2012, pp. 12-20). Territorial strategies indicate deliberately scheduled and striated landscapes where certain moments are marked and controlled by rules or different kinds of institutions (cf. Certeau, 1988, p. 34 f). Strategically produced time-spaces could thus include the opening hours of shops, parking, the operating hours of factories, or the Christmas advertisement campaign of retailers' associations or shopping malls. In former times, these strategically produced time-spaces and the landscapes they themselves produced were largely neglected in planning and design,⁷ but initiatives of urban time planning and urban temporary use have led to an increase in their discussion (Mückenberger, 2011).

Time-spaces territories need not, however, always be planned by institutions or actors, implementing and reproducing time-spaces as some kind of immutable mobiles (Latour, 1987, p. 226 f.). There are also situational and more spontaneously produced territories, i.e. more unofficial or informal tactics, marking a time-space in a public space as a part of an ongoing social situation. This might range from micro-situations such as the emission of certain phatic utterances ("ehhh..." or "well, well"), intended to stall for time and keep one's audience quiet and attentive while attempting to finish a thought (cf. Certeau, 1988, p. 98 f.), to setting up one's tent for the night, e.g. personally claiming a certain time-space in a public park.

Besides intentional strategies and tactics, territories can also be produced in a more indirect manner. The time-space territories of our cities are not only deliberately marked and produced, but are also the result of unintended collateral effects, the uncertainty of duration, or the simple fact that things take time. Time-spaces might be temporarily appropriated by a certain group or person, for example, a gang that converges on a particular street corner every Friday night. Appropriation thus often includes a territorialisation "through time", but can also ensue during a very short period of use. Taking a seat for a lecture, for example, often implies an appropriation of a time-space. This would become noticeable if the place in question were contested: if the seat were taken by someone else during a short coffee break, one would probably be left with the feeling that one's seat had been taken ('but, that seat was mine, at least until the end of the lecture!').

Finally, there are also time-spaces associated with a certain behavioural regularity: activities such as smoking a cigarette, walking a dog or going to the toilet are often connected to a certain spatial and temporal extension. If you stand in front of an ATM, you are expected to use that space during the time it takes you to withdraw money. If you use it too long or incorrectly – for example, as a place to eat your lunch – protest would probably ensue. A lot of spaces in the city are thus associated both with a specific use and an approximate or ‘proper’ duration of that use, whether it is the pedestrian crossing or the table of an outdoor café. The spatio-temporal ‘borders’ or limits of associated or appropriated time-spaces might not be clearly expressed or settled (as in tactics and strategies), or might not be agreed upon, but they are there, and at some point they might be contested, or it might simply become clear that a particular time-space situation has come to an end or been transformed into something else: ‘It is ok to take the seat, I was finished anyway’. The act of waiting can serve as a good example here. Schweizer has described waiting as “the suspension of meaning” (Schweizer, 2008, p. 66), where meaning tends to be produced only when we have ceased our waiting. When the object of our waiting arrives, the waiting moment is filled with meaning; not only the borders, but the territorial time-space of our appropriation in its entirety now becomes clear.

These four different forms of territorial time-space production – strategies, tactics, appropriations and associations – will serve here as a basic way of describing the territorial timescape of Stortorget.

Time-space territories at Stortorget

Territorial strategies

Stortorget was planned as a market place and for centuries its territorial organisation was dominated by the market. During the era of modernization and rationalization, open air markets were no longer desired in Sweden, and they rapidly started to decline at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Nordin, 2009, pp. 251-255). In 1957, the market on Stortorget was closed, and by then the open air market on Stortorget had also become a competitor for space with car traffic and the need for parking facilities. A proposal for a functional zoning of the square was made in 1958 with new parking spaces and circulation arteries for cars, built and ready to be used during the early 1960s (Åstrand, 1982, p. 93; for maps, see Åström, 1988, p. 56 f.). Traffic and infrastructure thus

became more firmly and strategically territorialized, and traffic also seems to be an increasingly important point on the agenda judging from the press analysis (comparing 1914 with 1977, see Lyttkens, 1982, p. 107). The territories produced for traffic and parking are still important today, but their role has decreased, and the municipality wants to reduce them quite drastically. In the architectural competition program for a renewal of Stortorget in 2009, for example, it was suggested that the number of parking spaces for cars on the square should be decreased from 130 to 30 (Andersson and Göransson, 2009).

The main area of the eastern part of the square was in 1978 set out as a pedestrian zone (as it still is today) with territories for seating and eating, for example, the benches in front of the Town hall and at the out-door restaurants. After pedestrianisation started in 1978, the number of restaurants and cafés on the square (and in the whole northern part of the pedestrian precinct) have increased, whereas ordinary shops and services have decreased. Public seating remains the same, but the number of out-door restaurants in the pedestrian precinct started to increase quite rapidly in the early 1990s, and the 672 square meters of out-door restaurants on Stortorget thus means that seating opportunities (for paying customers) have increased quite a lot during the warmer part of the year. The formerly quite short out-door season in Sweden has also been prolonged (thanks to blankets and infra-heaters), and the municipality has become more generous with permissions, admitting some out-door restaurants all year long.

One important category of territorial strategies, although absent from the observations, is the extra-ordinary events. Even though the observation studies were scheduled so as to not coincide with any planned events, the continuous work on up-coming events, nevertheless, seems to place a certain emphasis on the temporary absence of an event at the time of the observations. In the photographic study, almost 200 people were counted working on the square (always at off-peak hours), most of them preparing for the coming events; in 1978, not a single person was recorded working on the square (table 1). Events on Stortorget during the summer of 2013 included, for example, *Malmöfestivalen* (the Malmö city festival, given annually since 1985) with concerts and the traditional crayfish party, a midnight running event, a visit from the crown princess, celebrations for the local football team MFF when they won the 2013 Swedish championship, the Swedish international tattoo and various demonstrations and protests. The press study analysis also shows a clear increase in reporting on cultural events and

celebrations (see table 2). Most of these articles concerned quite large scale events like, for example Malmöfestivalen, and the week-long fund raising event *Musikhjälpen*.

[Table 1 about here]

[Table 2 about here]

In short, the territorial strategies of Stortorget are to some extent similar today as in the 1970s (the public benches, the parking, the roads and the pedestrian zone), but we have also seen a proliferation of some new ones, especially of two different kinds, both focusing on temporal strategies of territorialisation: the out-door restaurants, and the large and often cultural events or celebrations. The materialities involved in these territorial claims are, furthermore, increasingly mobile or semi-fixed ready-mades. Fences, tents, stalls and portals are involved in events; chairs, tables and boards, in the out-door restaurants. Opening hours of shops and the schedules for commercial events and advertisement campaigns have also become more synchronised and regulated through the *Malmö City association* (a retail trade association including shop owners, the municipality and commercial property owners), that started in 1995.

Territorial appropriations and tactics

The observation study and the photographic study clearly showed differences in terms of the duration and character of temporary territorial appropriations and tactics. From the photography study of the basic activities on the square (table 1) one can see that the single most common activity, both now and then, is to just pass by the square, walking. Walking has, however, become an even more dominant activity today, and we can see a much smaller proportion of users taking breaks in 2013 than in 1978. Furthermore, those taking a break tend to pause standing up, rather than sit. Since the out-door restaurants were omitted from the investigation, seating might have increased or stayed relatively stable on the square as a whole (we cannot say from the data), but it is clear that the use of public seating has decreased a lot, whereas seating as a whole increasingly seem to be part of commercialized activities. Pausing on the square, on the other hand, seems to have increased, so people tend make fewer stops on the square, and when they do, they do so standing up rather than sitting down.

From the observation study, it seems as if more people spend time alone on the square, and larger groups of people have become less common (table 3). The observation study also gives us a hint about the duration of temporary stays (table 4). The difference in

duration between pausing and sitting is quite large, so it might be plausible to assume that the increase in pausing also affects the tempo and pace on the square. This increase in tempo might have different explanations. One is the evolving shopping culture, which involves continuous and circulation movement between shops rather just ‘people watching’ or utilitarian walking between home and work. This new shopping culture also seems to come with a much younger population. The ratio of people over 65 years old has gone from 34% in 1978 to just 5% in 2013, whereas the ratio of people under 45 years of age has increased during the same time from 45% to 67%.⁸

[Table 3 about here]

[Table 4 about here]

A shopping culture is of course also a material culture. Our time is increasingly shared with things that perish: batteries that run out, coffee that gets cold, or food that gets eaten (cf. Schweizer, 2008, p. 25 f.). Activities like writing text messages, smoking and reading take time and demand the territorial appropriation or tactics of a time-space. The short territorial appropriations of the square, as people pause for just twenty or thirty seconds, could be seen as quite ephemeral, at least if seen as an act of territorialisation. Indeed, this kind of territorial appropriation could also be described as a kind of micro-territoriality (Rivano-Fischer, 1987), an activity that could be investigated as an interpersonal boundary regulation mechanism (Bell et. al., 1996, p. 303) or discussed through some of Goffman’s different *concepts of claims*, such as conversation preserves or line-of-talk territories (Goffman, 1963, p. 161 ff.; Goffman, 1971, p. 28 ff.). Even so, these quite brief spatial claims actually seem to be more manifest today than in the 1970s. Beside basic activities concerning movement and rest-activity, we also have secondary activities, i.e. activities that are practiced while sitting, pausing, biking or walking. Here it seems as if people do not only walk or pause or sit, instead they seem to become increasingly involved in other simultaneous, secondary activities. If we compare secondary activities in 2013 with 1978 we see that they have all increased (see table 5). Pausing seems less to be an end in itself, or a way of just waiting for someone,⁹ and more for actively doing something else, such as taking photographs, drinking coffee, sending a text message or socialising. Appropriations thus increasingly also seem to involve more and materially expressed spatial claims (territorial tactics). A paper is used to mark a bench, cups and bags are spread on steps, or bikes are parked to secure an extra distance between a sitting person and people passing by.

The increase in artefacts related to technological development, such as cell phones, cameras and laptops, is striking, and it also provides one potential explanation for the increase in the number of shorter territorial appropriations and tactics on the square (cf. table 6). People pause to take photographs, check phones, and to write text messages. More traditional activities such as waiting seem to be shorter, as cell phones facilitate spontaneous meetings and reliance on relational rather than fixed time (Crang, 2007). While the number of high-tech artefacts appears to have increased, and also the number of bikes, large bags, foods and beverages (cf. Dant, 2005, p. 143; Cochoy et.al., 2014). Eating tends to focus around peak hours and takes place at all locations on the square, as is also apparent from the increased number of sitters during this hour – people tend to sit, or sometimes walk, while eating, but only seldom to eat while standing still. The increase in public eating is quite low in the observation study, but apparent in the photographic study (going from 2% to 3%). This is probably attributable to an increase in the number of nearby restaurants, and also related to more comprehensive changes in socio-material culture which have rendered public eating more acceptable; additionally, food has become more affordable and accessible in Swedish city centres during the last couple of decades. If the people eating and drinking in out-door restaurants on the square had been counted, the increase of people eating on the square would of course have been much higher.

[Table 5 about here]

[Table 6 about here]

In short, territorial appropriations and tactics seem to claim smaller spaces and involve shorter durations, whereas appropriations and tactics of longer durations increasingly seem to be part of privatized areas, i.e. the out-door restaurants. They also seem to rely more on moveable artefacts, which seems to be a part not just of a change at Stortorget in Malmö, but also of trends relating to the Swedish, and to some extent European, consumer society in general (see Cochoy et.al., 2014, for nice a study of how bags and other accessories have changed over the decades in Gothenburg and Toulouse, cf. also Brembeck et. al., 2015). These moveable artefacts have also changed the location of territorial appropriations and tactics. The steps of the statue affords a calmer place on the square as well as a flat surface on which different artefacts may be placed, and has thus become more popular for sitting than the benches in front of the Town hall. The fountain, on the other hand, located closer to the diagonal stream of people walking

between Södergatan and Hamngatan, has become less popular both as a play area for children and as a place for seating, but more important for shorter breaks.

Territorial associations

Territorial association goes hand in hand with strategies and sometimes with appropriations and tactics. If a territory is strategically planned for parking, it is of course often also associated with parking. However, some associations are produced through rumours rather than on practices of the place, so they do not always coincide. Some territorial associations are also specific to certain groups and unknown to others. A square such as Stortorget triggers a lot of territorial associations, but I will here only focus on a few more general ones that have become evident in the study (and from the municipal inquiry gathering opinions about the square in Andersson and Göransson 2008) .

In 1978, Stortorget was a square of official and political activities, but also of an ongoing everyday life dominated by (mostly) male pedestrians walking to and from their work places (table 7), and elderly people sitting on the benches. The square back then had fewer restaurants and more shops, selling such things as electrical supplies, books, carpets, women's clothing, wall papers and leather garments. There were political meetings and demonstrations, but also informal gatherings (see table 2). Today the main square is part of a larger pedestrianised retail area, and the square has increasingly taken on a specialised role as a square of events. The enquiry made by the municipality showed that the three most common statements were that (1) the parking must go, (2) the king must go (the statue), and (3) that the square should be a place of events (Andersson and Göransson, 2008, p. 3). The inhabitants of Malmö as well as the planners seem to agree that Stortorget is a place associated with events, and this territorial association also dominated the directions of the competition program considering the redesign of the square proposed in 2009 (Göransson, 2009; see Pløger, 2010, and Jakob, 2013, on the eventification of cities).

[Table 7 about here]

Korosec-Serfaty noted in 1982 that popular culture and the elite co-existed on the square, but she also pointed out that, to some extent, it was a modernised and museumized square. Stortorget had re-appropriated its history and become an important face of Malmö (the first place for tourists to visit), and Korosec-Serfaty thus noted that it seemed to increasingly conceal urban social practices and lives (Korosec-Serfaty, 1982, p. 70). This rings even more true today as the gentrification of the inner city has

increased further, and as Malmö struggles with segregation problems. In an investigation of the movements and perceptions of Muslim women wearing veils in Malmö, Sixtensson shows examples of women actively avoiding places such as nearby Lilla Torg (Sixtensson, 2009, p. 30 f.; cf. Listerborn, 2015), and refers to others who only feel comfortable when visiting the southern part of the pedestrian precinct (Sixtensson, 2009, p. 49 f.). This seems to suggest that the increasing segregation of Malmö not only includes residential areas, but also central public spaces. Stortorget is still considered an important symbolical place for Malmö, which becomes apparent during extra-ordinary events, but in terms of everyday life, the square seems more and more specialised towards young middle class shoppers and tourists.

Time and territorial complexity

One way of discussing place-temporality (Wunderlich, 2010) is to look at the changing temporal and spatial structure of territorial productions. How has the territorial complexity of Stortorget changed? The concept *territorial complexity* is here used to denote to what extent territorial productions overlap and co-exist at a certain place, without one production dominating the others (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 18 ff.). A complexity in this regard could be characterised through three points (cf. Mol and Law's description of complexities in Mol and Law, 2002):

1. They include a large number of different territorial productions
2. Territorial productions overlap (in space and/or time).
3. There is a non-hierarchical relationship between the different territories.

I will here focus on four different temporal qualities and how they relate to the on-going processes of territorialisation: pace, salience, scale and rhythm (cf. Werner. et. al., 1985). These ,in turn, can be related to the changes in territorial complexity on the square.

One of the most obvious findings from the study is the difference in *pace* between the 1970s and today. The pace on the square today seems higher, but one can also see a polarisation between slow and fast practices. The privatised areas for sitting have increased on the square both in number and size. The public part of square has thus become smaller, and also seems to be a lot busier today than during the 1970s: it has become a hectic place for movement. The everyday streams of moving pedestrians can, however, be contrasted, with the growing number of café tables and chairs, but also

with the new large scale occupational activities, such as festivals and concerts, when large crowds gather to stay on the square. These polarisations of different paces in both time and space thus seems to indicate a decrease in territorial overlapping (point 2, above).

Salience is the emphasis on a certain time-space at the cost of others. The concept could be used to discuss how a certain era or style in history is made to dominate a certain place (Werner et al., 1985). It could also be used to distinguish certain important time-spaces from others, and could thus be used to ask oneself why a certain time-space association: “Stortorget as a representational space”, seems to be regarded as more important and salient than another: “Stortorget as a market space”, for example, with regard to planning, regulation or press reports. Salience can thus be used to describe how the territorialisation of a certain time-space might take primacy over another, and decrease territorial complexity (cf. point 3 above). The territorial association of the square as a specialised square of events within the pedestrian precinct seems rather salient, despite the fact that the events actually only take place for a total of several weeks out of each year.

Salience is often connected with the establishment of different scalar levels. *Scale* here means relations between time-spaces characterized by different levels of complexity and duration (cf. Caniggia and Maffei, 2001, p. 245; DeLanda, 2006, p. 40 f.). Delaney has distinguished between horizontal and vertical territoriality (Delaney, 2005, p. 31 f.), where verticality implies territories ordered in different hierarchical segments. The scaling of territoriality, or the vertical structuration of territorial production seems to be evident on the square. The frequency of managed and spontaneous territorial productions might possibly have increased, but they also increasingly seemed to be framed in one way or another. Territorial appropriations and temporal claims at outdoor restaurant might certainly have increased, but they are also framed within the territorial strategy and behavioural codes of the restaurants (and within the regulations and campaigns set by Malmö City association). Similarly, territorial appropriations of different groups and uses might increase during large-scale events, such as festivals, concerts and celebrations, but this increase occurs within the event’s (or sub-event’s) pre-determined territorial framing; i.e. the verticality of the territorial structure increases. Rather than just disturbing a general balance between spontaneous and managed activities, the situation is such that spontaneous territorial productions increasingly seem to be set to prearranged times and framed within strategically

produced events (the adjacent Lilla Torg is another example of this development). In short, the scaling of temporal durations within frames such as ‘the café visit’ or the event, introducing stronger hierarchies of territorial productions, might also imply a decreasing territorial complexity of the square (cf. point 3).¹⁰

Finally, *rhythm* is one of the temporal qualities most often associated with territorialisation (cf. Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Brown and Capdevila, 1999; Kärrholm, 2009; Brighenti, 2010, p. 63), and here, it is taken quite simply to mean recurrent activities. Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of rhythm is also quite helpful here, as he described rhythm as repetition with a difference (Lefebvre, 2004, pp. 5-9); rhythms enable the reproductive expressions that could be considered to define a certain territory, while at the same time allowing for a dynamic and resilient means of staying in the game through a continuous change. Deleuze and Guattari consistently insisted on the territorialising capacity of rhythms, and they also noted the territorial aspects of the refrain, which they described as a territorial assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 312). At Stortorget one sees individual rhythms and also more regular refrains. The rhythms of the walkers territorialise the place, but by connecting it to a larger territory than the square itself: the pedestrian precinct as a whole produced by the rhythm of shoppers, opening hours and advertisement campaigns sets a specific refrain in the city. On a daily basis one can see the refrain of the lunch hour, and how rhythms of eating are becoming more manifest on the square (around that time), related to the offices of the inner city and the Western harbour as well as to the increasing number of restaurants and fast food places. On an annual basis finally, we have the refrain of large events, mobilising Stortorget as an important stage and show case for festivals and celebrations of Malmö.

The rhythms of the industrial city of Malmö have changed into rhythms largely conducted by aspects of consumer society (cf. Kärrholm, 2009). Stortorget here seems to have found its current role as a specialised place within the pedestrian precinct. With a decreasing number of shops, a faster pace and shorter pauses on the one hand, and an increasing frequency of prearranged temporary events on the other, Stortorget has come to play a double role. Sometimes, during large events, it works as an extraordinarily strong and highly accessible magnet, a generator of rhythms, but otherwise it acts as a facilitator of movement and rhythms emanating from places other than the square itself (thus playing its role in the territorialisation of the pedestrian precinct as a whole).

Together the change of these different temporal tendencies also seems to have changed territorial complexity. Even though the square as an urban space, from an urban design perspective, might look very similar today when compared to 1978, it is from some perspectives a completely different square. The square seems to be a bit more crowded today, and perhaps there is an increase in the sheer number of territorial productions on the square (point 1, above), but still one might argue that there is an overall decrease in territorial production as these territorialisations become polarised and vertically structured (point 2 and 3, above). A decrease in territorial complexity can be seen as problematic in the sense that it also implies increasing difficulties for new kinds of groups or usages to claim their right to the square.

Conclusions

In territoriality theory there has been a tradition to pacify the object (the territory). Whether the territory is one's own backyard (Altman, 1975) or a prison (Sack, 1986), it has almost always been defined as a pure reproduction of social intentions, i.e. the material aspects of the territory has not been seen as a co-producer of territorial effects. However, as shown in this study, the territory is very much alive, it is a heterogeneous assemblage of human and non-human actors, and relies on all its actors to produce meanings and effects (cf. Latour, 2005). Territorial effects are always produced through a distributed agency where meaning is not found within a single object or subject. The time-space of a territorial claim on a bench, for example, is not just an effect of the person sitting down, but also of the weather, her clothes, as well as of the sandwich she brought along to eat. The production of territories must thus also be seen as a temporal process and the effective territory as an event produced by an assemblage of different actors, rather than by just a subject and a space. In order to stress and investigate the temporal aspects of territorial production, I have defined territoriality as the claiming of time-space (rather than just space), and discussed changes in different kinds of territorial production as well as in territorial complexity on Stortorget square. I have investigated the square, comparing empirical studies from 1978 and 2013, as a landscape of different territorial events. The square is in a sense a pliable, pulsating and transforming assemblage, mirroring contemporary culture and the city of Malmö in interesting ways. The concepts of territorial strategies, tactics, appropriations or associations has been used to differentiate spatio-temporal claims on public space, in order to introduce a relational discussion and mapping of time-space territorialisations

on the square. One of the main points of this approach is not to see public space through a fragmentary logic of means and ends ('the number of sitting persons depends on the number of seats', cf. Gehl and Svarre, 2013, p. 111; Whyte, 2000, etc.), but rather as a complex, sensitive and highly transformative landscape, where changing usages both depend, and is played out, on multiple scales. This is also one of the main reasons that Stortorget was chosen as a case study, as Korosec-Serfaty's study gave us a rare opportunity to investigate and show how these multi-scalar dynamics have changed over time. The fixed material figures of Malmö's Main Square, such as the benches, the fountain and the statue, are largely unaltered, but their actor roles change as they get involved in new assemblages, following and/or producing new rhythms, paces, salience and scales. New actors have also been mobilised into the territorial networks produced on the square, and judging from the observation studies it seems as if some new actor types (actants), e.g. coffee cups, mobile fences, mobile phones and shopping bags, as well as the out-door restaurants and the pedestrian precinct, increasingly have come to affect the socio-material landscape of the square, and possibly even Malmö as a whole.

Stortorget is a place of increased importance for events, tourists and consumption, and as such it can be seen as a clear example of how the emblematic public spaces of larger cities in Sweden (and perhaps other parts of Western Europe) have changed during these last decades. Stortorget is the largest square in Sweden's third largest city and, to some extent, the changes on Stortorget also mirror recent changes in Swedish society. People have both more money and time to consume, more shopping bags, more mobile phones, fewer people are smoking, women are more visible in public space and public space is increasingly privatised (cf. Olsson, 1998; Kärrholm, 2012; Cochoy et.al., 2014; Brembeck et. al., 2015). Swedish consumer society and some of its general trends are thus quite visible on the square, but others are visible only through their absence. Low income groups, elderly people, food stores and public service are, for example, some of the actors that are no longer quite so visible on the square. In short, one could argue that the square seems to have a specialised socio-material culture, related to its role as an 'event space' within the territory of a retailised pedestrian precinct, but to fully understand its role and how it has changed it would need to be compared with socio-material cultures of other public spaces in Malmö (in Sweden, and possibly elsewhere too). The development of synchronic studies (to complement this diachronic one) could in short, be a possible and hopefully fruitful avenue for further studies.

Overall, the territorial complexity of the square has decreased due to the increasing dominance and stabilisation of certain kinds of territorial productions (e.g. people walking by, scheduled events) at the cost of others, and also due to an increase in verticality, where certain territorial strategies are made to manage a series of others. Territorial complexity is an important issue to address, since to some extent it can be seen as a constituent of public space. Public space needs a complexity of territorial productions, as this complexity comes with a proliferation of borders and interstices, and opens up the possibility constant renegotiations. Noortje Marres, following the American pragmatists Dewey and Lippmann, has argued that it is issues that bring public into being (Marres, 2012). When problems or issues arise (in a society) that no one is taking care of properly, a public needs to be mobilised. Publics are thus events that manifest a certain implicit commonality (Brighenti, 2016, p. 315). The formation of commonalities as well as publics always involves a territorial question: where, how long, and by whom can a certain time-space be claimed? How are meanings, groups and usages territorialised? (cf. Lefebvre, 1991, p. 416 f., and his notion of *trial by space*). Stortorget is still an on-stage place for spontaneous activities and minority groups – for feminists dressing up the statue in pink clothing (in 2014) or for the celebration of an independent state of Kosovo in 2008 (see fig. 5). Stortorget is a unique place in Malmö, it is a large open public space in a quite dense urban fabric, and as such it is an important urban and societal resource. It allows both large and small crowds to gather, (cf. Butler, 2011, on the political role on the assembling of bodies), and has done so for centuries. However, a specialisation of use, and the decreased possibility of the spontaneous claiming of public space, can be seen as problematic in a society where the new challenges seem to be about living with strangers in world of increasing plurality and diversity (Amin, 2012).

[Fig 5 about here]

A thorough development of a time-space territorology might be one way of studying public space use as a complex system, acknowledging that the territorial production of time-spaces are never static or independent, but always relational, interdependent and entangled in transformative processes. Different actors and different territories come to the fore at different times, during different seasons, weeks or hours of the day, and public life *always* draws on materialities and usages from other spatio-temporal scales than the one made visible in the specific situation. Furthermore, the suggested approach provides conceptual tools to investigate territorial landscapes in the making, and can as

such be seen as a possible way to diagnose the publicness of public space. Who can access what spaces, for what use, at what times, and at what cost? These kinds of questions are becoming increasingly significant as socio-economic segregation and polarisation increase in our cities.

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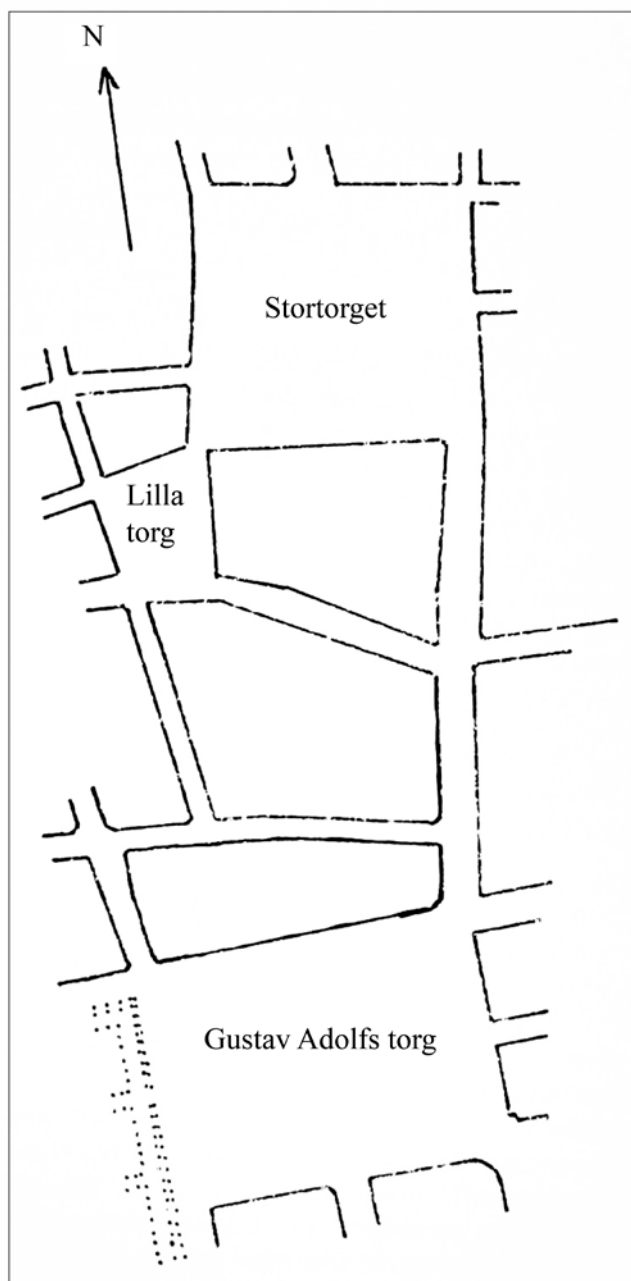


Fig 1. Map of the central squares of Malmö (the northern part of the pedestrian precinct).



Fig 2. Photo of north-east part of the square 1978, with fountain in the back (photograph from the P. K-S. Collection).

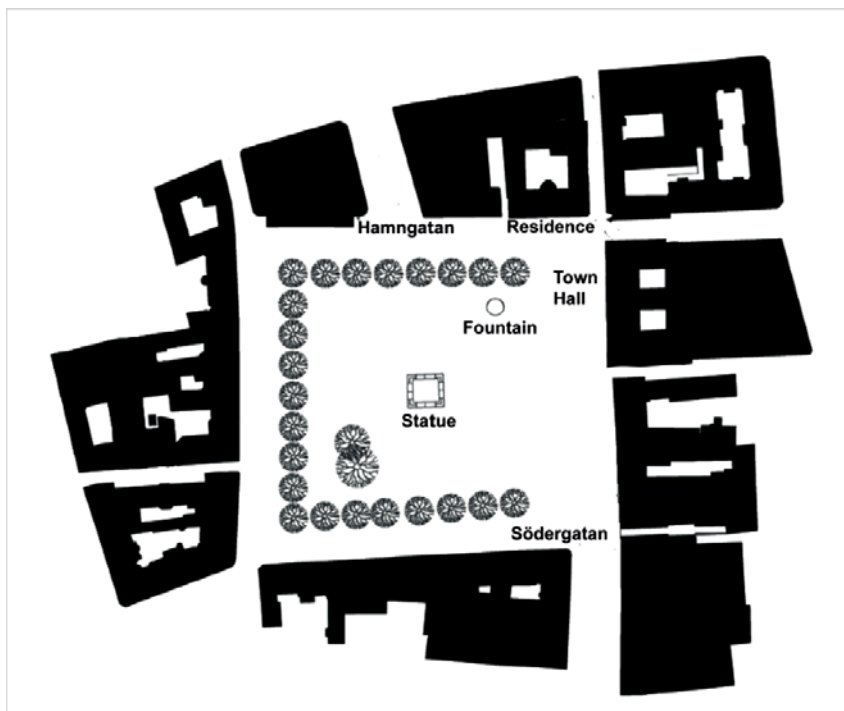


Fig. 3. Map showing locations and key elements on Stortorget.

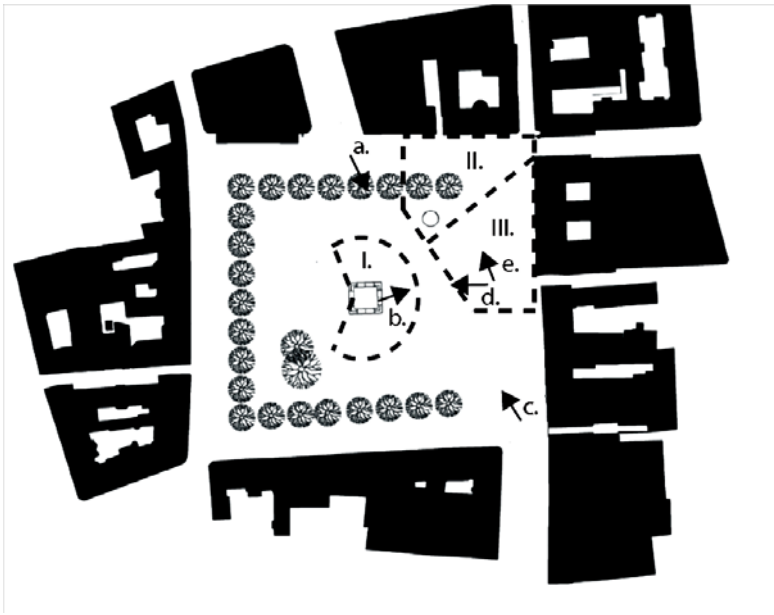


Fig. 4. Map showing the three areas of the observational study: I. the Statue; II. the Fountain and the Residence; and III. the Town Hall. The photos for the photographic study were taken from: a. towards Södergatan; b. towards the Town Hall; c. towards Hamngatan; d. towards the Statue; and e. towards the Fountain and the Residence.



Fig. 5. People celebrating the independence of Kosovo on Stortorget (Malmö), February 17, 2008. (photo by courtesy of Ida Sandström).

Basic Activities	1978	2013
Walking	46% (1988)	55% (7564)
Sitting	42% (1813)	21% (2873)
Pausing	11% (480)	20% (2739)
Playing	1% (42)	1% (167)
Biking	0% (16)	1% (168)
Working	0% (0)	1% (196)
Other	0% (2)	1% (91)
Total	100% (4341)	100% (13798)

Table 1. Activities on Stortorget according to the photographic study, in percent and numbers. Last row shows the ratio between peak and off-peak hour for each year. Numbers from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982, p. 64 ff.).

	1977 (167 articles)	2012 (119 articles)
Cultural and collective celebrations	24% (40)	36% (43)
Political and official activities	43% (72)	22% (26)
Informal gatherings	8% (13)	1% (1)
Delinquency and safety	2% (4)	18% (21)
Traffic and commuting	9% (15)	3% (4)
Other issues	14 % (23)	20 % (24)

Table 2. Issues covered in the press on Stortorget (number of articles in parenthesis). Numbers from 1977 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982, p. 107)

Clusters	1978	2013
Alone	55% (491)	64% (1326)
Pairs	31% (281)	21% (433)
Alone/couple with child/children	2 % (19)	7% (144)
Group of 3 or more adults	12% (110)	8% (176)
Total	100% (901)	100% (2079)

Table 3. Clusters on Stortorget according to observation studies in 1978 and 2013 (in percentages and numbers). Numbers from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982, p. 55).

	Pausing (all)	Sitting (all)	Playing	Tot. mean time (pausing+sitting+playing)
Fountain and Residence	1 m. 25 s. <i>133 situations ranging from 3s. to 11 m. 20 s., M=49 s.</i>	8 m. 34 s. <i>17 situations ranging from 2 m. to 20 m., M= 6 m.</i>	2 m. 39 s. <i>11 situations, ranging from 10 s. to 5 m., M= 2m. 15 s.</i>	2 m. 6 s. <i>161 situations ranging from 3 s. to 20 m., M = 1m.</i>
Townhall	1 m. 44 s. <i>69 situations ranging from 3 s. to 18. m 45 s., M= 28 s.</i>	13 m. 3 s. <i>34 situations ranging from 4 s. to 60 m., M= 10 m.</i>	3 m. 6 s. <i>1 situation</i>	5 m. 27 s. <i>104 situations ranging from 3 s. to 60 m., M =1m 20 s.</i>
Statue	2 m. 28 s. <i>78 situations ranging from 2 s. to 45 m., M=26s.</i>	13 m. 36 s. <i>33 situations ranging from 1 m. to 37 m., M= 9m 4s.</i>	4 m. 19 s. <i>5 situations, ranging from 1 m. 27 s. to 7 m. 15 s., M= 4 m.</i>	5 m. 43 s. <i>116 situations, ranging from 2 s. to 45 m., M = 1 m. 42 s.</i>
Tot. mean	1 m. 47 s. <i>280 situations ranging from 2s. to 45 m., M =40 s.</i>	12 m. 22 s. <i>84 situations ranging from 4 s. to 60 m., M= 8 m. 38 s.</i>	3 m. 10 s. <i>17 situations ranging from 10 s. to 7 m. 15 s., M= 3 m. 30 s.</i>	4 m. 6 s. <i>382 situations, ranging from 2 s. to 60 m., M = 1 m. 27 s.</i>

Table 4. Mean/average time, including range and median (M) of occupational activities at three different locations on the square in 2013. Please observe that this table shows number of measured situations where each situation might include one or more persons.

Secondary activities	1978	2013
Talking while standing up	13%	36%
Taking photo	5%	9%
Texting/talking on phone	0%	3%
Eating	4%	4%
Playing	2%	2%
Reading	1%	1%

Table 5. Changes in secondary activities according to the observation study. Numbers from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982), Please observe that the number for eating seem to be wrongly stated in the table there (1982, p. 56), so the number is here taken from the text (also at p. 56).

	Cell phones/ Cameras	Bikes	Food and/or drinks	Prams	Large bags	Dogs	Smoking cigarettes
Walking	150	106	40	231	173	39	2
Pausing	333	97	29	79	68	9	3
Sitting	135	37	320	57	20	2	5
Cycling	3	168	1	-	-	-	-
Total	621	408	390	367	261	50	10

Table 6. Non-humans related to activities on square, according to the photographic study 2013

Clusters	1978	2013
Man	37 % (329)	35% (723)
Woman	18 % (162)	29% (603)
Man+Man	10% (88)	4% (78)
Man+Woman	16% (141)	12% (254)
Woman+Woman	6% (52)	5% (101)
Woman+Child/Children	1% (9)	2% (50)
Man+Child/Children	1% (5)	2% (33)
Man+Woman+Child/Children	1% (5)	3% (61)
Other constellations	12% (110)	8% (176)
Total	901	2079

Table 7. Clusters on Stortorget according to observation studies in 1978 and 2013 (in percentages and numbers). Numbers from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982, p. 55).

¹ This relational approach to territoriality is of course related to a more general development of relational space by, for example Law (2002), Massey (2005) and many others. For an introduction of this, see Murdoch (2006: 1-25).

² It should perhaps be noted that the study of 1978 were more comprehensive and also included, for example, route mapping, historical studies, and interviews. A more detailed report (but just) of the data results from the empirical investigation in 2013 can be found in Kärrholm 2015.

³ Due to lack of resources, it was not possible to do the current study during one week, as Korosec-Serfaty did, but the empirical studies were spread over several weeks. With the exception of three observation hours, which were made during two sunny days in April 29 and 30, the study was conducted in June and August. July was excluded from the study, as it is the month during which Swedes typically go on holiday. Peak hours studied were set to 12-13 on weekdays and 12-14 on weekends (cf. Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 52). Observers, beside myself, were Axel Kärrholm, Gustav Kärrholm and Irma Schlaucher Ståhl.

⁴ The age categories used were: children (0-12), adolescent (12-18), young adults (18-45), middle aged (45-65), and old (65+). Categories are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982, p. 55).

⁵ I here distinguish between actor and actant in Latourian/Greimasian sense, where the actant a kind, or type, of actor (see Latour 2005:71). 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 (Greimas and Courtes 1982: 5-7)

⁶ Schatzki, coming from a phenomenological perspective seems to prefer timespace before time-space (used in this article).

⁷ However, time-geography was already used in the 1970s as a way of investigating the constraints of strategic time-space territories.

⁸ It is true that the ratio of elderly has also decreased in Malmö as a whole during these decades. The ratio of people of 65 years and older in the municipality has decreased from 18 % in 1978 to 15 % in 2013, but this difference is still too small to explain the change on the square.

⁹ See, for example, Bissell (2009) and Bishop (2013) for a discussion of some recent changes in waiting behavior in relation to the consumer society.

¹⁰ For further discussion, one could also extend the question of scale ‘downwards’, to further investigate the territorialising role of ready-made artefacts, and ‘upwards’, to discuss Stortorget’s changing role in a growing and central retail area (the pedestrian precinct), as well as its role within the urban landscape and region of Öresund.