The main square revisited, a comparison of daily usage of Stortorget Malmö, between 1978 and 2013

Kärrholm, Mattias

Published in:
Urban Squares, Spatio-temporal studies of design and everyday life in the Öresund region

2015

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

CHAPTER 2

The main square revisited

A comparison of daily usage of Stortorget, Malmö, between 1978 and 2013

Mattias Kärrholm

In this study I have analysed day-to-day activities in Stortorget, the main square in Malmö, Sweden (Fig. 2.1 & 2.2), comparing 1978 with 2013. In 1978, Stortorget had just become part of a small pedestrianized area stretching down to Gustav Adolfs torg, the square two blocks south. Malmö was then an industrial city in the early throes of an urban crisis, with a declining population at just under 250,000 inhabitants. Today, what was a pedestrian street has now grown into a large pedestrian precinct (see Kärrholm 2012) and Malmö has a rising population of about 300,000. The city of Malmö is the centre of a large and growing urban region in southern Sweden, and 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 of branding but exceptional in terms of success and transformation (Holgersen 2014: 14). That said, the change into what has sometimes also been called a 'knowledge city' has come at a price, with a great increase in segregation and a new discourse of crime and security problems (see, for example, Rodenstedt 2014).

A study of an urban space compared over time allows us to compare two sides of paradigmatic urban change in a city that has abandoned its industrial context for post-industrial consumer society, and offers interesting insights into an important urban site and its changing role for everyday life. There are three principal reasons why Stortorget in

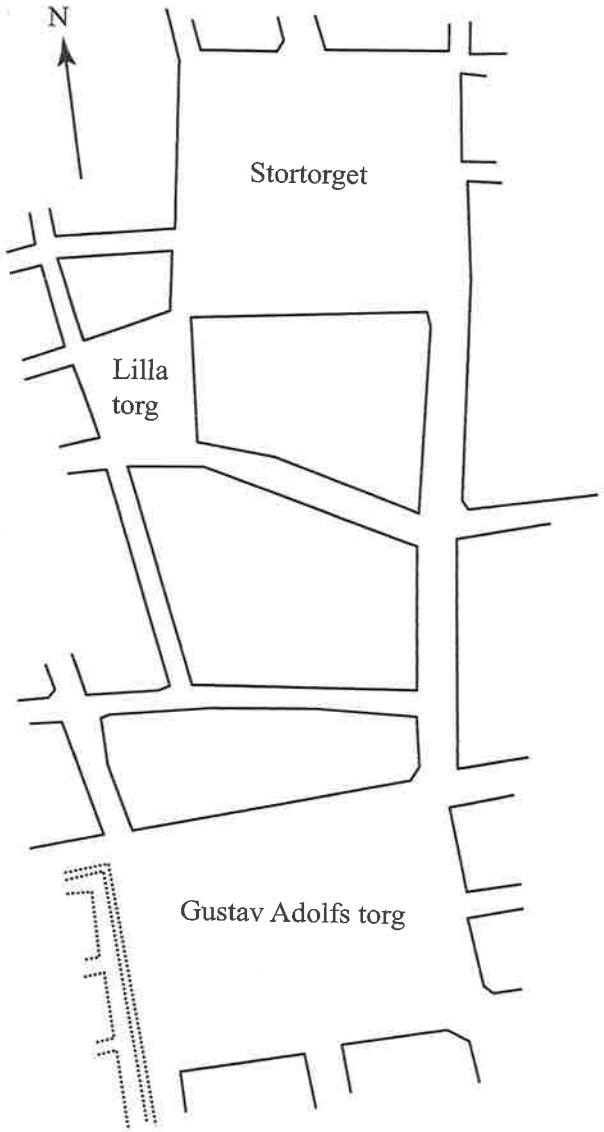


Fig 2.1 Map of Malmö's central squares (the northern section of the pedestrian precinct).

Fig. 2.2 Stortorget looking north, 2013. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 2.3 The unveiling of the statue of Karl X Gustav in Stortorget in 1896. (P. K.-S. Collection)

Malmö is an especially interesting object of study. First, for centuries the square has been an emblematic place for Malmö. It is an old square, and was, when it was created in the 1530s, the largest square in northern Europe, measuring about 140 by 140 metres. The decision to create

Fig. 2.4 Crown Princess Margareta in Stortorget on 1 June 1908 to mark the 250th anniversary of the Treaty of Roskilde in 1658, the year in which King Karl X Gustav seized the city. (P. K.-S. Collection)

Fig. 2.5 Stortorget and the airship *Hansa*, 19 September 1912. (P. K.-S. Collection)

Fig. 2.6 A school class taking a break in the shadow of the statue in 2013. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 2.7 The statue in 1978. (P. K.-S. Collection)

the square was prompted by the need for a larger marketplace close to the seaport, and a monastery church was razed to make way for the square (Andersson & Göransson 2009). Malmö's city hall was built on the north side of the square in 1546, and from its inception Stortorget was an important representational space and a symbol of the city of Malmö. Throughout history, it has been the place of celebrations, rituals, rebellions, and executions – and of more mundane activities such as open-air markets, weddings, or the regular cleaning and maintenance of the Municipal Fire Department's fire hoses. In short, the square has a very special place in the history of Malmö, it is a place extraordinaire (see Fig. 2.3, 2.4 & 2.5).

Second, Stortorget has largely remained unchanged in the thirty-five years separating 1978 and 2013 (see Fig. 2.6 & 2.7). In fact, it lies like the eye of a hurricane, seemingly untouched in a city of large-scale spatial change. If we compare just the square of 1978 with that of today, it thus looks remarkably similar, even though most of its surroundings have been transformed. Many public spaces in Malmö were refurbished during the 1990s and early 2000s. In 2007, when Stortorget's turn finally came, an architectural competition was announced and held in 2009, but the money ran out and the winning project was never realized. The physical similarities of the square now and then, in terms of urban design, might thus hopefully help us avoid the standard discussions in this field – that is, relating a change of use to a change of urban design (see, for example, Gehl 2010) – and instead direct our focus to the more dynamic processes of territorialization, which involve practices, materialities, time, and space on a variety of different scales. The square might look the same, but activities have changed. This does not mean that design and materiality do not play a role in these activities, of course, but rather that their role, as we shall see, is more complex than any direct causal relationship between A and B might suggest, for it includes objects from both inside and outside the square, from the smallest artefacts to the spatial context and structure of the entire city. The role of materiality and design can only be understood as the product of relations and association between actors whose scale and scope cannot be pregiven, but needs to be found (cf. Latour 2005).

Third, and perhaps most importantly, an immensely detailed empirical study of the square was conducted in June 1978, just a week after the inauguration of the first pedestrianized street in Malmö. In that year, the psycho-sociologist Perla Korosec-Serfaty (aka Perla

Fig. 2.8 Books and photos by Perla Korosec-Serfaty. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 2.9 The fountain and the town hall in 1978. (P. K.-S. Collection)

Serfaty-Garzon) was invited to the Department of Contemporary Art and Environmental Studies at Lund University, by Professor Sven Sandström. Korosec-Serfaty was interested in the appropriation of public space, and had already published on this topic in the 1970s (1973, 1976a), including the anthology *Appropriation of Space* (1976b). In 1978, Korosec-Serfaty set up a Study Group of Public Squares in Lund, and in 1982, she published *The Main Square, Functions and Daily Uses of Stortorget, Malmö*, based on their work (see Fig. 2.8 & 2.9), a study also published in French as *La grand'place: Fonctions et pratiques quotidiennes de Stortorget a Malmo* in 1986. Thorough in the extreme, the intention was 'to study the functions and day-to-day uses of an institutionalized square' (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 6). Today, this study offers the perfect opportunity to compare day-to-day activities then and now. This, in turn, gives a depth to any discussion of the transformation of activities and the ways in which the span of the square's spatio-temporal claims extend from minutes to decades.

The empirical investigation of Stortorget

For the sake of comparison, the empirical studies presented in this essay were designed to be as similar to Korosec-Serfaty's studies (1982) as possible. Just like the Korosec-Serfaty studies, they were based on a press study and an analysis of ground-floor activities (both comparing 1977 with 2012), and, most importantly, an extensive, structured observation study and a photographic study (both comparing 1978 with 2013).[1]

The observation studies were performed at peak and off-peak hours over seven days, with each day of the week and a variety of locations in the square represented. The studies from 2013 used three different vantage points (Fig. 2.10 & 2.11) in April, June, and August,[2] amounting to a total of 42 hours of observations. Again like the earlier studies, the observations were done on sunny days, when people could be expected to be outdoors, and were planned carefully so as not to coincide with any out-of-the-ordinary, planned events in the square. The observation study called for all the activities within one of three given areas in the square to be observed 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 (individuals or groups), as well as their gender, the number of people if a group, and the dura-

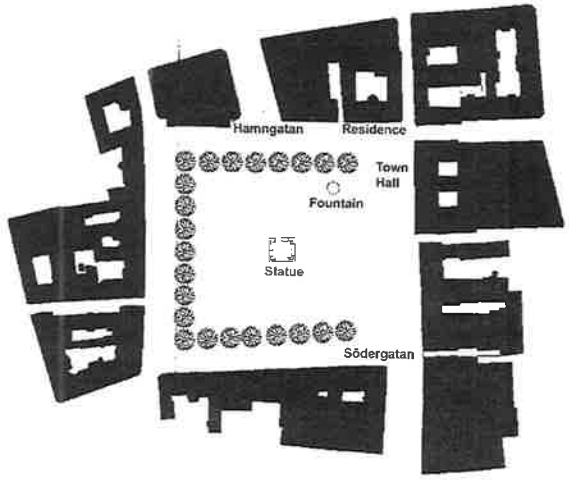


Fig. 2.10 The key features of Stortorget.

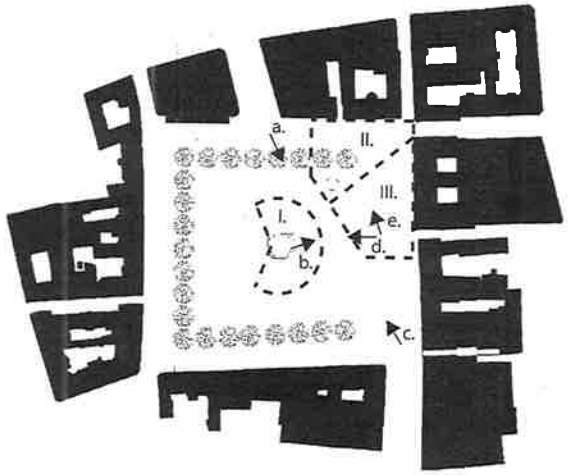
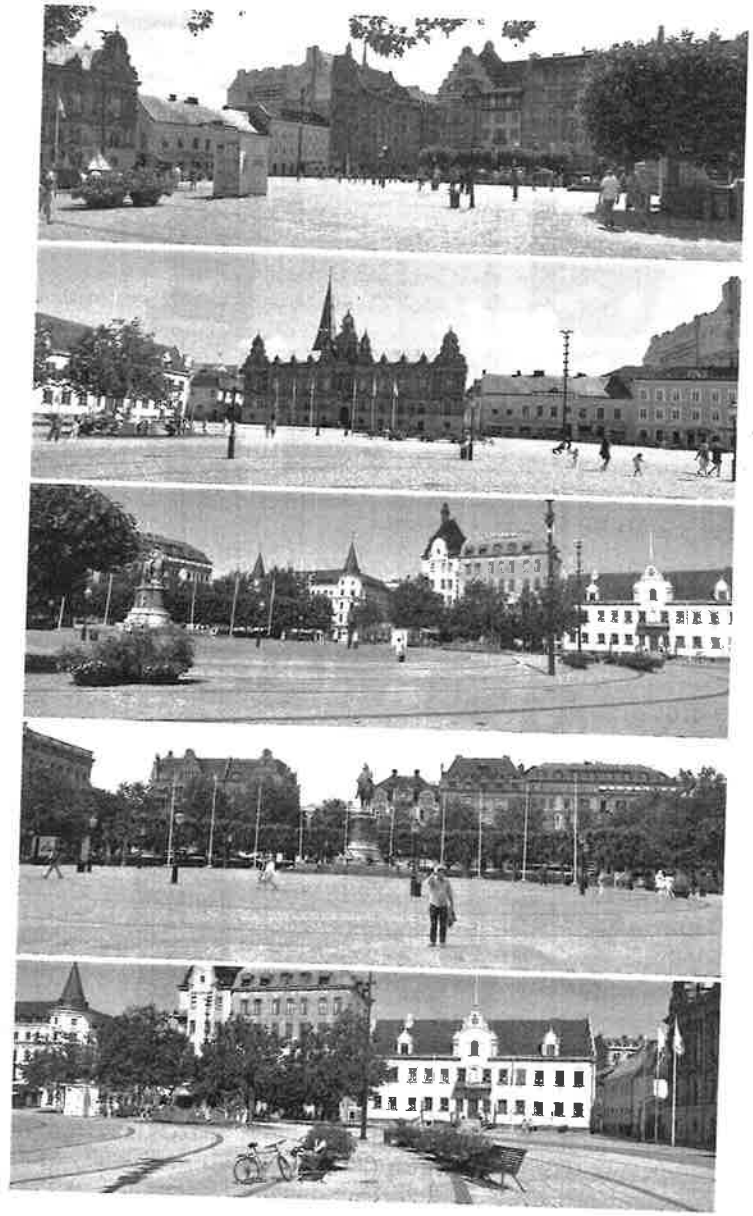


Fig. 2.11 The three territories used in the observational study. (I) the statue; (II) the fountain and the Governor's Residence; and (III) the town hall. The photos for the photographic study were taken from (a) towards Södergatan, from (b) towards the town hall, from (c) towards Hamngatan, from (d) towards the statue, and from (e) towards the fountain and the Governor's Residence.



tion of the activities they performed. One observation form was used for each cluster. The activities were then compared with observations made from the same locations in June 1978 (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 51). The study from 1978 comprises 901 clusters from six observed territories, while the study from 2013 consists of 2,079 clusters from three of the same territories. The observation study was then used to describe the formation of clusters in the square, as well as a way of connecting activities and their associated durations.

The photographic study was also conducted at peak and off-peak hours over seven days, with each day of the week represented, but from five different locations (Fig. 2.11 & 2.12), again for the same days and seasons as the observation study (in other words, June 1978, and April, June, and August 2013). One photograph was taken of each of the five locations at 5 minutes intervals, producing a total of 60 photographs per hour. The 14 hours of observation thus resulted in a total of 840 photographs. The people in the photographs were then tallied and sorted according to activity, age range, and gender. The age categories used were children (0–12), adolescents (12–18), young adults (18–45), middle-aged (45–65), and old (65+).[3] 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 6,806 people were counted at nine locations; of these, 5,043 were fully categorized (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 62); in 2013, the photographs from five of these locations allowed a categorization of 13,798 people (4,341 people had been categorized from these same specific points in 1978). In 1978, photographs were only taken when people were present within the area under observation, the result being 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 'average snapshot of a week' (a kind of abstracted time–space), so things remaining longer in the square will appear in several pictures and be tallied multiple times. The photographic study was used for the mapping of human and non-human activity alike.

Consistently with Korosec-Serfaty's study, the present study thus addresses outdoor public life in the daytime hours in the early summer

Fig. 2.12 (Left) Vistas used in the photographic study of Södergatan, the town hall, Hamngatan, the statue, and the fountain with the Governor's Residence behind, in 2013. (Photos by the author)

months. It should be noted that studies of the square by night would introduce an entirely different set of time–spaces, as Stortorget is now notorious for its nightlife and violence, and is therefore under camera surveillance 24/7. Thanks to Korosec-Serfaty's investigation, any study of Stortorget has a rich variety of both diachronic and synchronic material to hand in which different time–space scales, rhythms, etc. have been taken into account. The present observation and photographic studies have focused on the east of the square, because this was the site of Korosec-Serfaty's studies, and also because this section has a greater variety of activities (the west of the square is dominated by parking, and is thus the site of predictable and regular activities). The observation study is fundamentally qualitative in its approach, and by counting and quantifying a number of aspects it facilitates the identification and description of activities that might otherwise be inaccessible or indiscernible without counting (Rose 2012: 85–6). The numbers should not be seen as absolute: there are several factors that can affect them, including age, gender, and even activity, which at times might have been misjudged by the observer, while a photo can rarely be taken from the exact same position or angle. Digital photography, which facilitates the enlargement of images, also makes it likely that one can categorize more people than was possible back in 1978. There are always some problems in following up an old study rather than setting up the whole study from scratch. Nevertheless, even though the study might not provide conclusive evidence in the strictest sense (if that is ever possible), the comparison – which would not be possible without this strategy – has resulted in some interesting indications of change, as we shall see.

Impressions of Stortorget

Stortorget can today be seen as divided into different parts, with parking occupying the western end of the square, and the pedestrianized part (about 68 by 95 metres) occupying the eastern part (Fig. 2.13 & 2.14). The pedestrianized part is divided in turn into the area surrounding the equestrian statue of King Karl X Gustav (unveiled in 1896); the benches and the open space in front of the town hall; the fountain (installed in 1964 on the site of an old and historically important well); and, finally, crossing the square diagonally from Hamngatan to Södergatan, the important pedestrian route that runs right through the city.

Fig. 2.13 Looking across the north end of Stortorget from the west, with the parking to the right and town hall in the background, 2012. (Photo courtesy of Sabina Jallow)

Fig. 2.14 The pedestrianized area at the east end of Stortorget in 2013. (Photo by the author)

Comparing the material aspects of the square today with those in the late 1970s, one is first struck by the similarities. Among the few elements that might have affected observations are the changes to a few benches and the square's kiosk: in 1978 there were fewer benches in front of the town hall, but instead there were a couple of additional benches just next to the west of the fountain, which are now gone; and the old kiosk was demolished and a new, somewhat larger kiosk built in 1986, a few metres south-east of the location of the old one.[4] In context, however, while changes in the urban design elements have been minor, delving deeper into the material on the square's use, other changes become apparent. The spatial distribution of ground-floor activities in the buildings on the square's periphery has changed significantly (Table 2.1). In 1978, the square had greengrocers and a large number of shops selling electronic or photographic equipment, carpets, books, clothes, sewing machines, and jewellery, along with travel agencies, banks, an optician, and a car rental agency (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 40). In 2012, the number of shops had decreased from fourteen to five, while the number of restaurants and cafés has increased from seven to twelve. Several of these move out onto the square during the summer months, covering 672 square metres of open space with outdoor restaurants, and thereby affecting the number and character of the territorial strategies in the square. The outdoor restaurants were located outside the specific areas of the observation and photographic studies, however.

Table 2.1 Activities accessible to the public on the ground floors of the buildings surrounding Stortorget.

Activities	1977 (total 42)	2012 (total 29)
Restaurants, cafés, and bars	7	12
Hotels and travel agencies	6	2
Clothes shops and accessories	4	0
Specialist shops	5	1
Furniture and interior design shops	3	2
Banks	3	1
Official	5	2
Pharmacy, health	2	2
Cinemas	1	1
Businesses	3	3
Private clubs	1	1

Table 2.2 Percentage of articles in the press reporting a certain kind of activity, with number of articles in parentheses.

Activities	1914 (total 40)	1977 (total 167)	2012 (total 119)
Informal gatherings	28 % (11)	8 % (13)	1 % (1)
Delinquency and safety	0 % (0)	2 % (4)	18 % (21)
Culture	13 % (5)	15 % (25)	17 % (20)
Politics	10 % (4)	26 % (43)	17 % (20)
Official activities	5 % (2)	17 % (29)	5 % (6)
Collective celebrations	20 % (8)	9 % (15)	19 % (23)
Traffic & commuting	0 % (0)	9 % (15)	3 % (4)
Cleaning& maintenance	5 % (2)	6 % (10)	1 % (1)
Physical changes	5 % (2)	2 % (3)	6 % (7)
Entertainment	0 % (0)	4 % (7)	6 % (7)
Professions & companies	0 % (0)	1 % (2)	6 % (7)
Wholesale trade	10 % (4)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
Property development	0 % (0)	1 % (1)	0 % (0)
Basic needs and public services	5 % (2)	0 % (0)	2 % (2)

There are two investigations to help us to construct an image of the square as seen by its users and the inhabitants of Malmö as a whole: the press study and the survey by the City of Malmö prior to the architectural competition for the remodelling of Stortorget in 2009 (Göransson 2008). The findings from the press study – presented in *The Main Square* (Korosec-Serfaty 1986; Lyttkens 1982: 92–107) for the years 1914 and 1977, and followed up in the present study for 2012 – give a general idea of what locals associate with Stortorget in territorial terms (Table 2.2). In 1914, the square seems to have been associated with the upper classes and the wealthy, judging from the advertisements of the day (Lyttkens 1982: 103) and the representation of official activities in the square found in the press. One of the more important events that year was the visit of all three Scandinavian kings in a show of unity following the outbreak of the First World War. However, Stortorget was also associated with more mundane activities and workers, as can be deducted from the many reports of spontaneous events in the square, and from the fact that the square was then still a busy marketplace. In 1545 it had been stipulated that all commerce in Malmö, except in wood and coal, should be located in Stortorget (Korosec-Serfaty

1982: 27), and the busy central market had been held there down the centuries. However, in the spirit of modernization and rationalization, which eschewed open-air markets (see Nordin 2009: 251–5), in 1957 the market was closed. By then it had already been forced to compete for space with car traffic and the need for parking, and the proposal for a functional zoning of the square was subsequently made in 1958, with new parking spaces and circulation arteries built and ready to be used in the early 1960s (Åstrand 1982: 93). Traffic and infrastructure became a new and important item on the agenda, as can be seen in the press reports from 1977. In 1977, though, the most common topics in the newspaper reports relating to the square were political gatherings – a hunger strike, for example, and a political demonstration – followed by official activities (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 107). Come 2012, entertainment and cultural activities are increasingly important. Of the articles relating to the square in 2012, collective celebrations top the list of common topics, followed by crime and safety. References to informal gatherings fell from thirteen mentions in 1977 to just one in 2012. The new collective celebrations tend to be large-scale, week-long events such as Malmöfestivalen (the city festival, mentioned in seventeen articles) and Musikhjälpen (a fund-raising event, mentioned in ten articles), both of which involve a series of concerts and cultural performances. The role of cultural activities and entertainment seems to have continued to increase since the 1970s. Perhaps the pedestrianization of 1978, and the continued expansion of the pedestrian area south of the square since, has played a role in this. The sudden increase in crime and safety reports since 1977 may be at least in part attributable to a change of focus in press reporting (see Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 35, Lyttkens 1982: 103), although the growing number of clubs and restaurants (and thus nightlife) in the square might also have given rise to more frequent reports of violence.

The City of Malmö's 2008 survey about Stortorget (Göransson 2008) was formulated as a series of 46 statements, which respondents could approve of or not. The survey compiled 720 answers collected through questionnaires, a web enquiry, and seminars. The statement that met with greatest approval was that the car parking should be removed. A great many respondents were also critical of the equestrian statue of Karl X Gustav in the middle of the square. The statue bears testament to shifting national borders in the region – it was controversial even before it was erected (Åstrand 1982), and its continued presence in the

square is intermittently debated in the local press – in the survey 21 per cent of respondents voted for the 'The king must go!' whereas 13 per cent wanted it to stay (Göransson 2008: 3). The symbolic value of Stortorget is still very great, but it seems as if it is not manifested in statues or artworks, nor in official visits by important figures, but in celebrities and large-scale cultural events. If one looks further down the list of approved statements, one notices that many of them, such as 'The kiosk has to go!' or 'The square should be a place for events!', accord with an image of Stortorget as an open space best-suited to cultural experiences and celebrations. To sum up, although Stortorget's territorial associations and strategies might appear relatively stable in an everyday perspective, they are also clearly susceptible to change over time. Some formerly strong territorial associations and strategies have since passed – the square as a 'vital marketplace', for example – whereas others endure, such as the square as the city's prime representational space (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 26). The square as stage for planned, large-scale cultural events and celebrations may not be wholly new, but it is an image that became increasingly strong in the 1970s and dominates today.

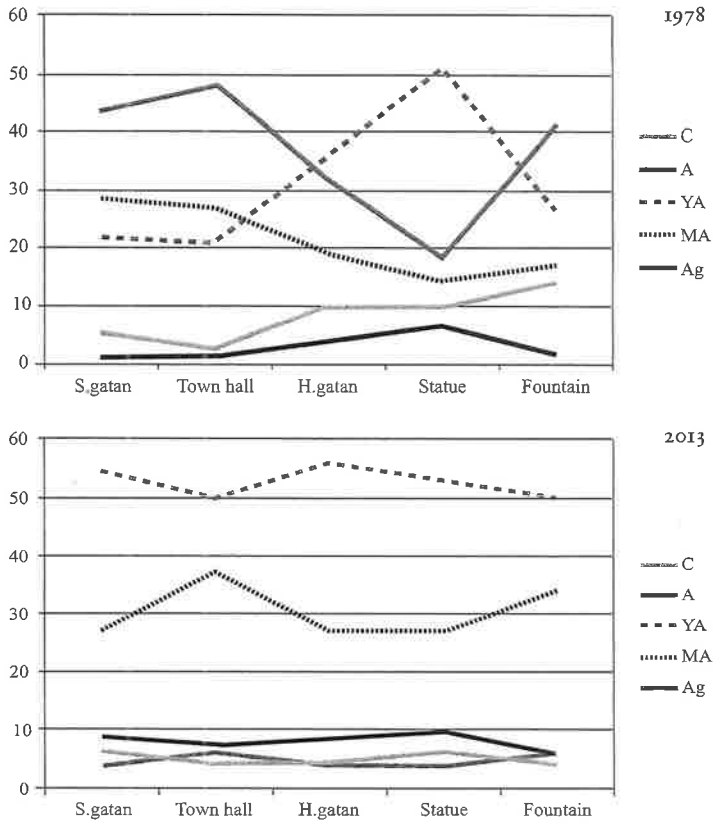
Clusters, gender, and age

The observation study provides some interesting clues to the changes in spatio-temporal appropriations; that is, how groups or individuals use the square and for how long. Taking the cluster constellations (Table 2.3), it is evident that there has been a relative decrease in the number of groups in the square between 1978 and 2013. These days, people who spend time in the square tend to do so alone. In fact the number of adult people walking in pairs has fallen from 31 per cent to 21 per cent, and of three or more adults from 12.2 per cent to 8.5 per cent. In his comparative study of public life in Tokyo and New York from 1977, Whyte finds that popular plazas were used predominantly by groups: in Tokyo, they comprised 88 per cent of visitors, and in New York about 60 per cent (Whyte 2000: 231), which can be compared to the 45.5 per cent in Malmö in 1978. The number in Malmö in 2013 was even lower, however: 36.2 per cent. As both Gehl (2010) and Whyte have suggested, the most-frequented plazas or public spaces are also sociable spaces, meaning that the number of people in groups of two or more can be expected to increase (Whyte 2009: 105).

Table 2.3 Clusters in Stortorget according to the observation studies in 1978 and 2013. The figures from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982: 55). The average number of people per cluster in 2013 was 1.56.

Clusters	1978 (total 901)	2013 (total 2,079)
Man	36.5 % (329)	34.8 % (723)
Woman	18.0 % (162)	29.0 % (603)
Man + Woman	15.7 % (141)	12.2 % (254)
Woman + Woman	5.8 % (52)	4.9 % (101)
Man + Man	9.8 % (88)	3.8 % (78)
Man + Woman + Child/Children	0.6 % (5)	2.9 % (61)
Woman + Child/Children	1.0 % (9)	2.4 % (50)
Man + Child/Children	0.6 % (5)	1.6 % (33)
Group of 3–5 people not already included in any category above	11.1 % (100)	7.9 % (164)
Group of 6 or more	1.1 % (10)	0.6 % (12)

Another change in Stortorget concerns the ratio of people categorized by observers as men or women. It should be noted that this categorization into two distinct gender categories is, of course, somewhat problematic. The observers face the impossible task of tagging each person either as male or female, even though some of the people so categorized might well ascribe to neither identity. Bearing this in mind, we can note that in 1978 the number of persons that the observers categorized as men walking alone across the square was more than double the number categorized as women walking alone. Today this has changed radically, with the greater number of women using the square presumably reflecting the composition of the working population in the area. In 1978, just to the north of the square, was Kockums, a large shipyard that was male-dominated to the nth degree; by the end of the 1990s, production had ceased and the company had shut down. Both the observation and photographic studies suggest that there is still a slightly higher ratio of men to women in the square, but it is now a matter of a few per cent. The total ratio in the photographic study is 52 to 48, one of the reasons being that men tend to stay in the square for longer periods than women; 56 per cent of people who sit down are men. People walking are fairly equally divided between the sexes, with those categorized as women in a slight majority (50.2 per



Ages	Malmö municipality 1978	Malmö municipality 2013	Stortorget 1978	Stortorget 2013
0–45	56 %	57 %	45 %	67 %
45–65	27 %	22 %	21 %	29 %
65+	18 %	15 %	34 %	5 %

Fig. 2.15 The distribution of different age groups using the square together with the population statistics for the City of Malmö. Age groups include children aged 0–12 (C), adolescents aged 12–18 (A), young adults aged 18–45 (YA), the middle-aged people aged 45–65 (MA), and older people aged 65 and over (Ag).

cent). Thus, although the female presence in the square seems to have increased significantly since 1978, men still tend to remain somewhat longer in the square than women. The difference in men's and women's use of public space has sometimes been judged to be quite strong (see Whyte 2009: 106). Yet if we were to study this in greater detail for Stortorget, it does seem likely that the difference between people sitting and those walking might involve other factors than gender – available spare time, for example, types of clothing, the number of bags being carried, and so on. Finally, the observation study seems to indicate that the number of children in the square has more than doubled, and this goes for all cluster constellations involving children. The findings from the photographic study differ somewhat, though.

Indeed, turning to the photographic study, we find useful material on the age distribution of the people in the square (Fig. 2.15). The most notable difference is perhaps in how the relative number of older people (65+) has decreased. Malmö's population is somewhat younger today than it was in 1978, but that is not nearly enough to explain the difference here. One of the reasons might be that more young people pause to sit down in the square today, which makes them appear even greater in number in the photographic study. Another, and more important, reason could be the change in public culture in this part of Malmö, where the increasing number of restaurants and cafés in the square (and the increasing number of shops concentrated to the new pedestrianised area south of it) seems to hold a greater attraction for the young than for older people. However, the territories in the square to which older people gravitate seem to endure, even though they are less differentiated today. The area in front of the town hall is still the most popular, the area around the statue the least so.

Basic activities in the square

The square appears a significantly busier place today than it was in 1978. Taking into account the difference in the number of areas covered, the 2013 study still indicates two to three times as many people present (Table 2.4). One explanation, as we have seen, may be the use of digital rather than film photography, but even so the square does seem to be more crowded today. Another and perhaps even more interesting change can be seen in terms of basic activities – activities related to bodily movements and posture (running, walking, pausing, sitting,

etc.). If we compare the photographic study of 1978 with the one from 2013, we see that far more people are seen walking in the photos, and fewer people pause: in 1978, 46 per cent are shown walking and 53 per cent are seen sitting or pausing, whereas in 2013 these numbers have changed to 55 per cent walking and less than 41 per cent pausing. The ratio of seated to standing is about half of what it was in 1978, whereas the number of those pausing (often taking considerably shorter breaks) has almost doubled. It thus also seems fair to argue that the pace in the square has increased, and that it is now predominantly a place for passing through. Besides the basic activities in 2013, we also have some less common examples, including running (11 people), using Segways (7), wheelchairs (3), or skateboards (2), riding horses (2), and

Table 2.4 Activities in Stortorget according to the photographic study, with the ratio between peak and off-peak hours for each year. The figures for 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982: 64 ff).

Activity	1978		
	Peak hour	Off-peak hour	Total
Walking	46 % (1,167)	46 % (821)	46 % (1,988)
Sitting	43 % (1,096)	40 % (717)	42 % (1,813)
Pausing	10 % (249)	13 % (231)	11 % (480)
Playing	1 % (18)	1 % (24)	1 % (42)
Bicycling	0 % (11)	0 % (5)	0 % (16)
Working	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
Other	0 % (2)	0 % (0)	0 % (2)
Ratio P-OP	59 % (2,543)	41 % (1,798)	100 % (4,341)

Activity	2013		
	Peak hour	Off-peak hour	Total
Walking	56 % (4,439)	54 % (3,125)	55 % (7,564)
Sitting	24 % (1,917)	17 % (956)	21 % (2,873)
Pausing	17 % (1,381)	24 % (1,358)	20 % (2,739)
Playing	1 % (70)	2 % (97)	1 % (167)
Bicycling	1 % (108)	1 % (60)	1 % (168)
Working	0 % (30)	3 % (166)	1 % (196)
Other	1 % (63)	1 % (28)	1 % (91)
Ratio P-OP	58 % (8,008)	42 % (5,790)	100 % (13,798)

lying down (1). In 1978, for example, there were six people seen lying down and no one running (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 65–8).

Looking at where people pause, and for how long, we need to go back to the observation study. First, however, it should be noted that there is a difference in the relations between activities when we compare the observation study with the photographic study (Table 2.5). Since the observation study is based on the observer tracking a certain individual or group for the whole time they are within the observed territory, the relationship between those who are seated and those on the move is quite different from the photographic study. The photographic study reflects an immediate impression of the square – how many people tend to be sitting down, standing up, pausing, etc. at any given moment – which also means that a specific sitter could be registered again and again, but a fast walker only once, whereas in the observation study each person or group is only registered once (the observer focuses on the first random individual or group entering the square, and the percentage then records the probability that this person will keep on walking or bicycling, or will change activity by sitting down, pausing, etc.). Another difference is that the observation study is based on predefined territories, whereas the photographic study is based on predefined vistas. This means that information concerning individuals' positions in the square is more easily and accurately derived from the observation study. From the observation study, for example, we can see the distribution of activities between the fountain, the town hall, and the statue (Fig. 2.16). Thus around the fountain, walking past is least common, pausing the most common. In 1993, the City of Malmö conducted a survey of the inner city. In the survey findings, the benches outside the Governor's Residence (on the north side of the square), and in front of

Table 2.5 Basic activities, comparison between observation study and photographic study in 2013.

Activity	Observation study	Photographic study
Walking	66 %	55 %
Pausing	18 %	20 %
Sitting	5 %	21 %
Bicycling	9 %	1 %
Playing	2 %	1 %
Working	0 %	1 %

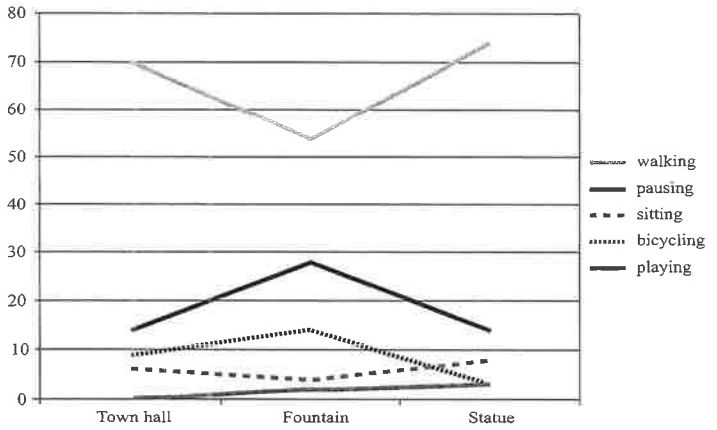


Fig. 2.16 The distribution of the basic activities at each location, from the observation study 2013.

the town hall, were seen to be some of the most used benches in the inner city (Malmö Stad 1993: 22). Yet in fact the benches are not the most popular seating areas in Stortorget: instead, the podium and the steps around the statue are. The area in front of the town hall seems to be the least favoured place for taking a break (of the three observed areas in the square), despite the large number of benches in this area.

Looking at the duration of different activities in 2013 (Table 2.6),[5] the mean break was about four minutes, and more than half of the counted pauses did not exceed one and a half minutes. Comparing the mean sitting time with the mean pausing time gives an idea of how the increase in pauses and decrease in sitting may have affected the overall duration of brief territorial appropriations of the square, and thus also the pace of life in the square as a whole. In other words, the square is becoming less a lived space in the city and more a place to pass through. Alone in counteracting this trend – although only having a minor impact on the pace or place temporality (Wunderlich 2010: 46) of the square as a whole – is the increase in public eating (Table 2.5). While all (counted) seated activities took an average of more than twelve minutes, people who sit down to eat in the square tend to stay somewhat longer.

All told, it is clear that the duration of territorial appropriations and tactics (Kärrholm 2009) has undergone a radical change. Due to

Table 2.6 The mean time, including range and median (M) of occupational activities at three different locations in the square in 2013. The table includes a number of measured situations where each situation might involve one or more persons.

	Fountain and Residence	Town hall
Pausing (all)	1 min 25 s 133 situations ranging from 3 s to 11 min 20 s M=49 s	1 min 44 s 69 situations ranging from 3 s to 18 min 45 s M=28 s
Pausing and talking	2 min 25 s 10 situations ranging from 10 s to 11 min 13 s, M=1 min	1 min 26 s 10 situations ranging from 5 s to 4 min 30s M=27 s
Pausing with phone	46 s 4 situations ranging from 15 s to 2 min M=25 s	1 min 47 s 2 situations 1 min 5s and 2m 30 s M=1 min 48 s
Pausing and taking photos	1 min 7 s 55 situations ranging from 6 s to 5 min 14 s M=30 s	1 min 19 s 21 situations ranging from 3 s to 16 min M=20 s
Sitting (all)	8 min 34 s 17 situations ranging from 2 min to 20 min M=6 min	13 min 3 s 34 situations ranging from 4 s to 60 min M=10 min
Sitting and talking	18 min 10 s 2 situations ranging from 18 min to 18 min 20 s M=18 min 10 s	9 min 28 s 9 situations ranging from 5 min to 32 min M=8 min 29 s
Sitting and eating/drinking	10 min 27 s 2 situations ranging from 5 min 30 s to 15 min 42 s M=10 min 27 s	24 min 37 s 3 situations ranging from 5 min 20 s to 60 min M= 8 min 30 s
Playing	2 min 39 s 11 situations ranging from 10 s to 5 min M=2 min 15 s	3 min 6 s 1 situation
Total mean time (pausing+sitting+ playing)	2 min 6 s 161 situations ranging from 3 s to 20 min M=1 min	5 min 27 s 104 situations ranging from 3 s to 60 min M=1 min 20 s

Statue	Total mean	
2 min 28 s 78 situations ranging from 2 s to 45 min M=26 s	1 min 47 s 280 situations ranging from 2 s to 45 min M=40 s	**Pausing (all)**
1 min 1 s 11 situations ranging from 5 s to 5 min M=26 s	1 min 39 s 31 situations ranging from 5 s to 11 min 13 s M=42 s	**Pausing and talking**
27 s 3 situations ranging from 22 s to 35 s M=25 s	53 s 9 situations ranging from 15 s to 2 min 30 s M=29 s	**Pausing with phone**
32 s 20 situations ranging from 4 s to 2 min 27 s M=15 s	1 min 2 s 96 situations ranging from 3 s to 16 min M=22 s	**Pausing and taking photos**
13 min 36 s 33 situations ranging from 1 min to 37 min M=9 min 4 s	12 min 22 s 84 situations ranging from 4 s to 60 min M=8 min 38 s	**Sitting (all)**
9 min 12 s 6 situations ranging from 1 min to 19 min M=12 min 53 s	10 min 26 s 17 situations ranging from 1 min to 32 min M=10 min	**Sitting and talking**
15 min 12 situations ranging from 6 min to 37 min M=13 min 45 s	16 min 10 s 17 situations ranging from 5 min 20 s to 60 min M=13 min	**Sitting and eating/drinking**
4 min 19 s 5 situations ranging from 1 min 27 s to 7 min 15 s M=4 min	3 min 10 s 17 situations ranging from 10 s to 7 min 15 s M=3 min 30 s	**Playing**
5 min 43 s 116 situations ranging from 2 s to 45 min M=1 min 42 s	4 min 6 s 382 situations ranging from 2 s to 60 min M=1 min 27 s	**Total mean time (pausing +sitting+ playing)**

the increasing number of people in the square, temporary pauses may well have increased in sheer number, but the ratio of temporary stays to their average duration has definitely decreased. The dramatic fall in the number of seated people in the square might have several explanations. The number of shoppers and tourists has increased, the number of people over 65 has fallen, and the opportunities to sit down seem to have been increasingly privatized or commercialized (and strategically territorialized), as people today often choose to sit down in one of the many open-air restaurants.

Comparing the three different observed territories in the square, it seems reasonable to speculate about the differences in temporal association. The fountain seems to be a place for short breaks, both when it comes to pauses (which tend to be either just a few seconds or closer to a minute) and to sitting down. The statue and the town hall are quite similar when it comes to the duration of temporary stays, but the statue still seems to be a clear favourite in terms of longer breaks.

Table 2.7 Distribution between persons engaged in important secondary activities (including playing), in each location according to the observation study. Numbers from 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982: 56).

Secondary activities	1978		
	Town hall	Fountain	Statue
Photographing	15 % (5)	19 % (15)	16 % (12)
Eating/drinking	68 % (23)	68 % (53)	66 % (48)
Playing	6 % (2)	14 % (11)	12 % (9)
Reading	12 % (4)	0 % (0)	5 % (4)
Texting/talking on phone	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
Total people engaged in	100 % (34)	100 % (79)	100 % (73)

Secondary activities	2013		
	Town hall	Fountain	Statue
Photographing	55 % (84)	54 % (124)	34 % (72)
Eating/drinking	24 % (36)	12 % (27)	24 % (52)
Playing	1 % (1)	9 % (21)	16 % (34)
Reading	3 % (4)	12 % (28)	6 % (13)
Texting/talking on phone	18 % (28)	12 % (28)	20 % (42)
Total people engaged in	100 % (153)	100 % (228)	100 % (213)

Table 2.8 Changes in secondary activities according to the observation study. The figures for 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982). Please note that the number of those eating in the square seems to be wrongly stated in the table there (1982: 56), so the figure given here is taken from the text (ibid.).

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

Table 2.9 Changes in secondary activities noted in the photographic study. The figures for 1978 are from Korosec-Serfaty (1982: 65 ff).

Secondary activities	1978	2013
Texting/talking on phone	0 % (0)	2 % (327)
Eating	2 % (100)	3 % (390)
Reading	1 % (52)	1 % (193)
Taking photos	0 % (11)	2 % (294)

Secondary activities and objects

Besides the basic activities, we also have secondary activities – activities that are practised *while* sitting, pausing, bicycling, or walking. It would appear that people today not only walk or pause or sit, they are also increasingly involved in other simultaneous, secondary activities (Tables 2.7, 2.8 & 2.9). If we compare secondary activities in 2013 with 1978, we see that they have all increased. Pausing seems less an end in itself or a way of waiting for someone,[6] and more an opportunity to do something else, such as taking a photograph, sending a text message, or socializing (Fig. 2.17). There is often a reason for a pause, even if it is 'just' for a brief exchange with someone else. It should be noted that of the people observed reading in 2013, most of them were not reading a book or a newspaper, but rather a billboard advertising summer activities in Malmö. Among the less common secondary activities observed (and not included in Table 2.8), we find kissing and hugging

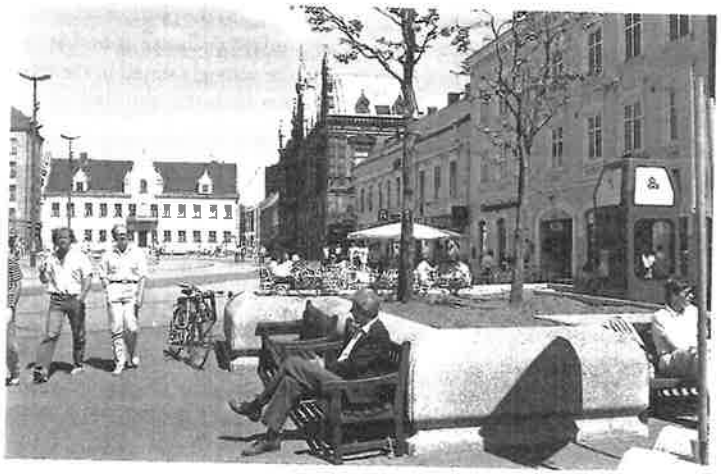


Fig. 2.17 Looking towards the Governor's Residence in 1978, with the town hall and an open-air restaurant to the right. The picture shows a couple of people just sitting, something that seems far less common today. (P. K.-S. collection)

(10 people), pausing to change shoes (1), going through a litter bin (2), tying shoelaces (1), feeding the birds (1), and carrying a fence (2).

Artefacts play an important role in how we use public space, and this seems especially true when it comes to secondary activities. Our time is always shared with things that perish: batteries that run out, coffee that gets cold, food that gets eaten (Schweizer 2008: 25–6). Activities such as writing text messages, smoking, and reading all take time and demand the territorial appropriation or even tactical claiming of time–space. One explanation for Stortorget's changing timescape is the proliferation of objects and artefacts that people carry with them in the square (Table 2.10). The increase in mobile phones and cameras – reflecting technological developments as well as an increase in tourism – is striking, and provides one possible explanation for the great increase in the number of shorter territorial appropriations and tactics in the square. People pause to take photographs, check phones, or write text messages; but even more traditional activities such as waiting seem to be shorter, as mobile phones facilitate 'spontaneous' meetings and a reliance on relational rather than fixed time (Crang 2007). Not only does the number of high-tech artefacts appear to have increased:

the number of bicycles, large bags, snacks, and beverages has as well (Dant 2005: 143, Cochoy et al. 2014). Eating tends to be restricted to peak hours and takes place in all locations in the square, as is apparent from the increased number of seated people at those times – people tend to sit, or sometimes walk, while eating, but only seldom select to eat while standing still. The increase in public eating is probably attributable to an increase in the number of nearby restaurants, but also to more deep-seated changes in socio-material culture which have rendered public eating more acceptable; additionally, food has become more affordable and accessible in city centres. The increasing number of cafés and open-air restaurants is probably an important factor. Lilla Torg, the square just to the south-west of Stortorget, is a case in point. Created 45 years after Stortorget in 1591 as a market for food and everyday merchandise, it remained an important marketplace up until the 1960s, when the then sixty-year-old covered market was demolished. The square has since been renovated and museumized, as Korosec-Serfaty puts it (1982: 9), and today is a tourist attraction with its slew of restaurants and minor events. The number of outdoor restaurants in Malmö started to increase in around 1990, so that by 1993 there were 509 open-air restaurant seats in Lilla Torg and 390 in Stortorget (Malmö Stad 1993: 24), and the numbers have only grown since – in Lilla Torg there were as many as 2,000 open-air restaurant seats in the summer of 2005. Since the empirical studies, both then and now, have omitted the open-air restaurants in Stortorget, and these

Table 2.10 Non-human activity in the square, according to the photographic study, 2013. Other non-human elements in use in the square include horses (2), skateboards (2), posted letters (8), Segways (7), laptops (3), iPads (2), kick scooters (5), and wheelchairs (12).

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

Fig. 2.18 Stortorget as an event venue, looking towards Södergatan, 2013. The archway announces the Eurovision Song Contest, to take place in Malmö that year. The aerial work platform on the right is there to help decorate the statue of Karl X Gustav with coloured butterflies. (Photo by the author)

were fewer and smaller in 1978 (see Fig. 2.17) there are evidently also a certain number of unrecorded cases of eating and drinking in the study. The large numbers of people eating in the 672 square metres of café space in Stortorget are perhaps technically eating within the private territory of the restaurant, but could still be seen as eating in public. If counted, these would thus surely add to the increase in public eating that we have seen in the square since the 1970s.

Secondary activities are often closely linked with materialities, with the artefacts themselves, but also with material aspects of the environment: finding a good place to eat, spotting a good photo opportunity, etc. Looking at the various areas of the square, several differences in use can be discerned. The space in front of the town hall is primarily used by the middle-aged and the old, and its role as a site for sitting, eating, reading, or resting with bags seems important. The fountain has already been mentioned as a very popular site, but pauses there tend to be shorter than in the other spots around the square. The only activity that tended to take a longer time at the fountain than in the other places was photography, as people tend to walk around the fountain in search of a good shot. The fountain is also a location that attracts

children, but even their time playing there tends to be short. In fact, it is the statue that seems to be more popular for playing children today, especially when larger groups of children come to the square, and the time spent playing there also tends to be longer than at the fountain.

The statue is a good example of what Rivlin calls a 'found space', meaning 'places of other uses that people have occupied to meet their public life needs' (2007: 38), and it seems to work well as a kind of niche or haven, strategically positioned as an island in the middle of the large open square. Even though we did not observe anyone using the location to feed birds, unlike 1978, the statue is recognized as a piece of urban furniture with multiple uses. Although many make no bones of their dislike of it, and its association with Sweden's conquering of the region in the seventeenth century, the statue is still used a great deal. The location seems to be favoured primarily by adolescents and young adults, probably because sitting directly on the stone steps does not appeal to other age groups. In 1978, as in 2013, the statue was the only place where people could be found lying down. While reading was popular in 1978 – during off-peak hours, 10 per cent were found reading here, as compared to 1 per cent in 2013 – today it appears to be used for activities that include people-watching, talking on the phone, eating, and drinking. The statue and the fountain were the only two sites in Stortorget at which subjects were photographed in 1978. Although these remain the most popular backgrounds for souvenir photos, today people in the square tend to photograph one another with all sorts of backgrounds. As Korosec-Serfaty pointed out, the statue had an important role in the monumentalization of the square in the 1890s onwards, but at the same time it probably played an important part in the quotidian life of the square from the very beginning (1982: 24–8) – perhaps now more than ever.

Stortorget as an event venue

Even though this investigation explicitly focuses on the quotidian rather than the extraordinary, one cannot help but notice the proliferation of large-scale cultural events in the square. There were several events in Stortorget during the summer of 2013, including Malmöfestivalen, with its concerts and traditional crayfish party for thousands, a midnight fun run, an official visit by Crown Princess Victoria, celebrations for the city football team MFF when they won the 2013 Swedish champion-

Fig. 2.19 Wedding party outside the town hall, June 2013. (Photo courtesy of Irma Schlaucher Ståhl)

Fig. 2.20 People celebrating the independence of Kosovo in Stortorget, 17 February 2008. In the background, people are standing on one of the many lorries that were driven into the square for the celebrations. (Photo courtesy of Ida Sandström)

ship, the Swedish International Tattoo, and various demonstrations and protests. In the photographic study, up to 196 people were counted working in the square (always at off-peak hours), most of them preparing for such events; in 1978, not a single person was recorded working in the square. Even though the observation studies were scheduled so as not to coincide with any planned events, the continuous preparations for imminent events only seemed to emphasize the temporary absence of an event at the time of the observations (see Fig. 2.18). Some private events were held during the photographic study, such as a wedding (Fig. 2.19). The survey by the City of Malmö attested to the territorial association of Stortorget with events, as according to respondents the three most desired changes were the removal of the parking, the removal of the statue, and the creation of even more open space for large-scale events in the square (Göransson 2008: 3). Indeed, the territorial association seems to be quite strong, despite the fact that events only take place a few weeks of the year.

In an article on the synchronization of retail and place marketing, Warnaby points to the importance of striking a balance between spontaneous (non-contingent) and managed (contingent) activities (2013: 31). Although this balance is certainly important – Stortorget might indeed be said to suffer somewhat from an increase in managed activities – it is perhaps more interesting to note the hierarchization of territorial production. Delaney has distinguished between horizontal and vertical territoriality (2005: 31–2), where verticality implies territories ordered in different hierarchical segments. The frequency of spontaneous territorial productions might well increase during large-scale events, but this increase occurs within the event's (or sub-event's) predetermined territorial framing – in other words, the verticality of the territorial structure increases. Rather than just disturbing the general balance between spontaneous and managed activities, the situation is such that once spontaneous territorial productions become increasingly fixed, with prearranged times and framed within strategically produced events, there may well be fewer opportunities for spontaneous gatherings on ordinary days, at least in the rushed and heavily populated western end of the square.

Stortorget has a symbiotic relationship with the central pedestrian precinct and Lilla Torg. During the day, Stortorget is dominated by a rhythmic flow of people moving diagonally across the square along its north–south axis. The change in rhythm between the traditional

working week and free time (evenings and weekends) seemed quite distinct in the 1970s; today, this has weakened. Working hours are less regular, and the opening hours of nearby restaurants and shops have become increasingly important in determining the urban rhythm, leaving Stortorget today just as populated on Saturdays as on weekdays, and the peak hour at lunchtime more important for the rhythms of the square than any morning or evening rush hour.

As we have seen, people do not seem to move about as much in larger groups to or from work, but rather circulate alone or in pairs. In the last ten years, neighbouring Lilla Torg has become a kind of 'food court' for the pedestrian precinct. The number of restaurants on Stortorget has increased likewise, but unlike Lilla Torg, there are still public spaces to which one can bring one's own food, and this has an effect on the use of the square. In short, where Malmö once had an industrial rhythm it now moves to a rhythm largely set by aspects of consumer society (see Kärrholm 2012). Stortorget has found its role as a specialized place in the pedestrian precinct. With a decreasing number of permanent activities, a faster pace and shorter pauses from temporary activities on the one hand, and the increasing frequency of prearranged temporary events on the other, Stortorget has come to play a double role. The square facilitates movement to, from, and through the pedestrian precinct. Sometimes, during major events, it works as an extraordinarily strong and highly accessible magnet, albeit a temporary one, but otherwise it acts as a facilitator of movement to other places than the square itself.

The alienation of Stortorget from everyday activities in Malmö as a whole is not a new phenomenon. Korosec-Serfaty noted thirty years ago that it had already become

> a kind of 'cover-up' of city reality … To put it differently, the Main Square is conspicuously exhibited because it conceals another urban reality, a different social life. In this sense it is a 'museumized' space, whatever the expectations or hopes for social interaction which are expressed about it. (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 70)

Today, as the area has increasingly become part of a consumerscape, this is probably truer than ever. The ratio of men to women is now more evenly balanced, as we have seen, but that does not imply that we will find all groups in the city represented in the square, or that all Malmö's

citizens feel at home here. In an investigation of the movements and perceptions of Muslim women wearing veils in Malmö, Sixtensson has examples of women actively avoiding Lilla Torg (Sixtensson 2009: 30–1; see also Listerborn 2015), and refers to others who only feel comfortable when visiting the southern part of the inner city, such as the main square in the Möllevången district or the Triangeln shopping centre (Sixtensson 2009: 49–50).

Concluding remarks

In 1982, Korosec-Serfaty argued, prophetically, that the recent pedestrianization of Stortorget would strengthen the square's potential for meetings and underscore its historical and aesthetic value, which to her mind was a transformation corresponding to an assertion of a

> hierarchy of values which refers to what sociability ought to be (celebrations, meetings etc.) and to what the preservation of a given cultural heritage ought to mean for a community. (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 69)

She went on to state that Stortorget will thus remain and even be strengthened as a symbol of Malmö, because it is 'an original whole, *discontinuous with the present-day identity of the city*' (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 70). This development has continued and grown stronger in the intervening years, and the eventalization (Pløger 2010) of the square has come to play an important part in the transformation of the daily activities we have noted in the square between 1978 and 2013.

In her conclusions about the state of the square in 1978, Korosec-Serfaty noted the dominance of active adults and the elderly, and the acceptance of otherwise often privatized activities of modern society such as eating, reading, and lying down. The square of 1978 also remained a place of both day-to-day activities and exceptional uses (Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 69). Only some of this holds true today. The square is less dominated by older people and far more by young adults, and some secondary activities have increased, such as eating, talking, and taking photographs, while others mentioned by Korosec-Serfaty have decreased, including reading and lying down – calmer activities seem to have decreased, perhaps as a result of the faster pace of life now observed in the square. Perhaps one could say that the salient ter-

ritorial association of the square with everyday life and official activities would appear to have given way to the square as a place of either cultural events or of everyday life characterized by shoppers, tourists, or people just passing through.

The insistent rhythms of the industrial city – including the role of the male-dominated workplaces (the shipyard, above all), the retired people on their benches, the busy weekday rush hours, and the calmer weekends – have, to a certain extent, been replaced by rhythms more strongly associated with consumer society. The duration and ratio of temporary appropriations and tactics seem to have decreased since the 1978 study; instead, a larger proportion of people use the square purely as a thoroughfare. Furthermore, it now tends to be individuals who pause, and less so groups; less so city-centre residents and more tourists (most notably around the fountain), visiting shoppers, and those eating lunch. People remain in the square for shorter durations today and tend to sit less, while it is much busier during the working week now, its timeframe expanding in pace with the colonization of evenings and weekends. All these territorial changes are traceable on different temporal scales. As we have seen, the number of small artefacts and objects brought into and used in Stortorget has increased, and these seem to affect the square's temporary use as well as how visitors temporarily claim space by way of tactics and appropriation in the square – for example, remaining standing rather than sitting down when they do pause. People still tend to keep themselves busy with secondary activities, and pausing just to rest or to wait seems to be more uncommon. On a larger temporal scale, the role of territorial strategies in the form of advertisement campaigns, outdoor restaurants, or large-scale events lasting weeks at a time has increased. Even here, we can see how these territories are coproduced by the introduction of new and specialized objects in the square, such as stages, arches, fences, and tents.

The material design and outline of Stortorget is basically the same today as it was in 1978, but the role of the material figures in the square has undergone a transformation as human behaviour has changed and new artefacts have come into play. As human beings carry more things, as they quicken their pace, as the square becomes part of a larger shopping district, and so on, the role of the architectonics of the place also changes. As gender structures and consumer behaviour change, so does seating behaviour: as people eat more in open public spaces,

so the need for a 'table function' increases; thus the stone steps of the statue might seem increasingly suitable for eating, whereas people who want to read or rest with bags are more likely to head for the benches in front of the town hall. The fountain, on the other hand, seems to have become an increasingly attractive place for tourists to appropriate, taking a short break in order to check their guidebooks or taking photos. The site of the most drastically increased intensity of use, however, is the diagonal route across the square from Södergatan to Hamngatan, territorialized as a place of pedestrian movement *par excellence*. The built environment of Malmö's main square might thus look the same today, but the timescapes produced there most certainly do not.

Although some of these findings are specific to Stortorget, or to Malmö, others mirror and perhaps confirm a more general Swedish shift from industrial society to consumer society, with changes including more women in public space, more men with small children, fewer people smoking, a faster pace, more advertisements, more people walking alone, the development of event spaces, and so on. Stortorget is a significant spatial and urban resource that has become a specialized square, perhaps even turning into a new type of space for cultural celebrations, while keeping, and perhaps even strengthening, its role as an emblematic space for the city. This dual development of the very specific – its existence as a large-scale event venue and public space open to specific categories of users (consumers, whether consumers of experiences, food, culture, or goods) – and the very general – its existence as a symbol for a diverse and heterogeneous city – might become problematic if an increasing number of activities and people were no longer to feel at home here. The square is still appropriated by more informal celebrations (see Fig. 2.20), but as large-scale festivities and the massive impact of consumption increase, these informal appropriations often require considerable resources to accomplish. The growing number of tourists, the reproduction of the square both as a symbol of Malmö and as a location for planned cultural events and consumption, might in fact have increased the tendency to cover up reality, identified by Korosec-Serfaty more than thirty years ago.

Notes

1 It should perhaps be noted that the study of 1978 was even more comprehensive, and also included, for example, route mapping, historical studies, and interviews.

2 Due to lack of resources, it was not possible to do the current study in the space of one week, as Korosec-Serfaty did; instead, it was spread over several weeks in the late spring and early summer. With the exception of three observation hours on two sunny days in April (29th and 30th), the study was conducted in June and August. July was excluded from the study, as it is the month when Swedes typically go on holiday. The peak hours chosen for study were 12–13 on weekdays and 12–14 on weekends (cf. Korosec-Serfaty 1982: 52). Although it seems as if peak movement on the square might have changed somewhat (falling later in the day) in recent decades, those hours still seem relevant. The observers, besides myself, were Irma Schlaucher Ståhl, Axel Kärrholm, and Gustav Kärrholm. Sabina Jallow also helped me with a small pilot study conducted in November 2012.

3 Categories are taken from Korosec-Serfaty (1982: 55). Overlaps are used to remind the reader that the sorting into different age categories is based on estimations made by the observers, and is not necessarily correct.

4 These changes can be seen if one compares the more detailed map of the square from 1978 in Korsec-Serfaty (1982: 7) with the one from 1986 in Åström (1988: 57). In Åström we also find an interesting and quite detailed map of the square from 1945 (1988: 56).

5 Unfortunately, statistics on the duration of breaks in 1978 are unavailable.

6 See, for example, Bishop (2013) and Kärrholm and Sandin (2011) for a discussion of some recent changes in waiting behaviour and their relation to consumer society.

References

Andersson, C. & Göransson, S. (2009), 'Stortorget, Program för projekttävling', 23 Jan., Malmö Stad.

Åstrand, F. (1982), 'The Art Works in Stortorget (Malmoe): Summary of an historical investigation', in P. Korosec-Serfaty, *The Main Square: Functions and daily uses of Stortorget, Malmö* (Lund: Aris).

Åström, K. (1988), *Stadens rum, Torget: Gestalt, upplevelse, användning.* Rapport 59:1988 (Stockholm: Byggforskningsrådet).

Bishop, P. (2013), 'Surveying "The Waiting Room"', *Architectural Theory Review*, 18/2, 135–49.

Cochoy, F., Hagberg, J. & Canu, R. (2014), 'The forgotten role of pedestrian transportation in urban life: Insights from a visual comparative archaeology (Gothenburg and Toulouse, 1875–2011)', *Urban Studies*, doi: 10.1177/0042098014544760.

Crang, M. (2007), 'Speed=Distance/Time: Chronotopographies of Action', in R. Hassan & R. Purser (eds.), *24/7: Time and Temporality in the Network Society* (Stanford: SUP).

Dant, T. (2005), *Materiality and Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press).

Delaney, D. (2005), *Territory* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Gehl, J. (2010), *Cities for People* (Washington, DC: Island Press).

Gehl, J. & Svarre, B. (2013), *How to Study Public Life* (Washington, DC: Island Press).

Göransson, S. (2008), 'Så tycker Malmöborna, Dialogprocess om Stortorget', PM 2008-05-16, Malmö Stad.

Holgersen, S. (2014), *The Rise (and Fall?) of Post Industrial Malmö, Investigations of City-Crisis Dialectics* (Lund: Lund University).

Kärrholm, M. (2012), *Retailising space: Architecture, retail and the territorialisation of public space* (Farnham: Ashgate).

Kärrholm, M. & Sandin, G. (2011), 'Waiting places as temporal interstices and agents of change' *TRANS, Internet Journal for Cultural Studies*, 18 June (publ. at http://www.inst.at/trans/18Nr/II_1/kaerrholm_sandin18.htm.).

Korosec-Serfaty, P. (1973), 'The Case of Newly Constructed Zones: Freedom, Constraint and the Appropriation of Spaces, in R. Küller (ed), *Architectural Psychology: Proceedings from the Lund Conference* (Lund: Studentlitteratur).

Korosec-Serfaty, P. (1976a), 'Protection of Urban Sites and Appropriation of Public Squares' in ead. (ed.), *Appropriation of space: Proceedings of the Strasbourg Conference* (International Architectural Psychology Conference, 3; Louvain-la-Neuve: Ciaco).

Korosec-Serfaty, P. (1976b) (ed.), *Appropriation of space, Proceedings of the Strasbourg Conference* (International Architectural Psychology Conference, 3; Louvain-la-Neuve: Ciaco).

Korosec-Serfaty, P. (1982), *The Main Square: Functions and daily uses of Stortorget, Malmö* (Lund: Aris).

Korosec-Serfaty, P. (1986), *La grand'place: Fonctions et pratiques quotidiennes de Stortorget a Malmo* (Paris: CRNS).

Latour, B. (2005), *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: OUP).

Lefebvre, H. (2004), *Rhythmanalysis, Space, Time and Everyday Life* (London: Continuum).

Listerborn, C. (2015), 'Geographies of the veil: violent encounters in urban public spaces in Malmö, Sweden', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 16/1, 95–115.

Lyttkens, C. H. (1982), 'Stortorget in Malmoe: A Press Content Analysis', in Korosec-Serfaty 1982.

Malmö Stad (1993), *Så används Malmö city: Malmö stadsmiljöprogram* (Malmö: Gatukontoret, Malmö Stad).

Nordin, C. (2009), *Oordning: torghandel i Stockholm 1540–1918* (Lund: Sekel).

P. K.-S. (Perla Korosec-Serfaty Photograph Collection), a collection of 44 photographs compiled in *c.*1978, with original photos from 1978 and copies of historical photographs, at present held by the author.

Pløger, J. (2010), 'Presence-experiences – the eventalisation of urban space', *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space*, 28, 848–66.

Rivlin, L. (2007), 'Found space: Freedom of choice in public life', in K. A. Franck & Q. Stevens (eds.), *Loose Space* (London: Routledge).

Rodenstedt, A. (2014), *Living in the calm and safe part of the city: The socio-spatial reproduction of upper-middle-class neighbourhoods in Malmö* (Uppsala: Uppsala University).

Rose, G. (2012), *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials* (London: Sage).

Schweizer, H. (2008), *On Waiting* (London: Routledge).

Sixtensson, J. (2009), *Hemma och främmande i staden, kvinnor med slöja berättar* (Malmö: Malmö University).

Warnaby, G. (2013), 'Synchronising retail and space: using urban squares for competitive place differentiation', *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, 16/1, 25–44.