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How shopping makes a street vibrant

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Praxitopia

How shopping makes a street vibrant

DEVIRM UMUT ASLAN

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES | LUND UNIVERSITY



Praxitopia: How shopping makes a street vibrant

Praxitopia

How shopping makes a street vibrant

Devrim Umut Aslan



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Abstract <p>During recent decades, shopping's geographical manifestations have altered radically and the presumed 'death' of town centre retailing has become a public concern. The social, cultural, and economic backgrounds of this decentralisation of retail and its effects on city life have been studied comprehensively. However, to date, few studies have examined the changing dynamics of non-mainstream shopping geographies, particularly local shopping streets. How shopping is enacted in such places, and shopping's part in shaping them, has been largely overlooked. Aspiring to fulfil this knowledge gap, this dissertation examines shopping activities on Södergatan, a local shopping street in a stigmatized 'super-diverse' district of Helsingborg, Sweden known as Söder, and contributes to the literature on shopping geographies by drawing on a sociocultural perspective.</p> <p>The study draws on practice theory and focuses on shopping as the main unit. The analysis is built on a sensitivity to the interrelationships existing between social practices and place, emerging from the epistemic positioning resulting from the identification of 'modes of practices'. In order to grasp the enmeshed character of shopping, which is complicated by cultural, spatial, temporal, material, and sensorial layers, video ethnography was employed as the primary research collection method, in combination with go-along interviews, observation and mental-mapping.</p> <p>The research reveals five major modes of shopping practice which jointly represent a typology for understanding shopping in terms of being enacted in the street; i.e. convenience shopping, social shopping, on-the-side shopping, alternative shopping, and budget shopping. This thesis also shows that the bundling of these modes of shopping shapes the street into a vibrant part of the city by interrelating with the shopping street's <i>sensomaterial</i> and <i>spatiotemporal</i> dimensions in complex and multifaceted directions. Consequently, the local shopping street is conceptualized as a <i>praxitopia</i>, a place co-constituted through social practices.</p>		
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Praxitopia

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Devrim Umut Aslan



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Acknowledgements

I particularly enjoy reading the acknowledgements. There, things get a bit more human, more personal; readers can peek inside the processes, relationships, behind a polished text. It is also quite common to deploy metaphors in these shorts prologues to illustrate the complexity of writing. In line with this genre, I chose strolling as an allegory for narrating my own story, which, I think, fits nicely with this dissertation's content and myself.

My trail towards publicly defending this thesis was definitely not walked in a straight line, on a smooth path, on a bright summer's day. Not-so-seldom, my strolling was circular, mostly zigzagging, with an irregular tempo, and at a chaotic rhythm. My path was not a flat, neat boulevard: There were playful downward slopes, weary cobblestoned streets, filthy alleys, tiresome ramps, and surprisingly effective shortcuts. The sun showed itself occasionally and, although there were only few snowy days, what I mostly had was a drizzling, tedious rain. In any case, I am very happy that I have now fulfilled this long pilgrimage, and that my body and mind have endured until the end. Luckily, I never had to walk barefoot, I was never totally exposed to hostile weather, and I was never totally alone.

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Part I. Framework

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene

Retail in Helsingborg¹ is changing, with falling figures in all sectors apart from groceries. This trend has been ongoing for many years. Anyone can see how badly things are going simply by walking through the southern part of the city. (Town centre retailers, in provincial daily *Sydsvenskan*, 2015)

Business in Söder² is not going well. Right now, many shops are either closing down or thinking about it. The fact big names are leaving is a very clear sign that retail is not working here. (Retailer on Södergatan³, in provincial daily *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, 2012)

After preparing my camera and sound equipment, I walked from the university towards Trädgårdsgatan; i.e. the street which separates the Söder district and its main street, Södergatan, from Helsingborg's old town centre. Trädgårdsgatan marks a border claimed to have been separating the two parts of the city for more than a hundred years; affluent, bourgeois, charming, and medieval north from impoverished, plebeian, rough, and modern south (Högdahl, 2007). Once there, I began video recording this milieu. Behind me, stretching north, there were old, well-furnished, and elegant buildings from the early twentieth and late nineteenth centuries; in front of me, Södergatan extended for about a half kilometre southwards, starting between the city park, on the west side, and the garden of Consul Persson's Mansion, and the graveyard, to the east.

I walked slowly along the street and observed the buildings, stores, vehicles, humans, animals, as well the road and the sky, through the lens of my camera and its viewfinder, zooming-in from time to time and listening to a rich variety of sounds using a powerful microphone and noise-cancelling headphones. At the same time, I was sensing the street milieu using my own body and mind. It was a sunny late August afternoon in 2015, and there was a pleasant breeze, a rather rare occasion in an often windy Helsingborg. On both sides of Södergatan there were bike lanes, separated from the pavements by rows of trees. As I moved south along the street, the architecture became more modern, more concrete, less aesthetically appealing, and the surroundings became dirtier and messier.

¹ Helsingborg, a mid-sized port city, had 140,000 inhabitants in 2017. It is located in north-west Scania, the most southerly county of Sweden. It is on the Straits of Øresund and faces Elsinore, a small city in Denmark.

² Söder (South) is a district of Helsingborg and was annexed to the town centre from the south.

³ Södergatan (South Street) is the main street of Söder.



Figure 1. Still showing a pop-up concert organized by *Kulturhotellet*, 2015

Art gallery *Kulturhotellet*, newly established at the time, has organised many events in Söder over the last couple of years. The picture shows a pop-up concert stage where city inhabitants listen to local bands.

Until I reached Söderpunkten, an old cooperative department store re-developed into a small shopping mall, all the stores had been open and shoppers had continuously been entering and leaving them. Söderpunkten itself was closed at the time for renovation, creating an almost 200 metre ‘dead zone’ in an otherwise rather vibrant street. There were many convenience stores along Södergatan, in addition to hairdressers, fast-food restaurants, repair stores, currency exchange offices, fitness centres, and other small establishments offering specialized services and goods. The majority of these were being run by transnational⁴ migrants, mostly coming from countries lying to the east and south of the Mediterranean. People were moving in many directions, along the street and across it, into the shops, into fitness-centres, into the Public Employment Service, coming out of the cinema, the swimming pool, high schools; in pairs or small groups, alone, with a dog, with a stick, in a wheelchair... They were talking to each other, or on their phones, using more languages than one would hear in the town centre: Arabic, Persian, English, Polish, Kurdish, Chinese, Turkish, Hindi and others. They were moving at different rhythms and tempos, depending on their ages, on their vehicles, and what they were

⁴ Transnationality entails that individuals, groups, or institutions have “various kinds of global or cross-border connections” (Vertovec, 2001, p. 573).

doing while walking. Many of them were carrying bags, made of cotton, plastic, or paper, in the form of rucksacks, shoulder bags, and trolleys, all filled with items they had just bought. They were riding bicycles, pushing walkers or baby-carriers, and also using these devices to carry stuff. Some of them were sitting outside the shops, queuing up to withdraw cash, chatting and looking at passers-by, waiting to meet their friends or for their bus, or smoking cigarettes while standing still.



Figure 2. Still showing people chatting on Södergatan, 2015

On the street there were many people doing a variety of activities, e.g. standing around, chatting, and looking at the passers-by.

When I arrived at August Palm's Square by Södergatan, where Söderpunkten's main entrance also is, I saw people sitting on a stage built outside. This stage remained from a pop-up concert organized the night before by the newly established art gallery Kulturhotellet. Dozens had enjoyed the previous night's concert, including the author, while sitting, talking and listening to local rock bands. I continued on further south, passing Lindex, the only clothing chain left in the district, and walking beside the fairly crowded outdoor seating areas of the Max hamburger restaurant, Shawarma Xpress, the Damas restaurant and the Charles Dickens pub. Public Employment Service and the cinema were points of interest, with people going into these buildings, standing and chatting outside them, and sitting on roadside benches. Small stores had moved some goods outside, displaying these on the pavement, as did one grocery store by the popular swimming baths, injecting colour into the street scene with its vegetables and fruits displayed on stalls outdoors. Gustav Adolf's Square, the main square of the district, was home to a big

church, the city's popular street market, a car park, and a very busy bus stop. Many busses pass along Södergatan, both local and those serving destinations further afield, with most of the people waiting for buses holding shopping bags from the street market, or from one of the two supermarkets in the district, *ICA Oj*, a local branch of a national supermarket chain, and *Alfo Gross*, a local supermarket owned by a family from Egypt. When I panned the street and square with my camera, I was able to count about a hundred people.



Figure 3. Still showing Shawarma Xpert, 2015

The outdoor seating areas of the Max hamburger restaurant, Shawarma Xpress, the Damas restaurant and the Charles Dickens pub were all fairly crowded.

While at the research site for this study, Södergatan, it was difficult for me to make sense of the public debates going on in the city. Both in the media, and within the local municipality, where I was working part time as a retail analyst, in addition to doing my PhD studies, the debates concerned the issue of the shrinking town centre retail trade. As quoted in the opening of this chapter, it was being argued that “retail in Helsingborg town centre is changing, with falling figures”, highlighting the decline in revenues. In particular, “the southern part of the city”, which contains the Söder district and its main street Södergatan, were said to act as a case in point. It was suggested that “business in Söder is not going well”, with “big names” moving away from the area being taken as verification of the notion that “retail is not working.”



Figure 4. Still of the bus stop at Gustaf Adolf's Square, 2015

Gustaf Adolf's Square; the main square in the district and home to a very busy bus stop.

To what extent do these statements mirror the situation in both Helsingborg and Söder? My initial observations of the district and street did not match these. How should we explain this contradiction? It had also been pointed out that what Helsingborg and Söder were experiencing was just another symptom of a wider trend of the 'store death', or 'town centre death', occurring in Sweden, and in the wider post-industrialized world as well. Are our town centres and shopping streets really dying?



Figure 5. Map of Helsingborg.

Söder is centrally-located in terms of distance to the main railway station and the commercial port.

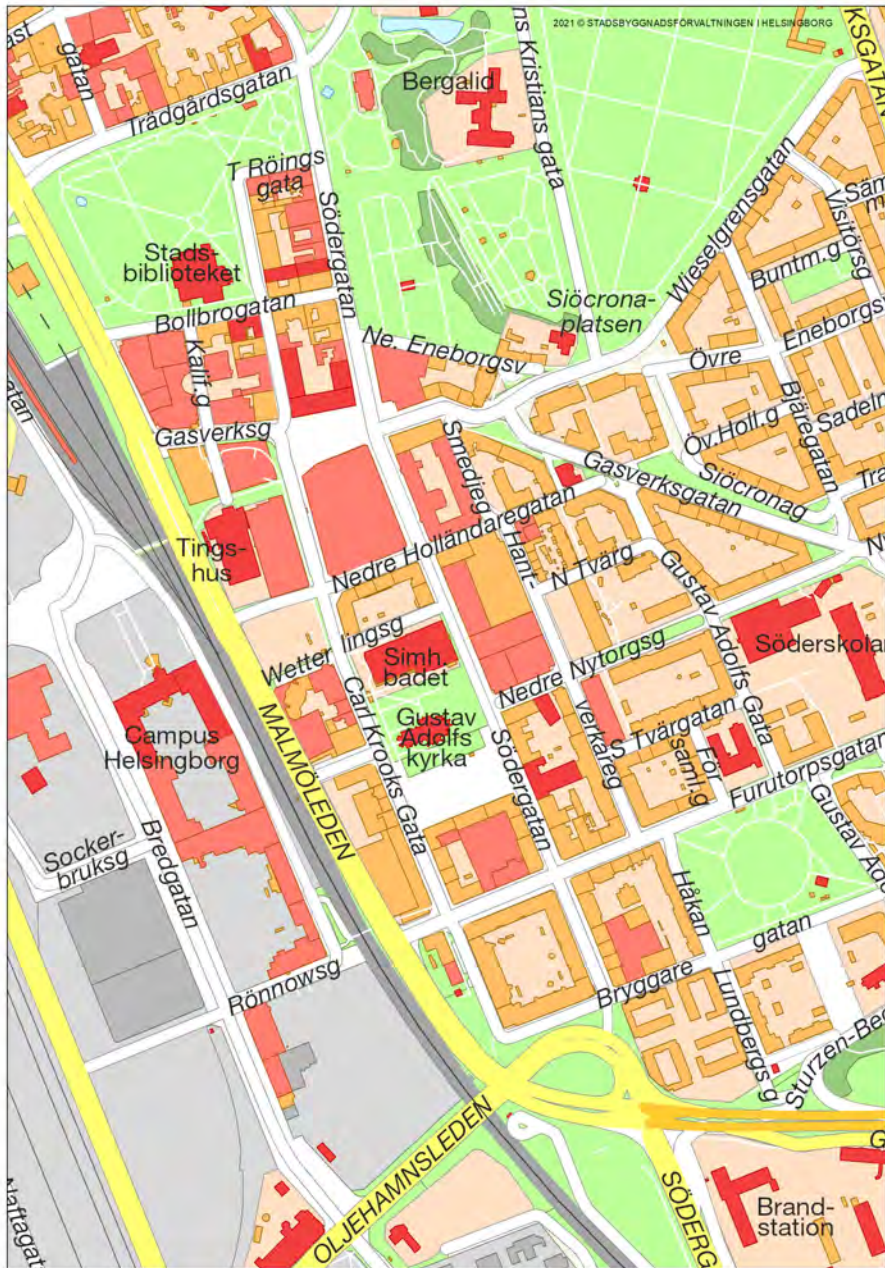


Figure 6. Map of Söder
Södergatan is the main street of Söder, a stigmatized district.

Displacement of Retail from Town Centres

In fact, in many post-industrial countries, including Sweden, there have been concerns about town centre retail for the last three decades, in line with the global reorganisation of the retail sector (cf. Tunca & Anselmsson, 2019; Wrigley & Lambiri, 2014). The dominant ongoing trend described is ‘retail decentralisation’, indicating the movement of retail away from town centres (Allport, 2005; Fernie, 1995; Hubbard, 2017)⁵. Many researchers and practitioners have articulated their fears about the consequences of the ‘death’ of town centres and shopping streets, something which, they have claimed, could lead to significant social problems (Hudges & Jackson, 2015; Oram et al., 2003; Wrigley & Dolega, 2011). If not retail, it was asked, what would it be that brings citizens together in cities? Given such a dearth of reasons to visit town centres, people worried about what would happen to the urban social encounters and spaces historically acting as such corner stones of public life (cf. Jacobs, 1961/1992). Therefore, in order to reverse the trend, numerous scholars and consultants have conducted research, written articles and reports, and offered variety of solutions (e.g. Findlay & Sparks, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2019; Portas, 2011).

Similarly, Helsingborg’s town centre retail trade has long been facing the challenge of out-of-town retail. The shopping mall *Väla Centrum* was established in 1974 at the intersection of two motorways, about ten kilometres outside of the town centre. It has gradually been growing in size ever since, bolstered by other big-box retail establishments like IKEA (Thufvesson, 2017). According to a consultancy study done in 2016, the retail cluster around *Väla Centrum* had annual revenues exceeding those of all the retailers in the town centre combined (WSP, 2017). On top of these trends, hypermarkets and superstores⁶ have opened up outside of the town centre, on both the south and northeast outskirts of the city, further shifting retail activity away from the town centre. The process of retail displacement in the city has triggered various initiatives to address the problem. *Citysamverkan*, a public-private joint collaborative venture between the local municipality, the real estate owners, and the retailers of the town centre (cf. Kärrholm & Nylund, 2011, also see Forsberg et al., 1999), has been actively working towards promoting retail in the town centre

⁵ In the literature, some possible explanations given for retail decentralisation are firstly: the act of transnational retailers, with more economic clout, moving to out-of-town locations and to already existing public spaces, e.g. airports, train stations, universities (Kärrholm & Nylund, 2011); secondly, the enhanced mobility of shoppers (Spierings & Van Der Velde, 2008) due to increasing car ownership, and to investments in road and transportation networks (Bromley & Thomas, 1993); and thirdly, the popularisation of e-commerce (Weltevreden & Atzema, 2006)

⁶ The hypermarket is a vast store format that emerged in continental Europe in the 1960s, whereby around 35% of the items on sale are non-food. They typically have more than 5,000 square metres of store floor space, at least twice that of regular superstores, which are themselves large supermarkets (Wrigley & Lowe, 2002).

for a decade. It has organized seminars and workshops, initiated improvements in the physical infrastructure and overall aesthetics, arranged numerous events aimed at boosting the attractiveness of the town centre, and executed a plan to assign various micro-identities to parts of the city to enhance their appeal (Thufvesson, 2017). In addition, merchants, politicians, and inhabitants have published letters on this topic in local newspapers, also discussing these changes and challenges at seminars and workshops, and in social media. Moreover, Helsingborg Municipality has also financed consultancy reports and academic research on this topic⁷. The City's manifested vision for the year 2035 also bears traces of this concern: One of the City's five aspirations is becoming a 'vibrant city' (City of Helsingborg, 2021).

The reorganization of retail in Helsingborg has also manifested itself in Söder, but in a peculiar way; this district has enjoyed a special position and history within the City. It was established in the mid-19th century around newly built factories (*Folklivsgruppen*, 1987); since its early days, this district has never fully been an organic part of the town centre. Its architecture, inhabitants, and atmosphere have always been different to the rest of the City, just like its retail landscape. The early retail places in Söder and on Södergatan primarily served the working-class families living in the area. These retail establishments had a traditional character; they were small and run by families typically living in the same building. Although these kinds of stores have always been in the majority, starting from the early nineteenth hundreds, modern retail formats, e.g. department stores and supermarkets, have gradually found their place in Söder and on Södergatan. In the 1980s, in line with global trends, transnational and national chains also started penetrating the district and the street, only to leave relatively shortly afterwards, together with department stores and supermarkets, due to the previously mentioned decentralisation process. Independent retailers filled the vacated premises, predominantly being run by newly-settled transnational entrepreneurs and transforming Söder into a 'superdiverse'⁸ district (Järtelius, 2001). This recent retail transformation, which began in the 1990s, revived, in a sense, some of the retail characteristics of the early Söder a hundred years ago.

⁷ As a matter of fact, my PhD position was created within the framework of a research project primarily financed by Helsingborg Municipality and *Helsingborgs Handelsförening* [Helsingborg Trade Association]. The aim of this research project was enhancing existing knowledge and understanding of town centre retail, as well as the consumer patterns and dynamics of the region (Aslan, 2015; Aslan & Fredriksson, 2017b).

⁸ Super-diversity would entail the accumulated, multi-layered, and multi-trajectory societal heterogeneity entangled in some of the contemporary 'host cities' that significant numbers of people with radically different backgrounds have moved into (cf. Vertovec, 2007).



Figure 7. Still of Södergatan, 2015

Despite the claimed problems and troubles, and the stated marginalisation, however, Södergatan continues to be the main shopping and social axis of south Helsingborg.

The interesting paradox is that Södergatan, going through all these different phases, continues to be the main shopping and social axis of south Helsingborg, and this remains the case despite all the claimed problems, troubles, and ongoing retail decentralisation unfolding in the City. How has Söder managed to weather the storm? There are more than 100 active retail stores and enterprises, with new independent entrepreneurs coming in and filling the vacant stores almost immediately. There seem to be many shoppers who frequent the district and the street, as well as the stores there, as documented at the beginning of the chapter. This curious disjunction between the claimed town centre retail crisis in both Sweden and Helsingborg, the ongoing decentralisation of retail, and the observed vibrancy of contemporary Söder and Södergatan constitutes this study's empirical problem. What do shoppers find in this place which might be lacking in others? What do they do there? What is the role of shoppers in making the shopping street thrive? What kinds of shopping does the street provide? Is there anything we can learn from Söder and Södergatan in order to develop resilient town centres?

Sociocultural Studies of Shopping Geographies

The questions that this dissertation is interested in have best been addressed in the academic field developed around 'shopping geographies', whereby a shopping geography can be formulated as a loose arrangement of retail places frequented by

shoppers (cf. Gregson et al., 2002b). Most research on this topic is sociocultural in nature, and this research field is positioned at the crossroads of multiple disciplines that include anthropology, sociology, human geography, and, to a lesser extent, economics.

Examining shopping streets

It is generally understood that a shopping street⁹ is a commercial urban passage where, typically, the first floor of the buildings lining both sides of the street is reserved for retail enterprises selling services and goods¹⁰, and for public and private institutions (Carmona, 2015). A shopping street also facilitates movement both above and below ground; unlike a highway, it is more organically embedded in urban social life, through the architecture of pavements, pedestrian crossings, the road surface and traffic, and retail places, as well as through its highly regulated but dynamic rhythm and tempo (Hubbard & Lyon, 2018). Essentially, shopping streets “are mixed-use urban corridors” according to Carmona (2015, p. 9), which suggests that, apart from being a locus of commercial and non-commercial public activities, a shopping street also provides, archetypally, space for the movement of pedestrians, animals, goods, electricity, waste, the Internet, water, gas, and wind, in addition to functioning as a transport conduit for motorized and non-motorized vehicles.

Shopping streets function as the sociocultural attraction loci and meeting centres of districts, neighbourhoods or cities (Carmona, 2015; Hubbard, 2017; Hubbard & Lyon, 2018; Jones et al., 2007). Hence, apart from being corridors, shopping streets are also places of connection and conjunction; in shopping streets, just like

⁹ In the literature, three conceptualisations are in use; (i) high street, (ii) main street, (iii) and shopping street, which all signify more or less the same phenomenon. ‘High street’ is a term employed in studies from Britain, while ‘main street’ is an American conceptualisation. Shopping street is mostly used in continental Europe, also being a direct translation of the Swedish term *köpgata*. Because the study has been conducted in Sweden, and focuses on shopping, the term ‘shopping street’ is preferred.

¹⁰ ‘Retail’ is accepted as “the sale of products and services, typically in small volumes, to the final consumer” (Dawson et al. 2008: 2). However instead of ‘products’, I use the term ‘goods’, drawing on the traditional conceptual distinction between ‘goods’ and ‘services’, despite their ambiguous connotations (cf. Hultman & Ek, 2011). In this case, ‘goods’ would typically be tangible products which are transformed into commodities for exchange in the retail trade, which sells the possession and consumption rights, such as would be the case, for example, for clothes, groceries, or furniture. ‘Services’, on the other hand, would typically signify the commodification of intangible products which are mostly merchandized in order to be produced and consumed at the retail site itself, e.g. hairdressing, repairs, foreign currency exchange (Skälen, 2016; Spring & Araujo, 2009). In that sense, I do not follow the more recent and expansive re-conceptualisation of ‘service’ as a value proposition and value co-creation embedded in all possible exchange and consumption situations (cf. Grönroos, 2006; Vargo & Lusch, 2008), this mostly being for the sake of preserving the concept’s analytical value (for a similar discussion on the concept of ‘consumption’, see Evans, 2020b).

marketplaces, people meet, greet, and connect with each other. However, it is also there that differences are learned and performed; thus, at the same time, they are also spaces of separation, distinction and exclusion. They invite some people in and keep others out. For instance, people experience the same street in very different ways; whilst some might feel more at home on a certain street, others might feel like visitors, depending on the sociocultural history and composition of the street in question, as well as the life trajectories of the shoppers, including their class background, ethnicity, lifestyle, age, health, and gender. The gender aspect in particular plays a significant role, since streets are often conceptualized as masculine geographies (cf. Hankins, 2002, also see Wolff, 1985 for a wider discussion).

Shopping streets have only lately become a topic of study in the related literature (Wrigley & Lowe, 1996). Many of the early studies researched so-called ‘spectacular’ shopping geographies more, e.g. newer shopping malls, retail parks, or flagship stores. What is more, most of the studies investigating shopping streets examined the upmarket ones, discussing them only in relation to shopping malls in an antagonistic fashion. Such a putative dichotomy may have disguised a much more complex picture. Crewe (2000) asserts; “the problem with such narratives is that they are tied to an extremely narrow range of historical, geographical and cultural settings, and tell us little about the spatial and social significances of streets as retail spaces” (Crewe, 2000, p. 277). As Findlay and Sparks (2012) highlight, it should not be forgotten that much shopping still takes place in “in local centres, local high streets and parades and other often overlooked locations” (p. 24). According to Findlay and Sparks (2012), the surprising academic shortage of ‘other’ or ‘secondary’ shopping geographies is due to two reasons. First, they are not seen to be as interesting, innovative and glamorous as upmarket shopping streets, shopping malls or technology-driven e-commerce. Second, these kinds of shopping geographies are perceived as unchanging, anachronistic, historically backward, and soon to disappear for good.

Local shopping streets

Local shopping streets, like Södergatan, are avenues of commerce, corridors of movement, and linear forms of social connection and exclusion. Yet, they are ‘local’ in the sense that they are mostly frequented by shoppers living or working close by (Hall, 2012; Jones et al., 2007). They primarily serve the social, cultural and commercial needs of a particular neighbourhood or district (Jones et al., 2007; Kuppinger, 2014). On the other hand, an upmarket shopping street would potentially attract all city inhabitants and tourists, and be located more centrally than a local shopping street. Upmarket shopping streets are also places where mainstream chains and luxury and flagship shops typically establish themselves, while alternative and

craftsmanship-based and independent ‘mom-and-pop’ retail places are today more common on local shopping streets (Hall, 2011, p. 111).

Despite the scholarly focus mostly having been on upmarket shopping streets, an increasing number of studies made since the 2000s have focused on local shopping streets. These are relabelled as “mixed-use streets”; their diverse public, transportation and commercial functions are brought to the fore (Jones et al., 2007). Local shopping streets have also been explored as the loci of conflict ethnicity-bound perspectives (Rabiwoska, 2010), local communities’ claim and survival strategies in the superdiverse contexts (Hall, 2011) and as counterforces against the homogenisation of cities (Kuppinger, 2014). They are also studied as geographies which enable secondary and/or alternative shopping activities (Findlay & Sparks, 2012). In addition, their material and social organisation (Carmona, 2015; Clossick, 2017), as well as their role in the recent gentrification processes, are also analysed in detail (Hubbard, 2016; Zukin et al., 2016). As this new wave of studies underlines, local shopping streets have their own idiosyncratic trajectories and continue to respond to particular needs and to constitute “social spaces where cultural identities are formed, learned, and reproduced” (Zukin, 2012, p. 282).

These shopping geographies are also claimed to develop innovative reliance strategies for dealing with retail decentralisation pressures (Findlay & Sparks, 2012). For instance, Hall (2011) observes that the diversity of local shopping streets enables locally-based retail activities and enterprises, which strengthen retail resilience and extend store rental durations. The stores on local shopping streets are also more open to experimentation, e.g. the hybridisation of retail formats and the co-usage of store space in order to minimize economic risk (Hall, 2011). She suggests that there might be lessons to learn from local shopping streets in terms of developing retail resilience strategies in other shopping geographies.

While recent studies shed light on the sociocultural complexity and importance of local shopping streets, they still suffer from two shortcomings. The first is that most of these studies only investigate shopping streets in large, cosmopolitan and global cities that possess specific properties (Sassen, 2005, also see Crewe & Beaverstock, 1998). The dynamics of myriad local shopping streets in smaller and mid-sized cities are largely unknown. Even more importantly, and perhaps surprisingly, most existing studies of local shopping streets do not focus on the practice of shopping itself, or indeed on the shoppers themselves. They mostly take the retailers’ perspectives and practices as their starting points, or they investigate these streets’ material and retail configurations. They mention the resilience and adaptation strategies of local shopping streets, but they do not pinpoint what kind of shopping activities they enable or assist. If we want to understand how these local shopping streets are configured, maintained, dismantled and changed, the agency of shoppers and the practice of shopping both need to be acknowledged better. However, in

order to incorporate shoppers and shopping enactments into the equation, a theoretical and methodological refinement is required. How can shopping and shoppers be integrated into the formulation of these geographies, e.g. Södergatan? What theoretical and methodological foundations are suitable when developing such an understanding?

Shoppers and shopping geographies

It is widely recognized that shoppers¹¹ have been enjoying increasing power during recent decades¹² (Campbell, 2005; Denegri-Knott et al., 2006). This development has improved their position in relation to the other actors of the retail sector, e.g. retailers, manufacturers and promoters. Indeed, an acknowledgment of shoppers' agency, from a theoretical perspective, had already been provided within the so-called 'cultural turn' in 'consumption studies' in the 1990s (cf. Douglas, 1997; Lury, 1996). In this 'turn', shoppers are not framed as duped masses, nor as passive victims (Evans, 2020b), and neither are they seen as sovereign benefit-maximisers (see Gregson et al., 2002b for a critical review). Instead of these individualistic and deterministic edges, shoppers are treated as agents who are capable of creating meaning via their shopping activities and consumption experiences (Miller, 1997). They possess the ability to challenge existing structures and alter scripts via acts of use (Campbell, 2005), yet they remain embedded in cultural, social, spatial and economic settings (Gregson et al., 2002a).

The 'cultural turn' in 'consumption studies' has also triggered a similar shift in the field of 'shopping geographies'. The first stream of literature departed from the sub-

¹¹ Although it is much more common to use the term 'consumer', in this dissertation, however, 'shopper' is employed. Firstly, following Warde (2005), I accept consumption as a moment in all social practices and thus I do not see it as something peculiar to shopping. In this understanding, despite being goods-biased and not accounting for the consumption of services, consumption is acknowledged as comprising of six phases; i.e. acquisition, appropriation, appreciation (Warde, 2014), devaluation, divestment, and disposal (Evans, 2018). On the other hand, shopping is about the processes prior to, and during, the potential acquisition of services and goods. Secondly, since this study concerns itself with shopping, I find it appropriate that the practice is taken as signifier of the persons who enact it.

¹² First of all, a consumer politics movement emerged, with shoppers realizing that they can "collectively use the power of markets" to alter the scripts given by corporates and legislators (Goss, 1999, p. 115). Secondly, due to the increased level of shopper mobility facilitated by the development and diversification of logistics (Dawson et al., 2008), shoppers use the possibility of choosing from numerous alternatives to reward or punish retailers. In addition, the common use of Internet-based technologies has improved access to knowledge and enabled interactive communication, further empowering shoppers (Zureik & Mowshowitz, 2005). Lastly, e-commerce has diversified shoppers' choices, making them relatively more flexible in 'time' and less dependent on 'place' (Mansvelt, 2005, p. 73).

discipline of retail geography¹³, by criticizing ‘orthodox’ retail geography¹⁴. Entitled “new retail geography” (Wrigley & Lowe, 1996), these scholars claim that much of the early work done within the sub-discipline is descriptive and shallow, often being based on the “simplistic mapping of store location, location, location [original emphasis]” (Crewe, 2000, p. 275). Most importantly, “new retail geography” rejects and challenges the idea of the retail place as a fixed entity, a stage beyond human influence. Instead, this stream interprets retail places in terms of “geographies as brought into being, orchestrated, performed in interaction”; they are in a continuous state of becoming, “negotiated, accepted, resisted, and interpreted by consumers” (Gregson et al., 2002a, p. 1663). Gradually, these studies have turned their focus to alternative retail places and shopping geographies such as charity shops, flea markets, car boot sales, and garage sales, which are all conceptualized as “marginal spaces of contemporary consumption” (Gregson et al., 1998b, p. 39). Among other things, these studies detail various sociocultural processes that are embedded in the activities of shopping and merchandizing in these micro-geographies of alternative retail, which are less visible in mainstream shopping geographies. Another important feature of this stream of literature has been that it primarily uses qualitative research methods to depict shopping activities in depth (Fuentes & Hagberg, 2013), methods that depart from the understanding that shopping geographies are anchored in their specific cultural, temporal and spatial circumstances (Crewe, 2003; Goss, 2004).

The second influential body of literature which acknowledges shoppers’ agency has sociology and anthropology as its disciplinary background, being developed in the

¹³ The reason why I use the term ‘shopping geography’ in this dissertation, instead of the more common ‘retail geography’, is that the notion of retail geography theoretically also enfoldes geographies of retail distribution, waste, storage, and ‘back stages’ in retail stores, which shoppers cannot access. In addition, ‘shopping geography’, as a conceptualisation, underlines the imperative of shopping activities, while ‘retail geography’ has traditionally been presumed to be pre-given and to pre-exist shopping practice (Gregson et al., 2002b). Since “focus on shopping as practised demonstrate that shopping space is more appropriately conceptualised as a tapestry of differentiated spaces, woven together to comprise personal, accumulated *shopping geographies* [italics mine] that are routinely reproduced, and extended, through practice” (Gregson et al., 2002b, p. 613).

¹⁴ Retail geography is a sub-discipline of economic geography. The early works of this sub-discipline were empirically concerned with finding optimal locations for retail establishments, shoppers’ spatial behaviours and spatial factors which influence decision-making processes around purchasing (Scott, 1970; Shepherd & Thomas, 2012). These works have been predominantly influenced by the epistemological premises of classical economics, whereby rational choice, the maximisation of benefit, and the minimisation of cost and effort were the key notions and assumptions. In these studies, shoppers were also almost invisible; they were brought into the equation only in terms of being reified in categories or in groups, depending on their residences, income levels or age segments. In particular, the mathematical turn after the 1950s influenced the research methods used, with quantitative research methods such as statistical calculations and surveying clearly dominating (Shepherd & Thomas, 2012).

field of ‘geographies of consumption’¹⁵ (cf. Mansvelt, 2005). The first significant study done in this literature is the analysis of Certeau et al. (1980/1998) of neighbourhood retail, shopping and consumption activities from a sociocultural perspective. Using participant observation and interviews, Certeau et al. illustrate the complex dynamics of socialisation and community building via shopping and consumption in a working-class neighbourhood in Lyon, France. They also set out the significant roles played by services and goods, as well as consumption and shopping competences in constructing and sustaining the cultural rituals of households. Using a similar perspective, Miller (1998) and Miller et al. (1998) study the everyday shopping and consumption activities of a north London street’s inhabitants. They show that these activities are intertwined with building sociocultural bonds, also with the shopping geographies they are enacted in. Based on an analysis of shop-along and situated interviews, these studies reveal that shopping is mundane, often tiresome, and concerns showing love and care in retail places, as well as making sacrifices for significant others, perhaps enacted in the name of, and in negotiation with, children, a partner, parents or friends.

The above-summarized bodies of literature have generated epistemological shifts in scholarly understanding of shopping activities and shopping geographies, paving the way for theoretical possibilities of integrating shoppers and shopping as active agents involved in the configuring of these geographies. Yet, they lack a precise perspective that discusses and illustrates the ways in which shoppers shape and are shaped by shopping geographies, retail places. Recent advances in the social sciences, underlining material, affective, and practice dimensions, have much to offer in terms of understanding and analysing the constitutive role of shopping in the configuration of shopping geographies.

New perspectives

More recently, a number of novel academic approaches to shopping geographies have emerged, engaging in different ways with the issue of shopper agency and the configuration of shopping geographies. These new perspectives underline the role and agency of materiality, affective dimension, and social practices in organizing and assembling shopping geographies and shopping activities.

First, in line with the new ‘materialist turn’ in the social sciences, there have been studies underlining the importance and role of materiality, particularly various technologies, which are distributed agency in the configuration of retail places and shopping geographies (cf. Brembeck et al., 2015; Calvignac & Cochoy, 2016; Fuentes & Sörum, 2019; Grandclément, 2006). These studies show that ‘shopping devices’, e.g. shopping trollies, shopping bags, price tags, and smart-phones, can be

¹⁵ Despite the term ‘consumption’ being employed, this literature primarily studies ‘shopping’, and has only recently shown an interest in the stages of using and disposing (Evans, 2020a, 2020b).

re-conceptualised as active agents, participants in the configuration of shopping activities and shopping geographies, forming transformative alliances with shoppers (cf. Cochoy et al., 2014). They also point out that the material constructions of retail places are more appropriately conceived of as temporarily stable networks of relations; they are products of continuous negotiations by different actors (actants), including shoppers (cf. Kärholm, 2012).

Another set of studies highlight the affective aspects of shopping geographies, taking theoretical inspiration from the so-called ‘affective turn’ in the social sciences (cf. Brembeck & Sörum, 2017; Brighenti & Kärholm, 2018; Degen & Rose, 2012; Healy, 2014; Pyry, 2016). In these studies, certain feelings, emotions, moods that shopping geographies trigger are highlighted, e.g. boredom, nostalgia, fun, tranquillity, or that they are felt to be homey, welcoming or alien. In addition, various sensuous elements of distinct shopping geographies are also investigated, e.g. music, noise, smells, air, temperature, texture, and lighting. In particular, the concept of ‘atmosphere’ is commonly employed to emphasise these aspects (cf. Böhme, 1993). These studies also point to the plurality and dynamism of the affective effects of these shopping geographies, i.e. the kinds of emotions and feelings that shoppers experience also depends on the social situation, as well as these shoppers’ life trajectories and memories (cf. Rose et al., 2010). The affective dimension of shopping geographies is also influenced and shaped by shoppers’ presence, and by their very shopping activities.

Finally, a number of studies have concentrated on shopper enactments in various shopping geographies, adopting epistemological and ontological premises from the recent ‘practice turn’ in the social sciences, commonly labelled as ‘practice theory’ (cf. Everts & Jackson, 2009; Fuentes et al., 2019; Hagberg, 2016; Jackson et al., 2018; Keller & Ruus, 2014; Kelsey et al., 2018; Parzer & Astleithner, 2018; Spitzkat & Fuentes, 2019). While ‘practice theory’ is not a singular body of scholarship, in this theoretical literature, *social practice* is taken as the main social unit to be analysed in order to make sense of the social world, generally being formulated as a set of activities linked by different elements (or components), e.g. emotions, aims, rules, materiality, meaning, engagements, skills and competences (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996, 2001b, 2019; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005). These accounts also aspire to surpass classical social science dichotomies (Schatzki, 1996); instead, they analyse social practices as nexuses that bring different aspects and dimensions together, merging them into each other (Reckwitz, 2002). The studies adopting ‘practice theory’ when studying shopping and shopping geographies have been particularly successful in detailing and differentiating the enactments of shopping, also highlighting the significance of shopping as a practice for organizing social life. Additionally, they also make plausible inferences about the constitutive relations between shopping and retail places.

The new perspectives on shopping geographies forming part of wider contemporary ‘turns’ in the social sciences have shifted the epistemological focus away from the shopper’s reflections, social and cultural relations, creative projects, lifestyle aspirations, and symbolic representations that have occupied an important place in the earlier ‘cultural turn’ in consumption studies, as well as studies of shopping geographies (Evans, 2018; Warde, 2014). In a way, they are all either non-representational theories (cf. Thrift, 2000) or ‘more-than-representation’ theories (Löfgren, 2015). Instead, they complicate our understanding of shopping geographies by daringly acknowledging the agency and particularities of the material and affective elements, and by underlining the role of shopping as a practice for arranging shopper’s everyday lives. In particular, they manage to provide a much more dynamic, relational and emergent understanding of shopping geographies and shopping places, which are constantly being negotiated with various materialities, technologies, atmospheres, emotions, and shopping enactments.

Research Aim and Questions

Parallel to the already-mentioned retail reorganisation and displacement occurring during recent decades, which has particularly manifested itself in terms of the mushrooming out-of-town retail establishments, the ‘death’ of the town centre has become a popular topic both in Sweden and abroad. Since retail and shopping have been essential aspects of our urban civilization and the maintenance of public life in cities, academics, politicians, planners, and citizens have expressed their concerns regarding the societal effects of this radical transformation. In Helsingborg, too, these concerns have been widely addressed, with Söder and Södergatan being pointed out as gloomy examples of ongoing retail deterioration. However, contrary to these claims, I discovered, paradoxically, during my initial fieldwork that there are still numerous retailers in Söder and on Södergatan and that the shopping geography continues to act as home to many shoppers and shopper activities. This disjunction constitutes the research problem at the heart of this dissertation project; i.e. the ‘death of the town centre’ rhetoric and the observed ‘liveliness’ of the research site.

Despite being vital parts of our urban social life, it is interesting that scant research has been conducted on local shopping streets like Södergatan. Of the studies conducted, the majority concentrate on the local streets of global cities; more importantly, these studies seldom acknowledge shoppers or their activities. Thus, in particular, we do not know much about the role of shopping in shaping, maintaining, dismantling, and changing these shopping geographies. In pursuit of filling these knowledge gaps, I am assisted by the previous research conducted in the field of ‘sociocultural studies on shopping geographies’, where I also position this research. Specifically, in order to examine enacted shopping activities in detail and to

scrutinise their relation to the street and the district, I draw on the theoretical literature developed around the concept of ‘social practice’, while also being in close dialogue with recent ‘material’ and ‘affective’ turns in the social sciences.

In this dissertation project, I study shopping on Södergatan, the main street of the ‘superdiverse’ district of Söder in Helsingborg, Sweden, in order to conceptualize and empirically illustrate how a vibrant local shopping street in a mid-sized city is created through enactments of shopping, while simultaneously being shaped by it. This study, then, aims to illustrate how vibrant shopping streets emerge as the result of these shopping enactments— shopping streets that are sensorially, materially, spatially and temporally anchored in the everyday lives of shoppers. The study also attends to the complicated role of the street forming these very shopping enactments. In order to achieve said research aim, I aim to provide answers to my three main research questions, as listed below:

1. *How is shopping enacted and organized on Södergatan?*
2. *What are these shopping enactments all about?*
3. *In what ways do shopping and the local street interrelate with each other?*

My first research question assists the aim of my research by requiring a comprehensive description and analysis of shopping, as enacted in the shopping geography, which ensures the vibrancy of the street and the district. This requires a detailed and hands-on investigation of how shopping occurs on the day-to-day level, in addition to looking into the various elements and factors which bind the practice of shopping together. My second question investigates in particular the specificities of shopping on the local street and in the district; in doing so, it seeks an explanation as to why shoppers choose Södergatan and Söder to enact their shopping. My final question is about inspecting the various directions in which the local street and shopping influence and constitute each other; thus, it necessitates exploration of the processes and dynamics in which shopping co-constitutes the shopping geography of a vibrant place.

In studying the above research questions, I employed video ethnography as my primary data collection method, combining it with the research methods of go-along and shop-along interviewing, mental mapping, and participant and nonparticipant observations. Utilizing video recording as a data collection technique provided me with unique opportunities, e.g. recording the sensorial, material, spatial, and temporal dimensions in parallel with shoppers’ enactments and reflections (Pink, 2007a), something which would not be easy to accomplish otherwise. The fact that it was possible for me to apply this research method on-the-move also enabled a

dynamic kind of fieldwork, as it was able to capture the movements and flows of the street (cf. Belk & Kozinets, 2005).

Research contributions

First and foremost, this dissertation aspires to enhance existing knowledge of the shopping on local shopping streets in mid-sized cities. It provides a detailed account of the dynamics of such a street, in such a city, as well as the ways of shopping that are enacted there. It also brings a novel conceptual vocabulary, and understanding, to the field by formulating five distinct ways of enacting shopping. Additionally, it also hopes to advance theoretical understanding in the field of the recursive, constitutive interrelationships existing between shopping and shopping geographies.

Secondly, this dissertation offers a methodological design and a conceptual framework for analysing and discussing a 'social practice'. It employs a genuine multi-method methodology designed around video-ethnography. It also proposes the framing of shopping as a social practice, something which is used as a compass while analysing shopping enactments. By introducing new concepts and a detailed discussion, it intends to expand our existing understanding within 'practice theory' as regards the relation between social practices and places, focusing on the spatial, temporal, material and sensorial dimensions.

Lastly, this dissertation project aims to contribute to the applied literature that has been developed around the notion of 'town centre retail death' by illuminating how a local shopping street ensures vibrancy during times of retail restructuring and replacement. It tries to underline the importance of assuring, assisting and enabling a good mix of shopping as a resilience strategy; linked to this point, it ultimately makes hands-on suggestions for future policy development.

Structure of the Dissertation

There are three parts. In the 'Framework' part, the empirical, theoretical, methodological, and historical positionings are introduced and elaborated upon. In the second part, 'analysis, the enactments of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder are analysed in detail, and the significance and relevance of the shopping geography, for shoppers, is underlined. The 'Discussion' part, initially, elaborates upon how shopping enactments and the shopping geography relate to and co-constitute each other. This part finally wraps-up the dissertation by pinpointing academic contributions and practical implications.

The 'Framework' part is divided into four chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter provides a definition of shopping as a social practice,

guided by a critical review. Subsequently, the chapter discusses dimensions which interlink shopping with the street, developing an analytical framework around the notion of 'mode of shopping'. The third chapter deliberates upon video ethnography in relation to the methodological concerns of practice theory, presenting how it is designed and combined with other research methods in this study. A reflexive account of the fieldwork and analysis process is also provided. The first part of the dissertation finishes with a historical description of the research site.

The 'Analysis' part is divided into five chapters, which separately focus on a formulated 'mode of shopping', defined as a distinct way of enacting shopping. Relying on the video-ethnographic data, these are examined in accordance with the 'Analysis framework' introduced at the end of the second chapter, being framed as 'convenience shopping', 'on-the-side shopping', 'social shopping', 'alternative shopping', and 'budget shopping'. This part aims to answer my first and second research questions by comprehensively illustrating major ways in which shopping is enacted and organized on the local street.

In the first chapter of the 'Discussion' part, four directions of the interrelationship between shopping and the 'sensomateriality' of the street are formulated; i.e. 'onness', 'throughness', 'withness', and 'inness'. Similarly, the chapter also discusses four directions of the interrelationship between shopping and the spatiotemporality of the street, using the analogies of 'verticality', 'horizontality', 'circularity' and 'linearity'. Consequently, in answering my third research question, the chapter argues that shopping transforms the local street into a vibrant local street in multifaceted ways, emphasised using the term I have coined 'praxitopia'. The last, and eleventh, chapter of this dissertation summarizes the empirical and theoretical contributions of the study to the related literatures. Finally, the practical implications of the research are underlined.

Chapter 2: Shopping Practice

My aim in writing this chapter is to elaborate upon shopping as a social practice and to conceptualize its relations with the shopping street using four emergent concepts: i.e. sensoriality, materiality, spatiality and temporality. I also interweave practice theory with other relevant literatures accumulated within recent material and affective turns.

Theories of Practice

There is no coherent, formulated practice theory¹⁶; rather, the body of literature that has accumulated around the concept of social practice¹⁷ represents one of the broad and significant turns occurring in the contemporary social sciences, as mentioned in the previous chapter. As such, practice theories characterize a shift in our understanding of the social world, and in the priorities of conducting research and analysing research material.

It is possible to review practice theory scholars using a historical timeline, and to group them into generations that largely share perspectival and conceptual commonalities (Pink, 2012; Postill, 2010; Warde, 2014). The first generation¹⁸ of scholars in practice theory, including, for example, Bourdieu, Certeau, and Giddens, are “primarily European, social theoretical, post-Marxist, and macro-sociological and are especially concerned to reconcile the opposition between agency and structure” (Warde, 2014, p. 284). However, it is the second generation of practice theorists who boldly mark a ‘practical turn’ in the social sciences (Schatzki, et al.,

¹⁶ Neither is there any consensus on how to label the ‘practice turn’. I prefer ‘practice theory’ mostly for the sake of simplicity and its common usage.

¹⁷ Schatzki (2014) asserts that, since practices are employed by more than one person, they are all social. If this is the case, why to emphasize the obvious? Another reasonable question would be why not employ the term ‘cultural practice’ instead, as this is commonly used in many earlier anthropological texts. In the current study, I use the phrase ‘social practice’ mainly for two reasons: firstly, to ensure conceptual continuity with the existing body of literature and, secondly, to highlight the point that no human practice can be understood using an individualistic paradigm. In addition, in order to pinpoint the normative aspect of human practices, I find ‘social’ more appropriate than ‘cultural’ since the term ‘culture’ has not infrequently been utilized in a relativistic manner. Nevertheless, obviously, everything that is social is also cultural.

¹⁸ Some of Foucault’s late works are also accepted within the realm of practice theory, particularly his emphasis on discursive practices and what these practices do in terms of disciplining human bodies (Reckwitz, 2002). Garfinkel’s arguments on ethno-methodology, Taylor’s neo-hermeneutical model in the field of social philosophy, and Sahlins on anthropological theory are also listed among this first generation (Warde, 2014).

2001). They assign practice theory a position in the broader socio-scientific epistemological and ontological landscape, grouping various scholars under its umbrella. The second generation, consisting of, for example¹⁹, Schatzki, Reckwitz, and Warde (Postill, 2010), emphasise studying and formulating ‘social practice’ *per se*. In line with the rising popularity of practice theory, the third generation of scholars exhibit a greater plurality of academic background²⁰, in comparison with previous generations, who are typically sociologists. A common feature of this generation is that the majority of them have engaged in empirical research²¹ and have been “trying to apply the theory to substantive explanation in diverse empirical settings” (Warde, 2014, p. 285). The third generation of practice theorists can also be recognised through their integration of materiality in a much bolder way.

The common ground of all three generations of practice theory scholars lies in emphasizing the key position of social practices in organizing and making sense of the social world (Reckwitz, 2002). Different practice theory approaches hold the shared “belief that such phenomena as knowledge, meaning, human activity, science, power, language, social institutions, and historical transformation occur within and are aspects or components of the field of practices” (Schatzki, 2001a, p. 11). They also have in common the desire to move beyond the classical dichotomies of the social sciences, e.g. structure and agency, micro and macro, body and mind, text and act, or nature and culture. Within this understanding, what is social is “a relational effect of practices that are composed of heterogeneous elements” (Evans, 2020b, p. 10). They claim that focusing on social practices provides the opportunity to study these dichotomist confrontations as dualities, as integral elements of social practices, which are also in dynamic interrelation with social practices (cf. Giddens, 1979).

Understanding Social Practices

The plurality of practice theories means there is no single agreed-on definition of what social practice is. Schmidt emphasises that; “practices should not be treated as an empirical reality, but as a concept for mapping and analytical understanding empirical social reality” (Schmidt, 2016, p. 52). In this sense, defining and

¹⁹ Postill (2010) also includes anthropologist Sherry Beth Ortner, sociologist Karin Knorr Cetina, and philosopher Eike von Savigny in this generation.

²⁰ One of the many empirical focuses of the third generation of practice theory scholars is consumption. Particularly due to the works of Warde (2005, 2014) and Shove et al. (2012), practice theory has become almost hegemonic theory among consumption studies, particularly within the sub-field of the sociology of consumption (Evans, 2020b).

²¹ See, for example, Entwistle et al., 2015; Fuentes, 2011; Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Gherardi, 2012; Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Nicolini, 2012; Røpke 2009; Shove & Pantzar, 2005, Shove et al., 2009.

identifying what social practice is forms an essential part of the work of analysis because social practices are not readily available or accessible for borrowing from the observed social world.

The first generation of scholars never attempted to define what a social practice is; instead, in their central discussion concerning the interrelationship between human agency and social structures, they attributed particular roles to the phrase. It is in the works of the second generation of practice theory scholars that we find attempts to define social practice *per se*. Schatzki explains a social practice using various linkages:

[...] a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings. [...] To say that the doings and sayings forming a practice constitute a nexus is to say that they are linked in certain ways. Three major avenues of linkage are involved: (1) through understandings, for example, of what to say and do; (2) through explicit rules, principles, precepts, and instructions; and (3) through what I will call “teleoaffective structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods. (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89)

He underscores the spatial and temporal aspects of ‘doing and saying’; however, he also states that these ‘doings and sayings’ need to be linked in certain ways to form a social practice, through understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structures.²² In 2002, he simplified his definition thus; “a practice, it contends, is a collection of activities that are linked through an array of understandings, rules, and teleoaffectivities” (Schatzki, 2002, p. xxi). Schatzki underlines that a practice is a set of actions; “for instance, farming practices comprise such actions as building fences, harvesting grain, herding sheep, judging weather, and paying for supplies.” (Schatzki, 2001b, p. 48). Likewise, he notes that; “a practice is a bundle of activities, that is to say, an organized nexus of actions. Any practice, consequently, embraces two overall dimensions: activity and organisation” (Schatzki, 2002, p. 71). Thus, “practices are open sets of activities” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 28). To clarify, he notes that an activity is “the performing of an action, is an event: in it, an action takes place” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 31). According to him, these event-like activities are not necessarily sequential, they can be separate or overlapping, and once linked together, when they are organized, they form social practices. Additionally, the same activity can also be linked to multiple practices at the same time: “A particular

²² Schatzki also divides practices into two, as dispersed and integrative. He considers explaining, questioning, examining, and imagining as examples of dispersed practices; these are called dispersed as they can be found in many separate activities and situations, and lack teleoaffective directions. According to Schatzki, integrative practices include farming practices, business practices, and religious practices; he claims that they are more complex compared to the former practices (Schatzki, 1996). He also argues that integrative practices are of interest to social scientists. Additionally, Schatzki (2002, 2010) later splits understandings into practical and general understandings.

doing, for instance, might belong to two or more practices by virtue of expressing components of these different practices' organizations." (Schatzki, 2002, p. 87)

As a part of the second generation of theorists of social practice, Reckwitz provides this widely-quoted definition of social practice:

A 'practice' is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of other etc. – forms so to speak a 'block' whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements. (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249-250)

There are three novel emphases in Reckwitz's description. First, resonating with Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, the routinized character of 'behaviour' is highlighted. In that sense, he attributes a habit-like character to practice, a position which Schatzki opposes by pointing out that practices can be both simultaneous and irregular, or contain routinized patterns (Schatzki, 2019, p. 34). Secondly, in Reckwitz's telling, 'things' are one of the elements that configure a practice, whereas in Schatzki's formulation, practices and material arrangements create *constellations*, as they are bundled together (Schatzki, 2019). In addition, again following the legacy of Bourdieu and earlier phenomenological theories (cf. Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2005), Reckwitz underlines the embodied nature of practices.

The last important feature of social practices that second generation theorists formulate with more precision is their learned aspect, as Warde (2005) puts it, the role of collective learning. Warde (2005) also reframes Schatzki's (1996) 'avenues of linkages', stating that practices have three 'components' (instead of Reckwitz's notion of 'elements'), listed as 'understandings', 'procedures', and 'engagements'.

In the third generation, Shove et al. (2012) assert that social practices are constituted by three 'elements': i.e. 'materials', 'competences', and 'meanings'. These scholars explain their popular triadic framework²³ as follows:

Materials, encompassing objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself, consequently figure as the first of the three elements on which we focus. [...] we lump multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability together and simply refer to them as 'competence', our second element. Our next simplifying

²³ Hand & Shove (2007) label the constitutive 'elements' of practices 'materials', 'ideals and discourses' and 'skills and competences', while Shove et al. (2007) frame 'elements' as 'material', 'competence', and 'image'. Another similar triadic framework, Magaudo (2011) and Arsel & Bean (2012) employ the concepts of 'objects', 'doings', and 'meanings' as 'elements' of social practices.

move is to collapse what Reckwitz describes as mental activities, emotion and motivational knowledge into the one broad element of ‘meaning’, a term we use to represent the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment. (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23)

According to them, social practices do not exist solely when the three named elements of ‘materials’, ‘competence’, and ‘meaning’ are available (in this case, it would be a proto-practice), they need to be linked by practitioners in order to establish a social practice.

In this dissertation, I take Schatzki’s discussion of social practices as my departure point, making small adjustments and simplifications in order to refine its use in my analysis. Thus, similar to his formulation from 2002, I define a social practice as *a set of activities linked through rules, competences, and teleoaffectivities*. First, to facilitate empirical recognition during the analytical process, instead of acts, or doings and sayings, I employ the term activities. Activities are understood as event-like phenomena which need to be enacted upon (Schatzki, 2019), e.g. walking, asking, purchasing, carrying²⁴. By linkage ‘rules’, I mean both specific instructions and procedures for enacting a social practice, as well as social conventions and legal regulations. In order to emphasize the embodiedness of a social practice, besides the mental processes it requires, following Shove et al. (2012), I prefer the term ‘competences’. In using that term, I mean practical (phronesis) and general understandings, as well as skills, know-how, and the knowledge required to conduct a social practice. Lastly, instead of ‘teleoaffective structures’, I use ‘teleoaffectivities’ to avoid any suggestion that there are deterministic implications that this last linkage has some *a priori* hierarchical status over the others, although Schatzki does explicitly refrain from giving a deterministic account in his usage of the term ‘structure’ (Schatzki, 2002, p. 81; Schatzki, 2019, pp. 32-35). Teleoaffectivities includes aims, intentions, tasks, beliefs, projects embedded in social practices, in addition to senses, emotions, feelings, and moods.

Situating social practices

Randles and Warde (2009) argue that all social practices are ‘contextually’ situated. They claim it would be misleading to assume that practices “float free of technological, institutional and infrastructural contexts” (Randles & Warde, 2006, p. 229). They give the example of driving a car, pointing out that it is “governed by the driving license, technical capabilities of the car, laws of the road, and the state of the road network” (Randles & Warde, 2006, p. 229). Thus, they imply it would be an epistemological flaw to neglect the situatedness of a social practice while studying it. However, they also remind us that this embeddedness is neither

²⁴ According to Warde, whether or not an activity qualifies as a social practice is an analytical question and not an empirical one (Warde, 2014).

deterministic nor essentialist, which means it would be wrong to assume *a priori* that there is a hierarchy in the interrelationships. Despite these seemingly obvious interconnections, social practices have not always been discussed in that respect in the practice theory literature. The clear exception here is the first generation of practice theory scholars.

Certeau (1980/1984) understands social practice as the active action of the oppressed. It is a way of altering uneven power hierarchies; the “clever tricks of the ‘weak’ within the order established by the ‘strong’, and art of putting one over on the adversary on his own turf, hunter’s tricks, maneuverable, polymorph mobilities, jubilant, poetic, and warlike discoveries” (Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 40). Social practices are the ‘tactics’ employed against the ‘strategies’ of the power-holders²⁵. That is to say, for him, the notion of social practice is directly linked to power relations in society. He also points out that a wider context, “a nexus of circumstances”, can only be taken away from social practices for the sake of abstraction (Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 33). On the other hand, Bourdieu states that social practices are “objectified products and the incorporated products of historical practice; of structures and *habitus*” (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 52). Bourdieu conceptualizes ‘habitus’ as both a “structured structure” and “a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices” (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 170). For him, *habitus* expresses itself in the unconscious schemes of practical knowledge; it is inscribed in human bodies (Bourdieu, 1972/1977). However, Bourdieu frames ‘habitus’ as also being situated in the ‘field’, which is defined as an external structure, “as a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 74). According to him, various fields (e.g. the fields of art, academy, or shopping) have different beliefs, logics (doxa); i.e. common internalized presuppositions²⁶. In that sense, Bourdieu claims social practices are always interconnected with, and should be understood together with, the notions of ‘habitus’, ‘field’, and ‘doxa’. For Giddens (1984), social practices represent the realm where ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ merge in his ‘structuration theory’. His theory acknowledges “the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency” (Giddens, 1979, p. 69). The said duality, according to Giddens, refers to the understanding that “the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices

²⁵ Using the concept of ‘strategy’, Certeau conveys managerial planning of a place which often dictates monolithic usage and inscribes a certain character. ‘Tactics’ would indicate, on the contrary, the resistance of everyday people to such a strategic construction of places, and their attempts to alter these through heterogeneous ways of using them (Certeau, 1980/1984).

²⁶ Bourdieu gives much less agency to social practices than Certeau, in whose account the ‘oppressed’ are almost ‘free’ to employ their ‘tactics’ in order to challenge and alter the ‘strategies’ of the power-holders (Pink, 2012).

that constitute those systems” (Giddens, 1979, p. 69). That is to say, claims Giddens, that social structures and humans are both interdependent on and inscribed in social practices.

Among the second and third generations of practice theory scholars, there has been some relevant discussion about the interrelations between social practices. Warde (2005) asserts that social practices are not isolated from each other; practitioners carry learned lessons or innovations from one social practice to another. This notion is developed by Shove et al. (2012) who provide a model of how different social practices constitute ‘bundles’ via common ‘elements’, something which would also initiate social change. Warde (2013) introduces the concept of ‘compound practices’, which he uses to claim that some practices, his example being eating, are more complex and larger than others. Furthermore, indicates Swindler (2001), one social practice can sometimes occupy a dominant position, becoming an ‘anchoring practice’ and then shaping, influencing, or enabling other social practices. Inspired by Swindler’s notion, Molander similarly argues that some practices are “more central and controlling than other practices” (Molander, 2011, p. 89). Making reference to her empirical example of mothering, she conceptualizes these practices as ‘meta-practices’. In the same trajectory, Shove et al. (2012) also claim that some practices temporarily acquire ‘dominant project’ status, a concept borrowed from Pred (1981), affecting all the other activities around them, e.g. moving to another country or having a baby.

Nevertheless, Schatzki has been particularly careful not to introduce levels into the social world; instead, he promotes a ‘flat ontology’. According to him, social life does not consist of layers or levels, but of a “single plenum of practices and arrangements that varies in the thinness and thickness” (Schatzki, 2015). He claims it is not possible to talk about dualities of micro or macro, global or local; the assemblages of practices and material arrangements²⁷ can only be smaller or larger. He adds that all social phenomena should be seen as “sectors, slices, and aspects of a single plenum of practices and arrangements” (Schatzki, 2016, p. 37). On the other hand, it is also the case that, among the last two generations of practice theory scholars, there has been less of a focus on the role of structures and wider social circumstances in social practices (Warde, 2014). Watson (2017) warns us that “practice theory should be able to account for means of executing power which involve shaping or directing the action of ‘others’” in “enabling one to grasp the different phenomena and relations which shape and influence patterns of action” (Watson, 2017, p. 173).

²⁷ Schatzki defines material arrangements as “linked bodies, organisms, artefacts, and things of nature” (Schatzki, 2016, p. 32), arguing that they also make up bundles together with practices, in turn composing “the sites of the social” (Schatzki, 2016, p. 31).

In this study, I principally follow Schatzki's 'flat ontology': I do not designate a deterministic, essentialist hierarchy between the different social layers, scales, structures. That is to say, I do not presume that any external structure or societal category determines or dictates the practice of shopping. However, the 'flatness of the social world' does not need to lead to neglecting the power relations embedded in the social world, and neither should such an understanding ignore the social stratifications established, accumulated and challenged on the axes of, for instance, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, age, body, health, work, or wealth. Thus, throughout this thesis, I refer to the various power relations entrenched in shopping, just as I acknowledge the role of gender, ethnicity, age or economic class in the organisation of shopping activities on the street. Likewise, I also agree that practice theoretical studies may be able to account for major developments the same way it does for everyday activities (Schatzki, 2019). Without establishing determinative causality in this thesis, I refer to national and transnational developments, legal frameworks, trends, and their entanglement with shopping on Södergatan. Therefore, following Giddens (1979, 1984) and Bourdieu (1979/1984), I recognise that the 'nexus of circumstances' and the wider conjuncture are both enmeshed in and interconnected with social practices. They are always in a state of becoming and are recursively shaped by shopping, along with other social practices. Finally, I also acknowledge that shopping is always bundled with other social practices, and that some of these can acquire a temporary 'dominant' position in the organisation of shoppers' everyday lives, along their life trajectories (cf. Shove et al., 2012).

Enactments of social practices

Another relevant discussion within practice theory is whether or not there is any disparity between a practice, as a notion on a more normative level, and its actual accomplishment in the lived social world. Schatzki claims that; "practice in the sense of do-ing, as a result, actualizes and sustains practices in the sense of nexuses of doings" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 90). Warde clarifies this position by adding that "practices are [...] coordinated entities but also require performance for their existence" (Warde, 2005, p. 134). That is to say, in order for a social practice to continue existing as a notion, it requires being conducted by practitioners (cf. Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Similarly, Shove et al. (2012) argue that; "practices exist as performances. It is through 'performance', through the immediacy of doing, that the 'pattern' provided by the practice-as-an-entity is filled out and reproduced" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 7). Hence, they offer a helical conceptual duality; practice-as-an-entity and practice-as-a-performance. Actualisations of a social practice not only sustain but also slowly alter the practice on the entity level, while practice on the entity level simultaneously informs and influences how the social practice is carried out on the everyday level (see also Shove et al., 2007).

In this work, this dual, double-helical understanding is recognized. That is to say, how shopping is done on Södergatan partially changes what the shopping practice entails for the shoppers on the normative level, while the general understanding of what shopping is and how it should be carried out also informs and influences, simultaneously, the actual shopping activities of the shopping geography. However, inspired by Mol's discussion, I refrain from employing the term 'performance' due to this concept's 'heavy academic baggage' (Mol, 2002, p. 32, 33). The said academic baggage is twofold. First, the Goffmanian, dramaturgical employment of 'performance' implies that there is a frontstage/backstage separation in the social world as regards where and how social practices are 'performed'; thus, what is 'performed' on the frontstage is not supposed to be 'authentic', but part of a social 'play'. Second, there is a more recent and common usage of 'performativity', mostly inspired by Butler's employment of the term in her pioneering discussion about the making of gender and sexes (Butler, 1990), implying recursive, constructive relationships between actions, bodies, and various notions²⁸ and marking the 'performative' effects of human activities changing context. Therefore, instead of 'performing' and 'performance', I use the terms 'enacting' and 'enactment'²⁹ to indicate the actual carrying out of shopping practice in Söder and on Södergatan.

Shopping as a Social Practice

In this study, shopping is analysed as a social practice. Shopping can encompass varied activities, including purchasing but not limited to that (Miller et al., 1988; Gregson et al., 2002b; Fuentes, 2014), e.g. searching, sorting, and selecting. It is often bundled with other social activities like socializing, caring, parenting, walking, eating and cooking. It is also interconnected with shoppers' life trajectories; e.g. being a mother, coming from another country, being a pensioner, with all of these influencing how a shopper does his/her shopping (cf. Burningham et al., 2014). There are legal frameworks that influence shopping, but it is also possible to mention regulations and conventions that concern how shopping should and could be enacted. Shoppers require specific competences to be able to shop, e.g. understanding the quality of a textile, making sense of labels, or having the practical knowledge to cook a meal using certain groceries. Aims, intentions, emotions and feelings also configure shopping; for instance, one might seek a unique present for a friend in order to express love, or habitually pick one's favourite bread while

²⁸ For another influential employment of the term 'performativity', in the making of markets, see Callon (Ed.), 1998.

²⁹ See Halkier, 2010 and Keller & Halkier, 2014, as well as Östrup-Backe, 2020, for examples of practice theoretical studies where the term 'enactment' is employed.

talking on the phone. Taken together, the above relations and activities qualify shopping as a social practice³⁰.

Practice theory does not accommodate the notion of the sovereign shopper, and neither does it succumb to deterministic accounts (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Evans, 2018). Since practice theory underlines, as noted, the organisational significance of practices as social units, in comparison with individualistic, or structuralist theories (Jarzabkowski & Spee, 2009). First of all, practice theory conveys the fact that the same shopper can engage in different, or even conflicting, ways of shopping, depending on how this shopping is organized and situated. It means that social practices are para- and supra-individual; they ‘recruit’ and bring together different practitioners with various life trajectories (Shove et al., 2012). In this regard, practice theory possesses an anti-essentialist understanding of human beings (Bourdieu, 1980/1990; Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002) and thus presumes that taking individuals, personalities, groups or identities as starting points for analysis, as if these were coherent, static, isolated entities, would be deceptive³¹. Moreover, as pointed out, practice theory advocates a flat ontology (Schatzki, 2016), which leads to the idea that shopping, as a social practice, occurs on the same level as other social phenomena, including larger ones, yet actively entangled with them. Thus, similarly, practice theory cannot accommodate the notion of determinative structures hanging over social practices either, dictating how shopping would be enacted³².

³⁰ Warde also confirms that; “[s]hopping [...] is an integrated practice, with understandings, know-how and teleoaffective structures. People say they like or hate shopping (and those of the latter disposition often take steps to avoid it)” (2005, p. 150).

³¹ The absolute majority of the literature on shopping, taking its cues from assumptions made in neo-classical economic theory, presumes that shoppers are calculative, rational and anonymous individuals who make purchasing decisions on the crossroads of pros and cons, e.g. costs, benefits, distance, assortment, and accessibility (Fuentes & Hagberg, 2013). They are designed to find out which factors weigh more, both positively and negatively, for shoppers. Some studies also divide shoppers into categories based on age, gender, place of residence, income, mobility, or place of residence, comparing these groups’ distinct rationalities regarding their decision-making processes (Dawson, 1980/2013). Another variant, on the other hand, taking its inspiration from epistemological inspirations provided by theories formulated in behavioural psychology, highlights instead the presumed characteristics of shoppers, classifying them using personality traits, e.g. altruistic, utilitarian, neurotic, apathetic, adventurous, extravert, or open, or using buying motivations, e.g. hedonic or utilitarian (for a critical review, see Hewer & Campbell, 1997; Gregson et al., 2002b). They all examine shoppers as coherent agents, as confined within static categories, and as if they were immune to their social, cultural or circumstantial surroundings (Everts & Jackson, 2009; Warde, 2014).

³² One common stream of literature understands shopping as the direct manifestation and product of different historical or structural conditions (Jackson, 1999). An early example of this literature would be the classical texts of Veblen (1899/2007) and Simmel (1904/1957), which investigate shopping as reproductions and sociocultural manifestations of rigid economic class structures, using the concept of conspicuous consumption, and so-called trickle-down theory. They depart from the assumption that the lower classes imitate the upper classes through shopping and

In the light of the above discussion, and when applying the modified definition of social practice to shopping, I understand shopping practice to be a *set of activities which might lead to the acquisition of services and goods, linked by rules, competences, and teleoaffectivities*.

Mode of shopping

Another issue relevant to this project is being able to make meaningful generalisations of the empirical data from a practice theoretical perspective (cf. Halkier, 2011). To that end, I make use of the concept of ‘mode of practice’, which suggests a distinct way of enacting a social practice, in Certeau’s (1980/1984) words ‘a way of operating’.

Although some scholars analyse and differentiate between the modes of a practice, there has not been much discussion hitherto regarding how to formulate, and on what grounds, distinct ways of practice enactment as the ‘modes of a social practice’, or what exactly this conceptualisation entails. Hand and Shove (2007), for instance, identify major ways of using freezers in the organisation of the everyday lives of households as a way of analysing their empirical material. A more detailed discussion was conducted by Halkier and Jensen (2011) (see also Halkier, 2011) in their research on the ‘healthier’ food consumption practices of Pakistani-Danes: They define different ‘types’ of the enactment of the practice emerging as recurrent patterns in their interview data. These are framed as ‘ideal typologies’: However, unlike mainstream ‘consumer research’, these typologies are not based on shopper traits but on ideal “ways of doing healthier food consumption” (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, p. 115), or in other words “varieties of ways of practicing something (Halkier, 2011, p. 790).

There have been multiple studies specifically employing the term ‘mode of shopping’, albeit not always from a practice theoretical perspective³³. These studies

consumption, in turn motivating the upper classes to come up with novelties. A later body of literature, mostly associated with the Frankfurt School, investigates the influences of media institutions and advertising on shoppers, i.e. how capitalism manipulates people into buying goods via popular cultural medial productions (Jackson & Thrift, 1995). A more recent example of this structuralist perspective would be some of the scholarly works criticizing the ‘consumer society’ (Miller et al., 2001). These works, often by means of making use of the concepts of ‘hyperreality’ and ‘spectacle’, claim that post-modernism and the neo-liberal global market economy seduce shoppers into consuming and purchasing more than they need by offering illusory promises of satisfaction (Gregson et al., 2002b; Miller et al., 1998). The above-mentioned works represent the opposite end of the agency–structure spectrum, where shoppers are perceived as passive recipients of manipulations and/or the victims of overarching social and economic structures (Røpke, 2009).

³³ Gregson, Crewe and Brooks (2002b) define ‘charity shopping’ as a ‘mode of shopping’. Another example, Fuentes and Svingstedt (2017), formulates ‘mobile shopping’ as a ‘mode of shopping’, pointing to how smartphones have radically altered the configuration and enactment of the practice. Similarly, Burningham et al. (2014) give examples of ‘online shopping’ and ‘offline shopping’ as modes of shopping. Focusing on ‘high street shopping’, ‘supermarket bulk shopping’, and ‘online

illustrate the fact that the concept has analytical applicability, and it can breakdown empirical data into meaningful parts. In this study, as the basic analytical unit, I formulate a mode of shopping as a distinct way of enacting shopping, which is distinguished through how enactment of the social practice is organized, in regards to set of activities it brings together, and how these activities are linked through rules, competences and teleoaffectivities.

Placing Shopping

How does practice theory approach the notion of place? In which ways are social practices interlinked with places?

The concept of ‘place’ is particularly present in the works of first generation practice theorists. However, the importance attributed to ‘place’ has gradually diminished among practice theoretical accounts³⁴; instead, the dimension of spatiality has partially taken over, albeit with generally a weaker emphasis (Evans, 2020a). In the first generation, Certeau states that what makes a ‘place’ is the order within it, referring to the coexistence of things and humans in relation to each other. On the

shopping’, Cass et al., (2017) state that “different methods of organising buying and selling combine to form what we describe as ‘modes’ of shopping, each of which has distinctive spatial and temporal qualities” (Cass et al., 2017, p. 2). Spitzkat and Fuentes (2019) take the concept further away from retail sale channels and formats. In their study of shopping activities in pop-up stores, they define ‘frenzy shopping’ as a distinct mode of shopping “in which shoppers, temporarily, suspend the rules governing their daily and more ordinary shopping, engaging instead in a form of wild, partly disorderly shopping practice connected with strong emotions” (Spitzkat & Fuentes, 2019, p. 203). Lastly, highlighting the role of materiality in absentia, Fuentes et al. (2019) designate ‘package free shopping’ as a distinct mode of shopping. In addition, Parzer and Astleithner’s (2018) five consumption types, based on meanings attributed by shoppers to their grocery shopping in ‘immigrant’ stores, i.e. ‘consuming nostalgia’, ‘consuming patronage’, ‘consuming change’, ‘consuming alterity’, and ‘consuming diversity’, are similar to how the ‘mode of shopping’ concept is applied.

³⁴ The depopularization of ‘place’ in practice theory is in line with the general trend in the social sciences occurring after the 1990s. Now that the static and rather romantic understanding of ‘place’, developed in classical humanistic geography texts, has been challenged, the difference between the concepts of space and place has become less apparent; gradually, many scholars have started solely using the term ‘space’ or ‘spatiality’ at the expense of ‘place’, or have alternatively started employing other terms such as territory, zone, landscape, topology, and site. This conceptual shift is also linked to the ‘time-space compression’ argument, according to which the globalisation process erodes places while favouring ‘time’ (cf. Castells, 1996; Harvey, 1989; even Giddens, 1995); it is also linked to digitalisation with the claim “the new economy operates in a ‘space’ rather than a place” (Kelly, 1998, p. 94 in Jessop, 2000, p. 68; see also Graham, 1998 for a review). These positions in particular are challenged by feminist and post-colonial perspectives. For instance, Massey (1993) reminds us of the multiple, heterogeneous, and uneven relationships that humans establish with contemporary places, coined as ‘a global sense of place’, exemplified through the experiences of the oppressed and disadvantaged in the current globalisation and digitalisation era, particularly women, migrants, the poor, and people of colour.

other hand, according to him, 'space' happens only in a vectored manner; with the vectors of direction, velocity and time; "space is a practiced place" (Certeau 1980/1984, p. 117), at odds with the common dual theorisation of space as an abstraction, and place as situatedness (Creswell, 2002). For him, place is the product of a 'strategy', representing the bird's eye 'vision' of the power holders and planners, while space is produced using the 'tactics' of 'everyday heroes' at ground level; by the 'art of the weak' (Certeau, 1980/1984). Instead of 'place', Giddens often employs the concept of 'locale', defining it as "the use of space to provide the settings of interaction" (Giddens, 1984, p. 118). According to him, locales are essential to specifying social practices' contextuality, providing the fixation of material, artefacts, and human dwelling, e.g. a room in a house, a street corner, a factory, a city, or nation states (Giddens, 1985). The divisions, or scales, among the 'locales' are achieved via, using Giddens' terms, 'regionalisation', which "should be understood not merely as localisation in space but as referring to the zoning of time-space in relation to routinized social practices" (Giddens, 1984, p. 119). In that sense, and in addition to social practices and spatiality, he also underlines the roles of materiality and temporality in the configuration of places. It is an understanding similar to how Schatzki defines 'activity-space-places', which are a "matrix of places and paths where activities are performed" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 43). Schatzki also links 'activity-space-places' to the notion of the 'site':

A site is, first, the location where something is or takes place. Something's spatial site, for instance, is its location in space. It is where in space it is or occurs and can, thus, be found. The spatial site of an activity, for instance, is where in physical, activity, or activity-place-space it is located. Location, however, is not a spatial matter alone. (Schatzki, 2002, p. 64)

Among third generation scholars, Everts et al. also underline the recursive relationship between 'place', activities, and material arrangements, by stating that "places only exist within and through activities that arrange surrounding entities and meanings. On the other hand, activities occur amidst these arrangements" (Everts et al., 2011, p. 327). Similarly, Pink (2012) links social practices and places, in particular to emphasize the fact that practices cannot be understood "in isolation from the wider environments of which they are a part" (Pink, 2012, p. 3). Thus, inspired by Ingold's account (2008), she points out that place is an abstract notion beyond mere physically bounded 'locality', continuously being produced by movement and the entanglement of humans and materiality (see also Pink et al., 2013). She underlines the fact that social practices are both part and constituents of places (Pink, 2012, pp. 26-28). Simonsen, too, promotes a similar understanding of place; she sees it as the 'locus of encounters' of various sorts, stating that "a place can be seen as a specific articulation of social practices, social relations and materiality as well as experiences, narratives and symbolic meanings of the place held by its different users" (Simonsen, 2008, p. 16). Both Pink and Simonsen add

the sensorial dimension to the discussion regarding the relationship between social practices and the notion of place.

This dynamic formulation of 'place' is not peculiar to the practice theory literature. There have been many attempts to develop a more fluid understanding and formulation of place, particularly linking the notion to human activities and self (Schatzki, 2001c). For instance, Seamon argues (Seamon, 1979; Seamon & Nordin, 1980) that humans merge their 'body ballets' (routinized activities) and 'time-space routines' (longer regular daily movements) with the physical environment, creating a 'place ballet' which "is an environmental synergy that people unknowingly create" (Seamon & Nordin, 1980, p. 40). Another example, Pred (1983, 1984), combining Giddens' structuration theory (1984) with Hägerstrand's time geography (1975), and engaging with Williams' (1960) concept of 'structure of feeling'³⁵, formulates a dynamic relationship between the place, senses, and power-bound individual and institutional practices "occurring at specific temporal and spatial locations", while transforming the physical environment (Pred, 1985, p. 339). He opposes the notion of place being a scene, a setting for activity, i.e. 'an object for the subject', positing that place is a historically contingent process and eventually a human product (Pred, 1985). Similarly, Casey (2001) argues that self and place co-constitute each other via *habitus*, employing Bourdieu's concept. Feminist geographers, on the other hand, underline the progressive, heterogeneous, plural, open, dynamic features of places. For instance, Massey describes 'place' as an event, as the 'throwntogetherness' of different interrelationships of sociality and materiality, thus effectively positioning her understanding in opposition to the previous classical formulations of place, which were based on rootedness, authenticity, stasis, and essentiality (Massey, 2005). According to her, "places are always hybrid" (Massey, 1995, p. 183), and temporary: "[p]laces as depicted on maps are places caught in a moment; they are slices through time" (Massey, 1995, p. 188). Gregson et al. (2002b) apply this perspective to shopping geographies, underlining the fact that shopping places are made, orchestrated using human action. In the Swedish context, Högdahl (2003) illustrates how the plurality of bodies, activities and narrations find loopholes in the 'strategic' construction of places, making streets from below using their 'tactics', referring to Certeau's framework. Ingold's formulation of place, as becoming entities, bears similarities with the feminist geographers' intervention:

Places are formed through movement, when a movement along turns into a movement around, precisely as happened in our initial experiment of drawing a circle. Such movement around is place-binding, but it is not place-bound. There could be no places were it not for the comings and goings of human beings and other organisms to and from them, from and to places elsewhere. Places, then, do not so

³⁵ It can be simplified as the historically-, spatially- and socially-contextualized and accumulated feeling experienced by an individual or community.

much exist as *occur*, they are topics rather than objects, stations along ways of life. Instead of saying that living beings exist in places, I would thus prefer to say that places occur along the life paths of beings (Ingold, 2008, p. 1808).

The recently developed ‘relational’ perspective on place is also relevant to this discussion. Through the ‘relational place’ concept, just as in the above-mentioned literature, the classical duality of space, as a scalar distance and a container of human activity and place as fixed, a bordered locality where human activity ‘takes place’, is challenged, with both being formulated as relational, and becoming (Ek, 2011). In particular, in acknowledging the increasing movement, flow, fluidity, connections, and circulation of the contemporary ‘globalized’ social world (Amin, 2002; Jones, 2009), place is seen as a process: It is emergent, becoming, always in the making (Doel, 2000). Hence, the notion of place (and space) is taken as a verb; “there is no space, only spacing, no place, only placing” (Ek, 2011, p. 42). Relational place “can only be a place of socio-spatial becoming. This is because relational place is a product of relations, interactive practices and performances” (Ek, 2011, p. 42). In this ‘relationalist’ understanding, place is always heterotopic (Amin, 2002); it is always interconnected with and overlaps somewhere else. It “depends upon conceiving the world as associational” (Thrift, 1999, p. 317). Hence, this literature urges us to “begin to think of places in nonterritorial terms, as nodes in relational settings, and as a site of situated practices (of presence and absence)” (Amin, 2002, p. 391).

In this dissertation, informed by the above-reviewed literature, I acknowledge that places are relational, dynamic, open, multiple, plural, and that they have a recursively constructive interrelationship with social practices in the social world. Thus, places are always fluid and becoming, relational and ‘throwntogether’: They occur as nexuses of movement, paths, events and actions, and their stability is only transitory. Being specific, and leaning on the practice theoretical tradition in particular, I do not understand the notion of ‘place’ purely in relation to, or in comparison with, ‘space’. As pointed out above, “location [...] is not a spatial matter alone” (Schatzki, 2002, p. 64). In this study, I particularly attend to the constructive interrelationship between social practices and places, and I formulate this interrelationship using a tetradic scheme: They are dynamically interlinked to each other via the dimensions of sensoriality, materiality, spatiality and temporality.

Interrelating Shopping and Place

The dimensions of materiality, sensoriality, spatiality, and temporality are highlighted in this work as the co-constitutive links between social practices and places. These dimensions also make up the main themes of the discussion chapters, where shopping interrelated to the street is further elaborated upon.

How are materiality, sensoriality, spatiality, and temporality discussed in practice theory? What are their relationships with social practices? Is there any other literature that would be of help?

The materiality of shopping

Materiality is one of the fundamental concepts of the social sciences, even if it was overlooked and underdeveloped over a long period (Schatzki, 2010, 2019). According to Schatzki, this neglect stemmed from ontological assumptions which disconnected culture from nature; human practices from the environment (see also Latour, 2005a). It is possible to make a similar claim for the first generation of the scholars of practice theory, although Bourdieu highlights the embodied character of social practices and pays attention to the material constructions of settings for social practices. In the second generation, Schatzki (2010, 2019) provides detailed discussion of the dimension of materiality, of its arrangement and bundling with social practices to create constellations, while Reckwitz (2002) highlights the importance of ‘things’. The third generation of practice theory scholars have often adopted what has been termed a ‘sociomaterial’ perspective. For instance, Shove et al. (2012) integrate materiality, “objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself” (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23), as one of three ‘elements’ configuring social practices, in addition to meanings and competences, as mentioned earlier.

In this study, similar to more recent formulations³⁶, a broader understanding of materiality is adopted, one which reaches beyond stuff that solely seems tangible, e.g. objects, tools, artefacts, or devices. The concept also encompasses, for instance, atmosphere, earth, water, sunlight, electricity, viruses and human bodies. Thus, according to this conceptualisation, all human action is inherently material, and thus so is shopping; materialities form, surround and penetrate shopping, just like any other social practice.

Ingold (2007b), borrowing the framework from Gibson (1979/2014, pp. 12-27), argues that materials are substance, surface and medium to the social world, all at

³⁶ Until recently, the notion of materiality was discussed and analysed in rather abstract terms in the social sciences, often in conceptual opposition to what is accepted as social, i.e. the ideational or mental. Materiality was often reduced to tangible stuff and used interchangeably with matter, artefacts, things, objects, devices, tools, and sometimes plants and animals. However, Ingold urges scholars to go beyond these abstractions, to acknowledge and engage actual materials, and to “take materials seriously” (Ingold, 2007b, p. 14). Similarly, Schatzki (2010) defines materiality as biological, physical, chemical compositions; these are, for instance, “human bodies, bacteria, rocks, pencils, software programs, computer processors, buildings, air, pools of water, water currents, electrical currents, wind, sunlight, and the atmosphere” (Schatzki, 2019, pp. 52-53). Similarly, as the pioneer of ‘new materialism’, Bennett makes it clear that a human is “a material configuration, the pigeons in the park are material compositions, the viruses, parasites, and heavy metals in my flesh and in pigeon flesh are materialities, as are neurochemicals, hurricane winds, E. coli, and the dust on the floor” (Bennett, 2010, p. 112). She specifically emphasizes that our bodies and surroundings are made up of millions of living and non-living but ‘vibrant materialities’.

the same time. Inspired by Ingold's and Gibson's accounts, and in an abductive dialogue with the fieldwork and analysis processes, I acknowledge that shopping is enacted *on*, *through*, *in*, and *with* materialities, which are formulated as four directions of interrelationships between shopping (or social practices) and materialities. *Onness* indicates that materialities provide surfaces, barriers and openings to shopping at the research site, e.g. pavements, store floors, tables, trays, shopping trolleys, show windows, or doors. *Throughness* describes how various materialities, e.g. light and air, enable and constrain movement, and how it also allows sensory perceptions while enacting shopping. In addition, 'throughness' also indicates how goods, store decorations, and the material environment of the street become media in the creation of social bonds and symbolic communication. *Inness*, on the other hand, is about how material arrangements form closures and surround shopping, often with a specific 'sense of place' and 'atmosphere', as is the case inside a homely store, or at a semi-chaotic street market. Lastly, *withness* signifies how certain materialities are utilized to enact shopping, taking the form of 'shopping devices', examples include the use of shopping bags, credit cards, or shopping lists. These 'directions of interrelationships' are detailed in Chapter 10.

Whether or not materialities have 'agency', in the context of making an impact on shopping and other social practices, is another significant discussion. This aspect in particular is brought up by scholars of actor network theory (cf. Latour, 1996, 2005a; Law, 2008, 2010; Mol, 2002), where it is argued that materiality, as 'missing masses of social world' (Latour, 1992), and its agency, should be acknowledged and studied symmetrically together with humans, as actants/actors in a network of associations. In particular, the importance and organizing capacity of devices and tools, in the social world, are elaborated upon in this literature. Most practice theory scholars have also acknowledged that materiality is dynamic and has affordances³⁷; i.e. it does things. However, this does not necessarily mean that materialities³⁸ have

³⁷ 'Affordance' can be understood as the inducement and enablement of material arrangements, as informed by Gibson's 'theory of affordances' (Gibson, 1979/2014, pp. 119-135).

³⁸ On a similar note, it has been discussed whether or not social practices can be enacted by (non-human) animals, things or robots. This is rather a speculative debate since social practice is a concept that has emerged from the understanding and analysis of human social togetherness; in this sense, the term has a direct human association (Schatzki, 2019). Therefore, looking for social practices among animals, things or robots means, by definition, studying whether or not they have human-like social practices, which would entail an ontological limitation. On the other hand, one might expect, at least, that all complex social animals would enact some kind of social practice (Schatzki, 2010, 2019). Despite this, it would be challenging, if not impossible, to 'translate' these socio-animal practices into human understandings and lingos (Arcari, 2018). That said, I would like to let this matter rest by pointing out that the social practice this book addresses is shopping; it is obviously a social practice exclusively enacted by humans (although sometimes in negotiation with companion species). Even in the recent phenomenon of the 'Internet of things', when a high-tech fridge orders goods, shopping would still not be enacted, rather the activities of ordering or

agency intrinsically: “It is not that they have agency; they are agency. The wind [...] is its blowing, not a thing that blows” (Ingold, 2007b, p. 31). Nonetheless, the same wind would be distributed agency when intertwined with, let us say, shopping in Söder on a stormy day. Once social practices are accepted as the elementary unit of organisation of the social world, and not individuals, then the agency should be attributed to social practices, not just to humans, despite the fact that humans enact social practices. Hence, agency is distributed among all of the dimensions and links that configure social practices (cf. Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Gell, 1998, also Giddens, 1984). This means that the various forms of materiality which are entangled with shopping are also distributed agency as regards how shopping is organized. Therefore, I acknowledge that materialities have the capacity to shape the enactments of shopping, while simultaneously being co-constituted by them.

The sensoriality of shopping

‘Sense’ or ‘sensoriality’ are not commonly used terms in the practice theory literature (Maller, 2016), although this quality has even been acknowledged by Bourdieu in his earlier works. On the other hand, feelings and emotions are integrated into social practices by Schatzki (1996) via the concept of *teleoaffectivity*. Reckwitz (2012, 2016), too, has highlighted the role of emotions in the making of social practices and there is a growing level of interest in discussing emotions, senses, and affects from a practice theory perspective (e.g. Everts et al., 2011; Simonsen, 2007; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016; Wetherell, 2012). However, as Reckwitz (2016) points out, compared to the number of academic works produced over the last two decades in the social sciences regarding these aspects, the body of work in practice theory discussing affects and senses is modest (also see Bille & Simonsen, 2021). In addition, in the practice theory literature, affects and senses are generally not examined in the context of relations with the human environment, but mostly as an organizing linkage of social practices (Reckwitz, 2016).

I use the term ‘sense’, despite the more common employment of ‘affect’ in the recent literature, in order to encourage a wider theoretical dialogue with a number of bodies of literature developed outside of practice theory, and I recognise the importance of the shopper’s body. ‘Sense’ can be understood as “oriented displacement, voyage, tending toward” (Nancy, 1993/1997, p. 12). Thus, it can be said that the notion of ‘sense’ is generally about humans’ perception and orientation, and their understanding of both their environment and themselves through their bodies and minds (Ingold, 2000; Pink et al., 2013). It designates the rather complex process of ‘making sense’ of materialities, which is accomplished through interconnected sensorial engagements (Ingold, 2000; Pink, 2004a, 2012).

purchasing. That is to say, actions would be acted upon, and not a social practice in the same sense as it is formulated and analysed in this work.

The term ‘sense’ is also used to underline the emotions, feelings, and meanings produced by and about places, as it is promoted by the literature developed around the notion of ‘sense of place’ (cf. Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). In this literature, ‘sense of place’ might imply both having a good ‘sense of place’, based on accumulated knowledge or experience regarding a certain place or places, but also on place identification and personal or collective attachments to places (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Seamon, 2013). A related conception is ‘spirit of a place’, in the Latin *genius loci*, which indicates strong and historically-accumulated place-specific affordances, commonly ascribed to sacred places (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Williams, 2014).

Lastly, the notion of ‘sense’ is also linked to ‘atmospheres’ (Böhme, 1993). A certain place, in its material and sensorial totality, can gain a certain affective capacity by having specific ‘atmospheres’, which can affect human action and mood (Anderson, 2009; Healy, 2014; Rose et al., 2010). Reversedly, human actions are also responsible for the co-creation and maintenance of these ‘atmospheric’ affordances of places (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; Duff, 2010; Pink et al., 2015). Atmospheres also include a material dimension, “the material configurations of atmospheres are a key part of how they are constituted and made sense of” (Sumarto & Pink, 2019, p. 17). Atmospheres can be both comprehensive and situated, and function as the material medium wherein human action takes places (Sumarto & Pink, 2019). This also comprises manipulated and built architectures, which aspire to interfere in how sensorial connectivities are established (Anderson, 2009; Bille, 2015; Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018). Although the concept of ‘atmosphere’ has been used in the social sciences for a longer period of time³⁹, it is particularly developed and elaborated upon within the ‘affective turn’, a recent interdisciplinary literature (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Clough, 2008; Hardt, 2007; Koivunen, 2001). Highlighting the aspects of feelings, emotions and senses (Navaro-Yashin, 2009; Thrift, 2004, 2008), this turn’s basic premise is that feelings, senses, and emotions are significant in the experiencing, understanding, and constituting of the social world (Pile, 2010; Thien, 2005)⁴⁰.

In sum, the sensorialities embedded in the research site are cardinal as regards how shopping is enacted there, providing certain atmospheres, senses of place, moods,

³⁹ For instance, atmosphere (and atmospherics) is a concept that has been used in the retail literature since the 1970s, mostly from an environmental psychology perspective, when studying, for instance, how music, décor, layout, odour, temperature, and signage ‘stimulate’ shop workers and shoppers (cf. Kotler, 1973; Donovan & Rossiter, 1982; Bitner, 1992).

⁴⁰ In this literature, generally speaking, ‘affect’ is employed as an umbrella term, on the analytical level, as trans-human and pre-subjective, while feelings and emotions are conceived of as its products, or its singularities, concrete and subjective framings of ‘affect’ (Anderson, 2006, 2009, see also Bille & Simonsen, 2021). ‘Affect’ is accepted as corporeal thinking, an embodiment of intelligence (Kern, 2012; Thrift, 2004; Roelvink & Zolkos, 2015). In amalgamating the ‘affective’ perspective with place and space, additional concepts have been highlighted, which include ‘atmosphere’, as well as ‘aura’, ‘aesthetics’ and ‘ambience’ (cf. Urry et al., 2016).

being a dynamic emotional landscape to navigate within. The enactments of shopping also co-constitute the sensoriality of the local shopping street through the shoppers' polyrhythmic locomotion, their diverse bodies, clothes, voices, smells, actions and interactions.

Sensomateriality

Juxtaposing the notion of 'sensoriality' with 'materiality', it would be possible to give the concept of 'sensoriality' a situated and embodied quality (see Ingold, 2015 for such a critique), while simultaneously acknowledging the affordances of materialities more prominently. In other words, by bringing sensoriality and materiality together, and proposing the concept of *sensomateriality*, I aspire to emphasize that 'senses', 'affects', 'emotions' and 'feelings', as well as the notion of 'sense of a place', are not external to materialities. Specifically, while enacting social practices, humans can only sense and make sense of materialities by interacting 'with', 'through', 'in' and 'on' these. Thus, sensoriality and materiality are intertwined and sustained as a result of dynamic and continuous interplay and engagement in the social world (Pink, 2012). However, this does not mean that there is no materiality beyond human influence. Materialities have distinct properties, dynamism, flow and different forms of composition; they engage with each other regardless of human interference (Harman, 2018; Schatzki, 2019). Yet, in the social world, there are only sensomaterialities. In this sense, the term also communicates with a recent stream of practice theory, which highlights the togetherness of social practices and materiality using the notion of 'sociomateriality' (cf. Fuentes, 2015; Gherardi, 2016). What is framed as sociomaterial is essentially also sensomaterial.

By employing the concept of 'sensomateriality' in the analysis and discussion chapters, it became possible to detail and exemplify the co-constitutive relationship that exists between modes of shopping and place, in particular between shopping and Södergatan. The materialities of the local street are entangled with and enable shopping through senses, feelings, emotions, and appreciation. They are transformed to sensomaterialities once linked to shopping on Södergatan and in Söder.

The temporality of shopping

All three generations of practice theory scholars take the notion of 'time' seriously, often discussing it in relation to social practices. Bourdieu mentions that the same social practice, for instance gifting, can acquire distinct meanings at different times (Bourdieu, 1972/1977). He also links social practices to collective rhythms; moreover, he also acknowledges that the past cannot be extracted from the present. He uses the term 'conjuncture' to underline how the present is produced by bringing together different practices and temporalities. In addition, he also points out that understanding temporality is socioculturally bounded, giving an example from his

research among the Kabylia (local tribes) in Algeria, according to whom days start in the evening and years start in the autumn, while night-time and daytime have sharp moral implications. Giddens, on the other hand, makes a distinction between reversible and irreversible time; the former refers to the recurrent, routinized activities of day-to-day life, while the latter refers, for instance, to the lifespan of the individual, which is finite (Giddens, 1984). He incorporates the theories of Hägerstrand (1975), regarding ‘time-geography’, and points out that human movement is determined by corporeal capacities, and by institutional temporal constraints⁴¹ (Giddens, 1985). As such, time is a scarce resource in the lifespan of humans; since all practices have a duration, time puts a limit on the number of tasks that humans can take part in during their lives, but also at certain moments. He also underlines that all shifts in ‘space’ are also made in ‘time’, connecting the two concepts (Giddens, 1984, 1985). For Certeau, particularly, the concept of memory is important. He also asserts that “there is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence, spirits one can invoke or not” (Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 108). Schatzki formulates two kinds of temporalities, objective and social. Taking inspiration from Heidegger’s work (1927/1962), he points out that “objective time is succession” (Schatzki, 2010, p. 26), while social temporality is not: “the existential past, present, and future occur together at once [...] at a single stroke” (Schatzki, 2010, pp. 26-27). In Schatzki’s ‘practice plenum’, past, present and future are not discrete successive entities: “a person, when acting, falls into the world stretching out between that toward which she is coming and that from which she is departing. This falling-stretching out is the opening up of the past, present, and future of activity” (Schatzki, 2010, pp. 28, 29; see also Welch et al., 2020). In the third generation, Shove claims that one should focus on “patterns of temporality as they emerge from the dynamic coordination of complex systems of practice” (Shove, 2009, p. 18). An example she gives is making phone calls, which is bound to temporality from different angles: How often and how long people make phone calls for depends on the cyclical times of weekends or seasons of the year. This is also historical because it requires continuous technological inventions. The same act of making a phone call means different things at different times; e.g. calling at 3 am is often accompanied by an alarming situation. She also explains that some activities have determined sequences; one needs to prepare vegetables before cooking them, not vice versa. In addition, Shove also highlights that different activities need to compete for the same time interval, e.g. after-work activities, and these are often bundled with each other. Furthermore, using the example of doing laundry, she points out that some practices occupy a temporary, central role in arranging people’s everyday schedules. Similarly, Southerton (2006), borrowing a framework from Fine (1996), in addition to attributing temporal capacities and limitations to ‘social

⁴¹ For a critique of Giddens’ appropriation of the time-geography perspective into his structuration theory, i.e. that it largely ignores subjective positions and engagements, see Gregson, 1986.

categories' of gender, age, and state during a life-course, specifies five qualities of time, periodicity (rhythm), tempo (speed), synchronisation, duration, and sequence.

Shopping, temporality and place have a multifaceted relationship. Analytically, I recognized and employed two main directions of social temporality in this study, 'progressive' and 'recursive'. Progressive temporality refers to the entanglement of past, present and future, while recursive temporality signifies the recurrent rhythms of the social world. I further discuss both understandings of temporalities and how they interrelate shopping with the street in Chapter 10 using the metaphors of 'verticality' and 'circularity'.

In progressive temporality, pasts and futures are brought to the present using personal and collective memories, layers of historically accumulated sensomaterial heritages and ruins, personal and collective future projections (Schatzki, 2010; see also Welch et al., 2020)⁴². To clarify this position using an analogy: At any one given moment, the stars and planets we can see in the sky during the night-time are actually an assemblage of thousands of radically different temporalities in the universe brought to us by separate movements of light from various distances, thus pasts. Hence, at any one given moment during a shopping trip to Södergatan, the pavement, shopping bags, store, credit card etc., all come from distinct temporalities, meeting and intermingling in the shopper's present. Similarly, a shopper always comes from multiple pasts and leans towards countless futures; both immediate and distant, collective and individual. It is not possible to fully comprehend present enactments of social practices without acknowledging the past and the future that are *in* the present, and the past and the future that are *for* the present. Present is, in that sense, conjunctural, it merges together countless presents, pasts, and futures (Bourdieu, 1972/1977).

In terms of recursive temporality, rhythms, including institutional and recurrent temporalities of work, education, childcare, and transportation, are all outcomes of how social practices are organized (Giddens, 1984). In addition, a social practice can sometimes organize other social practices around itself, creating a specific rhythm (Shove, 2009; Shove et al., 2012; Southerton, 2006; Swidler, 2001). Furthermore, the movement cycles of the Earth and the Moon affect social practices directly, including shopping, by enabling and constraining activities of resting, working, eating, and by creating days, nights, seasons, years and by inspiring the notions of hours, weeks, weekends, months, holidays and 'holy' days. On the bodily level, our metabolic rhythms, e.g. sleeping, walking, talking and breathing also provide a sense of time that is specific to humans, and they determine our capacities. Aging, on the other hand, is both progressive, in the sense that it spans between birth

⁴² For a similar temporal deconstruction of 'present', see Latour, 2005a, pp. 200-201. Latour clarifies that no interactions are 'isotopic', they all assemblage different places, nor are any actions 'synchronic', they all bring together distinct pasts.

and death, and circular, in the sense that it moves humanity through generational lifecycles consisting of childhood, youth, adulthood, and elderliness (e.g. earth to earth, ashes to ashes, see Falk, 1988, p. 379). These generational states have clear implications for which social practices are enacted, and how, as well as for shopping on Södergatan.

Shopping enactments, thus, are interrelated with Södergatan through multiple recursive and progressive temporalities; the moments spent shopping amalgamate shoppers' backgrounds, past memories, accumulated competences, the histomaterial layers of the local street's architecture, as well as daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal and annual rhythms of activities, weather, temperature, and sunlight.

The spatiality of shopping

Although many scholars of practice theory have engaged with the notion of spatiality in their works (e.g. Giddens, 1985; Hannah, 2019; Schatzki, 2002), it can be claimed that 'space' is a relatively under-discussed topic in practice theory (Everts et al., 2011). However, Schatzki in particular, makes it clear that all social practices are "inherently spatial phenomena. Moreover, the spaces pertinent to social life are ever increasingly the product of practices. The social practices that make spaces themselves are and have spaces" (Schatzki, 2015, p. 1). Social space, according to him, "devolves from human activities and the ends these activities pursue" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 31). Humans, constitute social spaces by their interwoven practices and life trajectories, bundling with material arrangements (Schatzki, 2002).

First of all, I acknowledge that spatialities of shopping are multiple, open, dynamic, and uneven, and inspired particularly by the feminist geography literature. This study also rejects the traditional approaches based on the Universalist and metric understanding of space (Rose, 1993), where time is often "the dimension of the emergence of novelty, while space is the realm of fixity" (Massey, 1999, p. 282). For instance, argues Rose (1993), feminist epistemology's starting point is relationality, which invites plurality and contextualisation in terms of experiencing, understanding and knowing spaces. Inspired by Butler's framing of gender as a doing (Butler, 1990), she also clarifies the fact that "space is a doing, that it does not pre-exist its doing, that its doing is the articulation of relational performances. [...] space is practiced" (Rose, 1999, p. 248). Massey (1993, 1995, 2005), likewise, advocates an interrelational, heterogeneous, multiple, lived, complex, mobile, political, and fluid understanding of space, similar to her formulation of place. She also points out that space is "the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity" (Massey, 1999, p. 279).

Associations with different kinds of materialities are also decisive as regards how spatialities are shaped and produced (Schatzki, 2002). In particular, the actor network theory approach formulates space as a relative phenomenon, not fixed and absolute in any terms (Murdoch, 1998, p. 357): It is a transitory outcome of inter-negotiations between humans and non-humans, which is bound to particular processes of time-space constitutions (Allen, 2011; Kärholm, 2012). This literature also reminds us that “space is made. It is a creation. It is a material outcome. Like objects, places, or obligatory points of passage it is an effect. It does not exist outside its performance” (Law & Hetherington, 2000, p. 43). Law and Mol (2001), using the notion of the ‘network space’, underline the active work and relationships required for a spatial configuration to emerge and sustain, including material elements. A building, for instance, despite its seemingly idle state, is a site of counterforces and processes, e.g. wear and tear. As these scholars put it, “spatiality is an aspect of network stability” (Law & Mol, 2001, p. 611).

In this dissertation project, I underline two qualities of the spatial dimension; i.e. the regionalisation of spatialities, and the movement in and in-between them. How spatial divisions are constructed, challenged, and experienced, in relation to shopping enactments, and how shopper mobility is organized, enabled and constrained, is further discussed in Chapter 10, using the metaphors of ‘horizontality’ and ‘linearity’.

Spatial demarcations and measurements that are scales and distances are relational and dynamic. Scales are not hierarchal orders starting out from the micro or local and aiming at the macro or global, but slices and aspects of the same ‘practice plenum’ (Schatzki, 2002, 2010, 2019). Thus, these slices do not differ from each other in terms of their qualities: They are separated in accordance with whether they are larger or smaller, denser or looser, deeper or shallower, and in accordance with the kind of social practices they enable and exclude, as well as in accordance with their sensomaterial arrangements. Similarly, although metric distances are sometimes underlined throughout this dissertation, I also problematize them by highlighting the relational notions of nearness and farness, which are not always on a par with metric measurements. Law and Hetherington, for instance, argue that “distances and space don’t exist by themselves as part of the order of things. But rather that they are created” (Law & Hetherington, 2000, p. 39). For them, distances are not metric, as is the case with scales and thus they are also spatial effects; they are measured using the uneven capacities of ‘discretion’ and involvement in ‘heterogeneous relations’ (see also Amin, 2002, pp. 386-389). Similarly, Serres uses a handkerchief as a metaphor: How the seemingly fixed distances and connections between the marked points on an ironed handkerchief radically change once it is squeezed and stuffed into a pocket; i.e. what seem to be distanced becomes nearer and what seem to be orderly is transformed into a mess (Serres & Latour, 1995).

Shoppers are always on the move, just like everything else in the world. The continents, oceans, animals, air, and other humans (Seamon, 1979; Urry, 2009): They are part of constant schemes of movement, rest and encounter. Humans enact shopping along their life trajectories as they become entangled with other shoppers' lives, and with larger chains of actions⁴³, since a life is the sum of the "sequentiality of actions and other life conditions" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 66). The enactment of a social practice always has a tempo: It can be fast, slow, immediate, or delayed (Bourdieu, 1972/1977). Thus, shopping is also enacted at different tempos, enabled by technologies of transportation, e.g. buses, bicycles, cars, prams, and strollers. Many different ways of moving are available to humans today due to technological advancements; similarly, achievable and desirable speeds are incomparable with those of past ages (Virilio, 1977/2006), which led to the framing of 'time-space convergence' (Janelle, 1969 in Giddens, 1985). While shopping, shoppers also carry things with them, which can include different conventions, competences, smells, diseases, a bag of groceries or a package taken from a store (Calvignac & Cochoy, 2016; Hui, 2012). Relationships with different transportation devices also alter the carrying capacities and activities of shoppers by forming hybrid alliances between shoppers and these transportation devices (Brembeck et al., 2015; Hansson, 2014), as well as with shopping bags and shopping trolleys (Cochoy, 2009; Hagberg, 2016). Finally, during their movements while enacting shopping, just like any other human activity, shoppers change and age along the way, depending on which path they take, who they accompany, the material resistance they face, and the assistance they receive (cf. Latour, 2005b). Ingold points out that "it is along paths, too, people grow into a knowledge of the world around them" (Ingold, 2007c, p. 2). According to him, however, there are two ways of moving: "The wayfarer is continually on the move. More strictly, he is his movement." (Ingold, 2007c, p. 75) In comparison with wayfaring, transportation is destination-oriented and has 'passengers', while wayfaring has no final destination, and is enacted by 'travellers'. Transportation connects two static dots via a route, while in wayfaring, dots are shifting spatiotemporal pauses along a trail, leading to 'a meshwork of habitation' (Ingold, 2007c, pp. 102-103; see also Bourdieu, 1972/1977, pp. 87-94; Certeau, 1980/1984, pp. 91-101). In transportation, everything 'between' two dots is merely a barrier to be overcome through smooth navigation and at high speed; while wayfaring humans are always 'in-between', there are only experiential interplays, things to pay attention to (Ingold, 2015; pp. 130-133).

Briefly, both shopping enactments and Södergatan are also interrelated through the dimension of spatiality. The dimension of spatiality manifests itself through the dynamic regionalisation of space in accordance with the social practices and the

⁴³ Schatzki defines a chain of actions as "a sequence of actions, each member of which responds to the previous member or to a change brought about by the previous member in the world" (2019, p. 62).

sensomaterial arrangements that inform, constrain and induce shopping. Spatiality also concerns how shoppers move within the shopping geography at different rhythms and tempos, by means of ‘wayfaring’ or ‘transporting’, entangled with others, with and against materialities. Recursively, through its enactments, shopping also maintains, reinforces, challenges and alters these spatial demarcations and flows.

Spatiotemporality

Many practice theory scholars couple time with space (e.g. Blue, 2013; Certaeu, 1980/1984; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 2010). Giddens (1984) proposes that there is a dynamic and inseparable relation between the two concepts; time occurs in space and space unfolds in time. Literally, time is movement in space. On a similar note, Schatzki, as inspired by Heidegger’s work, suggests that human activity opens up timespace, thus adjoining temporality and spatiality. In this regard, he proposes the term ‘activity timespace’, formulating a constitutive relationship between human activity, temporality and spatiality (Schatzki, 2010, p. 23). Analysing and discussing temporality and spatiality together is also in line with the theoretical understanding of post-Einsteinian modern physics whereby “space and time are not to be thought of as separate entities existing in their own right - a three-dimensional space, and a one-dimensional time. Rather, the underlying reality consists of a four-dimensional space-time” (Stannard, 1989, p. 35, cited in Massey, 1994, p. 261; see also Urry, 2001).

By employing the concept of ‘spatiotemporality’, I emphasise that space and time are inseparably interwoven. Therefore, in this dissertation, the spatial properties of shopping are often analysed and discussed together with their temporal implications, and vice versa. This perspective particularly encourages a dynamic understanding of the spatiotemporal dimension of the street and the modes of shopping enacted there.

Modes of Shopping *in, for and by* Praxitopia

Shopping, together with other social practices, ‘makes’ place in complex ways, interrelating via the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality. Hence, shopping shapes the very place in which it unfolds, simultaneous to its enactments being enabled and constrained by that place. During this process, the street and the district acquire the quality of being and becoming *praxitopia*; a place made through social practices⁴⁴. The concept is fabricated by the juxtaposition of two concepts, ‘praxes’, and ‘topia’. ‘Praxes’, etymologically an ancient Greek word, being the

⁴⁴ For a similar conceptualisation, ‘practiced place’, see Cresswell, 2002.

plural form of 'praxis', literally means 'acts'. In this case, I use it to signify 'social practices'. 'Topia' also has its etymological roots in ancient Greek; 'topos' (singular form of *topoi*), can be roughly translated as 'place', a concept developed by Aristoteles (Beichler, 1981). Therefore, the concept of 'praxitopia' signifies and highlights the intertwined togetherness, the bundling of social practices and places, even though building an ontological connection between social practices and places is not new, as stated earlier. However, the formulation of the interrelations between social practices and places, using the dimensions of materiality, sensoriality, temporality, and spatiality, is a contribution. In particular, I understand 'praxitopia' to be the *transitory sensomaterial arrangement of spatiotemporalities, co-constituted through enactments of social practices*.

In light of the theoretical clarifications supplied in the second half of the chapter on the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality, and their mediating role between social practices and praxitopia, the definition of a mode of shopping requires an update. A mode of shopping, then, is *a sensomaterially and spatiotemporally enacted set of activities in, for and by praxitopia, which might lead to the acquisition of services and goods, distinguished on the basis of how they are linked by rules, competences, and teleoaffectivities*.

Above, an ostensibly enigmatic definition is, in fact, being utilized as the analytical framework, while breaking down the empirical data. That is to say, while analysing and generalizing my research material, as well as writing my analysis chapters, I paid special attention to addressing every component and aspect of the above definition, which are the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality entangled with the mode of shopping, the activities which compose it, the associated services and goods on offer, and the required competences, applied rules, and specific teleoaffective engagements. I also illustrated how they jointly co-constitute the local shopping street where they are enacted, while recursively being shaped by it; hence, "*in, for and by*" praxitopia.

Chapter 3: Capturing Shopping

In this chapter, I concentrate on the methodology of my research. It includes description, implementation and implications of video ethnography, which was the umbrella data collection method used in the study, mixed with additional methods of observation, shop-along/go-along interviewing, and mental mapping. I initiate the chapter with a discussion of the methodological implications of practice theory and follow this up by contextualising and clarifying video ethnography as a research method. After explaining why video ethnography was an appropriate choice for this study, I provide a detailed report on the data collection process, followed by a reflective discussion on fieldwork and research ethics. Finally, I elucidate the analysis process, breaking down the research material as ‘modes of shopping’.

Practice turn in methodology

Ethnography, with its potential to grasp and describe the mundane and day-to-day organisation of life, is popular among scholars of practice theory (e.g. Buch et al. 2015; Fuentes, 2011; Postill, 2010). Schatzki (1991), too, advocates a descriptive methodology, arguing that: “The social scientist should collect together different practices related to the one to be understood in such a surveyable fashion that she sees the connections among them, that is, how they hang together” (Schatzki, 1991, p. 318). Likewise, Geertz, known for his commonly quoted definition of ethnography as ‘thick description’⁴⁵, is celebrated by second generation practice theory scholar Swindler for his contribution towards making “culture a matter of publicly observable symbols and rituals”, instead of “something hidden in the individual consciousness” (Swindler, 2001, pp. 75-76). Nicolini (2009) proposes dual methods of “zooming in” on “situated practicing” and “zooming out” to the “elsewhere-and-then of other practices”: He promotes continuous interaction between detailed qualitative research and theoretical conceptualisation (Nicolini, 2009, p. 1392). Bueger (2014) instead suggests ‘praxiography’, an ethnography-like research methodology, arguing that, instead of focusing on the symbols, signs, objects and rituals of a ‘culture’ or ‘ethos’, the researcher should solely be interested in investigating social practices, thus conducting ‘praxiography’.

However, Bourdieu opposes what he calls ‘methodologism’, positing that there is no perfect research method that can be used in all social inquiries (Bourdieu &

⁴⁵ According to Geertz, ethnography is not “establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on”, but “thick description” (Geertz, 1973/2008, p. 32), which also implies the intellectual work of understanding implicit and everyday cultural codes, signs, and embedded meanings. Thus, for him, the object of ethnography is “a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures” (Geertz, 1973/2008, p. 32).

Wacquant, 1992). Shove (2017), just like Bourdieu, argues that the choice of research method is solely an empirical question; that is to say, she states that “practice theory methodologies do not exist”. Halkier and Jensen (2011) urge more deliberated conversation regarding the methodological implications of practice theory, by advocating a wide methodological multiplicity in response to particular research aims (see also Halkier et al., 2011). Similar to Bourdieu and Shove, she also asserts that “the potential methodological choices and strategies ought to depend on the specific knowledge interest in the particular research project” (Halkier, 2017, p. 202, see also Jonas et al., 2017, pp. 252-261).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, surpassing the dualisms between ‘act’ and ‘text’, ‘material’ and ‘mental’ is one of the aspirations of practice theory (cf. Reckwitz, 2002): However, it is possible to claim that many of the research methods employed in practice theory studies have focused on one aspect, thus failing to capture the multi-dimensionality and complexity of social practices. One solution lies in employing several research methods concurrently (Littig & Leither, 2017; Nicolini, 2009). While using multiple methods prevents research from being confined to one epistemological perspective, it may also fail to provide the interwoven and recursive relations between different dimensions. A way of solving this might be developing research epistemology, which would simultaneously combine the discursive aspects with enactments (Bueger, 2014; Halkier, 2017; Littig, 2013); methods which, furthermore, can grasp the sensorial, material, spatial, and temporal dimensions of the social world. The research aim and questions of this study in particular, which focus on the interrelationships between enactments of shopping and place, request such methodological comprehensiveness. Video ethnography, as a flexible research method, potentially possesses these qualities (Martens & Scott, 2017).

Video ethnography

Video ethnography, as a research method, has become popular in recent years largely due to the accessibility of contemporary digital video technology (Belk & Kozinet, 2005), although the incorporation of film into the social sciences has a much longer history (Pink 2006, 2007a). In addition, academic discussions after the 1980s made subjectivity, situatedness, and reflexivity the sources of data and tools for knowledge production: “It was recognized that ethnographic film or photography were essentially no more subjective or objective than written texts and thus these gradually became acceptable to (if not actively engaged with by) most mainstream researchers” (Pink, 2007a, p. 1, also see Rose, 2001).

On the other hand, there is no single established way of conducting video ethnography⁴⁶; while use of the video camera is shared, how the method is designed and executed, and how the results are presented, can vary radically (Jewitt, 2012; Pea & Lemke, 2007; Pink, 2007a; Reavey, 2011). The differences include whether such studies investigate already-existing visual representations, and whether the visual data is produced by the researcher or collaboratively by the researcher and participants (Jewitt, 2012; Kindon, 2003; Reavey, 2011; Rose, 2001; Pink, 2007a). Moreover, while some employ interpretive content analysis, others quantify the visual data using various data analysis software (Pink, 2007a). Finally, in some studies, video material is treated as bare research material (cf. Heider, 2009), while for others, the major aim of their research is generating films or videos in terms of being simultaneously academic and artistic products (cf. Rouch, 2003).

Video ethnography, with its qualities of linking ‘doings and sayings’, and providing human enactments with a material and sensorial situatedness (cf. Martens & Scott, 2017), and also with its advantages during the analysis and dissemination of the research material (Jewitt, 2012), offers unique possibilities to researchers wanting to analyse enactments of social practices in a situational manner (e.g. Holmes, 2010). In addition, the use of a video camera also functions as a medium that enables the researcher to immerse him-/herself in the research site since “video is not merely a method of audio-visually recording people and physical settings. Rather [...] walking with video provides ways of sensing place, placing senses, sensorially making place and making sense of place” (Pink, 2007b, p. 243).

Video Ethnography of Shopping on Södergatan

Video ethnography was the principal method of understanding how shopping was enacted and organized on Södergatan, and how it transformed the street into a lively shopping geography, a vibrant urban arena. This kind of ‘single-site’ ethnography has been common in anthropological studies, as well as in the urban sociology tradition (particularly in the ‘Chicago School’ tradition), which aims to build up wide-ranging understandings of how communities are socioculturally organized through detailed investigation of a locality in-depth (cf. Atkinson et al., 2001). I understand Södergatan as a common everyday shopping street, therefore my research has the quality of being a ‘typical or average’ case study with the aim of making informed generalisations about shopping geographies on a broader scale (cf. Flyvbjerg, 2006). However, Södergatan, as a vibrant local shopping street in a super-diverse district, also represents a ‘black swan’ case (Flyvbjerg, 2006): It

⁴⁶ The method also has multiple names: i.e. visual ethnography, video ethnography, filmmaking for fieldwork, and videography being some of the labels (cf. Barabantseva & Lawrence, 2015; Belk & Kozinet, 2005; Ochs et al., 2006; Pink, 2007a).

would seem to show an anomaly, as discussed briefly in the introduction chapter. Thus, this study also aspires to underline some of the research site's dynamics, which might be lacking in other shopping geographies. In that sense, the research site possesses a "doubleness of the situation", since it is both "unique and typical" (Delmar, 2010 in Halkier, 2011, p. 789).

I also combined video ethnography with other research methods, e.g. go-along (and shop-along) interviewing, observation, and mental mapping. Video ethnography's most significant contribution to this research was that it enabled synchronically interlinking shoppers' enactments⁴⁷, their reflections, and the street itself, since video ethnography "helps us to capture that which is indescribable in words" (Veer, 2014, p. 215, see also Martens & Scott, 2017). In that sense, using the method helped me to cover and capture more information than just recording the sounds and speech, as is the case in most interview studies. This is a significant quality since "we are so much more than we say we are, as we inhabit a world saturated with images, sounds and smells that enter our conscious and unconscious experience in a variety of ways" (Reavey, 2011, p. 22). In addition, it recorded richer, multifaceted data compared to what could be written down while taking fieldwork notes while conducting classical observations. Employing video ethnography in this study helped me to capture the various sensorial and material qualities of the street, including its architecture, store designs, dynamic soundscapes, in addition to movement flows in the street, spatial and temporal demarcations and rhythms, human interactions, bodily and facial expressions, gestures, shoppers' reflections, silences, signs, the weather, and the services and goods on offer.

Video recording also enabled the revisiting and analysing of the research material in a way that would not be possible using other data collection methods since I could rewind, zoom in, slow down, annotate the frames, juxtapose different shots, and execute very detailed inspections of the material (Hindmarsh & Tutt, 2012; Jewitt, 2012). Finally, I was also able to share my empirical data and initial analysis with my colleagues, fellow academics, and, sometimes, the public⁴⁸ at large, by producing and screening short video clips. Accordingly, video ethnography also assisted collaborative knowledge production, as well as ensuring the transparency and legitimacy of the collection, analysis and relevance of the empirical data in a way unique to the research method (Martens & Scott, 2017; Ylirisku & Buur, 2007).

⁴⁷ Since the popularisation of digital video recording, there have also been a growing number of examples of incorporating video ethnography into 'consumer studies' (cf. Kozinets & Belk, 2007; Veer, 2014).

⁴⁸ I have shown edited video clips from the research data at multiple academic conferences and seminars, and to a limited general audience at the workshops organized by the research projects "Handel Helsingborg" and "Retail Destination", which I took part in (see Aslan & Fredriksson, 2017a; Fredriksson et al., 2019).

Research design

Video ethnography, in this study, was realized using a simple set of technological equipment, which consisted of a semi-advanced digital camera, a radio microphone, and headphones. Critical criteria when choosing equipment included guaranteeing a certain audio and visual quality, and enabling on-the-move ethnography. I as a researcher used the camera and other technical devices, which required some practical knowledge and craftsmanship. However, I found it critically important to be able to manoeuvre the camera independently; relying on a separate cameraperson or a fixed camera would have distorted the ‘eye’ of the trained researcher, his/her “ability to notice what is important in a context, to focus upon that phenomena and capture it” (Veer, 2014, p. 218).



Figure 8. From an interview with the local newspaper Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2015 (Photo: Mats Roslund)
The method was realized using a simple set of technological equipment, which consisted of a semi-advanced digital camera, a radio microphone, and headphones. Critical criteria when choosing equipment included ensuring audio and visual quality, and enabling on-the-move ethnography.

In total, 22⁴⁹ shoppers participated in the research, with each session lasting between 45 and 120 minutes. The shop-along video interviews were done in three rounds; the first two interviews being conducted in January 2014, and then 13 interviews being conducted between August 2015 and July 2016, with the final seven interviews being conducted between February and April 2018. Conducting the fieldwork during discrete phases particularly helped to develop a dynamic and emergent theoretical perspective, in continuous dialog with the empirical research. That is to say, by having periods of ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’ (Nicolini, 2009), an abductive theory building process was made possible (cf. McKaughan, 2008). After each phase, the priorities for conducting the fieldwork, including the interview questions, were modified, in coordination with the ongoing analysis and theorisation of the empirical material.

Table 1. Research respondents.

Name ⁵⁰	Age	Profession	Gender	P.O.B.	P.O.R.
Jane	28	Master's student	Female	Kenya	Helsingborg
Albin	55	Unemployed	Male	Sweden	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder
Ali	42	Retailer in Söder	Male	Turkey	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder
Bengt	67	Pensioner	Male	Sweden	Söder, Helsingborg
Felicia	20	Student	Female	Sweden	Helsingborg
Hanna	25	Master's student	Female	Germany	Lund, used to live in Helsingborg
Yusuf	37	Software developer	Male	Iraq	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder
Ingrid	55	Waitress in Söder	Female	Sweden	Helsingborg
Megan	29	Self-employed	Female	USA	Helsingborg
John	22	Recently-graduated engineer, unemployed	Male	Sweden	Helsingborg
Kati	23	Student at Campus Helsingborg	Female	Germany	Helsingborg
Kerstin	74	Pensioner	Female	Sweden	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder

⁴⁹ I did not use the interviews of Märta and Kerstin in my analysis because their accounts were about their childhood on Södergatan in the 1950s and 60s.

⁵⁰ All names have been anonymized.

Linda	28	Working for the municipality	Female	Sweden	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder
Märta	70	Pensioner	Female	Sweden	Helsingborg, used to live in Söder
Massimiliano	25	Master's student	Male	Italy	Helsingborg
Mikaela	26	Event organizer at the municipality	Female	Sweden	Söder, Helsingborg
Muhammad	31	Computer engineer	Male	Palestine	Helsingborg
Natalia	34	Intern at IKEA IT	Female	Spain	Helsingborg
Rickard	30	Priest	Male	Sweden	Söder, Helsingborg
Veronica	35	Personal care assistant, artist	Female	Sweden	Söder, Helsingborg
Zahra	28	Unemployed, economist	Female	Syria	Söder, Helsingborg
Zeyneb	28	Unemployed, architect	Female	Iraq	Helsingborg

I recruited the research participants mostly from online social media, and by advertising on various Helsingborg-related Facebook groups, where I also communicated the aim and the design of my research together with the ethical codes used. During my fieldwork, I treated the participants as ‘human experts’ at shopping on Södergatan (cf. Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1986). As a way of thanking the research participants for their guidance and collaboration, I offered them two cinema tickets to use in the shopping geography. Acknowledging that an Internet presence does not penetrate all strata of society, I tried to ensure diversity in my shopper sample, with regard to gender, employment status, income level, age, and country of origin. Securing some variation in the research participants turned out to be a fruitful strategy since the shoppers with radically different life trajectories navigated in distinct ways on the street and in the district. People of different ages had different embedded memories, with their personal histories affecting their shopping enactments on the street (Zukin, 2012). Since a street is generally accepted to be a masculine geography (Hankins, 2002), while shopping is predominantly seen as a feminine practice (Campbell, 1997), incorporating the gender perspective was significant. Whether shoppers were students, pensioners, or ‘white collar’ workers had implications for the ways in which they enacted shopping.

As pointed out above, I mixed the video ethnography with different data collection methods. These methods represented different phases of the fieldwork, being aimed at illuminating slightly different aspects.

Observing

Over a total of fourteen days, for a minimum of two hours a day, I observed the street with the help of a video camera between September 2015 and April 2018. Sometimes, I chose busy spots to place my camera on a tripod to make longitudinal recordings. At other times, I walked with my video camera along the street and within the district recording, as my senses and the camera's merged. Prior to this planned observation phase, more sporadic and largely unsystematic observations were carried out over a period of eighteen months between September 2013 and February 2015. During that phase, I lived in central Helsingborg, around 200 metres north of Södergatan. I visited the street on average two-three times a week, so as to reach an overall understanding of the street's dynamics. This was done without a video camera; by means of walking in the street, visiting its stores and restaurants, and occasionally buying services and goods on offer. Since the study approaches shopping from a broader perspective than just purchasing, while observing, I also paid close attention to other shopping activities, e.g. browsing, walking, socializing, and carrying. Furthermore, I also took notes of the overall arrangement of the shopping geography.

The key aspiration in conducting observations is to create the conditions for welcoming unexpected factors, topics, and subjects (Tjora, 2006). In that way, the observation phase can potentially alter the pre-developed research framework; assuring academic flexibility and an intellectual openness is essential during ethnographic research (cf. Atkinson et al. 2001). Accordingly, both during and following the observation period, I continuously modified my understanding of shopping as a social practice, and its interrelation with the local street.

Interviewing

The second method that I coupled with video recording was shop-along or go-along interviewing. Video recording provided a sensorial, material, spatial, and temporal context to the interviews on Södergatan, as I walked and shopped alongside the shoppers there (Belk & Kozinets, 2005; Pink, 2007a). In this way, the shoppers' movements, bodily expressions, as well as their interactions with their street environment, retail places, retail workers, fellow shoppers, services and goods could all be acknowledged. That is to say, I was able to capture not only what the shoppers said, but also how and in what nexus of circumstances this was articulated, while recording the shoppers' movements and their trails along the street during that time (Ylirisku & Buur, 2007).

I initiated the interviews by meeting my research participants on the street and then continuing to video interview them during their shopping tour of the district. Although shopping on Södergatan is and was the focus of my research, the shoppers often combined their shopping on this local shopping street with visits to stores on the parallel street, Carl Krooks gata, as well as other places in the district of Söder.

That is to say, they interconnected Södergatan with other parts of Söder, which is the reason why the street and the district are often mentioned together in this dissertation. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured; I combined previously-prepared questions with improvised ones emerging during the tour, which enriched the interview content (Jarratt, 1996). My prepared questions were grouped under the categories of “background information”, “coming to Södergatan”, “approaches to the street”, “shopping in the district”, “inside a store”, and “during mental-mapping”. The spontaneous questions arose mostly due to my and the shoppers’ situated interactions with the shopping geography. I conducted the interviews in Swedish and English, and once in Turkish⁵¹.



Figure 9. Still of Mikaela inside the Lindex store during our shop-along interview, 2015

Shadowing shoppers allows the opportunity to study what is preserved in unconscious practical schemes.

During shop-alongs, I occasionally ‘shadowed’ the shoppers using my video camera when they entered a shop, interacted with retail workers, carried on other shopping activities, or when they just ‘wayfared’ along the street. During these moments, I took a step aside and tried not to ‘disturb’ the actual shopping activity very much

⁵¹ I myself translated the quotes from the Swedish and Turkish interviews.

during the course of enactment. Given these short shadowings of the research participants in the shopping geography of Södergatan, it became possible to record their movements (cf. Czarniawska, 2014) and their routinized and improvised shopping activities on the street, as well as their embodied competences, which are claimed to be preserved within the practical knowledge realm (Bourdieu, 1980/1990).

Interviewing while walking and interacting with the surroundings provides unique and rich data, in comparison with interviews done in fixed and closed environments (i.e. sit-down interviews) (Carpiano, 2009; Högdahl, 2003; Kusenbach, 2003). This quality of shop-along and go-along interviews also legitimized taking into account what the research participants said about how they shop at other times, in addition to how they were shopping at the time of recording. This is because the situatedness of the interview revived their shopping-related memories attached to the spatiotemporality and sensomateriality of Södergatan, with this helping to reduce the potential divergence between what is said and what is done (Kusenbach, 2003). In many instances, the research participants remembered if they had been in a particular store and when; only when they saw that particular place, and during the interviews, did they continuously gaze along the street to refresh their memories and to get inspiration when formulating their sentences.

Mental-mapping

The last method to be mixed with video ethnography was ‘mental⁵² mapping’ (Giesecking, 2013). At the end of the shop-along tours, I requested that shoppers drew ‘mental maps’ of the shopping geography in a closed environment, often at a nearby café. I provided a drawing pad with pages of A3 size and pens of different colours. During the first phase, I asked the shoppers to draw Södergatan as they remember it, including the stores they recalled and visit often. During the second phase of mapping, they were asked to make changes to the street as they would like to see it. I also recorded this process using the video camera, while posing questions from time to time to clarify what they were drawing, and why it was taking that particular form. In this way, I was able to complete, enrich and cross-check the empirical data gathered via other methods, described above, even though the mental maps produced are rarely referred directly in the analysis chapters.

The rationale of including this phase in the data collection process was to foster deeper understanding of shopper’s priorities, as well as their subjective memories and emotional engagements concerning the street, the district, and the stores (Grasseni, 2012; Heft, 2013; Milgram, 1972). Although mental mapping (also

⁵² The word “mental” might imply that there are other maps that are not influenced by “cognitive” processes. However, all maps are subject to adjustment and translation, and affected by ideological standpoints and power relations of different intensities (Harley, 1988/2009).

cognitive mapping) is a relatively old method, used in particular in environmental and urban psychology (cf. Milgram, 1970; Downs & Stea, 1973), its combination with video ethnography in this research is novel.

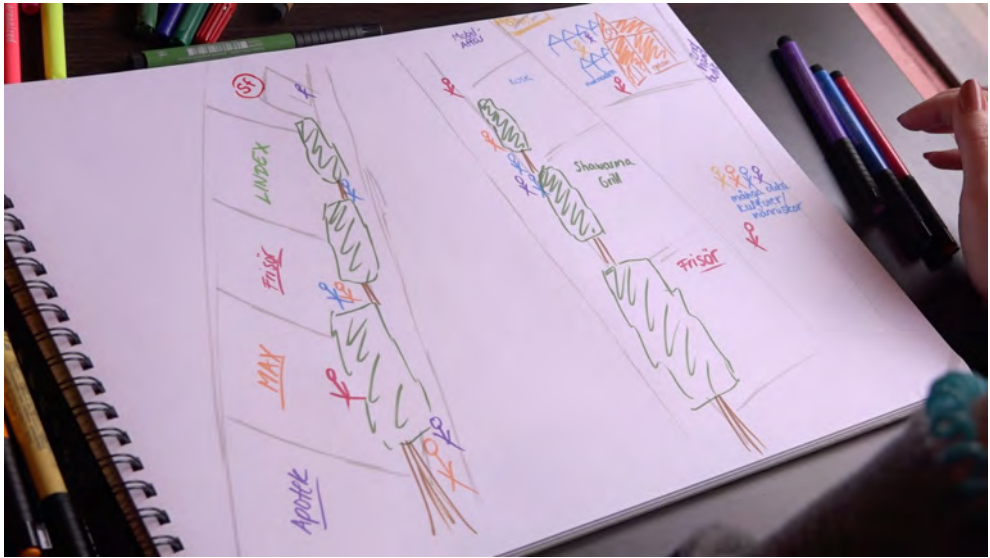


Figure 10. Still of Kati drawing Södergatan as she remembered it, 2015

Mental mapping gave me the chance to understand shoppers' selective appreciation of the street.

Fieldwork Makes the Field

There is no objective 'reality' that can be made accessible by any research method (Law, 2004, pp. 18-44), as was also the case with my employment of video ethnography in this study. My presence as a male, able-bodied, transnational researcher born in Turkey, in alliance with my video camera, simultaneously altered how the shopping was enacted, and how the shoppers expressed themselves. The point at which I pressed the record button, how I asked the questions, how I set the frame, how I moved the camera and the number of times I paused the recording, the whole process was subjected to repeated intervention and manipulation (Goldman et al., 2007). These decisions and actions documented and highlighted some aspects of shopping on the street, while others were shadowed or dismissed (Jewitt, 2012; Pink, 2007a). In other words, the sound recorded by the microphones and the pictures recorded by the camera lenses were not direct extensions of a 'reality' of Södergatan and its shopping enactments; they were essentially translated and distorted. Therefore, it is just as important to reflect upon the 'performative' aspect of video ethnographic research as it is for any other kind of empirical investigation (Wasserfall, 1993).

Performative researcher

Researchers co-construct the fields they research, not only through the knowledge they produce, but also using their bodies and actions (Bennett, 2001). Science-making has a performative effect; there is no scientific inquiry or academic production that is beyond the researcher's and the academic environment's influence (Callon, 2009; Latour, 2000; Livingstone, 2010). The way in which research questions and frameworks are formulated is not immune from researchers' epistemologies and ontologies, even the institutions they work for shape the knowledge produced (Althusser, 1967/1990; Sunderland & Denny, 2007). Therefore, it is not a coincidence that many of the researchers from my department also adopt critical sociocultural perspectives into their research, with many of them even engaging in practice theory and ethnographic methods (ISM, 2020). Moreover, researchers' cultural, economic, and social backgrounds, as well as their ideological epistemological stances, have a direct impact on the sort of science and knowledge produced (Harding, 1992). For instance, it is likely that, in some cases, the research participants were extra careful with their comments both on the transnational 'migration' phenomenon and on 'migrants' in the shopping geography due to my 'non-Nordic' body and my non-native Swedish speech being persistent reminders that I too am an 'other' who has moved from 'elsewhere' (cf. Benhabib, 2004). Likewise, the transnational research participants felt instantly at ease with me for the same reasons; we had shared similar journeys and were possibly facing comparable problems.

Performative camera

The camera, in particular, has an air of authority (Jewitt, 2012); it influenced the research participants' actions as regards how they presented themselves and how they formulated their shopping activities. Initially, many of the research participants said it felt strange to be facing a camera. Some wondered if they should speak to me, or to the camera. However, after a couple of minutes of talking and walking, they gradually became comfortable with the presence of the device once the topic and the shopping activities had taken over the 'stage' (Penner et al., 2007). One practical advantage was that my video camera had a digital viewfinder, which made it possible for me to communicate with a research participant without looking through the camera lens (Pink, 2007a).

On the other hand, instead of seeing the camera as a disruptive element, it is also possible to embrace it as a source that creates unique data; "the camera is a social actor that gives access to the flow of shared experiences" (Ardévol, 2012, p. 83). It acquires active agency in the making of the field; it co-constructs it while revealing information that was not possible to find out otherwise. A video camera is a tool which has a clear connotation in popular understanding; TV journalism (Rabikowska, 2010). For instance, during my fieldwork, due to the presence of my

camera, two young men approached me and shared their contact information because they had been media workers in Syria and wanted to contact similar people for future job opportunities. Once, two elderly residents stopped me and wanted to complain about the municipality, assuming I worked for a TV channel. On yet another day, a middle-aged father was eager to talk about discrimination against migrant kids in junior football clubs. My video camera's presence helped me to understand the 'visibility' and 'audibility' problems of the district, its 'otherness'. Similarly, in many cases, it was the video camera that motivated shoppers' narrations and participations (Pink, 2004b). Their opinions about the street and the district were recorded; they were taken seriously and able to exert an influence, and thus they wanted to speak and act.

Nevertheless, TV journalism also has some stigma; in many stores, retailers only let me film after I had assured them I was not a journalist, and that I was doing research for the university. In addition, the camera also generated unwanted visibility at times; for instance, at the street market, a worker asked me to stop recording because, as he put it, they did not want any additional attention following a critical report by the local newspaper (cf. Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2013). On another occasion, while I was following a shopper towards the ICA Oj supermarket, the beggar who was sitting outside covered her face, marking her disapproval of being filmed in the background. Similarly, on one of the days when I was recording the street and the movement on it, the only person showing concern regarding my video camera was an old man collecting cans from a rubbish bin; vision is power-bound (Rose, 2001).

Video ethics

Visual recording is different from taking fieldnotes; it departs from the aspects of anonymity, consent and the dissemination of material (Mountian et al., 2011; Petr et al., 2015). There is often a power imbalance between the researcher and the research object when these encounter each other via a camera (Ruby, 1980). In many cases, research subjects are not in a position to understand the risks of being pictured or recorded, having no control over how they are presented or portrayed later. In addition, they might also change their opinion or attitude towards the research, or the use of their visual images, with time, after the material has already been disseminated and proliferated (Perry & Marion, 2010). Similarly, how the material is interpreted may change with time since "images do not contain a true or singular meaning and are constantly subject to interpretation and re-interpretation, depending on certain personal, social and cultural conditions" (Reavey, 2011, p. 23, see also Hall, 1997). Taking pictures and recording video in public places is also in an ethical grey zone. Thus, Clark (2012) advocates a 'situated ethics' (see Simons & Usher, 2000) for visual methods instead of relying on a set of normative ethical rules or codes: He claims it would be more meaningful to assess each piece of visual

research in its own right. He argues that “ethical decision-making in visual research should be considered with regard to epistemological approaches, specific research context, and in relation to researchers and participants’ own moral frameworks” (2012, p. 18). Accordingly, subjecting video ethnography to the normative ethical codes often produced in relation to the ethical problems experienced in natural science studies, e.g. medicine, is “impractical” and “illogical”, and undermines the scientific value of visual methods, since they can “reveal information that text-based methods cannot” (Clark, 2012, p. 21).

As previously mentioned, I informed all the research participants in advance about the purpose of my research and the future possible use of the video material, both verbally and in writing. Moreover, I also guaranteed that no video material would be made available online, and that only some parts might be shown at academic conferences or within closed professional environments. I have screened several video clips at various academic conferences and seminars, and the prepared videos were first shown to the research participants. However, it is not possible to ask for consent from everyone who is captured in a video shoot at a large city square, or on a street like Södergatan, although it is legal to take pictures and videos in public spaces (cf. Belk & Kozinets, 2005). Nevertheless, in this dissertation, all the names of the research participants are anonymized, and no recognizable pictures of the research participants have been used.

Analysing Videographic Shopping Data

Bourdieu advocates “the fusion of theoretical construction and practical research operations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 34). Accordingly, during my analysis process, I strove to adopt a ‘principled eclectic approach’ between theory and fieldwork (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007, in Löfgren & Ehn, 2013), which can be explained using the concept of abduction. I analysed the empirical material using a triple-helical abductive model; there was a continuous dialogue between the empirical data collection, data analysis and the theory building. Correspondingly, my analysis of the material consisted of several phases in tandem with the empirical data collection. During the first phase, I thematized the observational video recordings, spanning around 10 hours, in addition to two preliminary shop-along video interviews. The initial themes emerged from the empirical data, although these were also informed by the previous literature (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Consequently, after the second phase of fieldwork, I watched in detail and thematized 10 additional hours of observational video recordings, as well as 13 more shop-along video interviews. I closely read and re-coded transcriptions of the video interviews and the fieldnotes I took during observational recordings. After this phase, I wrote the first draft of my analysis informed by my development of the theoretical standpoint, which also included preliminary formulations of modes of

shopping. I presented my findings at academic conferences, and discussed them at my department with two opponents, marking the half-way point of my doctoral education. During the final phase, I closely read the transcription of the interviews multiple times (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which had now grown to a total of about 300 pages, with the additional seven video interviews. During this last phase of my analysis, I also ‘logged’ all the videos; that is to say, I divided them into various ‘scenes’⁵³ into which the transcribed interview material was then positioned (Jewitt, 2012; Pink, 2007a). I re-coded and re-thematized all the empirical material once again, renaming and redefining modes of shopping while also reaching a more nuanced understanding of the theoretical and empirical fields by means of intensive reading and writing. Fairly developed versions of each analysis and discussion chapter were written during this phase, again being presented at multiple academic conferences and discussed publicly with two senior researchers before reaching their final state.

During the whole process, I also took analytical video notes (similar to ‘memo-writing’, see Charmaz, 2006), consisting of interpretations of the material and marking the possible integration of the ‘scenes’ and quotes in the final text. In these notes were documented the research participants’ body language, their movements, their actions, the silent moments, the surrounding environments, and the activities enacted in the background (Veer, 2014).

Overall, the research material collected was coded and re-coded three times in tandem with the data collection phases. That is to say, during each phase, after concluding that an overall understanding of the accumulated material had been achieved, I developed a detailed coding scheme, something which was done in dialogue with the ongoing theory building (cf. Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The coding was based on two pillars; i.e. the whole of the transcribed material, the fieldnotes and the analytical video notes were coded according to their perceived importance, and recurrent themes. In the last coding scheme, after additionally reaching theoretical saturation, the codes signified the main activities, sensomaterial settings, spatiotemporal dynamics, and shopping rules, teleoaffectivities, and competences found in the empirical data, informed by the theoretical framework presented at the end of the previous chapter.

⁵³ During logging, I named the ‘scenes’ after major changes in the environment, e.g. Linda goes inside the Lindex store, or after engaging in a major activity, e.g. she pays for the socks.

Table 2. The collected research data.

Type of Collected Research Data	Size of Collected Research Data
Video interviews (go-along/shop-along, mental-mapping)	22 recordings of separate shoppers, altogether around 30 hours of footage
Video observations	About 20 hours of footage
Transcriptions of interviews	About 300 pages
Fieldnotes	About 60 pages
Video notes	About 35 pages
Collected mental maps	21 drawings

In identifying patterns during shopping enactments, I took both the doings and the sayings of the research participants into account, acknowledging the research participants' reflexive capacity to make sense of their own actions (Hitchings, 2012; see also Halkier, 2017; Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Welch et al., 2020). In other words, not only what the research participants did, but also what they said they did on earlier occasions, their reflections, and how they expressed⁵⁴ themselves were all included in the analysis. In addition, although what people recall about their shopping activities, and what they actually do, do not always overlap (Spanjaard & Freeman, 2006), it is recognised that being situated on the street and in its stores provided a 'sticky'⁵⁵ setting for what was said (cf. Pink, 2004b). That is to say, I observed that past shopping activities were evoked in the research participants by their movements, the stores, and the street; in turn, this narrowed the mentioned disparity between what was remembered and what was enacted. Finally, although it posed a challenge during the analysis process, since the data gathered using the video camera had, to say the least, been overwhelming, I experienced it as an academic luxury to be able to watch the video material multiple times during each analytical phase, and to pay attention to detail.

Identifying modes of shopping

The implementation of a practice theory approach when analysing shopping differs from how this has usually been done in the mainstream shopping literature (cf. Everts & Jackson, 2009; Fuentes et al., 2017; Keller & Ruus, 2014). Instead of concentrating on shoppers, social structures, or cultural identity projects, practice theory aspires to make linked sets of activities intelligible to academic inquiry

⁵⁴ It is also acknowledged that utterances and speech are performative and that they can shape the meaning of the content (cf. Searle, 1969/2011).

⁵⁵ 'Stickiness' is a metaphor developed by Sartre, marking the ambiguous state of things between solidity and fluidity; "unlike water and the liquid, the sticky does not let go; it overruns, conquers and stays" (Costas, 2013, p. 1474). Places are 'sticky'; they leave their mark and become 'stuck' to even the most mobile ones (Costas, 2013).

(Jonas et al., 2017). This approach had direct implications for the analysis stage of the study, and for the patterns being sought in the empirical data.

While mapping out emerging themes in the empirical data, I applied the concept of ‘mode of practice’ in order to make sense of these themes from a practice theory perspective. As underlined in the previous chapter, a mode of shopping is a distinct way of enacting shopping, which is distinguished by means of how the enactment of the social practice is organized, with regard to the set of activities it brings together, and how these activities are linked via various rules, competences and teleoaffectivities. All the possible bundlings of the numerous activities can also create distinct complexes of sensomaterial arrangements, spatiotemporal dynamics, and life trajectories (Schatzki, 2019). Hypothetically, all the different potential outcomes, based on the organisation of the mentioned complexes and bundles, can be formulated as ‘modes of shopping’. In this sense, although distinctions would never be clear-cut, it is possible to frame different modes of shopping by putting an emphasis on their bundling with other activities (e.g. Christmas shopping), or by highlighting specific sensomaterialities (e.g. smartphone shopping), or by underlining variations in spatiotemporal dynamics (e.g. Sunday shopping), or by giving significance to stages of individual and collective trajectories (e.g. holiday shopping), or in accordance with distinctive rules and regulations (e.g. sales shopping), or by means of emphasizing the required competences and understandings (e.g. ‘treasure’ shopping). Such analytical decisions would depend on the research aim, the research questions, and the emergent themes in the collected empirical material.

Schatzki (1996) describes ‘teleoaffectivity’ as “end, project, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions, and moods” (1996, p. 89), “acceptable and enjoined ends, project, emotions” (2019, p. 80); in particular, he defines teleology as an “orientation towards ends” and affectivity as “how things matter” (2001b, p. 60). However, shopping teleoaffectivity, in particular teleology, should not be confused with shopper rationality or shopper’s choice. Schatzki (2002) points out that teleoaffectivity is not the property of practitioners, but of the practice. Yet, it can be claimed that, once practitioners enact a social practice, they temporarily make the practice’s ‘teleoaffectivity’ their own, aligning it with their own paths and trajectories. In any case, in this work, teleoaffectivity is understood as the direction, the orientation of shopping, and the end, meaning, and feeling of it. Specifically, it designates the ‘directedness’ of shopping in the sense of what modes of shopping are all ‘about’⁵⁶. Following this line of thought, while analysing the empirical data, labelling the different ‘modes of shopping’ in it, and distinguishing these from one another using different ‘teleoaffectivities’, I asked and answered the following

⁵⁶ Here ‘aboutness’ marks the orientation of human activity, similar to how it is reformulated by Merleau-Ponty in the phenomenological tradition (Cresswell, 2009).

questions: “What are the most prominent qualities of shopping that make shoppers frequent Södergatan and Söder?” and “What are these modes of shopping all about?”. Although the borders between modes of shopping were sometimes blurry, often bundling with each other by cutting across different shopping activities, shoppers’ trails and routes, as well as the sensomaterial and spatiotemporal dimensions, I ultimately identified five major modes of shopping to be recurrent patterns in the research material, which I then named; *convenience shopping*, *social shopping*, *on-the-side shopping*, *alternative shopping*, and *budget shopping*. These modes of shopping are examined in detail in the analysis part, with a chapter reserved for each of them. However, it is important to underline that no hierarchy was recognised between these modes of shopping; due to this categorical flatness, the sequence of the analysis chapters does not represent any particular logic.

Reflections on the analysis

During my analysis process, I noted that video ethnography is a suitable method for studying the enactments of shopping. The video material provided a sensorial, material, spatial, and temporal context for the shop-along interviews; it postulated a direct link between shopping activities and the street. The documented data was richer than any written fieldnotes that could have been taken. In particular, the integration of other research methods with video ethnography enhanced the collected data, and ensured the capturing of the dynamism and multifacetedness of the shopping activities of the local shopping street. However, this does not mean that video ethnography is the perfect research method for studying social practices as they are enacted; that would be beyond any research method’s capacity with regard to the complexity and richness of lives as they are lived (Reavey, 2011). Nonetheless, as I experienced, video ethnography was in line with the practice theory framework applied in this study; it informed the development of theoretical understanding, and it helped to elaborate the research questions of this study. That is to say, the method employed also steered the theoretical interests of the study.

That being said, on the other hand, both the analytical framework applied and the data collection methods employed also have their limits and drawbacks; while they illustrate some aspects well, they are less successful at highlighting others. First of all, as also discussed in the previous chapter, contemporary practice theory accounts have not been particularly effective in studying the power relations embedded in the social world (Watson, 2017). Even though, in my analysis, I try to pay attention to such dynamics, other theoretical approaches might have been more suitable for detecting and problematizing power hierarchies, social stratifications, and exploitative and discriminative relationships. Second, using the applied theoretical and methodological approaches that helped to capture and analyse the actual enactments of shopping, it was not possible to detect the modes of shopping which were missing from a shopping geography. This research mostly focuses, also being

guided by the empirical problem mentioned in the first chapter, on the presence of various modes of shopping, but not on the absent other modes. It can be said that the epistemological perspective I developed and applied in this study is not equipped to investigate and analyse the ‘social dark matter’, which Hannah formulates as “the weighty mass of what we are not doing, not engaging with actively, critically or creatively, at any and every moment” (2019, p. 176).

Nonetheless, before digging into an analysis of the ‘present’ modes of shopping in the shopping geography, it would be helpful to reach a better understanding of the street and its historical background. In the next chapter, I introduce the research site from a historical perspective, while providing a transition to the analysis chapters.

Chapter 4: The Entangled History of a Local Shopping Street

Albin, then 55, met me for an interview and a shopping tour of Södergatan, at August Palm's Square. Just before I started recording, he turned and asked me if I knew whose statue it was, a bearded man with a hat in one hand and a walking stick in the other. "August Palm" he said without waiting my answer: "he was a working class leader". He continued by affirming that Söder was an industrial district, while also pointing out the rubber factory building which was built in 1891 (Folklivsgruppen, 1987), and which started hosting, about two decades ago the university campus where I was pursuing my PhD. Later, while we were walking along the street, Albin stopped in front of a store and told me that he used to buy vinyl records there in the 1970s. It is now, he declared, a radio and TV store of the same name due to the difficulty of selling records and CDs in the face of competition from contemporary online services. Walking a bit further, Albin then pointed at the Public Employment Service on Södergatan, saying that there used to be a supermarket there called Prima, which moved to the parallel street, Carl Krooks gata, gaining the name ICA⁵⁷ Oj. Later, I followed Albin as he went inside the Alfo Gross supermarket. He continued his history lecture: "This place was a supermarket for a long time". As he remembered it, before being Alfo Gross, it was Ozen Allfrukt, a supermarket with a similar product range, whose owner was from Turkey. Before Ozen Allfrukt, the same place was called AG Supermarket.

I met Mikaela, 26, at the north of Södergatan, and we slowly walked southwards while doing a video interview. When we passed by the art galleria, Kulturhotellet, which had opened recently, she said she had been there before due to her job at the municipality. She liked the exhibition and the galleria and, since there had been no place like it in Helsingborg before, she pointed out that it was "extra nice" that it had opened in Söder specifically, where according to her, there is not much else. She argued that something needed to happen in this district, where, she said, "nothing really happens". It was very positive that this art galleria was arranging many events, she continued, since there has to be a reason for people to come to Söder, and this new art galleria was one such reason. After leaving the art galleria, she wanted to show me the new luxury hotel, Radisson Blu, which she thought looked "unbelievably" lovely. She said the restaurant part was also very cosy; a new neighbourhood bar, according to her, that almost felt like a living room. To my question about whether the hotel fits into the district, she said that it did with the "new Söder". She pointed out that, along with the renovation of the local mall with its new movie theatre, cafés, and restaurants, the hotel marks a new beginning for

⁵⁷ ICA (Inköpscentralernas aktiebolag), a franchise chain, is the biggest supermarket chain in Sweden.

the district. All these future changes would upgrade the district, and then there would be a reason to come to Söder; for her, there was almost none.



Figure 11. A store being renovated beside Gustav Adolf's Square, 2017

The past of Södergatan has passed on its materiality and senses to the present. Under the façade of a contemporary bakery, an old store sign *arbetskläder* (overalls, working clothes) comes to light again.

All places are haunted by hidden spirits (cf. Certaeu, 1980/1984, p. 108), and the present is an assemblage of multiple pasts and futures brought in front of us by means of materialities, senses, and life trajectories (cf. Thrift, 2000, p. 222; Welch et al., 2020). Likewise, shoppers' memories and future projections are integral parts of how they understand and appreciate a shopping geography. Experiences and expectations influence how they 'wayfare' along a street as shoppers and also how they enact their shopping practices. In the case of Albin, as we walked together, he unfolded the multi-historical layers of Södergatan in front of us; much of the present sensomateriality of the street was made up of sediments from various past temporalities, remembered and uncovered by his memories (cf. Massey, 1995). On the other hand, future plans and future projections affected how Mikaela moved in the district, in which part of the district she spent time, what she wanted to show me, and, eventually, the places where she shopped. The plans made for the future were, for her, simultaneously a departure from the present and the past which she dislikes (cf. Falk, 1988, p. 382). Consequently, the present of the district and the

street, as shopping geographies, both came from different past temporalities, being thrown towards multiple futures; stretched out in time (cf. Shatzki, 2010). Thus, shopping on Södergatan occurs at the conjunction of multiple temporalities, expressing itself in various sensomaterial arrangements, in shoppers' memories, and in future projections.

In order to provide a background for the contemporaneous shopping enactments analysed in the following part, and to reach a more complete understanding of the effects of progressive temporalities on shopping, I provide, in this chapter, a historical narration of retail on Södergatan, which follows a 'linear' timeline. That is to say, it starts from this street's establishment as a retail geography and analyses its path into the future, demarcated in periods of 'annexation', 'modernisation', 'decontamination', 'transnationalisation', and 'regeneration'. However, these periods are only analytically separated; many of the qualities of these periods spill over into each other. Borders between periods are unclear, and much of the earlier retail and shopping qualities, as well as the sensomaterialities and spatiotemporalities of one period, were carried over into the next one; on some occasions, vanishing temporarily to re-emerge again during a later period.

The questions I seek to answer in this chapter are: How did Södergatan emerge? What sort of retail was available in the beginning? How have the arrangements of the retail places changed over time? What are the main features of the different historical periods? What remained unchanged?

Annexation

Söder was established in the first half of the 19th century as an industrial and working-class district to the south of the old town centre (Ranby, 2005; Högdahl, 2007). The district was developed around major manufacturing facilities, e.g. the Gas Plant (1859), the Superphosphate Factory (1874), the Helsingborg Copper Factory (1886), the and Rubber Factory (1891)⁵⁸, hence its initial residents were mostly workers⁵⁹ and their families, who had moved⁶⁰ in from the surrounding

⁵⁸ Söder's proximity to the train station and the developing commercial port was its main advantage (Högdahl, 2007). In the empty plots of land between the factories and roads, small buildings started to spring up without planning permission being granted by the municipality. Later, the the district was 'domesticated' by municipal planning work, which was implemented after the 1860s. The result was a grid-like street-plan, with straight and wide streets, which was a common town planning practice at the time (Ranby, 2005).

⁵⁹ According to a book written by local amateur historians, the most common professional titles of the time were: "factory worker, iron worker, railway worker, carpenter, bricklayer and blacksmith" (Folklivsgruppen, 1987, p. 16).

⁶⁰ The rationalization of agriculture and longer life expectancy created a large labour surplus; in Sweden, mass migration occurred from rural areas into the urban centres, and to the USA at the end of the 19th century (Högdahl, 2007).

villages. Due to rapid industrialisation and migration, Helsingborg's population increased explosively; at the end of the 19th century, almost half of Helsingborg's population was living in and around Söder. Within a short period of time, Söder was annexed to the mediaeval town centre of Helsingborg from the south, with its smoky factories, small shops, and simple residential buildings. It was not an organic extension of the town centre; the general atmosphere of the district was nothing like the rest of the city⁶¹.

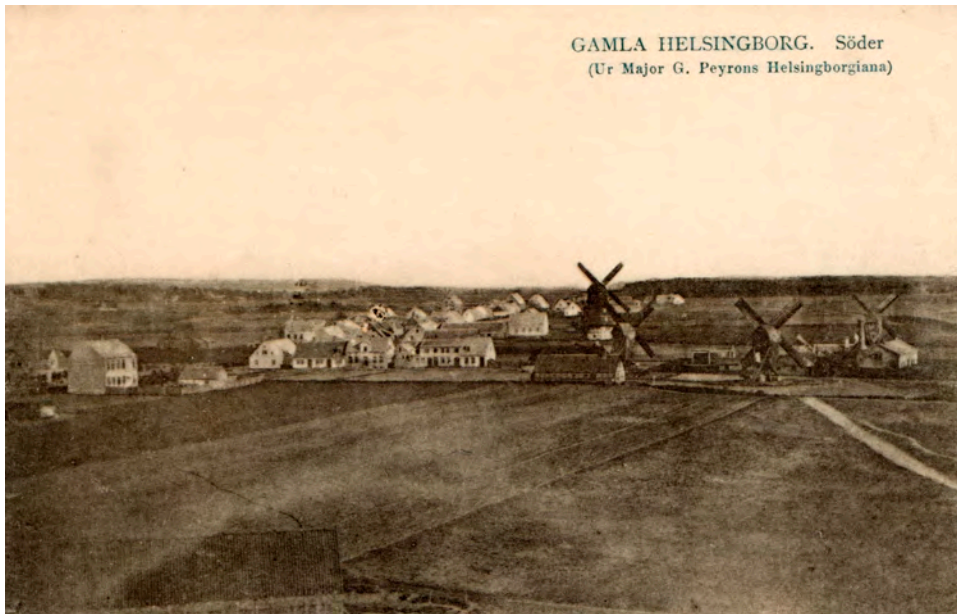


Figure 12. Söder, 1860s

Söder emerged during the first half of the 19th century as an industrial and working-class district to the south of the city.

Södergatan, which had looked like a country lane a couple of decades earlier, connecting the city with the rural area to the south of it, was transformed into a street during the second half of the 19th century. Here, there were buildings lined up along both sides, and the ground floors of these simple houses were reserved for retailing (Ranby, 2005). It functioned then as a neighbourhood shopping street, as it mostly does today, with the street serving the residents of the area. It only had modest shops such as bakeries, butchers' shops, haberdasheries, shoe shops, fabric shops, dairy shops, grocery shops, tobacconists, cafés, carpenters, ironmongers, convenience

⁶¹ The flats were small, damp, unhygienic, and cold, with toilets were in the backyards. The Superphosphate Factory was called the 'shit factory' by the residents of Söder because of the unpleasant smell it spread across the whole district. Epidemics at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. TB and Spanish Flu, also hit this district the hardest (Folklivsgruppen, 1987).

shops, paint shops, and hairdressers (Folklivsgruppen, 1987). They were so called ‘mom-and-pop stores’ (cf. Boyd, 1997), which were run by families typically living in the same building. In particular, there were many convenience shops; they sold an eclectic mixture of food, and other durable and nondurable goods, also acting as community centres (Folklivsgruppen, 1987, p. 62). The number of clothes shops was limited because it was customary to make clothes at home, and to repair them once they had worn out. In many ways, these shops resembled some of the present-day ‘ethnic shops’ on Södergatan.



Figure 13. Södergatan, 1901

Within a short period of time, Söder was annexed to the mediaeval town centre of Helsingborg from the south, with its smoky factories, small shops, and simple residential buildings.

Mobile retail was another distinct characteristic of the period; bread, milk, and fish were sold from horse-drawn wagons. In particular, bread sellers made the sensorial environment of Söder more pleasant (Folklivsgruppen, 1987, p. 72). Because there was no refrigeration technology as yet, food was stored in cellars, while meat was preserved using salt. However, most foodstuffs were usually bought on a daily basis; a shopping rhythm that was abandoned during later periods only to return in recent years. In addition, grocery shopping was much more of a gendered activity compared to today; men would get stigmatized if they bought food from a shop (Folklivsgruppen, 1987, p. 28).



Figure 14. Södergatan, 1900s

In a couple of decades, Södergatan had been transformed into a street where buildings were lined up along both sides. The ground floors of those simple houses were reserved for retail.

A particularly important development, the main square of the district, Gustav Adolf's Square, was constructed when Gustav Adolf's Church was built at the turn of the 20th century. Although political gatherings for the working class movement were also held there, the main function of this square was as a marketplace for fresh groceries and meat (Aretoft, 2011). This retail form, which started back then on the square, remains today.

Modernisation

Penetrating into the 20th century, the district and its retail gradually flourished. While Söder was improved with a new indoor swimming pool, a multi-storey car park, and a modern public gym, Södergatan was in part gaining some main shopping street qualities; it was attracting shoppers from a larger area and began being treated as a part of the town centre. Some of the modern retail inventions of the time, i.e. putting price tags on goods, preparing shop window displays, outsourcing some retail to vending machines⁶² also found their place in the retail organisation of the

⁶² Vending machines were mostly used as a solution to the issue of the legally-enforced evening and Sunday closing in use at the time (Aretoft, 2011, p. 121), which mostly disappeared after the 1970s, when regulations governing opening hours became more flexible in Sweden.

district (Aretoft, 2011). In addition, in parallel with the rest of the country (Fredriksson, 1998), due to the proliferation of chain department stores, women started occupying a more central position in the shopping geography of the street, in addition to being shoppers, they were now also retail workers. Two main developments are worth mentioning which introduced modern retail qualities into the district. First, a branch of the Tempo department store chain was opened on Södergatan in 1934 (Aretoft, 2011). Second, a local working-class movement initiative, the member-owned SVEA cooperative, was established in 1900, gradually growing in size and capacity.

Partly due to the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s, and the emergence of modern ways of shopping, large-scale and efficient retail organisations with international trade links and low-budget services and goods enjoyed commercial success in Sweden (Fredriksson, 1998; Bergman, 2003). Two major department store chains, EPA and Tempo, established themselves in Helsingborg in the 1930s.



Figure 15. Södergatan, 1933

Penetrating into the 20th century, the district and its retail gradually flourished.



Figure 16. The fishmonger's on Södergatan, 1941

Shop window displays were introduced during this period, encouraging window-shopping.

The Tempo department store opened its branch on Södergatan in 1934, while EPA opened on Kullagatan, an idyllic mediaeval shopping street in central Helsingborg (Aretoft, 2011). These stores, which were predominantly based on self-service, had a special sensomaterial arrangement and atmosphere, with sophisticated decoration, including colours, smells, and carefully-designed shop windows. In a sense, they put sensorial experience at the heart of shopping activities; shoppers could walk around, let themselves be amazed by the in-store environment, and touch and smell items in a way not imaginable before (Aretoft, 2011, see also Fredriksson, 1998). It was possible to find almost everything in these department stores; in one way, they resembled the convenience stores that dominated the previous period of the shopping street, albeit on a bigger scale and in a much more organized and staged fashion. The Tempo department store also introduced 'alien' innovations to its shoppers since most of its goods were imported; for instance, it was the first store to sell ice-cream in the district. Shopping at these department stores was also about socializing with one's fellow shoppers (Fredriksson, 1998). For instance, the Tempo department store even had a restaurant and bar, where shoppers met and greeted each other. As noted, both the shoppers and the staff of the Tempo department store were mostly women; that is to say, this department store facilitated women taking

part more actively in the public space of the street. The fact that the Tempo department store had fixed prices for its goods, and made use of price tags, was also significant since all the other independent stores of the district were based on price flexibility and invisibility, with bargaining still being a common shopping activity (Aretoft, 2011; Högdahl, 2007).



Figure 17. Inside Tempo on Södergatan, 1957

Tempo opened a branch on Södergatan in 1934 on the first two floors of a modern building. Department store chains introduced new ways of shopping and retailing into Sweden. Their goods were mass-produced, cheap, and imported. It was possible to find almost everything in these department stores.



Figure 18. The SVEA cooperative store, 1905

The second major retail investment in Söder was the SVEA cooperative store, established by the labour unions.

The second major retail investment in Söder was the SVEA cooperative store, established by the labour unions. Although it already had had a store on Södergatan in 1900, it was in 1913 that it opened its modern and expansive cooperative building on the street, which even had the space, besides the main store, for a charcuterie, a coffee-roasting department, offices, and a warehouse (Folklivsgruppen, 1987). In 1937, the main store moved to an even bigger space, also providing a restaurant on the second floor and gradually assuming the name ‘Konsum’ (Aretoft, 2011). Later on, in 1944, the cooperative even opened a bakery on Södergatan. At the SVEA store in Söder, there was almost everything a working-class family would need, at ‘working-class friendly’ prices, provided that the cooperative was collectively owned by its ‘member shoppers’ who had limited economic resources. The cooperative had also created its own loyalty programme, which encouraged repeat visits by shoppers; shoppers would save their receipts and hand them in to the SVEA office once a year just before Christmas in order to receive a refund, at a time when extra money was very welcome (Aretoft, 2011, p. 121). Thus, despite the fact that the SVEA cooperative copied many of the modern retail innovations and the layout of department stores, this cooperative was still a very locally-anchored establishment; its loyalty programme was not only based on ideological solidarity

and resistance to the profit-oriented retail establishments, but also on coupons, repayments, and discounts.

Notwithstanding the changes and innovations mentioned, many other things in Söder and on Södergatan stayed more or less the same during the first half of the 20th century. The street market functioned almost identically to previous decades; apart from the fact that the meat trade was gradually transferred to butchers (Aretoft, 2011) due to national health regulations (cf. Seamon & Nordin, 1980). The majority of the retail places in Söder and on Södergatan also followed previous patterns: They were overwhelmingly independent stores run by local entrepreneurial families, something which also continued to reinforce a sense of community in the district.

Decontamination

After World War II, in parallel with the burgeoning national economy, retail on Södergatan and in Söder flourished further, continuing to follow modernisation trends ⁶³. In the 1950s, Söder was a lively district; a self-contained shopping geography with a vibrant social life and a rich variety of retail outlets. Shoppers living in the district did not need to cross Trädgårdsgatan, the street forming the northern border of Söder, into the town centre, because Söder provided everything its inhabitants needed, in social, cultural and economic terms, as well as what others living in different parts of Helsingborg needed (Aretoft, 2011).



Figure 19. Opening up space for the Domus department store beside Södergatan
In order to build the new department store, all the old buildings on the block were razed to the ground.

⁶³ The fact that Sweden was not involved in the war helped economic advancement during the period immensely; in the case of Helsingborg, shoppers from war-torn Denmark were significant to the retail trade in the town centre.



Figure 20. A modern pharmacy in the newly-built Söderport Building, 1965

Retail on Södergatan and in Söder flourished further, continuing to follow modernisation trends

Specifically, during this period, the street's architectural landscape was altered by the wave of post-war modernisation striking Sweden, and this also affected the organisation of retail in the shopping geography. The strong Social Democrat governments of the time wanted to raise living standards for working class families and to address the housing shortage occurring due to continued migration into the cities from rural areas. Their ambitious goal was to build one million new flats within a ten-year period (Ristilammi, 1994). Starting in the 1960s, just like in the rest of the country, an immense urban regeneration process was initiated in Söder. This involved moving some of the industrial production away from the district, and razing some old buildings to the ground that were in a relatively poor condition using the argument that renovation would be too costly. The main motivation here was improving public health and the standard of living of the district; many residential buildings, for instance, had their toilets in the backyard, with shared bathrooms in the cellar and no central heating systems (Aretoft, 2011). On the other hand, according to the hegemonic discourse of the time in Sweden, what was also happening was that the worn-out buildings of the 'oppressive', class-based 'old regime' were being eradicated, while modern, functional, rational, affordable, and futuristic monoliths made of steel and cement were being erected as the sensomaterialisation of an 'egalitarian' new order in Sweden (Ristilammi, 1994, pp. 41-50). However, the aggressive demolition and construction process occurring in

Helsingborg during this period, and in other Swedish cities, was not appreciated later on, either aesthetically or socially (cf. Thufvesson, 2006).



Figure 21. The opening of the Domus department store on Södergatan, 1967

The manager of this new modern department store declared “we’ll be selling everything apart from cars and elephants”.

The new city library (1965), the District Court building (1972), the Söderport building (1964), and the police headquarters (1971) were some manifestations of the specific understanding and aesthetics of Söder (Ranby, 2005). Along with old buildings that were demolished, many small retail places disappeared as well, while new, larger ones emerged. With regard to retail and shopping, the most significant developments of the time were the introduction of supermarkets into the district and the construction of the colossal department store Domus.

In particular, the modern department store Domus, built in 1967, would represent the zeitgeist. The SVEA cooperative decided to further develop its stores, buying a whole block beside Södergatan to build its modern mega-store, with rooftop parking (Ranby, 2005). The old buildings of the block were razed to the ground (see Figure 15), and a big cement complex was erected called Domus⁶⁴, taking the joint name of the cooperative stores belonging to the national network of consumer

⁶⁴ In 1970, there were around 200 Domus department stores in Sweden, with more than 20% of the market share in consumables (Tufvesson, 1991).

cooperatives. The manager of the new and vast Domus store declared that they would “sell everything apart from cars and elephants” (Aretoft, 2011, p. 183). It was seen as the most modern department store in the city, selling clothes, food, home accessories, and electronics, and it even had an escalator, which was a novel technology in the city (Högdahl, 2007, p. 63).



Figure 22. The Prima supermarket on Södergatan, 1970

The clustering of two new supermarkets, two department stores, and the street market, in particular, transformed Söder into a hub for groceries in Helsingborg.

In the 1960s, two supermarkets additionally opened in the district⁶⁵, introducing this retail format into the shopping geography; i.e. Prima on Södergatan and A&G on Gustav Adolf’s Square, where the Alfo Gross supermarket lies today. The Prima and A&G supermarkets further developed the notion of self-service in retail in the shopping geography, familiarising shoppers with devices such as the shopping trolley and the shopping basket (cf. Hagberg & Normark, 2015; Grandclément, 2006). With their abundance of goods filling shelves from floor to ceiling, goods waiting to be picked using the shopping devices above, these supermarkets were

⁶⁵ The first supermarkets were established in the 1930s in the USA (Wrigley & Lowe, 2002). These gradually spread across the whole world, coming to Sweden after the war (Bergman, 2003).

outsourcing the retail workers' jobs to the shoppers, while also enabling lower prices (cf. Hagberg, 2016).

Between the 1960s and the early 1980s, the clustering of two supermarkets, two department stores, and the street market, in particular, transformed Söder into a hub for affordable groceries, into a shopping destination for the whole of Helsingborg; this is a feature that the district maintains today, to a certain extent, despite newer hyperstores and superstores being built outside of the town centre. There was great optimism regarding the future of Söder and Södergatan; many buildings were renewed and the area had the biggest modern department store in the city, with the socio-economic position of the working class substantially improving (Salomonsson, 1979). However, a major global chain of actions and events prompted a twist in the organisation of the shopping geography.

Transnationalisation

If the period after the war was mostly in line with developments and policies on the national level, what happened after the 1980s in Söder was influenced largely by the dynamics of what is called (neo)globalisation (cf. Knox, 1997). On the one hand, the remaining manufacturing facilities of the district either closed down or moved their operations to remote parts of the world, where costs were lower. Another outcome was the transnationalisation of retail on a global scale, bringing some major foreign retailers to the district, e.g. Mc Donald's (as regards the neo-global market influence on cities and retail, see Massey, 1992 and Wrigley & Lowe, 1996). However, the traditional working class families of Söder, whose economic power had escalated during the post-war era, were gradually moving either to newer blocks in other districts or to the newly-established neighbourhoods of detached houses in the suburbs of Helsingborg. Simultaneously, in accordance with increased global mobility, transnational migrants were filling empty places in the district (Högdahl, 2007). This process led to the re-segregation of the district, for two main reasons; i.e. the purchasing power of the residents of the district had decreased immensely, with the already-existing but temporarily weakened material, sensorial, economic and political disconnectedness of the district and Södergatan away from the town centre being fortified with an ethno-cultural division. In other words, while Söder was slowly becoming a 'superdiverse' district (cf. Hall, 2011; Vertovec, 2007), Helsingborg's previously class-based spatial demarcation was also being 'racialized', just like in other major cities in Sweden (Pred, 1997, 2000).



Figure 23. Transnational chain Mc Donald's on Södergatan, 1987



Figure 24. Systembolaget, the state-owned alcohol retail monopoly chain, 1988

During the 1980s, a significant number of national and transnational retail chains established branches on Södergatan. However, most of these gradually left this street.

While these developments were unfolding, retail in Helsingborg, similar to many other mid-sized cities (Kärholm & Nylund, 2011), was decentralizing and increasingly shifting towards the out-of-town shopping mall Väla Centrum⁶⁶. Retail in Söder and on Södergatan was also influenced by this development (Sandström & Fredriksson, 2010), with the few chain stores that had been established on the street during previous years, e.g. H&M, Team Sportia⁶⁷, and McDonald's, leaving the district. Another significant consequence of this wider retail restructuring was that the Domus department store on Södergatan was unable to survive the competition, sharing the same fate as other Domus department stores throughout the country (Tufvesson, 1991). It was transformed into the shopping mall Söderpunkten in 1984, with this store's vast floor space instead being divided up into smaller retail places.



Figure 25. The Curry Pasta convenience store, 2013
Curry Pasta was one of the first 'ethnic' shops opening on the street.

⁶⁶ Väla Centrum was established in 1974, on the outskirts of the city, after some Swedish engineers had been on a business trip to the USA, returning with the idea of building a shopping mall at a motorway intersection (Thufvesson, 2017). In particular, following the construction of an IKEA store in 1988 next to this mall, the whole area was developed by adding other establishments and expanding it as a retail destination (Väla Centrum, 2014).

⁶⁷ A national retail chain selling sports items.

In other words, despite the high hopes for Söder at the beginning of the 1980s, Södergatan welcomed the new millennium with an articulated ‘crisis’, just like many local shopping streets in Western Europe (Oram et al., 2003), which mostly manifested itself in stores being vacated (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2003). However, entrepreneurs with backgrounds in other countries filled the majority of these empty stores (Järtelius, 2001), reviving much of the retail tradition of the early Södergatan.

The above-mentioned radical changes, which occurred due to transnationalisation processes, made a direct impact on how people enacted shopping in the district. The people lived and worked in the district changed, so did the routines, preferences, competences, relations, budgets of shoppers. In parallel with this demographic shift, regarding the shoppers frequenting Söder and Södergatan, the available retail places, along with their services and goods, were gradually transformed, too. This process has recently been strengthened further, after 2015, in line with mass migration mostly occurring as a result of the Syrian civil war.

Regeneration

At the turn of the new millennium, in parallel with the transnationalisation process taking place, a major city development project was initiated by Helsingborg Municipality in Söder called “Söder in change”. The aim of this was to regenerate and revitalize Söder; the project was presented in order to address issues regarding high employment, public health, and criminality in the district, and to improve the physical qualities of the general architecture, which was claimed to be worn-down and unattractive (Söder in change, 2006). Believing that these improvements in the psychical conditions would lead to the desired social and economic changes (Högdahl, 2007, also cf. Ristilampi, 1994), the main square was restructured in a way restricting the street market in one area, with the indoor swimming pool beside the street being renovated and the street-lighting infrastructure being renewed. In addition, Södergatan was semi-pedestrianized and open only to buses going in one direction. The multicultural district of Möllevången⁶⁸ in Malmö, the largest city in southern Sweden, was cited as a role model in that it had acquired a ‘hip’ character, had become popular among the so-called creative class⁶⁹, and had enhanced Malmö’s overall attractiveness (Högdahl, 2007).

⁶⁸ Just like Söder, Möllevången was built in the 19th century as a central working-class residential area, which later became home to transnational migrants and by degrees also to the progressive and alternative new middle-class (Högdahl, 2003).

⁶⁹ This hope of turning a central and deprived district into a hub for the so-called creative class was in line with a popular Swedish policymaking perspective, notably inspired by the work of scholar Richard Florida (Fredriksson, 2013). According to Florida, cities need to compete for the highly-educated, mobile and innovative new middle class (creative class), with diversity being one of the key strengths in this competition (Florida, 2002).

This project, which even included moving the street Malmöleden, bordering Söder on the west, underground to link the district to the shore and the university, turned out to be more expensive than initially planned. Due to the additional interference of the global financial crisis in 2008 (Sandström & Fredriksson, 2010), the project could never be totally completed in a sense, according to many, only changing things for the worse (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2011). More chain stores either closed or moved, including the state-owned alcohol retail monopoly, Systembolaget. Retailers blamed the long construction period of the project and the limited access for cars as reasons for this failure⁷⁰.



Figure 26. Still of Söderpunkten, 2015

After Söderpunkten closed for renovation in 2014, a vast dead-zone was created as regards retail on Södergatan.

In August 2014, just before Söderpunkten was closed for renovation⁷¹, I documented ninety-nine different establishments on Södergatan. If we exclude state

⁷⁰ In 2019, following a survey of city residents by the police, in which Söder was chosen as the least safe district in the whole of the south Sweden (SVT, 2018), a new project was initiated, which can be seen as a continuation of Söder in change. Citysamverkan, a public-private partnership, consisting of town centre retailers, property owners, and the municipality, started a campaign to improve Söder called Beloved Söder (Citysamverkan, 2019), in order to increase the 'sense of safety' of the shopping geography by improving its physical qualities, e.g. by adding more street lights and litter bins. Its aim was to receive a so-called a 'purple flag', which symbolizes secure urban districts even at night.

⁷¹ The closure of Söderpunkten for renovation in 2014 negatively affected a shopping geography already under pressure, causing yet more retailers to move away from the district. The long renovation period of the mall also created a 200-metre 'dead-zone' on Södergatan, which lasted for about four years.

institutions, clinics, currency exchange offices, education centres and a charity centre, the street had 86 different shops, of which nine were empty and waiting for new merchants. It was easy to notice the dominance of restaurants, convenience shops, and hairdressers on the street: These totalled 31 enterprises, mostly being retailers who had moved away from other countries to run them. For the rest of these venues, the retail categories were as follows: three opticians, eight fashion shops, one shoe shop, nine restaurants, thirteen convenience shops, two pharmacies, nine hairdressers, three cafés, two florists, two toy stores (one of which also sold bicycles). There were also four consumer electronics shops, three jewellers, and two interior design shops. Additionally, there was one nail studio, one funeral home, and a video shop. Also located on the street were two ‘healthy lifestyle’ shops, two shoemakers, one second-hand shop and a flea market, two fitness centres, one bar, one cultural centre, one haberdashery, one massage salon, and a bakery. Apart from the shops and other establishments, there was also one cinema, an indoor swimming pool, and a street market.

In the last couple of years, a number of new construction and renovation projects have been initiated in parts of Söder, which can be understood within the framework of ‘gentrification’. This term can simply be defined as “a generalised middle-class restructuring of place, encompassing the entire transformation from low-status neighbourhoods to upper-middle-class playgrounds” (Shaw, 2008, p. 1698)⁷². As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Radisson Blu, a new luxury hotel, was built and opened in early April 2016 on a parallel street to Södergatan. It is one of the most popular, and highly ranked hotels in Helsingborg, also hosting two restaurants on the ground floor that are accessible to the general public. In parallel with this, in the summer of 2014, the property owner announced that the local shopping mall Söderpunkten, i.e. the old Domus building, would be renovated into an upscaled service- and experience-oriented centre. Finally, in 2018, it was re-opened, changing its name to “Söder”, appropriating the name of the district, with the claim that the new complex was inspired by Söder, while aiming to revitalize it. The cinema moved from Södergatan into luxurious premises on the mall’s second floor, which also hosts a popular bowling alley and a high-end gym. On its first floor, there are five restaurants, two cafés, a hairdresser, a beauty salon, a

⁷² Since the 1990s, much research has been done on district and neighbourhood regeneration projects (Lees, 2000; Lees et al. 2013); it has been shown that regeneration projects often initiate a demographic, cultural, and business shift within a district (Zukin et al., 2009). Although different types of gentrification processes have been identified (Hubbard, 2017), the general pattern includes the inflow of artists, students, and people belonging to lifestyle subcultures into a deprived geography, together with their consumption and shopping patterns; according to Zukin, the ABC of gentrification is the emergence of Art galleries, Boutiques, and Cafés (Zukin et al., 2016). As a result, the district becomes more attractive to major investment, in turn raising living costs due to increased prices and rents. Ultimately, the previous residents of the deprived district gradually have to move to more affordable areas (Ley, 2003; Shaw, 2008).

supermarket, a pharmacy, and a discount store; i.e. a totally different mix of retail compared to the clothing stores which dominated Söderpunkten prior to renovation. On one of the corners of the new ‘Söder’, a residential and office tower is being built, targeted at an upper middle-class clientele. Lastly, the art gallery Kulturhotellet, is another new actor opening its doors on Södergatan. It secured financial support from the municipality and has arranged many cultural activities, ranging from hosting art exhibitions⁷³ and mediating graffiti projects to organising street festivals, classical music concerts, and even Christmas parties for unaccompanied refugee minors.



Figure 27. Still of the interior of Radisson Blu, 2018

This new hotel's atmosphere, its sensomaterial arrangement, and the people inside it, were distinct from the rest of the district.

All three of these novel developments in the district are spatially concentrated around August Palm's Square, the square which acquired its name from the early 20th century working-class movement leader August Palm, whom Albin was lecturing me about. In a way, these new actors in the district co-created a cluster in Söder while inviting different shopping activities to the ones already existing in Söder in terms of the capital required; i.e. economic, social and cultural. They also

⁷³ One of the many exhibitions that Kulturhotellet has hosted, 'Museum of Failures', became an international success, see CNN, 2017, for example. However, the art galleria closed down in January 2021 after Helsingborg Municipality had decided to reduce the amount of financial support it receives (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2021).

inspire distinct future projections for shoppers, both pessimistic and optimistic, regarding the direction in which the district would change⁷⁴.

Pasts and Futures in the Present Södergatan

Retail and shopping, as shown above, have had a fluctuating and rich history at the research site. Initially established as a working-class district in the mid-19th century, Södergatan functioned as a shopping geography primarily frequented by working-class families living in the district. The retail places had a traditional character; they were run by families who often lived in the same building. These kinds of independent, small-scale stores have always been in the majority on the local shopping street throughout its history, and that is the case today, too. Despite that, starting in the 1910s, modern retail formats made an entrance, shaping the shopping geography, e.g. department stores, supermarkets, and both national and transnational chain stores. These formats enabled novel ways of shopping, introducing shopping devices which did not exist before on the street. They exhibited goods in shop windows, and developed the notion of self-service. However, after the 1980s, along with global chains of actions, independent retailers expanded within the shopping geography again. Transnational migrant entrepreneurs occupied the vacant retail places, which had emerged due to the growing impact of the out-of-town shopping mall and the shift in the district's demographics. It can be claimed that these developments reversed the 'retail evolution' of a significant part of the shopping geography, reviving some of the qualities of the early Söder and Södergatan. There have also been some retail formats which retained their form over the course of time. The street market is an example of this kind of robustness; it stayed in existence in the same place since the beginning of 20th century, with only marginal changes in its organisation, something which is also common in other cities in Sweden (Seamon & Nordin, 1980).

Temporalities are intertwined, gift: in addition, 'chains of actions' in the social world do not only unfold in a progressive manner, but also recursively. Change occurs at many tempos and in many directions; thus, while some things are transformed radically and rapidly, others seems to stay the same. Nevertheless, most of the literature concerning retail history derives from a 'linear', discrete understanding of temporality, often employing the term 'retail evolution' (cf. Davidson et al., 1976; Dreesmann, 1968; Levy et al., 2005). These studies are based on the temporal understanding of the inevitably progressive but ruptured phases (Falk, 1988; also Schatzki, 2010). Once it has been formulated as such, a need to adopt a historical perspective on studying the present becomes superfluous, because

⁷⁴ The opening of a branch of the discount supermarket chain LIDL, in September 2020, on the opposite side of Södergatan from the 'Söder' mall, can also be seen within the same trajectory.

the past is understood as something that is left behind, something that is incapable of making an impact on the present.



Figure 28. Street market, 1955



Figure 29. Still of the street market, 2015

The street market maintains its sense of continuity in Söder: It has been there since the establishment of the district. Today, it is mostly transnational workers and merchants who sustain this retail place.

As was the case for retail and shopping on Södergatan, the history of retail is seldom ‘evolutionary’; the present time’s retail organisations and ways of shopping might have more in common with how it was a hundred years ago than fifty years ago. Furthermore, different historical periods have left their material and sensorial remnants, and cultural heritage to the present; in this way, they co-create the retail places and shopping enactments of today⁷⁵. In the present, pasts and futures are always hidden, embedded, accumulated, emerging, merging and decaying, as is the case for the shopping activities and retail places of Södergatan. Likewise, personal and collective life trajectories also link the past and future to the present, through memories and future projections (Schatzki, 2019; Welch et al., 2020). Memory can be defined as the “persistence of something from the past into the present” (Halbwachs, 1994 in Berliner, 2005, p. 200), or “strategic remembrance and deliberate forgetting” (Melion & Kuhler, 1993 in Degnen, 2016, p. 1663). Therefore, what shoppers remember, as well as what they forget, is also a statement made on the present state of the retail organisation (see also Odih & Knights, 2002). In other words, the past is not solely an abstract concept for the shoppers of the street; it is also inscribed in the sensomaterialities of Södergatan (cf. Jelsma, 2003).

Only by drawing on a historical account, by means of studying how the conditions of a certain activity have emerged and evolved, can we gain a better understanding of a social practice: “Historicizing social practices provides knowledge about the robustness or resilience of the practice.” (Spaargaren et. al., 2016, p. 19). As I discussed in the second chapter, every present activity or sensomaterial arrangement comes from multiple pasts and is thrown towards miscellaneous futures (Schatzki, 2010). It is, therefore, essential to reach an understanding of the historical backgrounds of the different retail places, retail formats, of the research site. This is because they invite, encourage and enable distinct ways of enacting shopping in the shopping geography. In this way, it becomes possible to develop a more nuanced account of the present-day shopping activities and major modes of shopping enacted in the district and on the street, and these are analysed in detail in the following part.

⁷⁵ See Hagberg & Fuentes, 2018 for an example of dynamic retail formation change analysis.

PART II. Analysis

Chapter 5: Convenience Shopping

In this chapter, I examine one of the five major modes of shopping identified in the research, *convenience shopping*. In the rest of the analysis part, the other four recognised modes of shopping are elaborated upon, framed as *on-the-side shopping*, *social shopping*, *alternative shopping*, and *budget shopping*. The identification and framing of these modes of shopping is based on their recurrence in the empirical data and their distinct teleoaffectivities, consisting of aims, intentions, tasks, beliefs, and projects, as well as the emotions, feelings, and moods specific to a mode of shopping. That is to say, the analysis chapters are primarily designed to engage with my first two research questions, i.e. how shopping is enacted and organized on Södergatan and in Söder, and what are these enactments of shopping all ‘about’. However, it is important to remind ourselves that the borders between the identified modes of shopping are sometimes blurry and often entangled with each other. In the analysis part, I also touch upon the ways that shopping and the local street are interrelated, the concern of my third research question, although this discussion is especially deliberated upon in the tenth and eleventh chapters. Lastly, I would like to make it clear that, since no hierarchy has either been detected or assumed among the studied modes of shopping, the order of the chapters does not suggest any kind of hierarchical order.

So, what is convenience shopping all about? How is it organised? What are the activities which compose it? How are they linked? How does the mode of shopping contribute to the vibrancy of the street and the district?

RICKARD: I really enjoy living in Helsingborg and in Söder.

DEVIM: OK, why do like Söder?

RICKARD: (Looks around) I think Söder has a good atmosphere. And it’s nice when there are mixed cultures and lots of places that are open late in the evening, which isn’t something you’ll see in Norr. Here you can nip out and buy a carton of milk at 11 o’clock at night from the nearest store. It’s no problem at all.

Convenience shopping emphasizes the sense of convenience that this mode of shopping provides, which largely depends on convenient spatiotemporal availability and sensomaterial accessibility. It contains a bundle of activities, which largely minimize the physical and mental efforts of the process of potentially purchasing services and goods, e.g. by means of nearness, generous opening hours, and overall ease.

In the following section, I provide a general understanding of convenience shopping by examining Rickard’s enactment of this mode of shopping, followed by a short

literature review to ground my analysis in ‘the state of the art’. I then look into the various temporalities embedded in convenience shopping. Later on, the modes of shopping’s relation to various sensomaterialities will be investigated, followed by touching upon some complications and tensions.

Shopping conveniently

Rickard, aged 30, is from Uppsala, an old university town to the north of Stockholm. He had moved to Söder, in Helsingborg, two years earlier, when he started working as a priest in a neighbouring town. The reason why he chose to live in Helsingborg was because his wife got a job in that city. Her sister was already living in Söder; however, it was a coincidence, according to him, that they also moved into the district.



Figure 30. Rickard is showing the way, 2015

According to Rickard, the premium quality of Söder was that so many stores were open late into the evening.

I met him on a cold March afternoon on Södergatan, in 2015, opposite the local mall, Södergatan, which was closed for renovation at the time. He was not planning to buy anything that day, but happily showed me his favourite spots in the shopping geography, guiding me through the district while I video-recorded the process. As mentioned above, he liked the district, and its atmosphere, which was enriched by a

“mix of cultures”. But the premium quality of Söder, which made him enjoy living in it, was that so many stores were open late into the evening. He said: “It isn’t something you’ll see in Norr⁷⁶”, comparing Söder to the city centre of Helsingborg. He pointed out that, in Söder, one can buy snacks, basic food and other daily items until midnight; “It isn’t a problem at all”, implying it can be a ‘problem’ in other parts of the city.

During our video interview tour, Rickard took me to the store where he does most of his late evening shopping; a grocery shop called Sharif’s on Furutorpsgatan, a street which intersects Södergatan close to its southern end. This store was only about 200 metres from his flat, which was also beside Furutorpsgatan. Since it was open late, shopping there was convenient. Sharif’s is a slightly larger grocery store owned by an Iraqi family. The whole shop was filled with goods from floor to ceiling; furthermore, various food items were even on display on the pavement in cartons and plastic boxes. Almost every inch of the store, and its frontage, was used for storage, display and merchandise. One can argue that the store was arranged for the rapid turnover of goods, and frequent visits by only a few shoppers at a time, since there was not much space to wander around in, or to establish longer queues within, due to the crowdedness of the items. The cash desk was placed next to the entrance to enable rapid transactions, to welcome shoppers, and to keep an eye on the exit, but also to mimic a supermarket layout. Although no shopping baskets were available, shoppers were responsible for checking, choosing, selecting and carrying their own goods to the cash desk, apart from some items such as cigarettes, which were behind the cash desk, just like in many supermarkets. Rickard frequented this store often, but not regularly, he said, while we were standing outside it:

RICKARD: Here at Sharif’s, we only shop sporadically. Yes... When you feel a bit too lazy to go to the ICA at Gustav Adolf’s Square or when it’s late... Pasta, cheese, and bread... When you need simple things like that very quickly. But if we only need really simple stuff, like milk, coffee and sweets, we go to Kalles, a smaller shop just beside where we live, which also closes late.

Rickard often enacts convenience shopping after he and his wife come home from work, when they realize they need or want something that they do not have at home at the time, which cannot wait until the next day. When they feel a “bit lazy” as regards going all the way to their regular supermarket, but not so lazy so as not visit closer stores, they enact this mode of shopping. They also do convenience shopping when it is too late to go to the supermarket anyway. The assumed complexity of the goods they wish to buy also makes an impact on how far they are prepared to walk.

⁷⁶ Norr means north in Swedish, and this is commonly used to label the city centre of Helsingborg.



Figure 31. Still of Sharif's store, 2015

The whole store was packed with items from floor to ceiling; almost every inch of the store was used.

In the case of Rickard's enactments, convenience shopping contains a bundle of activities; i.e. wanting or needing something while at home, leaving the flat, walking dozens of metres for basic goods, or a couple of hundred metres where more sophisticated food items are concerned, talking to the retailer, choosing their items, then paying for and carrying these home in bags on foot. This mode of shopping, in Rickard's case, is organized by the existence and absence of market regulations; in particular, the relatively loose legislation governing opening hours in today's Sweden, and thus Helsingborg, is important. Rickard and his wife's practical knowledge, i.e. that there are such nearby retail places stocking the desired items and open until late, is surely also substantial. Lastly, the convenience of allowing himself to be lazy, and not needing to plan for and purchase every item in advance and then keep these at home, in a way using these stores as an extension of domestic refrigerators or cupboards, is significant to the configuration of Rickard's convenience shopping. This overall provision of 'convenience' is the orientation of the mode of shopping; it aligns various activities and ends and is what this mode of shopping is all 'about'.

What is more, Rickard's enactment of convenience shopping was enabled by the special sensomaterial arrangements of the two grocery stores named, i.e. Sharif's and Kalles, distinguished by the absence of barriers and the presence of piles of mixed goods. The smooth sensomaterial connection for pedestrians from home to store, including street lights at night time, was crucial, although this might be taken

for granted. This mode of shopping was also realized in conjunction with transnational migration, since both Sharif's and Kalles were run by migrant entrepreneurs, being enmeshed with their life trajectories. The circumstance that both Rickard and his wife worked, and did so during the day without having anyone else in their household, also encouraged the enactment of convenience shopping.

Convenience and Shopping

Convenience is a common theme in both 'consumer research' and 'consumption studies'; however, these might mean radically different things. In addition, convenience, particularly in the British context, is also used to describe both some everyday goods, i.e. convenience food, which often means processed and/or ready-to-eat and ready-to-cook meals (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016; Jackson et al., 2018) and also certain types of small stores, i.e. convenience stores selling a bit of everything for daily consumption, but mostly food (Wrigley, 2010). These practical uses of the term further complicate the already-contested meaning of 'convenience'.

Anderson claims that; "when scarcity of products disappears, the scarcity of time ascends the value scale" (Anderson, 1971, p. 179). According to him, "convenience-oriented consumption" is about satisfying wants, but also saves time and energy for other things. The relative abundance of resources in contemporary wealthy societies has made 'time' more valuable, with the importance of convenience having increased. Similarly, Reimers and Clulow (2009) link the rising demand for 'convenience' to the notions of 'time scarcity' and 'time inflexibility' experienced due to the recent changes in societal structures. Shove (2003) also stresses the importance of the time aspect in relation to convenience. She underlines the aspect of time control, that is to say, contemporary consumers and shoppers seek control over their time arrangements and try to manage any potential interruptions. She also points out that convenience originally meant "fitness for purpose"; however, since the 1960s, the term has been used "to describe arrangements, devices, or services that helped save or shift time" (2003, p. 410).

Warde (1999) states that the conversion of the meaning of 'convenience' only happened once the term had been used in relation to shopping and food. Apart from being fit for purpose, he explains, it also gained two additional meanings: i.e. "saving trouble (particularly saving toil); and furnishing an opportunity or advantage" (Warde, 1999, p. 520). In a similar vein, Scholderer and Grunert argue that "convenience suggests something can be done with reduced effort" (Scholderer & Grunert, 2005, p. 106). However, Jackson et al. (2006), in their extensive qualitative study of shopper activities and preferences, found that, although 'convenience' was often articulated as the reason why shoppers 'choose' one store over another, what they really mean by the term varies. It can mean a short distance,

the effectiveness of the store as regards its size and footfall, the level of ease of combining shopping with other commitments, or the frequency of store visits required (Jackson et al., 2006, see also Williams et al., 2001).

Various factors and developments (or ‘chains of actions’ in Schatzki’s terms, cf. Schatzki, 2019) have been pointed out as motors driving the seeking of more convenience. Changes in household structures, men’s incorporation into shopping, women’s involvement in paid work, as well as the departure from traditional lifestyles are all articulated as causes (Dolega, 2012). The appropriation of some “time-shifting devices” (Warde, 1999, p. 522), e.g. freezers, refrigerators, cars, and washing machines, should be also regarded as an actor in the co-creating of the need and conditions regarding convenience. In contemporary post-industrial countries, many shoppers are increasingly experiencing greater time pressures, despite having significantly more ‘free time’ than earlier generations (Warde, 1999); it can be claimed that this relative experiencing and understanding of time also triggers a consumption and shopping culture around the concept of ‘convenience’.

Wrigley and Lambiri (2014) coin the term ‘convenience culture’ to underline a relatively new consumption trend, which they think lies behind the entry of smaller versions of the supermarket chains into town centres, as well as rising numbers of other small-scale stores based on convenience in the UK after the financial crisis of 2008 (also Dolega, 2012; Wrigley, 2010). According to these scholars, “retail has always been about convenience” (Wrigley & Lambiri, 2014, p. 20); nonetheless, there has been a change in how convenience is understood and enacted during the last decade. This new rising ‘convenience culture’ is not about minimising cost in terms of time and money by, for instance, doing one-stop shopping at an out-of-town centre, as was the case between the 1960s and 1990s; instead, it connects the notion with the local and neighbourhood levels and even contains elements of ethical and social concern (Wrigley & Lambiri, 2014). Their research in a way confirms the findings of the longitudinal study of Clarke et al. (2006), i.e. that grocery shopping, in particular, has become local during the contemporary age.

Finally, the literature developed around the emergent phenomenon of the ‘night-time economy’ is also relevant to convenience shopping (cf. Heath 1997; Edensor, 2015; Shaw, 2010). The penetration of daytime activities into the night-time, i.e. the ‘nocturnalisation’ of social practices (cf. Koslofsky, 2011; Shaw, 2018), is a typically modern phenomenon, which has challenged the traditional ‘diurnal’ character of the social world (Garnert, 1993; Melbin, 1978). This development is made possible by improved city infrastructure, e.g. the introduction of artificial illumination, the employment of safety measures, and keeping city streets free from obstacles, but also by the normalisation of working at night, the spread of late-night entertainment opportunities, and the proliferation of unconventional household structures (cf. Edensor, 2015; Giddens, 1984; Shaw, 2014). Along with the

‘nocturnalisation’ of urban life, starting in the 1970s, it has also become possible to keep retail places open until late at night in many countries, including Sweden, which also marks the secularisation of public life (Engstrand, 2007). According to Geiger (2007), it was initially small scale independent stores that embraced longer opening hours as a survival strategy; however, more recently, some supermarkets and hypermarkets also adopted this way of operating (Geiger, 2007). However, night-time spatiotemporalities are never even (Hubbard, 2007; Van Liempt et al., 2015); they invite, channel, and exclude both certain activities and people in more radical ways than during the daytime, in particular favouring young adult males (Williams, 2008).

The adoption of the term ‘convenience’ while framing this mode of shopping in this book resonates with the above-mentioned literature and the manifold meanings attributed to it. ‘Convenience’ is understood as saving time, trouble and psychological and mental effort, thanks to time-shifting contemporary devices, the overall level of spatiotemporal availability, and sensomaterial accessibility. It is also acknowledged that changes in household structures, infrastructural improvements, and global demographic movements contribute towards popularising this notion in relation to shopping. In addition, the contemporary ‘convenience culture’, fuelled by the recent financial crisis, as well as rising ethical and social concerns, is also found to be relevant to this mode of shopping. Finally, the emergent phenomenon of the night-time economy, and its implications for retail and shopping, provides a spatiotemporal framework for this mode of shopping, while also encouraging it. It is not only entertainment and ‘leisure’ activities that are enacted during the dark hours of the day; increasingly, many mundane practices, e.g. shopping, are also becoming ‘nocturnal’, and convenient.

Times of Convenience

The temporal dimension is central to the configuration of convenience shopping. Below, I group the major temporal factors that both enable and are embedded in this mode of shopping into the three themes of ‘nocturnalisation’, ‘in the moment’, and ‘daily rhythm’.

Nocturnalisation

I met Ingrid, aged 55, in front of the restaurant and bar she had worked at for a decade on Carl Krooks gata, the street parallel with Södergatan, on a Wednesday in the late afternoon after her shift. It was the only day when she was not working until late and doing long hours, so she would have the time and energy to show me her Söder, as she put it. When I asked about the places she generally visits and spends time in in Söder, she said, with a smile on her face, that she visits the restaurant and

bar where she works as a customer too, and quite often. Presenting the restaurant with a theatrical gesture, she joked that this restaurant and bar is Söder's little night club. When she described why it was a popular spot, she emphasized precisely the same temporal quality that Rickard did:

INGRID: We're open every day, all year round, until three o'clock in the morning. No other place in the city does this. That's why our customers vary a lot on weekdays, with people coming from other parts of the city too. There aren't many places that are open late on weekdays and on red-letter days. Many people in the city know that we're open till three in the morning every day. [...]. It's like an adult kindergarten at night time.

A kindergarten, a safe playground for adults who do not want to go home, or in some cases, for those without a home to go. She also said that, unlike the town centre, there are always people in Söder until late. Söder is the district where people "play" outdoors until early morning, it is the place where people sleep late, it is the shopping geography which is always awake, and which is nocturnal (cf. Shaw, 2014). As Ingrid pointed out, "many people in the city know" that their restaurant is open till three o'clock in the morning every single day of the year, since there are not many other places which do so. This uniqueness singularizes this restaurant, and that is why, she said, its clientele varies a lot from one day to the next.

Yusuf is a software programmer who was born in Iraq and has been living in Helsingborg for twelve years; he was 37 at the time of the interview. We met on a sunny April Saturday afternoon in 2017 by the city library, when the district was particularly vibrant and full of people. We had been walking through August Palm's Square to reach Södergatan when I asked him if there was any place he went shopping on this part of the street. After taking me for a short walk northwards, he pointed to the sign of the Swedish fast food chain Max from a distance, which had replaced the McDonald's at the same location in 2006. According to Yusuf, this Max restaurant is the perfect place to have a bite to eat after a night out and before heading home: "It's a good hangover place". He said he had never seen it closed at any time when he was in Söder, with a laugh: "If it isn't open 24 hours, then they close very late". When we moved closer to the restaurant door to check the opening hours, we noticed that it was actually open till one o'clock in the morning every day during the week, and until five in the morning on Fridays and Saturdays. He added that, generally speaking, the stores in Söder are "open a little bit longer in comparison with the rest of the city".

In the case of Rickard, it was small corner stores, which enable convenience shopping for food items and groceries, and in Ingrid's example, it was a bar and restaurant and private nocturnal social space and sanctuary, while for Yusuf, it was the fast-food restaurant supplying fast food after a night-out, on the way home. However, the nocturnal shopping opportunities on Södergatan and in Söder are not

limited to these retail places. For instance, hairdressers and other ‘craft stores’, fitness centres, and even supermarkets are also “open a little bit longer in comparison with the rest of the city”, in Yusuf’s words. Hence, Södergatan is a nocturnal local shopping street, among other things, and Söder is a nocturnal shopping geography.

Nevertheless, not everyone can enjoy the same temporal flexibility; shopping at night is more convenient for some shoppers than for others (cf. Van Liempt et al., 2015; Hubbard, 2017). During my night-time observations of Söder, I noted the dominance of males in the district during the darker hours. The people who were working, those who hung out on the street, the shoppers, the fast-food eaters were mostly young men. Zeyneb and Zahra, two women in their late twenties, who had recently moved from Iraq and Syria, respectively, told me that they would not wander around in Söder after dark:

ZAHRA: I like it in Söder. But, you know, there are also lots of problems now, shootings, and drug dealers...

ZEYNEB: Yes, drug dealers.

ZAHRA: A lot of drug dealers here. It’s not totally safe. And we often hear shootings and so I don’t feel 100 percent comfortable.

ZEYNEB: Especially at night.

ZAHRA: Especially at night, yes. And there aren’t many police here, so you feel like it’s not safe.

DEVRIM: Has anything happened to you?

ZAHRA: To me, no. But my brother saw someone burning a car right in front of him. He just ran and called the police.

ZEYNEB: I also have a friend who lives here, in that building (pointing out a building across from the library). She usually walks her dog at night. And every time she walks at night, some guys call her bad names. It doesn’t feel really safe to walk here at night. My husband, too, he always says “don’t go there at night, it’s not safe”.

ZAHRA: Also there’s a lot of robberies. For example, they broke into my cellar. There’s a lot of things happening in Söder, yeah...

Although the absolute majority of the research participants underlined feeling safe in Söder, even at night since there are always people outside, claiming the district only has a bad reputation, it was still clear that there was an asymmetry concerning the gender aspect when it comes to shopping at night. Zahra and Zeyneb, who come to the district and to Södergatan almost every day, feel that Söder is “not totally safe”, repeatedly agreeing with each other. They heard about alarming events from people close to them, someone even broke into Zahra’s cellar, and thus they avoid the area “at night especially” as they have been advised against that.

The gendered aspect of streets and open public places is thoroughly discussed in the shopping literature (cf. Wolff, 1985), particularly in comparison with department stores and shopping malls, which are framed as typically female-dominated shopping geographies (cf. Bowlby, 1985, 1997). In the particular case of Söder, Helsingborg, Högdahl (2007) shows that its stigma of being dangerous as a segregated district also has historical roots, albeit intensified during recent decades. This perceived and experienced insecurity on the street and in the district reveals the gendered aspect of convenience shopping; that is to say, the daily circular rhythm of the mode of shopping is not gender-blind and the shopping street is more 'convenient' for men than women, particularly after Sunset, when the street and the district become nocturnal shopping geographies (cf. Williams, 2008).

In the moment

If there is a particular retail format which has coloured the street the most, together with grocery stores, specialised shops, and restaurants, it is the hairdressers. There are many of these on Södergatan and in Söder: Ingrid pointed to them when we were walking along Södergatan saying: "hairdresser, hairdresser, hairdresser, and another hairdresser..." They are run by transnational migrants; they are cheap and are always available and accessible.

Yusuf guided me deeper into his Södergatan and Söder, telling me about his usual shopping spots and, when we came to Gustav Adolf's Square, he pointed and said "here's my hairdresser". When I wondered if we could go inside and talk to him, he went into the shop to ask for permission. He greeted his hairdresser saying: "As-salāmu 'alaykum", meaning 'peace be upon you', and got involved in a quick and cheerful chat in Arabic, accompanied by laughter. When he came out he said that, unfortunately, his hairdresser is busy with his customers, adding that he would also be going there later in the evening for a haircut. His hairdresser was also from Iraq and they attended a Swedish course together when Yusuf moved to Sweden 13 years earlier. He said his friend quit the Swedish course right after the first level, and then started this business, a business which, according to Yusuf, has been successful. Yusuf had been a regular client since then because they were friends; however, he claimed that the popularity of the hairdressers in Söder, apart from being cheap, was generally down to the fact that an appointment is not necessary: "Whenever you want, if there's capacity, if there's time, you just drop in. In other places in the city, you usually have to book in advance. Here it's a drop-in service".

In a sense, it almost feels like the 'drop-in' motto of numerous hairdressers on Södergatan has permeated the other retail formats, making it one of the main characteristics and retail resilience strategies of this shopping geography. The retail places make themselves available to shoppers, whether hairdressers or not; whenever shoppers feel like shopping, they can just 'drop in'. Shoppers do not need to walk around much inside the stores, since the majority of these retail places are

small-scale. They do not need to wait in long queues because these places are organized for rapid transactions. This drop-in service supplied in the shopping geography encourages spontaneous shopping activities, and in doing so the contemporary convenience culture (cf. Wrigley & Lambiri, 2014).



Figure 32. Still of walking with John, Södergatan, 2015

It almost feels like the 'drop-in' motto of numerous hairdressers on Södergatan has permeated the other retail formats, making it one of the main characteristics and retail resilience strategies of this shopping geography.

In addition, Södergatan and Söder are very centrally located in the city, with a good and well-functioning transportation infrastructure; hence, retail places are close to many shoppers. As I described earlier, the district only lies a couple of 100 meters from the central train station, and borders the old town centre. Lund University's Helsingborg Campus, where almost five thousand students are studying, is connected via a pedestrian bridge. There are more than ten thousand people living around the district, according to figures from 2015 (City of Helsingborg, 2020). All these people living, working, and studying within convenient walking distance, as well as thousands who take the train and bus every day from the central station, can reach this shopping geography in a moment, to enact convenience shopping at any time. This 'drop-in' quality of convenience shopping is shared with 'on-the-side shopping', the mode of shopping analysed in Chapter 7.

Daily rhythm

Once we had left the restaurant and bar she worked at, Ingrid added that it was not just her restaurant which provided these kinds of opening hours. She took me to a grocery store, Majid Livs, run by a migrant family from Lebanon and just 20 metres from her workplace. Similar to Sharif's, there were boxes of goods stacked up outside the entrance; the store was extending itself into the street. In the shop window, there was a message in a large font declaring that the shop was open every day, between 9 am and 11 pm.

Ingrid got permission from the owner, who was smoking outside and whom she knew well, to film the store, assuring him that it was for research purposes. The store was equipped with shelves and cabinets on each wall from floor to ceiling, all full of goods. There were also freezers and boxes occupying a relatively large space in the middle of an otherwise small store. Ingrid said that she shops there every day: "Both for myself and for the restaurant. They're open every day. They have many things here which are cheap and of good quality, and they're always open until late". As Ingrid points out, convenience shopping often has a high tempo; "every day". The fact that Majid Livs is open till late also contributes to this high pace. She did not need to do a bulk-shop once a week, and not for herself or for the restaurant, and she did not need to plan her shopping in advance. Because the store was only a couple of metres from the place where she works, and "always" available and accessible, it is convenient to shop there "every day", day-by-day, item-by-item. That is to say, a daily shopping rhythm of convenience shopping entails frequent store visits and getting a small amount of goods at a time, instead of, or sometimes in addition to, buying large quantities on a weekly basis.

Bengt, a 67 year-old pensioner, lives only a couple of hundred metres away from Södergatan, to the east on Gasverksgatan, with his partner and their cat. He mostly takes his bicycle when coming down to shop; but, on this day he did not do so because he was going to meet me. He had his backpack with him, in which he carries the goods he buys. However, when he has his bicycle, he said, he uses the basket on it, too. In other words, he usually purchases goods only to the extent he can carry them in his backpack and/or in his bicycle basket. First, I followed him to the ICA Oj supermarket beside Carls Krooks Gata, which Bengt said he visits either every or every other day. He had a shopping list with him, and he knew exactly where to find the goods that he was planning to buy; he was not very interested in the surroundings. Despite that, he said "hi" to the woman working in the meat section, telling me "she's really nice"; he had some time reserved for socialisation at this high tempo. He first went to the fruit and veg section, and then quickly to the dairy section before queueing up to pay. He bought carrots, tomatoes, grapes, bananas, milk and sausage, most of the items in his shopping list, but not pineapple for instance, because he thought it was expensive on the day. Before paying, he showed the inside of his bag to the cashier in a habitual manner without being asked to

do so; this was to demonstrate that he had not stolen anything. For him, coming to this supermarket every day had become routine. Although he comes to the supermarket every day, he still complained that it was too warm and crowded there. It is convenient that the supermarket, which sells high-quality food according to Bengt, is just 200 metres from where he lives. He can easily reach it by bicycle and on foot every day thanks to its perceived nearness, and its functioning and smooth infrastructure, and this is also why it is not a burden to carry goods home. However, the temperature inside the store and its busyness lead to inconvenience after a while, which is why he said he usually does “his thing” and leaves the supermarket straight away. After exiting the supermarket, and walking another 50 metres, we arrived at a smaller grocery shop run by a family of entrepreneurs from Turkey, who exhibited their ‘mixed embeddedness’ (cf. Kloosterman & Rath, 1999) by means of hanging two scarves on the wall, one of which belongs to Alanyaspor, the football team of the popular tourist destination in Turkey by the Mediterranean Sea, and the other of which belongs to Helsingborg IF, local club of that city. The store had a totally different setting compared to ICA Oj; it was simply lit and had mostly empty and white walls, but it was crammed with groceries exhibited on stalls like at a street market. Bengt bought some ginger because it was cheaper there, and because he wanted to see different people, as he expressed it. His shopping tour was over for today, until tomorrow.



Figure 33. Still of Bengt shopping at ICA Oj, 2015

Bengt first went to the fruit and veg section, and then quickly to the dairy section before queueing up to pay.



Figure 34. Still of Bengt at Fruktuset, 2015

Bengt bought some ginger because it was cheaper at Fruktuset. His shopping trip was over for today, until tomorrow.

Contemporary shoppers' rising shopping tempo has also been noted in other studies; for instance, in Miller's seminal research done in north London (Miller, 1998) and the longitudinal study of Clarke et al. (2006) of shopping in Portsmouth, UK. In the case of Helsingborg, Eskilsson and Thufvesson (2017), in their research based on shopping diaries, found that, on average, shoppers conduct eight shopping trips a week, with this number being more or less the same among shoppers regardless of car ownership. In this sense, regardless of whether you have a car or not, the contemporary 'convenience culture' implies a historical return to the pre-car era, when shopping was both an everyday and an every day practice.

Convenience Matters

The high frequency of visiting retail places and buying smaller amounts drives the rapid circulation of goods. It also implies that these goods, including vegetables and fruit, do not need to have a long shelf-life. For instance, Massimiliano, a 25-year-old Master's student from Italy, said he avoids buying large quantities in Alfo Gross, as we were standing outside the local supermarket, run by a family from Egypt. The reason he gave was that most of the fruit and vegetables sold there are ripe, despite being considerably cheap, and are meant to be consumed within a couple of days. This kind of daily shopping rhythm also requires other skills and necessitates bundling with other activities, such as cooking every day.

While we were at the street market, Ingrid mentioned that she takes this path every morning because she enjoys the smell of fresh vegetables and fruit. Then, when I challenged her, stating that some shoppers claim the fruit and vegetables are not really fresh at the street market, she explained:

INGRID: Not if you think that people come here on a daily basis. We're bad at this in Sweden, they're better abroad. In many other countries, people buy their groceries every morning, or every other morning. Then they also cook just for that day or the next, in different quantities to us. That's why food costs more in Swedish supermarkets compared to here [Söder]. Here, retailers buy cheaper fruit and vegetables that do not last so long, to sell them cheaper. You shouldn't buy groceries from here if you are going to stock up, then you'll need to pay higher price somewhere else.

According to Ingrid, people coming from warmer climates are better accustomed to buying groceries on a daily basis, bringing the prerequisite skill with them when moving to Sweden. That is to say, the historically-forgotten skill of buying food items and cooking them on a daily basis was brought back, and reminded about by people moving from distant parts of the world (cf. Goldman & Hino, 2005). In other words, convenience shopping, a mode of shopping which was stronger in the past in Sweden, and in the shopping geography, has been partially revived by skills preserved in other places; temporal progression and continuity have been interrupted and altered by spatial interference and overlapping. This daily rhythm and the high tempo of convenience shopping allow the merchandizing of goods at lower prices because they have a shorter shelf-life. Mainstream supermarkets' ranges of goods and shelf-time management are based on the more seldom-used bulk shopping model (Humphery, 1998). These major actors do not buy goods with a shorter shelf-life from wholesalers; in turn, this enables the smaller retailers operational in the shopping geographies where convenience shopping is strong to buy and sell goods substantially cheaper. Consequently, convenience shopping, while reducing food waste, also enables the retailing of cheaper goods to be consumed on a daily basis (see Chapter 9); it thus shapes the kinds of services and goods on offer in the shopping geography.

During our tour of the district, Yusuf also showed me a store which did not appear to have a name, owned by a family who have moved from Syria. This store was always open till late too, Yusuf pointed out, and it had a very wide and eclectic range of goods on sale, squeezed into quite a small area, in a way similar to other stores in the street and district, but more densely. However, this store did not sell much food: "You can find everything you need and don't need here" laughed Yusuf, pointing to the range. In a sense, the shop resembled what Miller et al. call 'cheapjack shops', which have "a manifest lack of order in the way the merchandise is presented" (Miller et al., 1998, p. 155, see also Hall, 2011, 2012). However,

claimed Yusuf: “You might think it’s not really organized, but the shop owners can find stuff easily and they know the price of each item, without looking at the price tag, or the price list.” That is, in this ‘chaos’, which only retail workers and shoppers with specific competence could make sense of, countless specialized as well as everyday items were being made available for the sake of convenience shopping. In other words, this chaotic sensomateriality was also reinforcing this mode of shopping, while being shaped by it.



Figure 35. The shop without a name, 2018

The store had a very wide and eclectic range of goods on sale, squeezed into a relatively small area.

Inconvenient Problems

The organisation and enactments of convenience shopping in Söder and on Södergatan entail three complications: First, the mode of shopping might limit the range of services and goods; second, its gravity is particularly faint in attracting shoppers who live and work outside of the district; and, finally, it partly relies on labour exploitation.

Complementary convenience

Rickard, while describing his nocturnal shopping trips to nearby stores, also stressed that he usually shops at ICA Oj on Carl Krooks Gata. Just like his parents, he has shopped at ICA supermarkets all his life. His visits to ICA Oj are also definitely convenient, since he has a lifetime of familiarity with both the goods and the layout, and it is still less than 500 meters away from where he lives, and has a smooth

connection. In a way, his convenience shopping enactment, analysed in the opening part of this chapter, was mostly to supplement his visits to ICA Oj. Mikaela, on the other hand, stated that Söder and Södergatan do not appeal to her as shopping geographies at all, while she was drawing her mental map of the district. As also pointed in the previous chapter, during our tour, she was more keen to speak about the future of Söder, which she believed to be brighter, and only wanted to show me newer establishments aimed at a middle-class Swedish clientele. Despite that, she explained that she bought most of the “practical stuff” in Söder, e.g. her groceries, at ICA Oj or at Alfo Gross, supplementing her shopping in other places.

‘Fill-in shopping’ and ‘top-up shopping’ are two relevant conceptualisations which are related to Rickard’s and Mikaela’s versions of convenience shopping. They are framed both against and in relation to ‘major shopping trips’ (cf. Haines et al. 1972; Kollat & Willett, 1967). Within this literature, it has been pointed out that “consumers may make a major shopping trip weekly (e.g., Monday) and also a minor fill-in trip weekly (e.g., Friday before the weekend). Or, these fill-in trips could be unplanned and thus irregularly patterned” (Kahn & Schmittlein, 1989, p. 58). Also according to this literature, fill-in shopping trips “typically satisfy more urgent needs and generally involve smaller effort and time commitments” (Kahn & Schmittlein, 1989, p. 58). It is a literature that mainly emerged after out-of-town one-stop retail establishments had gained ground, with in-city stores doomed to confine themselves to ‘topping-up’ the things shoppers had forgotten about at the big-box retail places (Williams et al., 2001), particularly on weekdays (Dolega, 2012).

Hanna, who was a 26-year-old Master’s student from Germany, described the specific range of goods in Söder while wearing her frustrated face and walking together with me at the north end of Södergatan: “These shops, like the mobile phone repair shop or the small shops where you can buy sweets and everything you forgot to buy at the supermarket, they’re not really attractive somehow.” However, it would be remiss to reduce convenience shopping on Södergatan and in Söder to ‘top-up shopping’, or ‘fill-in shopping’, since the ‘convenience culture’ signals a new way of organizing shopping priorities. That being said, the enacting of convenience shopping has consequences as regards the kinds of goods and retail formats that emerge and are maintained in the shopping geography. It might be the case that convenience shopping restricts some of the goods on sale in the shopping geography to the items that, as Hanna emphasised it, people forget to buy at the supermarket.

Convenient distances

Albin, aged 55, whom I introduced in the previous chapter, was often in Söder and on Södergatan; however, he said he did most of his daily shopping closer to the area

where he lives. He only buys items in Söder when they are not available elsewhere, or when they are substantially cheaper:

ALBIN: I still shop here, but I buy limited numbers of items. I buy groceries, fruit and spices here. The rest I buy somewhere else. I mean, I don't come here just to buy a carton of milk and go back home again, those things I buy closer to home. It's how I function as a consumer.

The way Albin 'functions as a consumer' is not cycling 15-20 minutes to buy basic items; therefore, the items he buys in Söder are limited. Another example, Linda, who was a 28-year-old employee of the municipality, lives in the mediaeval town centre after moving out of Söder. While drawing her 'mental' Söder map, and trying to figure how she could make Söder more attractive to her, she remembered that she frequently shopped from the street market when she was living in Söder. "But not anymore", she continued, because she thought it seemed too far away from where she lives; i.e. around 500 metres. She claimed that this is a general pattern of hers in the way she manages her shopping:

LINDA: I buy most of my clothes from MQ⁷⁷. If there was an MQ in Söder then maybe I'd buy my clothes here; but it's also difficult to say. There is already one MQ close to where I live, why would I come all the way here? If there was no MQ where I live then maybe I'd come here, but most likely I'd have found another favourite shop close by. There is, for example, the Das Backhaus bakery just opposite the train station. They have fantastically delicious buns with raisins, but now I live in the town centre and we have a bakery that's closer, and I shop from there, although the pastries in Das Backhaus taste much better. So, in other words, it would be very difficult for Södergatan to attract me.

An even better quality of the goods would not be a good enough reason for a shopper like Linda to come to Söder, for the reason that similar goods, albeit of lesser quality, are conveniently available in a nearer retail place. The accounts of both Albin and Linda, explaining their shopping patterns, can be linked to the increasing search for convenience in the contemporary post-industrial societies (cf. Dolega, 2012). The popularisation of the convenience culture and the emphasis on spatiotemporal convenience poses a challenge for the shopping geography since it implies that appealing to shoppers living and working outside of the district would be difficult simply by enabling convenience shopping. This builds a barrier to overcome, and limits shoppers' engagement with the shopping geography. Supposing that the retail places on Södergatan only relied on trading in simple services and goods that are also available in other shopping geographies, then it would be "very difficult for

⁷⁷ A Swedish clothing chain.

Södergatan to attract” shoppers like Linda and Albin; as Linda said, one might think: “Why would I come all the way here?”

Serving convenience

The owner of a pizzeria on Södergatan, who had also moved to Sweden from Turkey, told me that he had only taken a total of two days off over the previous two years, while I was enjoying a cheap, quickly-baked, and delicious kebab pizza⁷⁸ that he had made for me at his restaurant. He was not to be found in his small restaurant on those two days, gesturing with his fingers to highlight its absurdness, only because, he stated, he had business-related things to do at the municipality. On each of the other 728 days, he had been working to make his little pizzeria available to shoppers such as myself, so they would be able to enact convenience shopping until late in the day, including weekends, holidays, winters, summers. He said he had plans to sell the pizzeria, because he was unable to take it anymore, and he would try to find a job with regular working hours and holidays, which he did a couple of months later.

In order to sustain a competitive position, and to be able to provide convenience shopping for long hours, every day of the week, retailers develop special reliance strategies (cf. Kuppinger, 2014). One strategy, which is common among independent retailers, is ‘self-exploitation’, as was the case with the pizzeria owner (Waldinger et al., 1990; Aslan, 2012). A significant proportion of the retailers on Södergatan and in Söder are family entrepreneurs, which is also a historical heritage of the shopping geography (see Chapter 4). It is common that self-employed retailers work long hours, up to 60-70 hours per week, to secure their businesses’ survival. In addition to self-exploitation, the other common resilience strategy is ‘exploiting’ family members as regards labour requirements (Bonacich, 1987; Aslan, 2012). At times, when self-exploitation is not enough to keep a business running, close relatives and family members are asked to help, often with salaries that exist only on paper. Lastly, an additional common resilience strategy that exists, particularly among the transnational communities with their large recruitment pools, is the exploitation of other migrants by means of offering lower pay and benefits (Aslan, 2012; Cheng & Espiritu, 1989), mostly in exchange for securing residence permits, but also the transfer of craftsmanship skills (Portes, 1995)⁷⁹. That is to say,

⁷⁸ Kebab pizza, as a cultural hybrid meal, is the most popular pizza available in Sweden, and is claimed to have been invented in Scandinavia. The pizza dough is served with döner kebab originating from Turkey, together with tomato paste, onion, cheese, paprika, as well as salad and ‘kebab sauce’, also a hybrid local invention (Aslan, 2012).

⁷⁹ In the research I conducted for my Master’s thesis, on restaurants run by migrants in Malmö, I found that the absolute majority of the restaurant owners had initially got into that business by working in the kitchen of another entrepreneur after moving to Sweden. They had to accept much less than the minimum wage since it was not possible for them to find jobs in other segments of the Swedish job market (cf. Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). However, after working for a couple of years in

they utilise their ‘social capital’⁸⁰ and ‘ethnic resources’ (Pécoud, 2010) when their economic capital is inadequate. ‘Grey’ economic activities make it possible for retailers to keep their retail places open for longer to ensure business resilience (Collins, 2003). As many retail places on Södergatan are family businesses, run by families with migrant backgrounds, such strategies are common. This would create an advantage over other retailers throughout the rest of the city since, in the retailing sector in Sweden, it is particularly more costly to make employees work in the evenings and at weekends (Handels, 2020).

Conclusions

Convenience shopping is one of the five major modes of shopping recognized in this study. It can be defined as the organisation of spontaneous or regularized activities that might lead to the purchasing of mostly everyday services and goods, largely enabled due to convenient spatiotemporal availability and sensomaterial accessibility. During my fieldwork, the activities I identified were, among others, walking or cycling short distances, dropping in, quickly choosing and purchasing everyday items, and carrying goods using a shopping trolley, shopping bag, using a backpack or a bicycle basket. This mode of shopping is dependent on relatively loose regulations governing opening hours and employment conditions. Shoppers’ practical knowledge of the existence of everyday items and services, at the available stores with generous opening hours, is surely also necessary in the making of this mode of shopping. The feeling of enjoyment deriving from the experienced luxury of not needing to plan shopping in advance is particularly dominant. It is the searching for, sorting and selecting of services and goods, on the spur of the moment and without any mental and emotional investment in planning, that gives convenience shopping its orientation, what this mode of shopping is all about.

Sensomateriality is entangled with the mode of shopping in the form of goods consisting mostly of everyday, fresh, and easy-to-carry items, often with a short shelf-life. But convenience shopping is also situated in specific sensomaterialities. The material arrangement of a wide range of services and goods in frequently

very tough conditions, and with limited benefits, to say the least, they had also gained the necessary skills for, as well as an overall understanding of, running a restaurant (Aslan, 2012).

⁸⁰ ‘Social capital’ is a concept introduced by Bourdieu in his seminal article where he challenges the orthodox theorisation of ‘capital’, which prioritizes economic wealth and financial accumulation. Seeing capital as accumulated labour instead, he breaks down the notion into ‘cultural capital’, ‘social capital’ and ‘economic capital’, which are distinct from yet convertible into each other: Together, they play a role in the stratification of societies (Bourdieu, 1986/2010). He defines ‘social capital’ as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986/2010, p. 51).

limited store premises is clearly significant in the making of this mode of shopping. This material arrangement also creates a specific sensorial experience, a partial sense of chaos. In addition, providing material and sensorially smooth accessibility to stores is also important, particularly at night, as supplied by street and store lighting. In addition to the sensomaterial dimension, this mode of shopping also occurs within the framework of specific spatiotemporal dynamics. Nearness, which does not require any significant physical effort, and the temporal flexibility of opening late, including the nocturnalisation of the shopping geography, make momentary shopping activities possible. This also encourages a daily shopping rhythm, instead of, for instance, weekly or monthly bulk-buying. Furthermore, this mode of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder happens at the conjunction of, in particular, wider chains of actions and events, e.g. global migration, high unemployment among migrants in Sweden and their exclusion from many segments of the job market, the spread of the 'convenience culture' in the 'Global North', retail decentralisation in Helsingborg, and the historical tradition of having 'mom-and-pop' stores on Södergatan and in Söder.

Convenience shopping, on the other hand, is not free from complications. First of all, it is not gender-blind; nocturnal shopping is mostly reserved for young men, at the exclusion of the rest of the shoppers, particularly women and children. Furthermore, it also limits the available range of services and goods, creating a disharmonic and semi-chaotic sensomaterial arrangement for stores, in turn making it difficult to attract shoppers from other parts of the city. In addition, in order to keep up with the demand for convenience shopping and to sustain their competitive positions, retailers exploit themselves, their family members', and the labour of other migrants, consuming and monetizing their social capital.

Convenience shopping, despite the named drawbacks, makes Söder and Södergatan particularly relevant to for shoppers living or working in and around the district. For many shoppers, it co-constitutes Söder as a meaningful shopping geography, and advances the district compared to other shopping geographies in the city, particularly as regards accessibility and availability, in both spatiotemporal (central location, long opening hours) and sensomaterial (smooth connection, practical store and range arrangement) terms. Consequently, it creates a vibrant shopping geography, ensuring open stores with constant footfall in the district. In other words, this mode of shopping produces a vibrant urban arena during most hours of the day, and every single day of the year, including Sundays, holidays and 'holy' days; a quality that would be a pity to lose in our cities during the age of retail decentralisation and retail replacement.

Chapter 6: Social Shopping

INGRID: Here, people are much more fun than in the town centre. You can talk to everyone here. It's not like that in Norr. There, you don't stop to talk to anyone. Here, everyone talks with everyone else. It's not like you need to know each other, you would talk anyway. It's the same in the pubs, people just say 'come in and have a beer', regardless of whether you know them or not. That would never happen in Norr. Here, things are different.

Social shopping is a mode of shopping that highlights the interpersonal relations and interactions occurring during the course of shopping, which is often enacted in informal and convivial sensomaterial environments. This includes a set of activities which encourage social cohesion, and which, also, can lead to the purchasing of services and goods. Thus, enactment of this mode of shopping contributes towards building a sense of togetherness and, in some cases, a sense of community. The mode of shopping concerns socialisation processes within both the shopping geography and retail places, among fellow shoppers as well as between shoppers, retailers, and retail workers. It also sometimes reshapes these places as alternative 'community centres'.

Just like in the preceding analysis chapter, I first examine an enactment of the modes of shopping, in order to provide a general understanding of social shopping. Later, I continue with a short literature review and investigate how the shopping and retail literature discusses the concepts of socialisation, social interaction, and community. Subsequently, ways of generating and maintaining social togetherness by shopping on the street and district are investigated, along with the sensomaterial settings which encourage and assist this mode of shopping. I end the chapter by underlining and problematizing different intensities of the existing 'socialities' in the shopping geography, as well as their occasional exclusionary effects.

What is the primary orientation of social shopping? What are the social activities comprising this mode of shopping? How are they enacted and linked in the shopping geography? In what kind of settings? Are there any complications? How does it make the shopping geography convivial?

Shopping together

I introduced Ingrid in the previous chapter. She was 53 at the time of the interview, and was working at a restaurant and bar in Söder on Carl Krooks Gata, Sam's Bar. She lives in the neater and wealthier northern side of the city; despite that, she said that she came to Söder even on the days when she was not working. She likes to hang out in the restaurant and bar where she works, but sometimes she also checks

out the Viking restaurant and bar beside the new hotel Radisson Blu. The reason she prefers to spend time in Söder, she stressed, is because “here, people are much more fun than in the town centre”, while simultaneously giving the people on Gustav Adolf’s Square a gesture. According to her, “this has always been the case”. In a way, she was arguing that this quality of the district is a historical heritage that has not been spoilt as yet. She emphasised that “it isn’t like that in Norr”, comparing Söder to the anonymous town centre. Söder is different in terms of how social relations are organized and enacted in comparison to other places. In the town centre, “you don’t stop and talk to anyone”, which Ingrid obviously regarded as a negative feature. However, according to her, you do not even need to know people to have a conversation with them in Söder since, in Söder, “everyone talks with everyone else”. It is a social haven, and she enjoys it. Likewise, it is totally conceivable to have a drink with a total stranger in the shopping geography: She argued that, “people just say come in and have a beer, regardless of whether you know them or not”. It is the people of Söder who take the initiative; they offer you their company, making you a part of them, their sociality, and their community. Ingrid claimed that Söder is socially inclusive and welcoming; in this shopping geography, people shop and consume together. Comparing Söder with Norr again, such a thing would never happen in the town centre, she insisted: “Here, things are different”. For Ingrid, Söder is nothing like the rest of the city, it is better.



Figure 36. Still of Ingrid entering the haberdashery shop, 2016

The haberdashery shop's interior looked like it had been frozen in time, with piles of textiles, yarns, buttons, and rows of sewing machines.



Figure 37. Still of the fabric store's interior, 2016

Ingrid said that she had been bargaining over the price of the flowery fabric on the right.

Ingrid told me that she often bought her groceries in Söder too, mostly from the street market and the Alfo Gross supermarket. She said she also shopped at some other stores, e.g. the haberdashery, and at Majid's grocery shop on Carl Krooks Gata, which we visited together, as described in the previous chapter. She knew all the people working at those stores. After a couple of people had interrupted our go-along video interview, by greeting her, she said with a smile: "When you do a job like mine, you get to know everyone". In a sense, working at the restaurant and bar provided her with an insider role in the shopping geography, and also equipped her with a weighty 'social capital' within the district. Laughing, she later added: "It always takes a lot of time for me to do anything in Söder, because people want to chat". 'Chatting', or using small talk, is a critical activity that connects shoppers with each other in Söder. When we went inside the haberdashery shop together, after visiting Majid's shop, she said that they had had the same staff for a very long time, while emphasising the fact that "they are very nice". It is not enough to know each other, to talk to each other, one needs to be 'nice' too. Inside the haberdashery shop, where the interior looked like it had been frozen in time, with piles of textiles, yarns, buttons, and rows of sewing machines, she showed me a fabric she wanted to buy, which she had been trying to bargain down to a lower price for some time, without success. "It is always an advantage to know the people working here", she whispered to me, so as to make sure that the retail workers did not hear; "sometimes you get better prices". Chatting with people, knowing them, or being nice to each other might lead to economic benefits as well, but this is one outcome one does not

want to say out loud, which is why Ingrid was whispering. Ingrid did not want to spoil the ‘community spirit’ by sounding too needy, too pragmatic; one should not trivialize the social network just for economic benefit. However, it is a well-known secret, then, that ‘social capital’ can be transformed into monetary terms in the district; however, this is not a straightforward equation, it just happens “sometimes”.

Social shopping, in the above case of Ingrid, encompasses activities which encourage togetherness both through and against the backdrop of shopping. The bundled activities include, then, in Ingrid’s enactment of the mode of shopping, among others, working, strolling, checking items in the retail places, getting to know people, chatting, drinking beer together, being ‘nice’ to each other, bargaining, paying, and carrying items home. These activities are organized using accepted and promoted rules of social interaction with strangers and acquaintances in retail places in Söder, as Ingrid stated, which are more daring compared to the rest of the city. It is, for instance, totally acceptable to greet a stranger and to ask if that person would like to have a beer with you. These can be considered place-specific civic conventions (cf. Evans, 2011), which also have a historical background. However, they are not explicit: Ingrid mastered the socialisation conventions and rules of Söder after working in the district for more than ten years. In addition, she also developed an understanding of the various ways of socialisation and togetherness that the different retail places enable and promote. The procedures of socialisation in the pub where Ingrid works and in the haberdashery shop where she wanted to buy a fabric are different (cf. Hall, 2011; Oldenburg, 1999). Lastly, this mode of shopping was only enacted because Ingrid wanted to socialize in the retail places, while enjoying being a part of an imagined and performed Söder community, a relatively dense and inclusive togetherness. She also acknowledged its possible economic benefits, as might have been the case in the haberdashery shop, where she argued that it sometimes helps to know the people working in the shops in order to get discounts.

The enactment of this mode of shopping occurred in a relaxed or convivial sensomaterial environment, which ‘invited’ shoppers (cf. Seamon, 1979) and provided the necessary conditions for socialisation and the building of communal togetherness. The activities mentioned also created and required spaces of intimacy, as well as spaces with a slower tempo, in which people could stop, calm down and interact in an informal manner. In Ingrid’s case, retail places like pubs, a grocery store, and a haberdashery shop provided these sensomaterial and spatiotemporal circumstances. These places encouraged social shopping while also reproducing and maintaining the shopping geography’s sociohistorical culture. It was significant that Söder has always been a more informal and welcoming part of the city: This quality has become its *genius loci*, the spirit of the place, since its early years (Aretoft, 2011; Folklivsgruppen, 1987).

Shopping and Sociality

There is a social dimension to all social practices; however, what is particular to shopping, on the other hand, is that it is often enacted in the company of others, or for absent others (cf. Fuentes & Svingstedt, 2017; Miller, 1997; Williams et al., 2001). It is continuously being negotiated with shoppers' immediate relatives, partners and friends, sometimes being conducted together with them in the form of co-shopping and frequently being done for them as a caring activity, a labour of love, and as an act of sacrifice (Miller, 1998; Miller et al., 1998; see also Gregson et al., 2002b; Keller & Ruus, 2014). In some other cases, engaging in social interactions with strangers and building interpersonal relations can even become a primary aspect of the organisation of the shopping activity (cf. Shields, 1992; Williams et al., 2001). For example, encouraging sociality has been prominent in the popularisation of modern shopping geographies, e.g. department stores and shopping malls (Feinberg et al., 1989; Fredriksson, 1998), as well as alternative shopping geographies like car boot sales, charity shops, street markets, local grocery stores (Crewe & Gregson, 1998; Gregson et al., 2002b; Panzer & Astleithner, 2018; Petersson McIntyre, 2009).

The previous literature on the social dimension of shopping is extensive⁸¹ and it has illustrated the complex, multifaceted entanglement of shopping with interpersonal relations. Nevertheless, in this literature, what is meant by social and sociality is seldom clarified. The term 'social' is sometimes used to designate social relations built by means of consuming purchased services and goods, sometimes to pinpoint interactions between shoppers, with retail workers, or with absolute strangers, without deliberately reflecting upon the qualities, the layers of co-human interrelationships. To provide a perspective on the different intensities of social relations embedded in and built via shopping, it would be helpful to visit the classical conceptual duality of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*⁸², which can loosely

⁸¹ Social shopping', as a term, is also already in use; however, it is mostly employed in the orthodox retail literature, which draws on behavioural theories, being formulated as a form of 'hedonic shopping motivation' (e.g. Arnold & Reynolds, 2003; Baker & Wakefield, 2012). More recently, the term has further been popularized in the context of digitalisation, while discussing how websites or digital social media platforms enable interactions among shoppers (cf. Liang & Turban, 2011; Lee & Lee, 2012).

⁸² 'Gemeinschaft' would supposedly be found in villages and small towns which have commonality and resemblance in terms of people's beliefs and ways of living (Christenson, 1984). In this conceptualisation, community members are personally familiar with each other and interact frequently in a relatively intimate and private manner. The social order is based on the sense of trust, interpersonal control, but also via traditions and customs. The welfare of the community members is also reciprocally ensured by the rest of the community, which functions as an extension of one's own family, on condition that community membership requirements are met. 'Gesellschaft' is in many ways just the opposite: interacting with strangers who have different values and backgrounds is the usual means of social contact, allegedly occurring in bigger, modern

be translated, respectively, as community and society, i.e. two ways of organizing social relations (Tönnies, 1887/1955). However, there is no *gemeinschaft* or *gesellschaft* in the pure sense; instead, they are abstract, analytical binary oppositions. Thus, adopting this conceptual dichotomy, the quality of the relations in a social shopping setting can be positioned in comparison to each other, and in connection with these concepts, along a continuum.

Communities of shopping

Shopping can facilitate informal social interaction; it can co-create temporary community-like social homogeneities and also, in some cases, it can stimulate social support, a sense of trust, and a sense of belongingness among shoppers, retail workers and retailers. Thus, it can counterbalance the unrootedness, alienation and isolation experienced in contemporary post-industrial societies due to rapid modernisation, global and internal migration, and increasingly heterogeneous urban ways of living (Forman & Sriram, 1991).

On the flip side, having and boosting a sense of community is also a viable resilience strategy for shopping geographies (Certeau et al., 1980/1998; Tolbert, 2005). This would also include modern shopping geographies such as shopping malls (Kowinski, 1985; Miller et al., 1998); hence, some out-of-town shopping malls pursue community-building as a business strategy (Lewis, 1990), particularly in suburban areas (Cohen, 1996; Longstreth, 1997). On the other hand, shopping streets have particular advantages regarding the enabling of social interaction and the building of a sense of community. Carmona, for instance, claims that; “for many, the local shopping street still represents the quintessential heart of the community, serving important roles as places of social contact and interaction for diverse segments of the society” (Carmona, 2015, p. 6). Likewise, Hall (2012) and Kuppinger (2014) show that retail places on local shopping streets particularly encourage social interaction among different cultural and ethnic ‘communities’; they bind together shoppers, retail workers and retailers from different backgrounds.

It is also illustrated that some retail formats have advantages in ‘community building’, such as bookstores (Miller, 1999), cafes, bars, hairdressers, restaurants (Aslan, 2012; Hall, 2011; Kuppinger, 2014; Oldenburg, 1999), pop-up micro pubs (Hubbard, 2017) and bowling alleys (cf. Putnam, 2001), which can be conceptualized as ‘third places’, civic spaces outside of home and work (Oldenburg, 2001). Generally, small-scale family businesses are acknowledged for their potential for community building, both in line with the nostalgic understanding that

cities. If *gemeinschaft* is private, then *gesellschaft* is public. The social relations here are regulated via developed social conventions, regulations and public institutions (Brint, 2001).

communities should not be too commercial, but also because these establishments often offer limited self-service, thus encouraging interpersonal interactions.

By the term social shopping, I mean both generic social interaction and intimate social togetherness, which are enacted alongside, and built by shopping. Hence, the mode of shopping can also encompass socialities spanning from the immediate private sphere to both the extended community network and the absolutely anonymous public sphere. However, in the case of Södergatan and Söder, the mode of shopping was often enacted in a *gemeinschaft*-like manner, but not limited to it, which included and encouraged intimacy, privacy, trust, interpersonal recognition and control, regulated by place-specific conventions and customs, and with the expectation of meeting repeatedly as members of a loosely-defined ‘Söder community’.

Shopping Socially in a Community

Yusuf agreed with Ingrid in terms of the organisation of the sociality of Söder. When he had just started guiding me through the district, he pointed to a restaurant he ate at a couple of times, between the city library and Södergatan. It was owned by Iraqi Kurds, who sold, according to Yusuf, delicious Kurdish and Turkish food at very reasonable prices. Later, he pointed to a hairdresser, stressing that it was substantially cheaper than the ‘Swedish’ hairdressers in the town centre. When I challenged him about whether or not it was the low prices that bring him into the district, he disagreed, and wanted to complicate the picture:

YUSUF: The good thing in Söder is the old school way of serving the customer. They build a relationship with each individual customer. In comparison with supermarkets, or new ways of paying, when you scan your stuff using a scanner, and you don’t have any personal contact with the one selling the stuff... Here, it’s still the pleasant, old-school way... When you ask for a product, they tell you where it’s from, how many dishes you can make from this piece of meat, or what kind of dishes you can make. Maybe they’ll recommend you a recipe, or some other things. Like they do in other places in the Middle East, or somewhere else.

DEVIRIM: Interesting.

YUSUF: Yes, and that’s why many people from the Middle East prefer to come here and buy products. It’s not only a matter of price, no. It’s the human contact between people, which is good.

Yusuf claimed that the way retailers and retail workers serve shoppers is different in Söder, as he framed it using the phrase “the old school way of serving”; implying the pre-modern, pre-self-service interactions that occurred, or were imagined to have occurred in-store (cf. Panzer & Astleithner, 2018). In doing this, he was also

judging the ways in which supermarkets deal with their shoppers through increasing levels of self-service, even at the point of purchase where shoppers can now scan their goods themselves, thus not “having any personal contact” (Forman & Sriram, 1991). Although supermarkets are not a new phenomenon (Wrigley & Lowe, 2002), Yusuf associated them with the present day, in contrast to the old school way, which he thought was “good”. In this shopping geography, he can still get personalized and customized service that provides information about items’ origins, and even recommendations about different ways of using these items (cf. Zukin, 2012). He added that it was not only “old school”, it was also how things are done in the “Middle-East or somewhere else”, but not normally in Sweden. That is to say, for Yusuf, this kind of social interaction and customized personal service was both anachronistic and anatomic; being revived from the past and arriving from far away, yet being used in the ‘here’ and ‘now’ on Södergatan, in Söder, thanks to this shopping geography’s anomaly.

I met Megan, who was a 29-year-old self-employed US citizen, together with her partner Muhammad, aged 31, who is a computer engineer originating from Palestine, in front of the Gustav Adolf Church in March, 2018. They enthusiastically showed me their favourite retail places on Södergatan and in Söder, one-by-one, despite the chilly weather, highlighting their shared strong affection for the district. They come to the district at least every other day, although they live together 15-20 minutes away by bus. One reason for this was that they both enjoy the social atmosphere in Söder, although exactly how they engage with it differs considerably:

MEGAN: When I go with him to Alfo Gross, it’s like going to a family market. He gets stopped five times. Last time I waited ten minutes because you were talking to the meat guy.

DEVIRIM: You have conversations with the people working at the shops in Söder...

MUHAMMAD: Yes, we do that all the time. Like, whenever I meet somebody on this street, in Alfo Gross, at my hairdresser, we stop for a few minutes, talk, catching up maybe. A social conversation.

DEVIRIM: Is it important to you?

MUHAMMAD: It is sometimes. Sometimes I really miss it, because in Sweden, it’s really tough to get that. It’s like “hej hej” and that’s it. You don’t get anything else out of people. When I meet somebody I know, we spend a few minutes together, depending on how close we are, how well we know each other.

MEGAN: For me too, because of you, because of our network together, there are some people that work at Alfo Gross that say “hi” to me and it makes me feel special. Because I miss that too, from the States. I could spend hours talking to some stranger that works on the other side of the counter. Here, I feel like it’s my neighbourhood grocery store. It’s nice.

It was important for both Muhammad and Megan to be able to get some public socialisation when shopping, “a social conversation”, something that makes them “feel special”, which they claimed was lacking in Sweden. They pointed out that they missed human contact in Sweden, both of them referring to their respective homelands. In Helsingborg, it is Söder that can provide a similar social context, a sense of community. This shopping geography is an atypical social space in Sweden, which feels like Megan’s neighbourhood grocery store in the US; she appreciates it, “it’s nice”. For them, Söder and Södergatan are also the places where they get updates about other people’s lives. But this engagement in socialisation is not the same for everyone; the more you know someone, the more time you devote to the conversation, the more you ‘care’. Social shopping is also about caring (cf. Miller, 1998); it is about acknowledging each other’s existence and paying attention to one another’s lives while shopping (Certeau et al., 1980/1998). Yet, in the case of Muhammad, whose native language is Arabic, Söder is a very different social space than it is for Megan, who mostly gets this informal, interpersonal contact because of him, through their “network together”.



Figure 38. Still of a shop exterior on Södergatan, 2021

The dominance of Arabic-speaking people in the shopping geography affects shoppers’ socialisation and interaction opportunities.

The dominance of Arabic-speaking people in the shopping geography, which particularly intensified after the mass escape in 2015 from Iraq and Syria due to civil war and conflicts, affects shoppers’ socialisation and interaction opportunities, as well as how they feel about being in the district and on the street. For instance, Zahra and Zeyneb, both Arabic-speaking, expressed feeling at “home in Söder”:

ZAHRA: I think it's nice to have an area such as Söder, when you're not in your home country.

ZEYNEB: Yes. Sometimes you feel like you're at home when you come here and you can talk to people in your own language, even to people you don't know. You pass them by, they smile, and they say hi; it's nice!

Even people they do not know personally can smile and “say hi”, which is “nice” particularly when you are from abroad, a migrant, a member of a diaspora, and “not in your home country”. A negotiated, updated sense of being at home in the globalized world, while you are thousands of kilometres away from “home” (Massey, 1994). This sense can only be reconstructed in areas “such as Söder”, in a “nice” shopping geography.

It is not only the Arabic-speaking diaspora who find their ‘home-from-home’ in Söder while shopping. Other participants also mentioned the ‘homely feeling’ and intimacy they had experienced in different retail places in Söder. They even literally mentioned that those places had a ‘community feeling’, including a tobacco store where people gamble on horse races, some cafés, corner shops, hairdressers, and restaurants specializing in various countries’ cuisines (cf. Aslan, 2012; Hall, 2011; Kuppinger, 2014). The pubs and restaurant/bars in the shopping geography were brought up several times as places having an informal and convivial atmosphere, with the screening of sport being a factor bringing people together (cf. Hubbard, 2017). In that sense, these retail places really are ‘third places’ that provide a ‘home feeling’ in the public space outside of home and work (Oldenburg, 2001).

Settings of Social Shopping

Jane, a 28-year-old student at the time we met, was doing her Master's in Helsingborg, and came from Kenya. She too claimed that she felt at ‘home’ and comfortable while shopping at the street market beside Södergatan. However, over and above co-human interaction, she referred to the whole setting; i.e. the way vegetables and fruit were exhibited, the way shoppers checked them, how vendors shouted sometimes, the dirt on the ground... The overall sensomaterial arrangement of the retail place felt familiar, it was a space of familiarity (cf. Mankekar, 2002), similar to how things were ‘back home’; “it is much more relatable” she said. When we later entered the Alfo Gross supermarket, she pointed out that she gets the same feeling there too. While she was introducing me to this supermarket environment that she enjoys, as well as pointing out all the goods that she usually buys, familiar ones from Kenya, she was greeted by another black woman:

DEVIRIM: Was she your friend?

JANE: No, I don't know her (laughing). It's just that she said “hi” and I said “hi”.

DEVIRIM: Does it often happen here that strangers say “hi” to you?

JANE: Um, mostly. I’d say, black people maybe, or people from Africa, the ones who basically say “hi” randomly, even though they don’t know me. So I also say “hi” when I see them (smiling).

DEVIRIM: Nice.

JANE: I run into a lot of them shopping here in this supermarket. Actually someone showed me this supermarket first... I met a lady from my country at church, and I was like “I don’t know what to eat, I don’t know where to buy food, and I’ve lost so much weight” (laughing). She was like “come with me, I’ll show you”. Then she showed me this shop, and I was like, “wow, I can basically find everything here”.



Figure 39. Still of the street market, 2018

The familiar sensomaterial setting of the street market makes Jane feel ‘at home’ and comfortable while shopping.

The Alfo Gross supermarket, which is owned by an Egyptian family and sells goods from many countries, is a popular retail place in Söder. It is a place where migrants “can basically find everything”; everything they miss, everything they cannot find in mainstream retail places in Sweden. But it is also a place of recognition, and a place of interaction for transnational migrants. There, shoppers become ‘members of a diaspora’ by shopping together, by socialising with each other, by remembering and imagining their ‘homes’ there, while creating a new ‘home’ here (cf. Mankekar, 2002). Shoppers say “hi” even though they don’t know each other, because they acknowledge each other’s existence; they make themselves seen, heard and recognized. They are there because they are looking for similar services and goods, and because of the special bazaar-like sensomateriality which encourages the

informality they miss from their home countries. These factors bring them to the supermarket and that is why they recommend and show the supermarket to each other. As much as the church was a place for community building in Jane's case, Alfo Gross was too. Upon leaving, Jane and I also passed by the fast-food restaurant inside the supermarket, just after the cash desks, which is divided up by a thin wooden screen with glass windows. On its diner-like seats, shoppers were resting, chatting with each other, waiting, watching the TV, with some of them consuming food and drinks. Alfo Gross makes itself available for social shopping, by assisting and creating diasporic communities, by providing sensomaterial arrangements for socializing. In this way, too, it becomes a popular retail place, as does the whole shopping geography (cf. Tolbert, 2005).



Figure 40. Handwritten price tags in an independent grocery store, 2015

According to Rickard, with their non-standard ways of arranging and executing their stores, the independent retailers of Söder exude a sense of informality.

Rickard, the 30-year-old priest, on the way to showing me his regular stores, where he enacts convenience shopping, also commented on the place-specific social conventions of Söder and Södergatan. We were beside Gustav Adolf's Square when I asked if he felt there was any difference between Söder and the town centre. He looked around and stated that he actually likes the informal 'atmosphere' of Söder:

RICHARD: I think there's somehow a nice atmosphere here. It's close to the city, and then this south part is a little bit calmer, and a little bit more private. [...] Even if you don't know the people living in the district, you still recognize them and you say

‘hi’. And then there’s that retail culture where a lot of things are handwritten, which is different from Norr, where a lot of money is invested in graphic design and so on.



Figure 41. Still of the café area of the charity second-hand shop in Söder, 2016

Retail places in the shopping geography make themselves available for social shopping, by providing sensomaterial arrangements for socializing.

Unlike the others, Rickard did not know many people in the district; just the opposite. But this did not stop him from interacting with others. As it was for the other shoppers, for Rickard, the shopping geography was also a place of recognition. But compared to the other social shopping enactments analysed above, his engagement in sociality in Söder had more of a *gesellschaft* character; it occurred between strangers (Brint, 2001). It was the conviviality of Södergatan and Söder, their social vitality, their sticky social conventions, which drew him into social shopping. Rickard, too, sensed that the shopping geography had a “nice atmosphere”. The small scale, independent retailers, and their non-standard ways of arranging and executing their stores contributed to this (cf. Smith & Sparks, 2000). For instance, according to him, the handwritten price tags make Söder feel “a little

bit more private”. The ‘private’ sensomateriality of the shopping geography encourages socialisation, and a sense of togetherness. This quality is once again juxtaposed with the town centre, and its commerciality, “where a lot of money is invested in graphic design”; excessive commercialisation spoils the essence of co-human sociality (cf. Hochschild, 2012). Lastly, for him, the rhythm of the district was also integral to creating this social atmosphere, i.e. that Söder is “calmer”. In order to interact, recognize, and socialize when shopping, one needs to slow down one’s tempo (O’Brien, 2017). Social shopping is a slow mode of shopping, enacted in informal, private, and cosy shopping atmospheres, sensomaterial arrangements.

Shades of Shopping Communities

Ali was a 41-year-old retailer at the time of the fieldwork, having moved to Sweden at the end of the 1980s from Turkey. Since the early 1990s, he had been running retail places on Södergatan, and his latest business was a small butcher’s shop where I spent a day making observations. In addition to fresh meat, he also sold spices and some bakery products, e.g. lahmacun, minced meat spread over a thin pizza-like dough, jointly shaping the rather nostalgic odourscape of the store. Apart from the goods, the store was all white, including the floor, with tiles on the wall, and Ali’s apron; signalling hygiene, but also meeting general aesthetic expectations of an imagined, typical neighbourhood butcher’s shop.

All day while I was conducting my observations in his butcher’s shop, there was always a small group of people hanging around there. Although the members of this group changed throughout the course of the day, they were all males who knew Ali and each other quite well. In between conversations, they would occasionally check the different meats that were on offer, with some of them even making purchases. Ali can speak Turkish, Arabic, Swedish and English, and he constantly switched between these languages during the day; Turkish with me, Arabic and Swedish with his shopper-friends. The line between being a shopper and being a friend was fuzzy, to say the least. The service counter of the butcher’s shop, which was supposed to function as a border between the shoppers, Ali and the goods, had turned into a ‘coffee table’ which people were leaning on, and chatting around. A couple of shopper-friends passed through ‘this border’ on some occasions, going behind the counter when Ali wanted to show them the new meat that had arrived. At one point, when Ali was busy and a new shopper had arrived, who was in a rush, Ali even asked a shopper-friend to serve her. This shopper-friend gladly did the job, switching sides, and taking on the role of ‘butcher’s assistant’.

One year after my observations, I met Ali again, this time for a video interview and a tour of the shopping geography. He had sold the butcher’s shop a couple of months earlier, because there had been a good offer. During the interview, Ali claimed that

his success as a butcher was dependent on the aspect I depicted above; i.e. the shoppers had become his friends and his friends were his shoppers. “After a while, you know, people went beyond being my customers. They felt like the store belonged to them as well; ‘it’s our store’, they thought, ‘he’s our butcher’”.

The intensity of the sociality, the community feeling depicted in Ali’s butcher’s shop is different from most of the examples I have described and analysed earlier on in the chapter. If the notions of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* provide an analytical continuum regarding how socialities are organized, the illustrated shopping enactments taking place in Ali’s butcher’s shop have been closest to the *gemeinschaft* end (Christenson, 1984). To put this in another perspective, it would be useful to look into another seminal study; Certeau, together with his former doctoral students Giard and Mayol, produced a rich and influential work on everyday consumption activities based on intensive qualitative research on the practices of shopping, cooking, and other ways of ‘living’ in a working-class neighbourhood of Lyon (Certeau et al., 1980/1998). The neighbourhood depicted and discussed in this work is a proper example of *gemeinschaft* in an urban context:

The neighborhood is, almost by definition, a mastery of the social environment because, for the dweller, it is a known area of social space in which, to a greater or lesser degree, he or she knows himself or herself to be recognized. The neighborhood can thus be grasped as this area of public space in general (anonymous, for everyone) in which little by little a private, particularized space insinuates itself as a result of the practical, everyday use of this space. (Certeau et al., 1980/1998, p. 9).

They formulate neighbourhood as a transition zone between what distinguishes private space from public; “neighborhood can be considered as the progressive privatisation of public space. It is a practical divide whose function is to ensure a continuity between what is the most intimate (the private space of one’s lodging) what is the most unknown (the totality of the city or even, by extension, the rest of the world)” (Certeau et al., 1980/1998, p. 11). They understand a neighbourhood as a product, a place that is orchestrated and co-constituted using activities of ‘privatisation’, through gradual extension work done from the privacy of home towards the anonymous city. These ‘activities of privatisation’ would include recognizing each other as co-existing neighbours, building interpersonal trust, solidarity and control mechanisms, and mutually organizing what is acceptable or not, e.g. in terms of the public manifestation of sexuality, gender roles, or alcohol consumption. The *gemeinschaft* character of the neighbourhood is also exemplified in shopping enactments in Robert’s grocery store, depicted in their study, where people living in the neighbourhood enjoy ‘giving him some business’. He is a known character throughout the whole neighbourhood in Lyon, he keeps track of all his customers’ tastes, but also their lives (Certeau et al., 1980/1998, p. 74). Moreover, shoppers also share their small secrets with him; Robert is a confidant. He is

pleasing too, not shy about giving compliments to his female shoppers without violating the place-specific moral codes of the neighbourhood. He even ‘gives shopping’ to sick and elderly people by delivering the goods to their doors. Certeau et al. mention that, when his son got married, the whole neighbourhood came to their windows to celebrate and to wave the bride.

Putting it straightforwardly, I did not encounter a “Robert” in my fieldwork; a retailer who knows and is known by almost every shopper, who cares and who is cared about, someone whom all put their trust in, and who provides an ultimate privatised public arena “where the neighborhood speaks” (Certeau et al., 1980/1998, p. 81). Yet, the way shopping was enacted at Ali’s butcher’s shop was somewhat closer to this formulation. In that sense, Söder is more of a district than a neighbourhood and lies in the continuum between ‘gemeinschaft’ and ‘gesellschaft’, although it is in the gemeinschaft half, perhaps closer to the middle. The enactments of social shopping in Söder and on Södergatan generally lean towards gemeinschaft qualities; nonetheless, they are not homogenous in these terms.

Communities in the Sociality

Söder possesses a vibrant and convivial sociality, as well as a sense of community; yet, the social togetherness of the shopping geography is also plural, heterogenous, and sometimes contradictory. Socialisation through shopping often happens within social clusters, which do not always actively interact with each other. The life trajectories, ages, ethnicities, and cultural backgrounds of shoppers all influence how the enactments of social shopping are bundled. In a way, shoppers sometimes create, through their shopping, parallel and community-like togethernesses in their district.

Some shoppers claimed that the regulars of the pubs in Söder were peculiar; mostly men, they belonged to an older generation, the kind of people who drink every day and know each other very well. Contrary to the claims made by Ingrid, therefore, these shoppers did not feel comfortable going inside these pubs, thinking they would not be welcome there. Mikaela, although living very close, said she had never stepped inside the restaurant and bar where Ingrid worked, because: “A special kind of people go there”, a group of people she does not belong to. When we were in front of the Viking Bar on August Palm’s Square, Yusuf told me that he avoids going there after seeing a YouTube video once claiming that some of the people who usually meet up there have ‘nationalistic backgrounds’; “like neo-Nazis, maybe, I don’t really know the details”. Another example was the clientele of the Syrian restaurant Damas and the local pub, the Charles Dickens, which are beside each other. In my field notes, I had registered the difference thus: While almost only transnational migrants, coming from the lands to the south and east of the Mediterranean, were sitting, eating, chatting at the Damas restaurant, the people at

the Charles Dickens pub looked ‘Nordic’ and seemed to be substantially older than the clientele of the former establishment.



Figure 42. Still of the Charles Dickens restaurant and pub, 2015

The clientele of the Charles Dickens differs from that of the neighbouring Damas restaurant.

John, a 22-year-old new graduate, mentioned that some of the restaurants in Söder that were being run by transnational retailers had a clientele consisting of, as he saw it, “their family and friends”. He claimed it felt like there were always the same people in these restaurants and, as he was not friends with them, he did not feel like going inside those places. When we left Alfo Gross together, Albin pointed out some transnational migrants sitting together outside, commenting: “It’s their culture. They don’t necessarily buy anything from the supermarket, they buy coffee from the restaurant inside Alfo Gross and go out and drink it together and smoke for hours. It’s just what they do”. These shoppers had used the chairs and tables outside the supermarket as a meeting place, re-organizing it as a space of socialisation. However, the use of the pronoun ‘they’ implies that Albin does not see himself as one of them: He is not invited to socialize with them and they are different from shoppers like him, and they have a different “culture”. Similarly, Bengt, at the end of our shopping tour, without being asked to, started talking about the district’s stigma by referring to the street market and the transnational migrants:

BENGT: ‘Hulla bulla’. Yes. This place is called ‘hulla bulla’. There are many migrants here. That’s why it is called that. I don’t have any problem with it, but...

It's the reason why people call Söder 'hulla bulla'. I think it's mostly the merchants at the street market. They've given the area a bad name.

Another complication of togetherness: When I asked Zahra and Zeyneb if they had ever been to any pubs or bars in Söder as we were passing the Charles Dickens pub, they explained they would not dare to do so because, as they put it, "it might give us a bad name", since some people in Söder, they argued, "have this mentality". The shopping geography was a social oasis for them, but it was also a space of uninvited surveillance. Instead, they go to the bars and pubs in the town centre, where they would not be stigmatized, and where they could melt into anonymity.

While shopping in the district and on the street co-constitutes social togetherness, a sense of community, and enables interpersonal, 'cross-cultural' social interactions, as well as contributing towards developing trust and control mechanisms, it can simultaneously also deepen differences, and reinforce and sustain parallel social clusters, communities (cf. Miller et al., 1998, pp. 159-185; Rabikowska, 2010; Slocum, 2008; Watson & Wells, 2005). Communities are, by definition, semi-closed networks, while including some, they also exclude others. This kind of exclusionary effect on communities and social togetherness can even lead to the emergence of 'destructive gemeinschaft', in cases where 'community members' seek confrontation with 'outsiders' as a way of defining themselves. That is to say, it becomes destructive because they build, develop, and sustain their togetherness by targeting outsiders and othering them (Sennett, 1977a).

Conclusions

Social shopping is another major mode of shopping identified at the research site, and one which is enacted by establishing social bonds and creating community-like togetherness. It contains activities which encourage social interaction and interpersonal cohesion between fellow shoppers and retail workers, in the process possibly leading to the purchasing of services or goods. In the fieldwork, these activities were identified as, among others, recognizing other shoppers' co-existence, greeting acquaintances, greeting strangers, chatting, socializing, asking questions, giving time to others, hanging out, being nice to each other, caring about each other, catching up on updates about people's lives, drinking together, eating together, appreciating customized personal service, helping out, and bargaining. This bundle of activities, in the case of social shopping, is organized by means of place-specific socialisation codes, as well as negotiated conventions regarding what is acceptable or not. Even municipal regulations (or the lack thereof) concerning store signs, layouts, storefronts are important when it comes to providing a convivial atmosphere that assists the mode of shopping. Practical knowledge of these place-specific codes and conventions is also crucial for enacting this mode of shopping;

likewise, it is also important to understand the specific socialisation traditions that different retail places have developed. Most importantly, this mode of shopping exists to the extent that there is a desire for a kind of intimacy, togetherness, the socialisation and 'privatisation' of the shopping geography. Moreover, shoppers acknowledge that they can benefit from this sense of communality-like togetherness, and they would appreciate the possibility of translating their social capital into economic capital, in the form of discounts, or small extras.

As regards the sensomaterial dimension, first of all, this mode of shopping requires common services and goods in order to bring shoppers together, to develop bonds with each other. Social shopping also occurs in relaxed, homely, cosy, and convivial atmospheres, sustained by sensomaterial arrangements like hand-written price tags, piled-up goods, and semi-chaotic decorations. Some retail places encourage this mode of shopping more than others, e.g. pubs, restaurants, hairdressers, and, generally, small-scale family-owned shops. The mode of shopping also has historical implications, longing for the past, for the imagined, lost communities of pre-modern times. Yet, it is built on the historical heritage of Söder, which has always had more of a *gemeinschaft* character compared to the town centre. Another spatiotemporal implication is that this mode of shopping also demands a calmer rhythm, a slower tempo, and thus spaces of informality and tranquillity. Furthermore, in this mode of shopping, the conjunctural effect of global migration is significant since, by extending the life trajectories of transnational migrants to Söder, some of the related competences for enacting social shopping are brought back, having been forgotten in Sweden but preserved in other parts of the world. Likewise, many of the retail places mentioned above are run by transnational migrants. In addition, other wider 'chains of actions' of rapid urbanisation, the atomisation of contemporary societies can trigger this desire and longing for communal spaces where 'everybody knows your name'. Lastly, the individual life trajectories of shoppers are also important in other ways; i.e. coming from the same part of the world, having a shared gender, speaking the same language, and being in a similar phase of life all have an effect on how shoppers engage with this mode of shopping.

Nevertheless, community-like social clusters can be exclusionary as well due to the possibility of defining the community and strengthening the internal boundaries via confrontation with others and acts of otherisation. What was observed during the fieldwork was that parallel shopping communities co-existed and that these were not necessarily in an active state of exchange with each other. This feature was also shaped and sustained by enactments of shopping. In addition, the interpersonal trust and control mechanisms can even lead to the stigmatisation of shoppers who do not follow place-specific moral codes.

Social shopping, as one of the major modes of shopping enacted on Södergatan, ensures that the local shopping street is relevant to many shoppers. The findings presented in the chapter are compatible with previous research highlighting the fact that building a 'sense of community' and a social togetherness could be a valid strategy for the regeneration and revitalisation of deprived shopping geographies. This is a plausible argument, as it was in the case of Söder and Södergatan, that social shopping does create vibrancy, conviviality, and shopper engagement. Unlike convenience shopping, social shopping encourages shoppers to stay in retail places longer, inspires them regarding social interaction and social cohesion, and, thanks to the created social and cultural bonds, it also ensures 'shopper loyalty' to the shopping geography. It provides familiarity in a 'foreign' country, it produces a sense of 'home' in an otherwise anonymous city life. It 'privatises' the public space, making it spaces of recognition, care, and niceness. Lastly, and again unlike convenience shopping, social shopping also has the capacity to bring shoppers to the district from other parts of the city, thus injecting further vibrancy into the shopping geography since it is claimed by shoppers that this mode of shopping is weaker in the rest of the city. Accordingly, Södergatan and Söder are experienced as a social oasis that is ensured by shopping; the shopping geography is celebrated by shoppers as a historical and spatial anomaly in the desolate anonymity of the modern city.

Chapter 7: On-the-side Shopping

FELICIA: I come to Söder for three reasons; the library, my driving lessons, and the cinema. Basically, that's it.

DEVRIM: Do you come to the library often?

FELICIA: Yes! It's definitely my favourite place in the whole Helsingborg.

[...]

DEVRIM: How about this shop (points at Lindex)? Have you ever been there?

FELICIA: I think I've only been in Lindex once, and that was only because I was here to pick up some cinema tickets or something like that. So I was passing by, then, yeah... why not?

On-the-side shopping contains a bundle of semi-spontaneous activities which can lead to the purchase of services and goods in a shopping geography, where the original intention to visit was something other than shopping. These activities can be so-called 'leisure activities', e.g. going to the cinema, participating in cultural events, as well as doing everyday errands, such as having some business to attend to at a formal institution, either going to or coming from work or school, or changing from one mode of public transportation to another.

I also start this analysis chapter by zooming into an empirical example, which will provide some insight into how this mode of shopping is organized. After that, I review the relevant literature touching upon the phenomenon: When shopping happens as a side project. Later, I examine various ways of attracting shoppers into the shopping geography, and the way in which these activities are linked to shopping. Finally, I point out the challenges embedded in the enactment of the mode of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder.

If not to shop, why would shoppers come to the shopping geography in the first place? What sort of other activities and establishments bring people to Söder? How are these combined with shopping? What are the conditions for this kind of bundling?

Attachment of shopping on Södergatan

Felicia was a 20-year-old university student, who had been living in Helsingborg since she was 5. Her home was on the northeast side of Helsingborg, from where it takes around 15-20 minutes to get to the town centre by bus. I met her on the north edge of Södergatan at the bus stop, close to the alleged border between Söder and Norr, which is the town centre. I asked her if she came to Söder and Södergatan often, while we walked together along the street southwards. She said she did;

however, not because of shopping, but for other things. The first time she came to Söder as a child, as she remembered it, was to visit the Laserdome gaming centre, which was closed due to it being the autumn half-term break when we passed in front of it. At her adult age, she explained, she came to Söder mainly for three reasons; i.e. for the city library, for her driving lessons, and for the cinema; “that’s it”. She claimed the library was her favourite spot in the city, and she was there very often. After a couple of more minutes of walking, we were in front of a branch of Lindex, a well-known Swedish clothing company, which is one of the few chain stores left in Söder. She had been into that store. She believed it was on the way to pick up tickets from the only cinema which shows blockbuster box-office films in the city, or “something like that”. The Lindex store is only about fifty metres from the cinema and, as she was passing it, she thought “yeah...why not?”. As far as she could remember, but she was not sure, it was the only time that she had been in that store. Since she was already passing by, entering the store did not require much physical or mental effort, which is why she did not have any detailed memory of it. It was not only because she saw something through the shop window which caught her attention, she also needed some new clothes and had some extra time. We went a couple of metres further on and then Felicia pointed to the Max fast-food restaurant, a national hamburger chain. She said she often went there before or after seeing a movie. It was convenient so she did not need to look any further for somewhere to have a bite to eat since Max literally adjoins the cinema. Max is a fast-food restaurant which closes very late, also making it a suitable option for a ‘spontaneous’ quick meal after seeing a movie. Leaving Max behind, when we finally arrived in front of the cinema, she proudly illustrated her affection for it using her tone of voice and the fact that she sometimes comes here a couple of times a week. She actually made it clear she was going to see the latest James Bond film that evening together with her boyfriend; they would be having a date in the shopping geography.

During our go-along video interview on the street, Felicia emphasized numerous times that she thought Söder was a depressing place because of its concrete-dominated architecture inherited from the post-war era, its darker façade colours, and the vacant stores due to the closure of the local shopping mall Söderpunkten for renovation. She explained that, for “shopping”, she normally takes the bus to Våla Centrum, the out-of-town mall. It is only when she cannot find an item she is looking for that she then checks other stores in the town centre, and maybe also Söder, but rarely. She said, for instance, that she once went to a shoe store on Södergatan as a last resort, when she was unable to find shoes perfectly fitting her feet in other retail places. However, despite the fact that she finds the district gloomy and uninviting, and that her regular and favourite shopping destination lies beyond the town centre to the northeast, she still comes to this southern district often. And once she is in Söder, it is sometimes the case that she checks a store or two, and eats in the

restaurants. Because she sees things in terms of “why not”; she enacts shopping ‘on-the-side’; she combines shopping with her main activities in the shopping geography.



Figure 43. Still of Felicia on Södergatan, 2015

Felicia often visits the Max fast-food restaurant either before or after seeing a film in the cinema.

Analysing Felicia’s examples, above, of on-the-side shopping, it is possible to underline the fact that shopping only occurred in the background of, and in relation to, bundled activities related to the entertainment business, as well as public and private educational establishments, which can be framed as ‘attraction stations’ in the district that bring people together in a limited space, for a certain amount of time (cf. Hägerstrand, 1975). The activities that are bundled together to enact the mode of shopping were; taking the bus, walking, browsing, entering a store, checking items, eating, studying at the library, attending a driving school, seeing a movie, and going on a date. They were organized, at that time, by means of the rules and regulations that make their synchronisation possible, e.g. the opening hours of the venues. The city planning regulations that allow and encourage the spatial proximity of the establishments vis-à-vis one another are probably also significant. It was elementary that Felicia knew and understood it was possible to combine a visit to an institution or establishment in Söder with shopping at any time. Additionally, the enactment of this mode of shopping required Felicia to enjoy a certain level of spontaneity regarding shopping; at the very least, she does not mind doing it. However, it also demands some planning, making sure that the time, resources, and

energy needed for ‘spontaneous’ shopping⁸³ are available. This aspect can be regarded as ‘informed improvisation’, in the sense that spontaneity occurs within the framework of certain kinds of preparation and pre-knowledge⁸⁴.



Figure 44. Still of Felicia on Södergatan, 2015

Felicia has only been in Lindex once, on her way to pick up some cinema tickets.

On-the-side shopping, in Felicia’s case, also necessitates a sensomaterially smooth connection between her destination and the retail places. Furthermore, the sensomaterial accessibility of the stores is also important, in the sense that she was able to make sense of the services and goods on offer by simply browsing from the street, for instance, by means of clear store signs, shop window displays and a well-communicated range of services and goods. I have already mentioned the significance of spatial proximity in ensuring that library visits, attending her driving course or going to the cinema could be combined with activities like having a bite to eat or browsing the items in a shop. In addition, the temporal synchronisation of these activities is also a condition for organizing this mode of shopping, that it will be possible to act upon the activities in a ‘drop-in’ manner and without any lengthy waiting times, such as is the case when combining eating at the Max fast-food

⁸³ Although the mode of shopping has a teleoaffectivity in that sense, what is peculiar about on-the-side shopping, compared to the other modes of shopping analysed in this study, is its close dependence on the other practices enacted in the shopping geography. In this mode, shopping is almost reduced to one of the activities constituting other practices.

⁸⁴ For a similar conceptualisation of tourist activities, ‘planned serendipity’, see Mieli & Zillinger, 2020.

restaurant with a cinema visit. In this sense, on-the-side shopping has a lot in common with convenience shopping. Similarly, the previously described 'convenience culture' would also be relevant to this mode of shopping in that contemporary shoppers are developing a tendency to enact shopping in the ways they regard convenient.

Studying Shopping as a Side-Effect

Although there is no specific literature that deals precisely with this mode of shopping, one stream of literature has gathered around the combination of shopping and 'leisure' (cf. Bloch et al., 1991; Jansen-Verbeke, 1987). Shields (1992) claims that the main feature of the novel 'post-modern' shopping sites, he gives examples of newer shopping malls, is that they spatially synthesize shopping and consumption with leisure, which had hitherto traditionally been practiced in different places. They combine what is ordinary and everyday with the extraordinary and the extravagant. Also focusing on shopping in malls, Jackson (1991) defines leisure in terms of activity, time, and experience, and categorizes shopping's relation to leisure in four different ways. The first category, no relation, is shopping as purchasing, while the second is shopping for leisure, the third is shopping as leisure, and the fourth is shopping and leisure. The last linkage, shopping and leisure, suggests combining shopping with leisure experiences: His examples include visiting a theme park, or going to a cinema, or going bowling in a shopping mall. Similar to Shields, he also suggests that shopping malls are particularly good at combining shopping and leisure in this manner, in doing so transforming themselves into destinations. The last connection Jackson makes is relevant to on-the-side shopping; however, the rather modernist distinction between 'work' as obligatory and utilitarian and 'leisure' as free and pleasure-bound is problematic (cf. Bardhi & Arnould, 2005; Bäckström, 2011). Furthermore, on-the-side shopping incorporates shopping into all non-shopping activities, regardless of whether or not they can be categorized as work, education, or leisure. Lastly, Jackson, in this formulation of 'shopping and leisure', does not presume there is a hierarchy between shopping and leisure. Whereas, in this mode of shopping, the emphasis is on other activities than shopping, with shopping typically happening 'on-the-side'.

There are also some relevant studies examining the relationship between tourism and shopping. They claim that both tourism and shopping can loosely be seen as leisure, and are therefore easily bundled (cf. Jansen-Verbeke, 1991; Snepenger et al., 2003; Tosun et al., 2007). In that sense they follow the same classical theoretical assumption regarding what leisure is and is not, also having the same pitfalls as the above-mentioned studies. According to this literature, there are shoppers who travel to other places, often to other countries, who have shopping as their main intention. This is framed as 'shopping tourism' (see also Urry & Larsen, 2011). However, they

also claim that most tourist trips include shopping as a side activity, which can be defined as ‘tourist shopping’ (Timothy, 2005), being different from ‘shopping tourism’ in the sense of what is prioritized and what the main orientation is. The theoretical rationale behind ‘tourist shopping’ is comparable, in that sense, to on-the-side shopping, in that this shopping only occurs because of another activity. However, in the case of ‘tourist shopping’, tourism is confined to the limits of a generic understanding of what tourism should be. In other words, it does not include, for instance, shopping done after arriving somewhere in order to meet a friend, or going to school.

Another body of literature brings urban marketing, urban branding, place marketing, and place development perspectives together with town centre management, retail agglomeration, and shopping (e.g. Teller, 2008; Warnaby et al., 2004; Warnaby & Medway, 2004). These scholars’ general argument is that, as developed by marketing scholar Warnaby in particular, in order to ensure vibrancy and conviviality, shoppers need to be persuaded to come to town centres by other attractions than shopping. For instance, Warnaby and Davies suggest that shoppers can “be attracted to specific shopping destinations because of the provision of additional facilities such as leisure, cultural or other activities” (Warnaby & Davies, 1997, p. 207). The assumption is that shoppers would combine these activities with shopping once they were already at the destination, using a very similar logic to what is emphasised by on-the-side shopping. Gradually, as a consequence of these “leisure, cultural or other activities”, the shopping geography itself can be escalated into the main ‘product’, from merely being a place where shopping or cultural events take place. In this sense, by facilitating a rich array of activities, and as a result of place branding and place marketing, the shopping geography becomes more than the sum of the activities it contains and enables: It becomes an attraction in its own right. Further linking this perspective to the concept of ‘sense of place’, this literature claims that shopping destinations eventually gain a strong identity which “will determine the consumer’s perception of the overall shopping destination offer” (Warnaby & Davies, 1997, p. 207). There are three weaknesses in this body of literature: First, by predominantly asking for help from ‘the arts’ (Fredriksson, 2017), and mostly referring to major cultural events, cultural organisations, and city festivals (Fredriksson, 2013), this literature underestimates the importance of ordinary, mundane activities in the organizing of shoppers’ everyday lives, e.g. working, going to school, taking a bus, or conducting some business at the tax department⁸⁵. Second, theoretically, they rely on a static understanding of ‘sense of place’ when a district or town centre transforms itself into a known brand or product by developing a strong and homogenous place-identity, which would be

⁸⁵ As an exception, Teller and Elms highlight the importance of ‘multi-purpose trips’, which include “meeting or visiting other people who live there, or using other services offered by banks, non-retail businesses, or even the council administration” (Teller & Elms, 2012, p. 548).

determinative vis-à-vis other aspects. However, empirically, this perspective offers very few successful examples, apart from some iconized districts in a handful of global cities. Lastly, this body of work disregards the fact that the homogeneity implied by a strong and singular place identity, ‘a strong sense of place’, can also become exclusionary (Thufvesson, 2017; Zukin, 1998). This, in turn, can make town centres and shopping geographies rely on limited kinds of activities for their vibrancy and conviviality, thus making them fragile and non-resilient.

Additionally, some shopping literature that discusses the notion of convenience analyses shopping enactments similarly to what is implied by on-the-side shopping. While Jackson et al. (2006) analyse how shoppers perceive what is convenient, they found out that, for some shoppers, convenience is “the ease with which shopping at a particular store can be combined with other commitments” (p. 53). The example they give combines shopping with driving children to and from school. Another work which highlights the same aspect is Eskilsson and Thufvesson’s (2017) study based on ‘consumer diaries’. These scholars propose that almost half of the shopping reported as happening ‘on the way to’ and ‘while waiting for’; highlighting the combined feature of shopping with other activities. In the examples they provide, shopping ‘on the way to’ includes bundling shopping with commuting, while shopping ‘while waiting for’⁸⁶ entails shopping done between changing from one mode of transportation to another.

On-the-side shopping has features in common with various shopping formulations, as described above. It links shopping with what are argued to be ‘leisure activities’; however, the mode of shopping being analysed here is not confined solely to such activities, but also includes everyday errands, like changing from one mode of transportation to another. Similar to the concept of ‘tourism shopping’, shoppers embody the role of ‘visitor’ in the shopping geography; however, the ‘visiting’ activity in this mode of shopping is much broader than traditional tourism studies would imply, e.g. also concerning ‘locals’. Cultural activities and the arts can be effective in attracting shoppers into a shopping geography; nonetheless, as is the case with ‘leisure’ activities, this is only a part of the picture. Furthermore, in the fieldwork, no implications regarding ‘place marketing’ were recognized as a motor for attracting shoppers to Södergatan and Söder, or for making them enact shopping ‘on-the-side’ during their visits. Actually, things were just the opposite: The unfavourable reputation of the shopping geography, partly engendered by negative media coverage, was a barrier.

⁸⁶ For a similar discussion on shopping as a waiting activity, but this time at airports, see, for example, Blichfeldt et al., 2017 and Ehn & Löfgren, 2010.

Bringing Shoppers to Södergatan

The driving school Felicia attended was also mentioned by other research participants during the interviews. In particular, this school's ability to provide instruction and mentoring in multiple languages, e.g. Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish, and the Balkan languages, was praised in terms of what makes this particular driving school one of the most popular in the whole city. Similarly, the library, according to Felicia "definitely [my] favourite place in the whole Helsingborg", located in the city park on the northern edge of the district, was also stated by many shoppers as a reason why they come to Söder in the first place. The majority of them explicitly pointed out that they sometimes combine a library visit with a shopping activity. The library's location was praised, as it is, according to the research participants, connecting Söder with the town centre, and vice versa. For instance, Yusuf had been to the library many times, albeit more often when he was a student, and he hoped that the rumours he had heard, i.e. that the municipality would be investing more in the library, were true. He claimed that the enlargement and renovation of the library would have a positive effect on the shopping geography and its relation with the rest of the city. Similarly, Natalia, a 34-year-old intern at the IKEA IT department, who moved from Spain to Helsingborg, said that she too comes to the library often, and not just to borrow books, but also to attend the activities which take place there:

NATALIA: I've been to the library, maybe like... I could say lots of times. Because I was looking for comics, other books, and it's a place where you can find cultural activities, and activities like tandem language conversation groups. I was looking for that.

Natalia's account reveals that the library is more than just a study and knowledge centre. The city library organizes seminars and concerts, and hosts other activities such as "tandem language conversation groups". She continued that she mostly combined "looking for comics" and "tandem language conversation" with her shopping at the Alfo Gross supermarket, the Asian Market, a small market selling goods from east and southeast Asia, and the street market.

The only central, indoor swimming pool in the city is located on Södergatan, and can be regarded as another significant 'attraction station' in the shopping geography (cf. Hägerstrand, 1975). High school and secondary school students from all corners of the city visit the swimming pool for swimming lessons, with most of the participants indicating that they had been there, or that they visit the place regularly. The swimming pool also contains a fitness centre, Actic, and it is possible to combine visits to the fitness centre and swimming pool with a monthly membership fee, which Massimiliano did, for instance. When we were beside the swimming pool, he said that he came there almost every day as he is a semi-professional water polo player. According to him, the pool is "really nice" and "pretty cool". After

training, he often pays a visit to the street market and Alfo Gross, and then cycles back home, which is 200 metres to the north of Södergatan. Similarly, while walking past the pool, Veronica, a 35-year-old artist and care worker, who lives a couple of hundred metres east of Södergatan, in Högaborg, asserted:

VERONICA: Actie is probably the place I use the most here on Södergatan, both the swimming pool and the gym. I've had a membership card for a couple of years now, and yes, it's my biggest activity in Söder. [...] It's the only facility that has everything in the same place. And it doesn't cost much to gain access to everything either. I think it's clean and fresh and the staff are good, you get the help you need. You wouldn't need to go to another part of the city, you have all this available in Söder.

Although, unlike Massimiliano, Veronica did not explicitly link her visits to the gym and the swimming pool, her “biggest activity in Söder”, with shopping, she said she sometimes developed photos at a store in Södergatan. It can be the case that she shops at Alfo Gross, despite not liking to carry shopping up the hill on foot; her favourite ‘fika’⁸⁷ place, the Bagel Café, is also on the street. Following other examples, it is likely that she sometimes shops for groceries, develops photos, and has a coffee, ‘on-the-side’ of swimming and working out since she “wouldn't need to go to another part of the city”, just to work out or swim.



Figure 45. Laserdome, 2013

Both Felicia and John initially came to Södergatan to visit Laserdome as children.

⁸⁷ The Swedish word for having a cup of coffee or tea with a pastry or a cake, often in the company of others.

During our tour of Södergatan, Zeyneb and Zahra pointed out some private employment agencies, which also offer courses to adults. They said these establishments work in collaboration with the Swedish Public Employment Service, and they “assist people in writing their CVs, in writing cover letters, and in finding a job”. Although Zeyneb had earned a degree in architecture in Jordan before moving to Sweden, and Zahra had worked as an economist in Syria, they were both unemployed at the time of the video interview, having registered with one of the organisations. Zahra emphasised the fact that “there are many of these kinds of companies in Söder”. Later on, when we had arrived in front of the Public Employment Service building, although they were joking that “it [was] the worst place to find a job”, Zeyneb and Zahra stressed the importance of these institutions for Söder, for its shopping geography:

ZAHRA: I think why a lot of people come here every day is because you know there’s this Arbetsförmedling.

ZEYNEB: Public Employment Service.

ZAHRA: Yes. Also the Social Insurance Agency, the Migration Agency, and the Tax Department are here. So everything’s in this area, you know. That’s why a lot of people come here.

Both Zeyneb and Zahra stated that they combined shopping with taking a language course, and with going to private and public institutions. And, according to them, they are not alone in doing so; “that’s why a lot of people come” to Söder.



Figure 46. In front of Public Employment Service, 2015
Zahra thinks many people come to the shopping geography because of the state institutions.

I described, at the beginning of this chapter, the fact that Felicia came to Söder for the first time to go to Laserdome, a gaming centre. John also told me that the first time he had ever been to Söder was when visiting Laserdome. When we were having our tour of the shopping geography, he took me inside that place. There were dozens of screens in the basement, occupied by children and teenagers of different ages in a science fiction-film-like atmosphere created using ultraviolet lamps and rows of screens: They were playing video games in groups and shooting at the screens with gaming handguns. At the entrance, it was possible to buy snacks and soft drinks, but the surrounding shops were benefiting from this flow as well. Even as an adult, Zeyneb had been there once with a friend of hers from the Swedish language course she was attending on Södergatan, a visit she described as “really good fun”. Likewise, Massimiliano pointed out that he came to Laderdome with other students from the university. It was an orientation activity for new students and, according to him, it was “really cool”. Only a couple of metres away from Laserdome, there is an upper secondary school, which provides it with some of its clientele.



Figure 47. Still of the bus stop at Gustav Adolf's Square, 2015

The bus stops on Södergatan are almost always crowded, with passengers often carrying shopping bags.

Actually, over the last fifteen years, many private schools have established themselves in the district, thanks both to the relatively cheaper rents in Söder and its central location; the students of these schools are often from other parts of the city. Ingrid, pointing at various upper secondary schools on Södergatan as we did our tour, mentioned that their students, in addition to some of the students from the university, come to the restaurant and bar where she works to have lunch:

INGRID: There are many students here. We have upper secondary school students who eat their lunch with us. [...] And also some university students. [...] Here, there are upper secondary schools, as you can see, and there are more over there (pointing at the other side of the street). They raised the rents, that's why they're getting these places. These places were shops before, but now the upper secondary schools have moved in. They are private schools. They rent small shops and put their students in them. And those students come to us, or they go to other restaurants, to eat.

Although Ingrid complained that these private upper secondary schools were taking over from retail places, and in doing so raising rents in the shopping geography, she also acknowledged that their students contribute to the vibrancy of the district and to the local economy by eating at the restaurant and bar where she works, as well as at other restaurants. In this case, the students are bundling the activities of coming to school in Söder, studying, and eating lunch at nearby restaurants with their classmates.



Figure 48. The cinema on Södergatan, 2013

The cinema on Södergatan is the only one screening box-office films in Helsingborg, thus generating a significant flow of people into Söder.

One of the main features of the district is the visible frequency of bus services. Changing buses was articulated as one of the common reasons why the research participants come to this shopping geography. There are many bus routes passing through the district, or starting from there, and the bus stop on Södergatan, beside Gustav Adolf's Square, is probably the busiest one in the whole city. This quality reinforces on-the-side shopping by providing the possibility of shopping while

waiting for the next bus, as was the case for some of the research participants. For instance, Felicia, on her way to or from her athletics training facility in south Helsingborg, and on her way to or from visiting her boyfriend's dad, who also lives in south Helsingborg, changes bus in Söder. While in the shopping geography already, she said, she often checked the street market for groceries, something John said he also did. In these cases, on-the-side shopping becomes a bundling of the activities of taking the bus, checking out the street market as a form of waiting (cf. Eskilsson & Thufvesson, 2017), buying some fruit and vegetables, and taking them on the bus.

The shopping geography 'attracts' shoppers with the services, goods, events, and activities it contains and provides (cf. Seamon, 1979; Teller, 2008). Some 'attach' shopping to leisure activities (cf. Jansen-Verbeke, 1987; Shields, 1992), while some others combine mundane errands with shopping (cf. Jackson et al., 2006). In addition, political demonstrations also bring people to Söder. Södergatan has been, and still is, the principal place in the city for marches and protests, inherited from the history of the district's working-class movement (Högdahl, 2007). Moreover, the research participants were hopeful that the renewed local mall, Söderpunkten, together with its new cinema, bowling alley, restaurants, and new supermarket, would attract more people into the district. The newly-opened art gallery, Kulturhotellet, and the Radisson Blu hotel were similarly cited as actors bringing in shoppers, who would normally avoid this shopping geography. For instance, Ingrid noted that guests from the Radisson Blu sometimes come and eat at the restaurant and bar where she works.

Synchronized nearness

Felicia was not the only person emphasising the cinema as the primary factor behind wanting to come to Söder. Other research participants also stated that they frequent the cinema with their friends, partners or families. Kati, a university student from Germany, who had been living in Helsingborg for the last three years, said she was not in Söder that often although the university is only a couple of hundred metres away from the district. Despite that, she had been to Söder multiple times, thanks to the cinema, where she goes together with her friend who lives in Söder. Resonating with Felicia, Kati also claimed that: "Max is the place you usually go to on Södergatan when going to the cinema", adding that she also buys sweets from "a nearby shop". The major quality of the Max restaurant, and the store mentioned, is being 'nearby', literally adjoining the cinema.

On-the-side shopping has direct spatiotemporal implications in terms of 'nearness'. In order to benefit from this mode of shopping, and the 'informed improvisation' of the shoppers, retail places need to gather around 'attraction stations' with smooth sensomaterial connections (cf. Jansen-Verbeke, 1991). Then, the immediate area surrounding bus stations, cinemas, swimming pools, and schools becomes a

premium location for retailing (cf. Teller & Elms, 2012). In addition, this mutual symbiotic togetherness also necessitates temporal synchronisation. Since it is the 'attraction stations' which generate flows of shoppers, the opening hours of the nearby retail places need to be adjusted accordingly, to school hours, working hours, and the closing times of cinemas and the like.



Figure 49. The indoor swimming pool, 2015

The only central, indoor swimming pool in the city is located on Södergatan, and can be regarded as another significant 'attraction station' in the shopping geography. The swimming pool also contains a fitness centre, Actic, and it is possible to combine visits to the fitness centre and swimming pool with a monthly membership.

Detachment of Shopping

Despite Södergatan and Söder hosting many 'attraction stations', which create a flow of people into the district, it is not possible to make a direct correlation between coming to Söder, because of a non-shopping related activity, and semi-spontaneous shopping in the district. I followed Linda to ICA Oj on Carl Krooks Gata, where she bought bin liners, a packet of local filter coffee for the shared house she lived in, and she said she needed some socks too. It was October, it was getting cold, and she realized that she did not have enough warm winter socks to wear "between laundry days". We started walking towards Södergatan:

DEVIRIM: Do you have a particular shop in mind to look for socks in?

LINDA: Not really... I just stopped and wondered about whether it... Is Söderpunkten open again? Shall we go and check? If not, then maybe there's some other shop close to it which sells... Look, there's a Lindex!

DEVIM: Didn't you know?

LINDA: No, I didn't know there was a Lindex here on Södergatan. It's not like I haven't been here recently. Since the Radisson Blu opened, I've been here a couple of times because of work, we had meetings. But before that, I was also here in the summer when Kulturhotellet was arranging the Street Live concerts here. It was really nice. But maybe Lindex wasn't here then? I don't know. Or maybe I wasn't really focusing on the shopping side of things then.



Figure 50. Still of Linda inside Lindex, 2015

Linda was surprised to see the Lindex store, although she had been to the district lately on multiple occasions, due to the activities linked to the new establishments opening up there.

Linda was surprised to see the Lindex store, although she had been to the district lately on multiple occasions, due to the activities linked to the new establishments opening up in the district. As she pointed out, it was not like she “hadn’t been there recently”. These establishments are particularly praised and promoted by the municipality and local media as they add vibrancy to the district, and help the retailers in the shopping geography by creating a spill-over effect. Yet, in Linda’s case, her repeated visits to the Radisson Blu hotel and the art gallery Kulturhotellet had not been combined with shopping. She probably thought that she “wasn’t really focusing on the shopping side of things” then. This illustrates that on-the-side shopping is not a mode of shopping that occurs totally spontaneously; a non-articulated aim, the enjoyment of ‘spontaneity’, and place-specific shopping competences are also required.

Something that was ‘missing’ which was discussed during the interviews was that neither Söder nor Södergatan had been promoted as tourist destinations in the city,

and nor were they popular places for organizing cultural events which could potentially help the shopping geography's resilience and boost its vibrancy (cf. Warnaby & Davies, 1997; Timothy, 2005). Despite that, Ali claimed that tourists from other countries come to the district, although, according to him, this was becoming less common. Similarly, Megan and Muhammad complained about Söder not being appreciated enough as a tourist destination. When their families or friends come to visit, they directly bring them to Söder. They show them the district, their favourite shops, and take them to dinner in one of the restaurants in Söder:

MEGAN: My parents just came to visit me, to visit us, this Winter. And we were so excited to show them the baklava place we just took you to. Actually, we're taking you on the tour like we would do if we had our relatives coming to visit us. We took them to this Indian restaurant too, Shahi Masala. I come from the States, and the States has diverse foods and cultures. And we love to just enjoy, you know, not the traditional meals, so my parents really enjoyed this Indian place.

MUHAMMAD: But if you think of about it, whatever in the downtown is mainstream. You can see them in any other city. [...] So for people like us, who want to see the local version of how people actually live in a city, Söder is great. But downtown, it's like any other downtown in Sweden or Europe. So you don't get excited to see it.

MEGAN: Hole-in-the-wall, we say. Söder is a hole-in-the-wall place.

Megan and Muhammad stated that Söder, with its specific and, according to them, 'authentic', non-artificial locality, could be promoted as a tourist destination. Taking on the role of tourist guide, they guide their visitors around Söder, those who "want to see the local version of how people actually live". Because, unlike the town centre, where it is like just any other 'clone town' (cf. Smith & Sparks, 2000; Hubbard, 2017), Söder is a "hole-in-the-wall" place; it has character. Ali also thought that the municipality should arrange more cultural activities in the district, especially during the summer, activities which he claimed could eventually vitalize the district further, in turn boosting retail (cf. Warnaby & Davies, 1997). On the other hand, Megan and Muhammad remembered that the annual city festival had been organized in Söder last summer:

MEGAN: This summer, there was this festival where the whole street was blocked off. What was it called? And that was the only time I saw Söder, like, everybody was there.

MUHAMMAD: It was a festival, yes. I think the city does this to bring more life into Söder because everybody's aware that Söder has a bad reputation. And they're trying to work on that, yes, they're trying to fix that.

Although Megan and Muhammad complained that Söder was not backed in terms of its tourism potential, they acknowledged that there is a will on the part of the municipality. Most of the research participants were also “aware that Söder has a bad reputation”; therefore, according to them, many people avoid the district totally. Megan and Muhammad argued that prominent cultural events organized in the district could challenge this ‘bad reputation’, e.g. the city festival, which made Söder look like “everybody was there”; ‘everybody’ in the sense that not only were there the usual Söder shoppers or residents, but also people from the north side of the city. Similarly, when I asked what she would change about the district to make it more attractive to shoppers, Ingrid argued that there should be more offices on Södergatan and in Söder, which would bring ‘ordinary people’ into the shopping geography: “Ordinary people. Yes... I don’t know how to explain what I mean by ordinary people; it sounds stupid when you say it. More diverse! It has been way too segregated”. Ingrid wanted Söder to be more diverse by including ‘ordinary people’, and Megan was surprised to see ‘everybody’ in Söder during the festival. Linda also thought that maybe there were not enough offices in the district, claiming that this is one of the reasons why there are always crowds of people in the town centre in addition to the people who live there.

Workplaces and schools are spatiotemporal ‘stations’ (Hägerstrand, 1975), where people stay for relatively longer periods than other places. Such ‘stations’ can be particularly important in assisting the mode of shopping, since the longer people spend in a shopping geography, the greater the possibility of enacting shopping ‘on-the-side’ of other activities. There are actually many offices in and around Söder and Södergatan already. One big company close to the area is the IKEA IT department, where Natalia worked. There are also companies in the same building as the university, which is only a couple of hundred metres further away. In addition, there are also hundreds of employees of state institutions in the district; in the court house, the tax department, or the public employment service, with many of these, for instance, eating lunch in the shopping geography. Yet, Ingrid still wanted more “diversity” and worried that “it [had] been too segregated” (cf. Högdahl, 2007). Zahra also argued that there should be greater reason to bring “Swedish people” into the district, and that “diversity” is what is lacking. Otherwise, she was afraid that Söder could become a second “Rösengård”, an infamous district in Malmö which has been demonized as a migrant-only ‘ghetto’, with high unemployment and levels of criminality, a place once promoted as an ideal residential area for the modern future (Ristilammi, 1994).

Conclusions

On-the-side shopping is about shopping in a shopping geography, where the initial intention of going there is something other than shopping. That is to say, this mode

of shopping is enacted ‘on-the-side’ of an array of events and activities: It bundles a set of activities which can lead to the possible purchasing of services and goods, where shopping is not at the forefront. These activities can include going to and coming from work and school, seeing a film at a cinema, attending a language course, taking driving lessons, conducting business at a public institution, borrowing a book from the library, playing games at a gaming centre, taking the bus, changing buses, visiting as a tourist, attending a cultural event, and waiting, in addition to eating, browsing, entering a retail place, checking items, and purchasing. These bundled activities are organized via the regulations governing the opening hours of the venues, as well as by the zoning plans of the municipality. Even rules enabling and constraining transportation are important. Shoppers need to understand their possibilities of combining these activities, and to have some knowledge of their availability. On-the-side shopping should not be confused with impulse buying; this requires some planning in order to ensure that shoppers have the spare time, energy, and resources for a semi-spontaneous shopping enactment. This kind of amalgamating of implicit planning and controlled spontaneity can be called ‘informed improvisation’. Furthermore, it is also crucial that shoppers enjoy and embrace such partial suddenness and that they are keen to search for opportunities to enact on-the-side shopping.

Principally, there should be a smooth connection between the places where the individual activities take place, and stores and other commercial venues need to have sensomaterial accessibility in a way allowing shoppers to make sense of what is on offer. Visible and clear store signs, inviting layouts, window displays and visually-communicated ranges of services and goods are essential. On-the-side shopping co-constitutes the sensomateriality of a shopping geography as well, in the sense that retail places that assist the mode of shopping tend to gather around stronger ‘attraction stations’ and transportation hubs, since convenience is also a significant aspect of this mode of shopping. Temporal synchronisation of the activities is another requirement and, similarly, the expected waiting times between activities should not be too long. The seasons of the year also have implications for on-the-side shopping; cultural events tend to be organized during specific holidays throughout the year, as well as in the summer, when the weather is more open-air activity friendly. Finally, on-the-side shopping is reinforced in the conjuncture of multiple wider chains of actions and events, e.g. as regards the flourishing ‘convenience culture’ among shoppers and the restructuring of retail, which enables other organisations to fill vacant stores. The municipal policy which has encouraged recent major investment in the hosting of various recreational activities is also a determinant of the prospects of this mode of shopping.

Establishing strong attraction stations and opening additional offices or schools, on the other hand, does not always lead to the enactment of on-the-side shopping. In addition, the unfavourable reputation of the shopping geography also makes it

difficult to bring new shoppers into Söder and onto Södergatan. Lastly, the approach used by the municipal institutions is also important; these can, for instance, make a positive impact by ‘marketing’ the district, and encouraging tourists to visit the shopping geography by means of, for instance, organizing and supporting cultural events and promoting the shopping geography using tourism information channels.

On-the-side shopping is one of the five major modes of shopping identified on Södergatan, which co-constitute the street into its current vibrant form, and which also make the shopping geography relevant to shoppers in Söder, and to the rest of the city. In particular, the high concentration of public institutions in the district, e.g. the library, the public employment service, the tax department, and the increasing numbers of schools and workplaces all reinforce the mode of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder; thus, bringing shoppers into the shopping geography. The fact that the only cinema showing blockbuster box-office films and the only indoor swimming pool in central Helsingborg are both located by Södergatan is particularly important. Södergatan being a popular place for changing buses is also something that contributes to the phenomenon. Overall, this mode of shopping injects vibrancy into the district and the local street by aligning multiple and seemingly unrelated activities, and by transforming ‘visitors’ to the district into ‘shoppers’ in its retail places.

On-the-side shopping and convenience shopping have much in common in terms of their required spatiotemporal availability and sensomaterial accessibility. Also, they are both fed by the rising convenience culture among contemporary shoppers, and their appreciation of enacting practices in a ‘drop-in’ manner. However, while convenience shopping is about freeing up shopping activities from being synchronized with other activities, e.g. coming home from work or school, doing weekend leisure activities etc., on-the-side shopping requires these for its configuration and continuation. On the other hand, unlike convenience shopping, on-the-side shopping has the potential to generate a flow of shoppers from outside of the immediate surroundings of Södergatan and Söder and into the shopping geography. In this sense, it possesses a strength similar to social shopping.

Chapter 8: Alternative Shopping

DEVIRIM: Have you been here before?

BOTH: Yes!

ZAHRA: I bought a present for my friend. He's Swedish, so I wanted to buy him something special from our culture.

ZEYNEB: I came here, because me and my husband, we were visiting a friend and he's Swedish as well. So we thought maybe we could find a gift from this shop. Because, it's different, and I know Swedish people like these things.

Alternative shopping indicates the bundling of activities which can lead to the purchasing of services and goods in retail places that are too excluded from mainstream shopping geographies, where national and transnational retail chains typically dominate. This mode of shopping is particularly oriented towards searching for and purchasing unique and specialized services and goods, which represent spatial and temporal divergences from contemporary orthodox retail ranges.

In the first section of the chapter, following the previous examples, I investigate an enactment of the mode of shopping, which would help in giving an account of alternative shopping, and how it is organized. Subsequently, I review the relevant previous literature touching upon aspects of the mode of shopping. Later, I examine the relationships between spatial and temporal heterogeneities and alternative shopping, in two sequential sections. Lastly, I end the chapter by problematizing the mode of shopping's effects on the shopping geography, with regard to the acts of avoidance it sometimes leads to.

Some of the questions I seek to answer in this chapter include: What kind of shopping is not mainstream? What are the activities making up this mode of shopping? What are their spatial, temporal, material, and sensorial implications? How are they brought together using specific, alternative rules and competences? What is this mode of shopping really all about? In which ways does alternative shopping keep the street and the district vibrant?

Shopping for something unusual in an uncommon place

Zeyneb came to Sweden from Iraq through marriage, while Zahra, who is from Syria, moved to Sweden to seek asylum. Zahra lived on Södergatan while Zeyneb's home was in Dalhem, a segregated residential district in east Helsingborg where mostly transnational migrants live. Yet, Zeyneb also comes to Söder very often. When I asked why, she emphasized the special service and the good range available

in the shopping geography, e.g. the vegetables on sale are fresh, unlike in other places. Furthermore, besides the fact that she enjoyed being in the district, she also emphasised that there were many shops selling “Arabic products”, which she “can’t find anywhere else”. She also emphasised that many restaurants in the shopping geography sell ‘halal’ food, adding that, since they are Muslims, they prefer the restaurants in Söder (cf. Hall, 2012; Kuppinger, 2014).



Figure 51. Still of Sham Bazaar Södergatan, 2018

Sham Bazaar was a small and bright place, almost mimicking a jeweller’s shop, with goods being presented carefully on the shelves covering all four walls.

After walking around a hundred metres from the library and then along Södergatan, they took me to a newly-opened shop, Sham Bazaar, which sells home accessories. It was a small and bright place, almost mimicking jeweller’s shop with goods being presented carefully on the shelves covering all four walls. “A lot of these things are traditional for us”, claimed Zahra, while pointing to the goods exhibited in the shop window. “From the Middle East”, corrected Zeyneb, claiming ‘co-ownership’ of the goods by implying that they were not just typically Syrian. Speaking in Arabic, they got the permission of the owner, so I entered the store filming and following them. Zahra showed me some coloured glass ornaments saying: “These are from our culture”. Zeyneb pointed out accessories coloured gold and silver, explaining that one typically puts them in the guestroom. Zahra showed me small and elegant plate-like souvenirs with calligraphy on them, inscribed with the names of Allah and Muhammad in Arabic. When I asked if they had been here before, their answer was the opening quotation in this chapter: “Yes!”. This shop sold specialized goods from their ‘culture’; as its name alludes to, it pretends to be a ‘market’ from Damascus.

This made it possible for Zahra and Zeyneb to present pieces from their ‘culture’ to their friends in Sweden. Presents with which they demonstrate and share their precious uniqueness, while also marking their difference. “Because it’s different”, it is absent from the orthodox shopping geographies. Furthermore, they also knew that: “Swedish people like these things”, things that are a bit peculiar, unusual, odd, exotic or ‘alternative’.



Figure 52. Still of Zahra in the Damas restaurant, 2018

For Zahra and Zeyneb, the Damas restaurant was a sensomaterial extension of remembered and imagined homelands.

Subsequently, they took me to the Damas restaurant on Södergatan which was opened by a refugee family, also from Syria, a couple of years earlier. This restaurant had a typical North American style fast-food spatial organisation in the sense that it was self-service based, there was a food counter to choose dishes from and a big menu-board behind it on the wall, and the customers lined up with their trays to pay at the cash desk. The restaurant was lit with fluorescence lights, with the walls and floor being covered with tiles in white and beige, signalling cleanliness, but also giving the restaurant a catering-like aesthetic. Despite the anonymous, mainstream spatial organisation and decoration, however, the food that is served, the olfactory and auditory elements of the restaurant, were all signalling alternative specialities:

ZEYNEB: This is a really famous restaurant, “Damas”, after Damascus. It’s a Syrian restaurant.

ZAHRA: You want to go inside? And see our sweets? (They ask for permission to film in Arabic). Here you can see the Shawarma, it’s very famous. [...] And here are the sweets! (Showing the counter where sweets and nuts are exhibited)

ZEYNEB: You have it in Turkey as well, baklava. This is, like, really good! [...]

ZAHRA: The smell here is very good.

ZEYNEB: Yeah, I’m starting to feel hungry! (Laughing together)

DEVIRIM: And Arabic music, too.

ZEYNEB: Yeah, when you enter this restaurant, you feel like you’re in the Middle East.

ZAHRA: Yeah, music and people.

ZEYNEB: The smell, the food, everything.

ZAHRA: And now, we’re in the middle of Helsingborg!

As members of a diaspora and migrants in a new country, Södergatan provides services and goods to Zahra and Zeyneb, which they were able to recognize from “home”, and which they are unable to find anywhere else. In the Damas restaurant, they can buy and consume Shawarma and “their sweets”, including baklava, which is “really good” and “very famous”, according to them, yet not mainstream enough to be served in orthodox shopping geographies. I should also be able to acknowledge its value since I “also have it in Turkey”: We can understand each other, together we can recognize and appreciate our left-behind but rediscovered specialities thanks to this shopping geography. For Zahra and Zeyneb, this restaurant is a sensomaterial extension of remembered and imagined homelands: They are able to reconnect with the places they left thanks to the restaurant’s “music and people” and “the smell, the food, everything”. Although they are thousands of kilometres away “in the middle of Helsingborg”, they are immersing themselves in the atmosphere of this retail place, imagining they are “in the Middle East” (cf. Mankekar, 2002).

After leaving Damas, we stopped first at a bakery and café whose owner was from Lebanon. There, Zahra and Zeyneb taught me what ‘manakish’ is, i.e. “a type of pizza, but thinner”, describing the alternative by making reference to the mainstream. Then, we entered ‘the shop without a name’, which had a very mixed range of goods, as I mentioned while analysing convenience shopping. Zahra explained that they went there for “a lot of things” that they “cannot find in Swedish shops”, which represent orthodoxy in their eyes. They showed me teapots and shisha as examples of this shop’s unique variety. Zeyneb picked a bidet shower nozzle and continued “I don’t think you can find it anywhere apart from Arabic shops. Because in Islam, like, after you go to the toilet, you need to wash”. The shop, which seemed

difficult to make sense of from the outside, and which does not have a name or a specific style, being eclectically full of many different items that extend out into the street and colourfully stocked from the floor all the way to up to the ceiling, was very understandable to Zahra and Zeyneb. “It’s a very traditional shop, how it looks in our countries, like a mess”, laughed Zahra. Yet, it enables their enactment of alternative shopping, which can include buying special teapots to make tea the way they were used to doing it, or a bidet shower nozzle so they can continue with their usual hygiene activities, or they can relax and converse while smoking shisha. What was traditional and mainstream somewhere else has become alternative in Sweden.



Figure 53. Still of Zahra and Zeyneb pointing to the bidet shower nozzle, 2018

This shop was very understandable to Zahra and Zeyneb: It seemed difficult to make sense of from the outside, and it does not have a name or a specific style, but it is eclectically full of many different items that extend out into the street and it is colourfully stocked from the floor all the way to up to the ceiling.

Later on during our tour, they took me, among other places, to the butcher’s/convenience store where they buy their fresh lamb and chicken, showing me a shop specializing only in headscarves although they do not wear these. It was obvious that Södergatan was a meaningful and relevant local shopping street for both of them, a shopping geography providing services and goods which are not possible to find anywhere else, and which make their existence easier in Helsingborg, in their ‘home away from home’. In turn, Zahra and Zeyneb, through their deep commitment to alternative shopping, were contributing to the vibrancy of Södergatan and Söder.

In the above illustrated cases of alternative shopping, which Zahra and Zeyneb were enacting, the mode of shopping is an outcome of various activities being bundled.

These activities included taking the bus, walking, eating dishes originating from their homelands, talking Arabic, reading Arabic, eating in accordance with religious conventions, buying ‘exotic’ presents for friends, promoting their own ‘culture’, buying religious clothes, buying specialties from their home countries, keeping traditions alive, and co-constituting the Arabic speaking diaspora. These activities were organized by means of regulations which made the importing of goods from abroad simpler, as well as religious and ethno-cultural rules and conventions. Zahra and Zeyneb needed to have specific proficiencies in order to make sense of the services and goods, as well as literacy in Arabic in order to communicate with retailers and read labels. They were also required to have knowledge of the relevant ranges of services and goods in the shopping geography. However, in particular, it was their wants and longings for this heterodoxy, i.e. alternative services and goods, which gave this mode of shopping its orientation.

Alternative shopping, during Zahra’s and Zeyneb’s enactments, materially required special goods. Additionally, feeling out-of-place due to particular sensomaterial arrangements, as was the case in the Damas restaurant, was important. This mode of shopping had both double spatiality and double temporality: It was enacted both here and there, near and far, as well as, now and then, in the moment and in memory. Zahra and Zeyneb were shopping in Söder and on Södergatan while referring to and remembering their homelands: They were in the present while clinging to the past (cf. Jamal & Chapman, 2000). In this sense, alternative shopping provided a spatial journey which also involved travelling in time. This was enabled by the partial marginality of Söder and Södergatan in Helsingborg, by its alternativeness, although occupying a central location. Lastly, Zahra and Zeyneb were enacting alternative shopping in conjunction with global migration, retail decentralisation and retail restructuring, as is the case with other modes of shopping analysed earlier: Their life trajectories were bundled with each other and shopping, but also with other wider events and chains of actions (cf. Schatzki, 2019).

Alternative Shopping Literature

The notion of ‘alternative’ has mainly been associated with ethical and environmental concerns in the shopping literature (e.g. Byrant & Goodman, 2004; Newholm & Shaw, 2007; Williams & Paddock, 2003). However, ethical and environmental interests and their implications for shopping and retail also have been gradually incorporated into the ‘mainstream’ (Crewe et al., 2003a, 2003b; Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; McRobbie, 1989), as well as into mainstream shopping geographies (Fredriksson & Aslan, 2018; Fox, 2018).

On a general level, it is possible to conceptualize ‘alternative’ in terms of dynamic, relational and ever-shifting positioning vis-à-vis what is and what is imagined to be

mainstream, as divergences from the common, the normal, and the hegemonic (cf. Crewe et al., 2003a, 2003b). It represents heterodoxy vis-à-vis what is orthodox. Following this line of thought, then, it becomes clear that divergences can happen in numerous directions in the case of shopping; e.g. in relation to existing conventions and legal regulations, established labour relations, inscribed shopper and retailer roles, or concerning ranges of available services and goods.

In this chapter, the term ‘alternative’ is analysed in particular on the basis of two divergences from the mainstream: i.e. divergence from ‘now’ and divergence from ‘here’, although these often are entangled with each other. In other words, alternative shopping, in this study, is about shopping in *heterotopia* and *heterochronia*⁸⁸: It is about shopping both ‘here’ and ‘there’ in the same moment, as well as ‘now’ and ‘then’ at the same place (cf. Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986).

There in here

Shopping while diverging from ‘here’, i.e. shopping in ‘heterotopia’, has two main varieties. The first of these has more of a diasporic tone, whereby shoppers shop for a piece of ‘home’ while away from ‘home’, often during the negotiation process of creating a new ‘home’. The second variety is more of a cosmopolitanite activity: It is about exploring, learning about otherness, sampling things foreign while still being in the safety of one’s home, which often includes a certain exoticism⁸⁹.

Mankekar points out that Indian shoppers in San Francisco not only buy groceries from ‘Indian’ stores, “they [also] buy the whole package”: i.e. India (Mankekar, 2002, p. 80). Although this ‘India’ is very contested, imagined, negotiated, homogenized and stereotypical, it still produces a sense of familiarity and induces a feeling of nostalgia. On the other hand, shoppers also needed a specific cultural capital⁹⁰ in order to make sense of the services and goods (cf. Bourdieu, 1986/2010),

⁸⁸ According to Foucault, heterotopias are places which “are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality” (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986, p. 24). He divides heterotopias into two groups, i.e. crisis heterotopias and heterotopias of deviation. In the case of the first group, his examples include boarding schools and honeymoon suites, while in the latter group, he lists hospitals, prisons, cemeteries, oriental gardens, museums, libraries, hammams, and saunas. He emphasises that heterotopias are often “linked to slices in time - which is to say they open onto” heterochronias (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986, p. 26), which is obvious, for instance, in the case of museums and cemeteries.

⁸⁹ However, these shopping activities do not need to be ‘alternative’ necessarily, because some of them can also be enacted in mainstream shopping geographies, depending on where on Earth the old ‘homeland’ lies, and what kind of ‘culture’ shoppers want to explore.

⁹⁰ Formulating it as one of the three forms of capital, Bourdieu also defines ‘cultural’ capital as resting on three pillars, in terms of embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state, with, according to him, embodied state referring to the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986/2010, p. 47), this is “external wealth converted into an integral part of the person” (Bourdieu, 1986/2010, p. 48). Based on this understanding, it can be said that cultural capital, which is developed through cumulative dispositions, is embodied in shoppers and can be converted into

sometimes also receiving assistance and ‘education’ from the retailers. Similarly, Rabikowska emphasises that, through the services and goods provided in ‘Polish shops’ in London, shoppers can make an emotional journey to ‘elsewhere’ while still being ‘there’, in turn making their diasporic situation more endurable (Rabikowska, 2010, see also Narayan, 1997, p. 175).

In their research on Amsterdam’s ‘Chinatown’, Rath et al. (2018) point out that, relying on their mixed-embeddedness, i.e. switching and mediating between two distinct ‘cultural contexts’, the retail places also vend services and goods for non-diasporic shoppers; i.e. both locals and tourists who celebrate and consume negotiated, positive ‘otherness’ (cf. Hulme, 2018). Mankekar (2002), too, emphasises that the Indian shops not only connect members of the Indian diaspora with each other, and with their left-behind and imagined ‘home’, they also portray a domesticated ‘Indianness’ to the rest of society. Likewise, in his article on Brick Lane, a shopping street in east London, Hubbard (2016) points out that so-called hipsters, bohemian, an often precariat ‘creative class’, particularly appreciate ‘ethnic’ services and goods in their enactment of cosmopolitanism, embracing these as ‘authentic’ and an ‘alternative’ to the mass-produced mainstream (also see Zukin, 2008). Similarly, Parzer and Astleithner (2018) emphasise that ‘ethnic Austrians’, while ‘consuming alterity’, associate shopping in ‘immigrant grocery shops’ with holidays and ‘southern affairs’ (Parzer & Astleithner, 2018, p. 1127; for similar discussions see also Heldke, 2003).

Then in now

Shopping in ‘heterochronia’ also happens in two ways, and both have ‘nostalgia’⁹¹ as a shared element. The first way is a kind of resistance to contemporary ‘consumer society’, in the form of celebrating retail forms and the craftsmanship of imagined pasts. The second is more personal; clinging onto memorized retail places to seek refuge from the high tempo of change occurring in the present.

The proliferation of controlled and regulated mainstream shopping geographies has led, dialectically, to a rather nostalgic interest in ‘alternative’ retail formats from the

economic terms. Although the term is often utilized to illustrate how a higher societal stratum consolidates its ‘distinction’ using refined ‘tastes’, in more recent works, the use and meaning area of the concept have become diversified (e.g. Erel, 2010; Trienekens, 2002).

⁹¹ Nostalgia literally means longing for home in Ancient Greek (Legg, 2004), occurring both in time and through space as a response to spatiotemporal distancing, it is a yearning for spatiotemporal re-placement. Nostalgia is the past with the pain removed (cf. Johannisson, 2001; Brembeck & Sörum, 2017). Yet, it is also a “reaction triggered by fear of actual or impending change” (Davis, 1977, p. 416), and hence there is “a positive preference for the past involving negative feelings toward the present or future” (Davis, 1979, p. 18). Therefore, it is even possible to claim that “nostalgia is about the production of a present rather than the reproduction of a past” (Berdahl, 1999, p. 2002, see also Sjöholm, 2003, pp. 245-246).

past, e.g. street markets, flea markets, craft stores, and charity shops, where the transnational retail ‘capital’ is absent (cf. Clarke, 2000; Crewe & Beaverstock, 1998; Fredriksson, 1996; Gregson et al., 2002a; Petersson McIntyre, 2009; Sjöholm, 2010; see also Sennett, 2008). In these “marginal spaces of contemporary consumption” (Crewe & Gregson, 1998, p. 39), the spatiality is also organized often differently; they are generally not located in town centres and their internal spatial demarcation is usually very fluid (Gregson & Crewe, 1997). This ‘fluidity’ also manifests itself as unfixed prices, legal liminality, and shifting shopper and retailer roles, while at the same time fortifying the traditionally dominant gender positions due to the requirement for a high level of shopping competence in these retail formats (Gregson & Crewe, 1998a).

Memories, when blended with nostalgia and shopping, can be utilized as a means of rejecting the novel, the modern, the mainstream, while persistently sticking to the retail places, retail formats and shopping activities that one chooses to remember dearly (cf. Belk & Bryce, 1993; Sjöholm, 2010). Thus, shoppers “may escape the dominant order without leaving it” (Berdahl, 1999, p. 206). Elderly shoppers, in particular, actively seek refuge in certain retail places and shopping geographies where they can establish continuity in times of drastic transformation (Cross, 2015) since memories are always place-bound and since they find stability in places (Casey, 2000, p. 186, see also Degen & Rose, 2012). In such an equation, services and goods become mnemonics too (cf. Berdahl, 1999; Sjöholm, 2003).

Supported by the above-reviewed literature, in this dissertation, alternative shopping designates a dynamic positioning against what is actually and what is imagined to be mainstream in two main divergences, from ‘here’ and from ‘now; shopping in heterotopia and heterochronia. The mode of shopping is about longing for ‘alternative’ services and goods, which are vended in ‘alternative’ retail places⁹². Heterotopia, first, in the sense that shopping services and goods which remind one of ‘home’, remaining in and remembered from a distant, lost place, and, second, shopping for the exotic other. On the other hand, shopping in heterochronia can take the form of resistance to homogenizing, controlled and regulated mainstream shopping geographies, by actively seeking ‘alternative’ retail places extending out of the ‘past’. This can also be enacted to find a sanctuary from ongoing rapid change, holding onto personal or collective shopping memories and retail places, in which these memories are embedded.

⁹² In that sense, it is possible to claim that, as I formulated it in this dissertation, the mode of shopping’s teleoaffectivity is compound; it is about longing both for somewhere else and for some other time.

Shopping the Distant

Over the last couple of decades, many new retail establishments have emerged on Södergatan and in Söder, offering services and goods originating in other countries, as described in Chapter 4. These stores, and the services and goods they merchandise, are not usually available in other parts of the city, yet they find a ‘place’ in this ‘alternative’ shopping geography (cf. Petersson McIntyre, 2009).

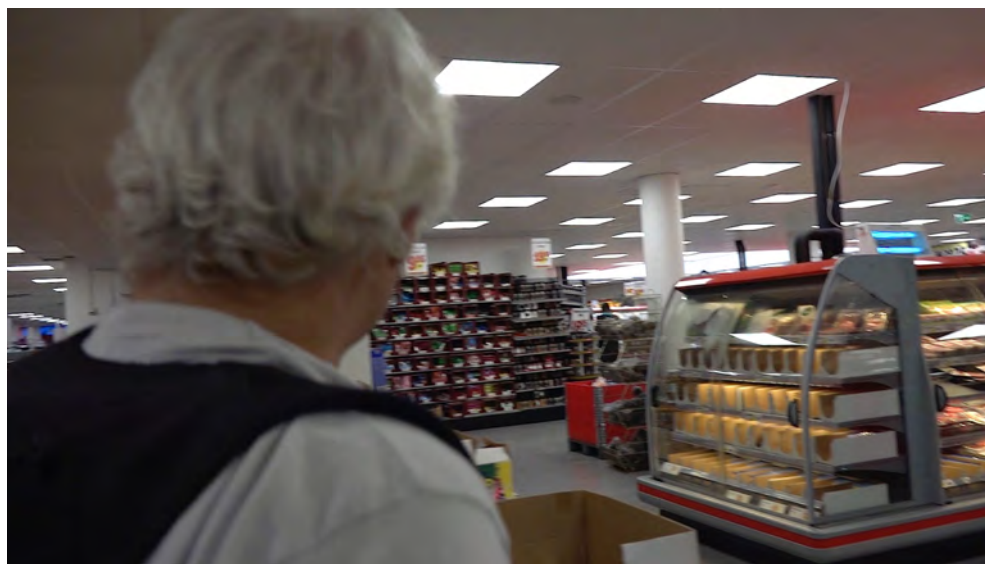


Figure 54. Still of Albin in Alfo Gross

Alfo Gross, a supermarket run by a family from Egypt, has a wide range of unusual items.

When we entered the Alfo Gross supermarket together, Albin, aged 55, emphasised this feature in order to explain why he comes to Söder to shop, cycling back and forth with his backpack for a total of 40 minutes:

ALBIN: In Alfo Gross, there’s an abundance of vegetables and fruit, prices are good, and I shop here often. Same with the spices and many kinds of tinned food... There are a lot of things which you can’t find in other stores in Helsingborg. They have many distributors from the Middle East and places like that, and so there’s a slightly different range.

DEVIRIM: Do you also buy things originating from the Middle East?

ALBIN: Yes. There are spice mixes and the like that I’m not familiar with, which are fun to try out. They’re not too expensive anyway; it’s all about trying something a bit different. I wouldn’t go to Mallorca to taste Swedish meatballs, you know (laughing). There are things (walking through the supermarket) like these okras, you have them here (pointing at them), or cooking bananas, which are not easy to find in other places.

[...] We like our Swedish food, but it's also fun to try out new things from time to time.

For Albin, the enactment of alternative shopping meant the possibility of “trying out something a bit different”, as he claimed he was open to new flavours. He showed me that there were vegetables and spices at Alfo Gross, e.g. okras and cooking bananas (plantains), which you cannot find in other stores. He indicated that he likes cooking with new recipes and new ingredients. He was not a person who would “go to Mallorca to taste Swedish meatballs”, ridiculing the cliché media representations of Swedish tourists in popular Mediterranean tourist destinations who lack curiosity about and interest in the ‘local’ cultures and flavours. Alternative shopping on Södergatan and in Söder is not for shoppers like that but for shoppers like him, who think that “it's also fun to try out new things from time to time”.

In Albin's example, alternative shopping was concerned with searching for and trying out the unusual; often exotic goods and flavours. This was an act of cosmopolitanism, the enactment of open-mindedness. Albin enjoyed being a curious tourist while living within biking distance (cf. Parzer & Astleithner, 2018). On the other hand, for Zahra and Zeyneb, it was about goods which resembled the ones they were used to in their home countries, as was also the case for Jane. When we entered Alfo Gross together, she showed me the goods she normally buys in that supermarket one by one:

JANE: What do I usually buy? This (pointing at corianders), the way it's packaged is very similar to the way it's packaged in my home country.

DEVRIM: OK.

JANE: In my home country, we call this spinach (pointing at vegetables labelled chard), but I realized this is spinach here. [...] What else? Yeah, the mangos, bananas, and avocados (laughing); we eat a lot of those in my country, over there, you can see them?

DEVRIM: Yes.

JANE: (Picking up an avocado) And the way they're packaged here also makes it a lot easier. [...] But at ICA, I think they package them in multipacks of six. And I don't want six avocados because they'll get ripe at the same time, so... [...] This is the meat section, it's usually very busy, yeah, cause in other places they have frozen meat, or pre-packaged, but here they sell fresh meat.

DEVRIM: And do you buy your meat from here?

JANE: Yeah, and in my country we eat a lot of fresh meat. [...] And I think actually that's part of the reason why so many people shop here. Because they can relate to it, and the variety and the freshness...

DEVRIM: How about the spices you mentioned?

JANE: Over there! The names are not the same as the ones used in my country, but I can actually look at and maybe try them out. [...] Actually you know, I searched for this one everywhere (showing a packet of spice), even in Lund, I couldn't find it, but I found it here.



Figure 55. Still of Jane checking avocados in Alfo Gross

Although this supermarket was run by a family originating from Egypt, its goods and the way in which they were presented, as well as the services provided, were all apparently familiar and appealing to a shopper born and raised in East Africa.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Jane had discovered Alfo Gross in the first place thanks to the advice of another woman from her country; this was a supermarket where she could find everything she had been longing for. Although the supermarket was run by a family originating from Egypt, the goods were imported from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Turkey, Iran, the Levant, the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. These goods and the way in which they were presented, the services provided, were apparently familiar and appealing to a shopper born and raised in East Africa. They are all interconnected by being 'alternative' due to the spatiocultural organisation of retail in the city; i.e. the segregation of the shopping geography from the rest of the city. They are not mainstream enough to find spots in major supermarkets, but Södergatan and Söder provide space for them⁹³. Jane compared Alfo Gross to other supermarkets in Sweden; the variety of fruit and other goods was larger than at ICA and they were also fresh, which means not frozen or pre-packaged, as Jane and other

⁹³ In comparison, for instance, Kati told me that when she wants something familiar from Germany, she basically goes to a LIDL supermarket, which has branches all around the city, including Södergatan as of September 2020.

shoppers in her country would prefer and were used to. She could buy one avocado; because she lives alone, she did not need to buy more than one at once. Jane pointed out a spice which she had “searched for everywhere”, even in another city, but in vain; however, she was able to find it at last in Söder. While showing me the busy in-store environment, she argued that “part of the reason why so many people shop” at Alfo Gross is that they can also relate to the sensomaterial arrangement of this supermarket, to its atmosphere.

On the other hand, although Jane was able to relate to the goods, how they are displayed, and to the sensomateriality of the retail place in general, things were still not the same as she remembers them from Kenya. Some goods had different names, some had different shapes, and some were totally new to her. She needed to do some ‘translation’ work: She sometimes tried them out and developed an updated understanding of them, gaining new skills. After leaving Alfo Gross, Jane took me to the Afghan Shop, a small family-owned store which had opened a year earlier on Carl Krooks Gata. The reason she went to that store was for a special type of bread:

JANE: Here (pointing at a package called “paratha” in the freezer), this is the bread. A friend of mine showed me that you can buy it here pre-prepared.

DEVIM: You said it’s a Kenyan specialty. Why is it in the Afghan Shop?

JANE: I don’t know, actually, but ... You know, here, even the name is different, because we call this a chapatti. But it’s basically the same thing. I think also the Indians eat it. I actually read something so funny, that the chapatti came from India, it came with the Indians to East Africa.

DEVIM: And they eat it in Afghanistan as well?

JANE: Maybe yeah. [...] Oh, I see they also sell the hair extensions that Africans use! You know, when you have hair like mine (showing her dreadlocks). I didn’t know they had these, actually. So I guess, since many other Africans shop here, that’s why...

Both the chapatti and the paratha, types of flat unleavened bread originating from today’s India, are still eaten there, as well as in other parts of the world. These breads accompanied people on their journeys from India to East Africa, when Indian workers were brought there by British contractors to work for them⁹⁴. Tasting ‘home’ and remembering ‘home’, through services and goods, were common topics in my video interviews of the research respondents who were born in other countries than Sweden. These shoppers remembered ‘home’ thanks to shopping on Södergatan: They created their ‘home’ in Sweden by searching for these services

⁹⁴ Indians were brought to Africa as a solution to the workforce shortage following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, but also to create a buffer population between the British colonizer elites and the locals (Nair, 2008; Narayan, 1997).

and goods, talking about them, consuming them (cf. Mankekar, 2002; Narayan, 1997; Rabikowska, 2010). It was always articulated as a positive feature: When you are at 'home', you feel secure, safe, welcome and this affects the ways in which you act, move and express yourself (cf. Jackson, 2005, pp. 18-30). Jane's examples show how goods can co-reproduce what is understood from home, and how it tastes (cf. Petridou, 2001). This also shows how fluid and negotiated the 'taste of home' is, and how it can be the subject of alternative shopping when one is from the 'Global South'. The specialty from Kenya and East Africa that Jane was searching for was found with a help of a friend, in the Afghan Shop in Söder. The life trajectories of the family from Afghanistan who run the shop, and Jane, and her friend were all entangled through chains of events and actions comprising British colonial history, globalisation, and alternative shopping (cf. Mankekar, 2002).



Figure 56. Jane is pointing to paratha bread inside the Afghan Shop

The specialty, from Kenya and East Africa, that Jane was searching for was found, with the help of a friend, in the Afghan Shop in Söder.

Nevertheless, shopping for 'home' and shopping for 'things foreign' are also frequently blended activities in the shopping geography. While the shopping geography reminds of and resurrects what is remembered as 'home', through the services and goods on sale and the sensomaterial arrangement of retail places, it also creates opportunities for the enactment of 'cosmopolitanism-from-below' (cf. Pécoud, 2004 & Kurasawa, 2004). Through the enactment of such cosmopolitanism,

shoppers ensure conviviality in the shopping geography (cf. Hemer et al., 2020). The local shopping street provides a sanctuary for the diaspora while also assisting ‘cross-cultural’ interaction and ‘transcultural’ hybridisation (cf. Baumann, 1999). For instance, when I asked Muhammad why he liked shopping in Söder and on Södergatan, his answer was ‘diversity’; a diversity which ensures the space for his ‘home’ and many ‘othernesses’. In addition to trying out the specialities he remembers from his left-behind home, Palestine, e.g. the services and goods he and his girlfriend Megan often buy at Alfo Gross, at Sharif’s, or at the Al Majd sweet shop, he also shops regularly at the Asian Market and the Afghan Shop, often also eating at Shahi Masala, an Indian restaurant at the south end of Södergatan. Megan also agreed that the shopping geography’s ‘diversity’ fits with her own ‘diverse’ background and her culinary preferences. She said that, being from the USA, she was used to trying out services and goods inscribed in different cultural backgrounds, and that she frequented PolShop because the items there were similar to the Hungarian specialities she was used to from her own childhood since her mother is from Hungary.

A similar fusion of shopping for things familiar and foreign was also the case for Natalia. She, too, declared that she liked the mix of people in the district, because it meant she could “find different flavours”. She explained that the wife of a colleague at the IKEA IT department in Helsingborg, who is from the Netherlands, had recommended the stores in Söder for “good meat and fresh vegetables”. Since then, Natalia, has been coming to the shopping geography almost every day. She particularly emphasised that it is not just because of the prices that she shops in Söder and on Södergatan, but because of the quality. To prove her point, she showed me the peppers whose size and quality is similar to those in Spain, revealing that she did not know that such an everyday item was important to her until she had arrived in Sweden. Just like Jane, she also pointed out that she was not used to buying food pre-packaged; for her, it felt more “familiar to buy fruit and vegetables loose”. She said she ate olives every day and of different kinds; i.e. green, black, salted and pickled. But she claimed that the olives were not of good quality in the regular shops in Sweden, but that they were “fine” at Alfo Gross. She also buys olive oil for cooking from Alfo Gross, but the olive oil she puts on her salad she brings with her from Spain. She was impressed by the range of goods at Alfo Gross; in particular, she was really surprised to find “a very Spanish snack”, Saladitos, i.e. dried plums, on sale at the supermarket. Her second favourite place on Södergatan was the recently opened Asian Market, where she took me to show me what she usually buys; i.e. tofu, rice noodles, soya, soya sauce, special mushrooms, and dumplings. She also had colleagues from Shanghai, whom she usually came to the Asian Market together with. Then, Natalia had the opportunity to ask about every other item, mimicking “what’s that, what’s that and what’s that?”. Thus, thanks to her colleagues’ cultural capital, and also because they volunteered to take on the

role of ‘cultural broker’, Natalia was able to enact alternative shopping at the Asian Market, too.



Figure 57. Asian Market on Södergatan, 2018

Natalia also had colleagues from Shanghai, whom she usually came to the Asian Market with.

A special kind of retail format: There is a bunch of currency exchange offices in the district connecting distant places with the shopping geography via a network consisting of cultural, financial and digital infrastructure. These were pointed out multiple times by the research participants during our tours, both in positive and negative tones. For instance, Zeyneb told me that, together with her husband, they had used the currency exchange offices in the shopping geography to transfer money to Iraq many times. For Muhammad, who is from Palestine, these currency exchange offices provided the most convenient way of sending money ‘home’ via Western Union, since using the conventional banking system to transfer money to Palestine is very troublesome due to its geopolitical isolation. For some others, however, these offices unnecessarily occupied too much space in the shopping geography, also representing ‘grey’ economic activities in the district.

Insofar, in the discussed enactments of alternative shopping, what is termed as ‘globalisation’ was an essential factor (Massey, 2002). First of all, imported goods were being vended in the shopping geography due to trade-friendly laws legislated during the globalisation age (Knox, 1997; Wrigley & Lowe, 2010). In addition, globalisation processes also made a direct impact on shoppers’ life trajectories, their movement routes and paths, in different forms and rhythms. While Zahra had left

her country to marry her husband, who had initially come from Iraq to Sweden to work, Zeyneb had escaped the worn-torn Syria and come to Sweden for a safer and securer future. Jane came as an international student to do her Master's at the Helsingborg Campus of the internationally-known Lund University. Megan was also an international student, while Muhammad was a stateless software programmer: In Helsingborg, their lives had enmeshed on the move. Likewise, IKEA, a global company, had brought Natalia and her colleagues to Helsingborg. The IKEA IT department was mentioned a couple of times during the fieldwork. Yusuf claimed that, for instance, due to IKEA IT workers originating from India and Pakistan, more Indian restaurants had opened up in Söder, with the same people also making up the main customer base of the Afghan Shop. In Söder and on Södergatan, it is possible to follow the trails and traces of 'globalisation from below' and 'globalisation from above' (cf. Appadurai, 2001). Both phenomena feed alternative shopping, while making the shopping geography 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007).

Shopping the Past

Alternative shopping is also nurtured by temporal heterogeneity. It is enabled by shoppers' memories, as well as by the sensomaterial interference of past retail formats and places. After Albin and I had left Alfo Gross, he took me to another shop on Södergatan that he had been to recently; a shop which was a legacy from the past and an alternative intrusion into the present. We stopped outside and looked through its window:

ALBIN: I needed to repair my clothes, so I came here because I knew that it existed. It's probably one of the few haberdasheries left in Helsingborg. There's one more on the other side of the square as well. But probably, there aren't many left. It's the kind of store that's been disappearing more and more. [...] In the other one across the street, they even repair sewing machines! That's also something that's disappearing; all those things, the special knowledge...

Albin's statement above, i.e. that there are few haberdasheries left, implies that there were more retail places like these before. This retail format is something that extends from the past into the present, albeit with a weaker presence. Albin said he was in the shop only a month ago because he "needed to repair his clothes", an activity few shoppers do in this modern age, although this is changing slowly due to increasing sustainability concerns (Gwilt, 2014). He came to this store because he "knew that it existed" on Södergatan, not somewhere else; it is the shopping geography in the city that gives space to heterodox retail places. As a shopper who had been living and shopping in the city for around forty years, Albin had close tabs on what had changed, what had endured. He claimed that this shop had probably been open for

fifty years, predating his time as a shopper. There was another shop on Carl Krooks Gata, where Ingrid wanted to buy a fabric, and where the same shop staff had been working for a long time, as I described in Chapter 6. The people working in those shops had many years under their belts, just like the shops themselves: They also contest the present with their aged bodies, stretching from ages past. Albin emphasized that, in the other shop, “they even repair sewing machines!”. Both repairing and sewing are disappearing craftsmanship activities (cf. Sennett, 2008), but they persist in Söder and on Södergatan. The whole concept seemed to belong to another era; “something that’s disappearing”⁹⁵.



Figure 58. Still of Garn City on Södergatan, 2015

Garn City is one of the two haberdasheries in Söder.

Ingrid took me to a toy shop⁹⁶, which was also anchored in the past, extending itself from yesteryear to the present day. The shop was open only two days a week, for a total of eight hours; as Ingrid put it, “this toy shop bloke has been here for 100 years!”. Through the shop window, it was possible to see stacks of toys placed on top of each other inside their sun-bleached packages, signalling that they had been waiting for shoppers for a very long time. Ingrid said there were a lot of eccentric items inside the shop: “He has everything if you’re searching for something special, you only have to dare to go inside!”, “he has so many things that it’s crazy!”. The store was obviously not following any of the contemporary store layout trends. She

⁹⁵ Garn City was closed a year later due to a retirement.

⁹⁶ The store was closed in 2018 due to a retirement. Instead, a restaurant/café was opened by a migrant entrepreneur from Iraq.

said she used to buy toys there when her children were small. She added that the owner used to repair the toys as well: “But today, there’s no one who repairs the toys, they’re just thrown away”. Together with the shop and its owner, repairing toys was also something that was slowly aging, decaying, and disappearing. She said the retailer owned the whole building, so he did not pay any rent and thus he did not care if he was unable to sell anything at all. When Kati saw the same toy shop, she was surprised that it looked like an antique shop. She said she would love to come and check out these “super-old” toys when the store was open, since these toys did not seem to be “standard” and resembled some of the toys she had as a child. According to her, the whole store looked like “fun”; a fun journey into history. The retail place was a time-travelling device into individual and collective pasts and memories.



Figure 59. Still of Kati looking into the toyshop window, 2018

Kati was surprised that this shop looked like an antique shop, and the toys did not seem to be “standard”, resembling some of the toys she had as a child.

Another heterochronic retail place, Söderports Kaffe & Te on Södergatan, has more than 60 years of history. It is a specialized store selling many different kinds of tea and coffee mixes of varying flavours. Ingrid regularly buys a special tea from there, which is called Helsingborg mix; according to her, this mix is “very popular” in the city. The shop also impressed Massimiliano as we passed through it; he emphasised that it is “the only one I’ve found here in Helsingborg”. Natalia was quick to try out its unique range of teas. When we were inside the shop, she emphasised its ‘alternative’ variety:

NATALIA: I drink a tea that is not so usual in Sweden, so here in Helsingborg, I was only able to find it here, and that is the 'Pu-Erh, 'Pu-Erh Tea', you remember that?

OWNER: Yeah.

NATALIA: Last time, I bought like, half a kilo? (The owner shows me the sort of tea it is)

DEVIRIM: And you can't find this anywhere else?

NATALIA: No! No normal supermarket would sell Pu-Erh Tea.



Figure 60. Still of Massimiliano looking into a shop window on Södergatan, 2014
Söderports Kaffe & Te was the only tea shop Massimiliano had found in the city.



Figure 61. Still of the interior of Söderports Kaffe & Te, 2018
Natalia was only able to find a special fermented sort of tea, originating from a particular part of China, on Södergatan.

The street market on Södergatan has existed at the same location for more than a hundred years. The retailing and shopping activities enacted there have enjoyed a stable presence since the establishment of the market at Gustav Adolf's Square, enduring radical transformations during the 20th and 21st centuries, even though the kinds of services and goods, as well as shoppers and vendors, have altered slightly (Aretoft, 2011). The market was praised by almost all the research participants as something unique to the shopping geography, with many of the participants shopping there either sporadically or regularly. Apart from the fact that it offers the lowest prices, it also enables informal social interaction and cohesion, and it also values specific shopping competences (cf. Gregson & Crewe, 1997; Seamon & Nordin, 1980). The street market also has a unique range of fruit and vegetables that is not available in regular supermarkets. For instance, John brought up the street market as something that makes him come into the shopping geography, then showing me its specialities:

JOHN: At the fruit market, I shop as often I can. [...] There are different sellers here, but it's mostly the prices and the great product range which attract consumers. Here you can find almost everything. Some of the fruit and vegetables sold here are not available in the supermarkets.

DEVIRIM: Can you show me which ones are only sold here?

JOHN: For instance these (showing persimmons). I don't remember what their name is but they're difficult to find anywhere else I believe. And these (pointing at Saturn peaches), which I don't remember the names of either. And all these varieties of berries; they're not easy to find in other places.

Apart from the specialties sold at the street market, which John did not even know the names of, and which were "not easy to find in other places", the freshness offered by the street market was also unique. When we were at the street market, Ingrid stopped in front of the fish stall and explained that the restaurant and bar she works at buys fish regularly from the market. It was, according to her, because the fish stall sells the freshest fish available in the city: "He goes and catches fish early in the morning and then sells them here afterwards". A fisherman who sails the sea at night, and sells the fish he catches later on at the market; alternative shopping sustains this historico-economic archetype at the street market. Later on, looking around and taking a breath, Ingrid also commented on the exceptional atmosphere that the street market creates, with its appealing sounds and smells. Every time she walks through it, she said with a smile on her face, she feels like she is on holiday in an "exotic place" (cf. Höghdal, 2003; Petersson McIntyre, 2009; also see Parzer & Astleithner, 2018). The street market represents divergences from both 'here' and 'now'; it is heterotopia and heterochronia, combined. The pasts stretch through its unchanged location, and the kind of shopping and retailing activities it enables, and the distances reach through the services and goods as well as the retailers. With

thousands of years of history (Paquet, 2003), this ancient retail format sustains itself in Helsingborg, among other things thanks to its positioning in Söder beside Södergatan and the enactments of alternative shopping.



Figure 62. Still of John at the street market, 2015

John is pointing to Saturn peaches as one of the many specialties on offer at the street market.

It is possible to increase the number of examples of such retail places in the shopping geography, which have conserved layers of historical sensomaterialities, temporally deviant services, goods, and competences, which both enable and are enabled by alternative shopping. For instance, both Rickard and Bengt took me to a seed shop, which also sold pet food. They regularly shop there since Rickard had a dog, and Bengt a cat. The store, Bengt explained, apart from selling animal feed, also provides pet care, with a vet attending on a regular basis to the shop's customers' pets, e.g. giving vaccinations. Yet, another example; the biggest charity shop in the city, with a wide range of second-hand goods, is also located in the shopping geography, and contains a popular café. Zahra and Zeyneb also took me to a new second-hand shop by the library, which was opened by a refugee from Syria. This shop sells upmarket brands as pre-owned and pre-used items. Furthermore, an audio-video shop on Södergatan was also mentioned by many participants; either they shop there regularly or they used to do so. The shop, which has been on the street for almost half a century, also develops photos, as Veronica did with her artwork, and she was grateful that such a shop still exists in Helsingborg. A final example; Yusuf showed me a clothing shop, one of the few remaining in the

shopping geography, where he buys clothes for his father since this shop specializes in old-fashioned garments for seniors.

Södergatan and Söder are rich when it comes to hosting different retail formats and retail places, partly due to their dynamic history. Reminiscent of the working-class background of the district, there are still some craft stores in existence. In addition, due to their relatively marginal positioning within the city, they can still provide space for ancient retail formats like the street market. That is to say, Söder and Södergatan preserve “the special knowledge” that is disappearing elsewhere, by enabling alternative shopping that is enacted using the pillars of services, goods, stores, and shop staff, which stretch and are inherited from multiple pasts, and which are challenging and altering the present.

Acts of Avoidance

Extending from pasts and distant places, and diverging from the mainstream, also has its drawbacks. While the shopping geography provides spaces for the excluded, the deviant, and the forgotten, it also becomes inaccessible to many shoppers due to the competences it asks for, its ambiguous legalities, and its unusual sensomaterial arrangements (cf. Petersson McIntyre, 2009; Rabikowska, 2010).

One complication is that some of the craft stores, e.g. hairdressers, and the street market, use mostly cash, or sometimes Swish⁹⁷; they do not accept bank cards and are sometimes reluctant to give receipts. This leads to acts of avoidance on two grounds: First, since Sweden has become the most cashless country in the world (Rehncrona, 2018), this becomes inconvenient, as Megan explains:

MEGAN: Maybe sometimes we avoid the green market if we don't have cash. But then, like for example, this fall, I really wanted pumpkins for the American holiday Halloween. And they were the only place that had pumpkins... So I had to take out cash and make my way here, just for the pumpkins.

Although, the unique goods on sale at the street market can make Megan “take out cash”, she and Muhammad sometimes “avoid the green market” when they do not have cash on them. There are two cash machines close by, one inside the ICA supermarket and the other beside the Public Employment Service, both are more than a hundred metres away. The second complication; some of the shoppers avoid the street market and the other stores which accept only cash because they are not sure if the money they spend will be registered. Therefore, they are suspicious about whether or not the retailers pay their taxes or pay legal salaries to their workers (cf.

⁹⁷ A national ‘smartphone’ payment system (Rehncrona, 2018).

Aslan, 2012). Albin explained that he avoids these retail places because he thinks there is a lot of “black money”⁹⁸ in the shopping geography, with Bengt reminding that the local newspaper’s investigation of the street market (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2013) had uncovered “many scandals”.

Some of the retail places which stimulated alternative shopping were also experienced as inaccessible or uninviting by some shoppers who, for instance, lacked a related cultural capital. PolShop, a food shop on Södergatan, sells goods originating from Poland. When we were walking past this retail place, Veronica, a 35-year-old artist and care worker, told me about her past experience there:

VERONICA: I tried to buy some stuff here. I felt it was more difficult for me to find what I wanted. I think I wanted to buy cookies, or I needed to buy a carton of milk, or something that simple. But I found it very difficult inside. I couldn’t recognize anything; there were no cookies like the traditional, typical cookies I like to have, there was lots of frosting on them. And the milk was concentrated and in a tin can. So, not really... No, it wasn’t really anything for me.

Veronica claimed she could not make sense of the shop or the goods on sale. There was nothing “typical” or “traditional” in the shop. Both its layout and the goods were alien, unfamiliar, too alternative. Her failed shopping enactment was totally the opposite of how John enacted shopping at PolShop. John’s mother is from Ukraine and, because of the relative similarity of Ukrainian food to Polish food, they had shopped there many times. When we went inside the shop together, he showed me the goods they often buy, e.g. corn porridge, some snacks, delicacy sausages, sauerkraut and ready-made soups. He explained the special qualities of the items to me and what one can do with them. Some of them had no equivalents in mainstream grocery shops in Sweden. That is to say, what was a delicacy, special treat for John, was confusing and unappealing to Veronica. Similarly, when Linda, a 28-year-old municipality employee, was articulating the reasons why she does not shop very often in the shopping geography, she complained that she was unable to make sense of some services, goods and stores, in addition to experiencing a sense of remoteness from where she lives. When we were walking past the fast-food restaurant, Shawarma Xpress, which is located just next to the Max hamburger chain, I asked Linda if she had ever tasted shawarma:

LINDA: No, I haven’t eaten that. And here I’d need some sort of help. If I came, and let’s say I was very hungry, and there were only these two places open, I’d need extra help going inside Shawarma Xpress instead of Max, because I feel more at home in Max.

⁹⁸ Unregistered cash-in-hand.

With some exceptions, among shoppers without a transnational background, many of the so-called Middle-East-originating goods were categorized as other, strange, and unfamiliar. Because Linda did not feel “at home” in Shawarma Xpress, she “would need extra help” to enter this fast-food restaurant, a cultural translation, otherwise she would choose the familiar Max. On the other hand, the same shoppers treated food and goods from East Asia almost as part of the ‘Swedish’ culinary culture⁹⁹. Felicia pointed out that the only restaurant she visited on Södergatan, apart from the Max fast-food chain, was a ‘Thai’ restaurant. Mikaela also confirmed that she only visits restaurants in the district when they sell (or claim to sell, see Narayan, 1997) delicacies from Eastern Asian countries such as China and Thailand. When I asked John to draw the map of Söder as he remembered it, he reflected on this subject, pointing in particular to the restaurants on Carl Krooks Gata, which sell food from the so-called Middle East:

JOHN: I don’t think there are many people who dare to taste the food there, that restaurant or this restaurant (pointing at the restaurants he is drawing on his mental map). But this doesn’t apply to Thai food, for instance. We... I mean, you like Asian food so very much that you dare to eat it, because you know what’s going to be served up to you. While here, it’s like... What am I going to get on my plate?! (laughing) Yes, we’re very conservative, I believe, and you don’t really want to try... It’s the same with Max, everyone knows what sort of restaurant that is.

Goods from Poland did not trigger any similar anxiety for John, as expressed in above quotation. When it comes to “Asian” food, he likes it, and he knows “what’s going to be served up” at an “Asian” restaurant, as many other people in Sweden implied with their slip of the tongue in saying “we”. Apologizing for himself and other shoppers like him, for being “conservative”, and not “really want[ing] to try”, claiming there would not be many “who dare to taste the food there”: His statement is the antithesis of Albin’s who thought it was “fun to try new things from time to time” (cf. Heldke, 2003).

⁹⁹ Why some ‘ethnic’ food has become part of Sweden’s everyday eating-out culture, and why some remains as ‘other’, is a complex issue. One explanation could be that there is a direct correlation between the socio-economic position that an ‘ethnic’ population occupies in a society and the value attributed to their food (Ray, 2008). The stance taken towards an ‘ethnic’ cuisine improves in parallel with the perceived upwards socio-economic mobility of that group, as was the case for Japanese, Italian, Jewish, and Chinese cousins in the USA. Following this argument, one can claim that, since many migrants from the so-called Middle East are pushed into the lowest socio-economic strata in Sweden, their food belongs there, too. The second explanation could be the partial Americanisation of Sweden’s consumption culture (O’Dell, 1997): The popular ‘ethnic’ cuisines of the US context are gradually enjoying some status in Sweden (Aslan, 2012). Lastly, mass tourism from Sweden to the South-East Asian countries may have led to some culinary familiarity.

butcher's shop, with some people sometimes even making xenophobic remarks openly in his shop. Some of the shops in the shopping geography that enable alternative shopping have gained a "stigma" and thus trigger acts of avoidance because they do not promote "living like the typical Svensson¹⁰⁰ does", and simply represent an unwanted 'otherness' (Balibar, 2005)¹⁰¹.

Conclusions

Alternative shopping is mainly about activities that may lead to the purchasing of uncommon, abnormal services and goods that are not available in mainstream shopping geographies. At the research site, this particularly involved the shopping activities enacted in retail places diverging from 'here' and 'now'. These activities include cycling, taking the bus, walking, searching for services and goods from their countries of origin, searching for services and goods from other countries, learning about services and goods from 'other cultures', searching for items and craftsmanships remaining from the past, searching for specialized services and goods, finding peculiar items, feeling at home while abroad, eating and buying clothes in accordance with religious conventions, buying 'exotic' presents, buying specialized presents, promoting one's own 'culture', sending money to one's home country, buying fresh food, and repairing goods. These bundled activities are facilitated by trade policies which made importing goods from abroad possible and easier, as well as contracts that sustain lower rents for retail places. Regulations governing food packaging and payment systems are also influential. Religious, ethno-cultural, and historically-developed rules, customs and conventions are similarly important. To make sense of, and be able to use specialized services and goods, shoppers are required to have specific historical and cultural capital. They also need to have an understanding of the shopping geography in order to navigate through the retail places offering divergent services and goods. However, as noted, the driving force of this mode of shopping is wanting and enjoying these heterodoxical, unusual, unique, exotic, out-of-fashion, and divergent services,

¹⁰⁰ In Swedish, "Svensson" is a rather ironic term which is used to describe ordinary, average working- or middle-class Swedish people, typically belonging to a nuclear family and pursuing an imagined traditional 'Swedish' way of life (cf. Ehn et al., 1993).

¹⁰¹ These kinds of activities of avoidance and exclusion that target an unwanted 'otherness' are not peculiar to Helsingborg, Sweden (cf. Pred, 1997). On the other hand, in the general election held in 2018, the far-right anti-migration political party known as the Sweden Democrats received 20% of the votes cast in Helsingborg and 21.5% - the highest in the whole country - of the votes cast in north-west Scania, the region in which Helsingborg is the main city (Valmyndigheten, 2018). Thus, it is likely that political stances towards migration in the region and acts of avoidance of the shopping geography have some correlation.

goods, and retail places, which extend through time and space and have an 'alternative' positioning vis-à-vis the mainstream shopping geographies.

Alternative shopping, first of all, materially requires specialized goods to be enacted. But this also happens in particular sensomaterial arrangements, within atmospheres which provide a sense of home, a sense of being abroad, and a sense of being in the past. These sensomaterial arrangements contain music, smells, the organisation of store layouts, and the display of goods. Most of the retail places that offer the unorthodox services and goods mentioned are run by independent retailers and families in the shopping geography, who have moved from other countries, or who have worked in these retail places for a long time. Thus, they also co-constitute in-store sensomateriality with their foreign and aged bodies. When it comes to the spatiotemporal dimension, as highlighted, the retail places which enable alternative shopping spread and refer to distant places in the sense that these distant places and the retail place overlap each other and become interwoven. Alternative shopping also extends to pasts, while pasts resist and interfere with the present through the mode of shopping. It is enacted here and there at the same time, as well as now and then, in the same place. Hence, the mode of shopping both creates and occurs in 'heterotopia' and 'heterochronia'. In addition, both the shopping geography's mental distance away from mainstream ways of organizing retail and its metric proximity to the city-centre reinforce this mode of shopping. Finally, alternative shopping exists and is sustained in conjunction with a couple of major chains of actions and events, e.g. globalisation, the restructuring of retail places, and the shopping geography's working-class history.

The retail places, however, as well as the services and goods that enable alternative shopping, are also subjected to acts of avoidance. For different shoppers, different retail places, goods, and services are inaccessible, unintelligible, and unreadable. At best, they require cultural or historical brokers to 'translate' the required competences and understandings. This prevents some shoppers from enacting alternative shopping in certain retail places, while inviting others. In addition to the lack of different payment technologies, grey economic activities, and actual political discussions and divisions concerning different ways of embracing or rejecting 'otherness', also contribute to shoppers' disengagement.

Alternative shopping is another major mode of shopping identified in the shopping geography which co-constitutes the shopping geography into its current vibrant state by sustaining a unique range and specialized craftsmanship, which stretch to both distant places and distant pasts. It provides sanctuary to shoppers as they shop; a 'home' while they are 'away'. It offers a 'holiday' trip within cycling distance. It lets shoppers shelter in nostalgic pasts while trapped in the present. It organizes these 'travels' in time and space, through heterodoxical services and goods and heterochronic and heterotopic sensomaterial arrangements of the retail places. Thus,

alternative shopping co-constructs the shopping geography in a way that welcomes and assists shoppers from all corners of the city who seek ‘asylum’ from ‘here and now’, and who are also increasingly resisting the homogenized retail places and shopping geographies of our cities. Consequently, the mode of shopping enables vibrancy and conviviality both in the district and in the street, and it also contributes to the overall retail and shopping diversity of the city.

Alternative shopping’s positioning vis-à-vis the mainstream, modernized retail places and the shopping geographies shares commonalities with social shopping. The two modes of shopping are often bundled together through retail places, services and goods, as well as the life trajectories of shoppers. However, it also sometimes functions in a similar way to on-the-side shopping in the sense that a retail place which assists alternative shopping can become an attraction station, as was the case with the street market and the Alfo Gross supermarket. Once shoppers are in the shopping geography due to alternative shopping, they sometimes engage in other modes of shopping, or attend to other activities. Some small-scale retail places in the shopping geography also bundle convenience shopping and alternative shopping together, as was the case with the “shop without a name” and “Sharif’s”, which both provide ‘convenience’ together with accessibility and availability, while heavily merchandizing alternative services and goods.

Chapter 9: Budget Shopping

DEVIRIM: How about the prices here, are they important to you?

JANE: Yes! Yes, yes (laughing). It's very important, since I'm a student and living on a student budget... I think it's cheaper to buy things here, from this market than, actually it's way cheaper than ICA. I used to shop at ICA. But, since I discovered this market, I haven't been to ICA to shop for vegetables, so...

Budget shopping is about engaging in activities which might lead to the purchasing of cheaper services and goods due to having a limited budget. Lower prices provide the primary aspect of this mode of shopping, being encouraged by the restricted expenditure capacity of the shoppers in Söder, who are mostly students, pensioners, and transnational migrants. The popularity of the mode of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder is also high because the services and goods on offer on Södergatan are substantially cheaper than in the other parts of the city, as they always have been.

Just like my previous analysis chapters, I start this chapter, too, by examining an empirical example to provide a general understanding of the mode of shopping and its organisation. After this section, I provide a short literature review of 'price' in relation to shopping and retail. Later, I investigate the enactments of budget shopping identified in the fieldwork, which also includes aspects of negotiated trade-offs, the enjoyment of bargains, and the socioeconomic infrastructure assisting the mode of shopping.

What are the activities shoppers engage in during their quest for inexpensive services and goods? What kinds of competences do they need to make good trade-offs? How do they compare prices? How do they feel about the monetary cost of shopping? Which specific sensomaterial arrangements and spatiotemporal dynamics support the enactment of budget shopping?

Shopping on a budget

I met Jane at the north end of Södergatan; from there, we started to walk towards Gustav Adolf's Square, where she usually does her shopping. On the way, we talked about the shopping geography and our enmeshed life trajectories of moving to Sweden as international Master's students. She said she came to Södergatan every day or every other day, mostly to visit the street market and the Alfo Gross supermarket because she was able to relate to the goods sold there, and because she felt "at home" and comfortable due to the familiar sensomaterial arrangement of the retail places. However, as is obvious from the above quote, she also shopped on Södergatan and in Söder because the price aspect was "very important" to her.

Maybe, this is not surprising since Jane was an international student from the ‘Global South’, “living on a student budget”. Pointing to the fruit and vegetables sold at the street market at Gustav Adolf’s Square, she claimed they were “way cheaper than ICA”, making price comparison with the supermarket chain where she used to do her grocery shopping before learning about the shopping potential of Söder. In fact, since she “discovered the street market”, she had not been to ICA, basically because the ICA supermarkets were pushing the limits of her student budget.



Figure 64. Still of Jane paying at Alfa Gross, 2018

Jane said that, at Alfa Gross, the prices were “very pocket-friendly”, implying that the mainstream supermarkets are the enemies of her modest pockets.

After visiting the street market, we went inside the Alfa Gross supermarket together. She articulated her gratitude for the sensomaterial setting there, too, where goods were displayed on counters pre-packaged, in the way this was done “at home”, as described in the previous chapter. In this way, she was able to examine the vegetables and fruit herself, and to choose which ones she wanted to buy, and how many. In relation to that, the price aspect came up again. According to Jane, Alfa Gross is “much (emphasizing this word) cheaper than ICA or any other supermarket”, also judging the other mainstream supermarkets in Sweden. She said that, at Alfa Gross, the prices were “very pocket-friendly”, implying that the mainstream supermarkets are the enemies of her modest pockets. At the end of our tour of Alfa Gross, she also bought some items; a couple of oranges, two cans of beans, and a carton of milk. After she had paid at the cash point, she showed me the receipt as a material representation of the low prices (cf. Hagberg & Kjellberg, 2015), to prove how ‘pocket-friendly’ the shopping had been, then continuing:

JANE: Actually you know, after I found out about this place, I realized I could spend so little money. The first time I shopped here, I spent like... I don't know if it's half of what I used to spend in ICA, or... Much less, it's significantly less! So I was like: "What the hell! What have I been doing in ICA?" (Laughing) Yeah ...

It is not hard to imagine what it meant for an international student to have her groceries costing less than half of what she was used to paying for them at ICA. Evidently, Jane regretted that she had not known about Alfo Gross before, where she was now spending "significantly less". She was glad that she had eventually discovered the street market and the supermarket in the shopping geography. Once we had left Alfo Gross, we started walking towards Carl Krooks Gata, a street running parallel to Södergatan, to visit the charity shop which she regularly browses in and monitors:

JANE: Here to this second hand shop is where I come to check stuff like, um, mats, or ... Just anything, anything that would interest me. But, it's because I don't plan to be in Sweden for long. Probably... And I feel, I don't want to buy something new, like a mat, if I can get a good one that's used at a cheap price. Because probably when I'm done with them, I'll just get rid of them, so...

Jane was not planning to stay in Sweden "for long", yet she was going to be a student there for two years. That is why she did not "want to buy something new", because "probably", there is a good chance that she either would not or could not stay in Sweden after her studies, regarding the visa restrictions. If she buys things "at a cheaper price", then she could "get rid of them" on leaving her 'precarious home' (cf. Harris & Nowicki, 2018, see also Gregson et al., 2017): She did not want to invest financially in possessions in a place where her future was not certain, not totally in her hands. Therefore, Jane said she came to the charity shop "to check" if they had "anything" which "would interest" her; anything could potentially be of interest if it is international student budget-friendly.

Budget shopping, in Jane's examples above, was enacted within the framework of having a limited student budget, in which the price aspect was seriously important. This was enabled in particular by the lower prices on offer at the street market, in Alfo Gross, and in the charity shop in the shopping geography. The mode of shopping included, among others, the activities of strolling, browsing, checking, comparing prices, picking up goods, examining goods, talking to the retail workers, paying, and carrying her goods in her bag. This bundle of activities was organized, first of all, by means of rules and regulations making the selling of goods at lower prices possible; for instance, regulations governing the importing of goods, in the case of Alfo Gross, lower rents in the case of the street market, the regulations (or lack thereof) governing labour costs, the voluntary worker option in the charity shop, as well as being exempt from tax liabilities. In order to engage in budget shopping, Jane needed to gather knowledge about the retail places, their services

and goods, and the actual prices both in- and outside of the shopping geography. For that, she needed a social network, remembering what she learned about Alfo Gross from another woman from Kenya, and she also did continuous ‘checking’ and ‘monitoring’. She also had special skills, which she brought with her from her homeland, as someone who had lived as a woman in a gendered society, which helped her in assessing the quality of the fruit and vegetables at the street market and in Alfo Gross, in order to be able to make informed trade-offs between quality and cost (cf. Gregson & Crewe, 1997, 1998b; Petersson McIntyre, 2009). Nevertheless, the main direction of the mode of shopping was Jane’s wish to keep her student budget intact, as well as her real enjoyment of the fact that she was able to do so.



Figure 65. Still of the charity second-hand shop on Carl Krooks Gata, 2016

Jane said she came to the charity shop “to check” if they had “anything” which “would interest” her; anything could potentially be of interest to her if it is international student budget-friendly.

In the above cases, budget shopping, in order to be enacted, required goods that are inexpensive; in this way, the material dimension was central to its organisation. It also occurred in the specific sensomaterial arrangements of Alfo Gross, the street market, and the charity second-hand shop, where the goods were displayed in a less organized way, mostly unpackaged, something which even altered the olfactory aspect and the aesthetics of the retail places. When it comes to spatiotemporality, particularly at the street market, timing was important in order to ensure finding the best quality (in the mornings), but also the best prices (in the evenings) (cf. Seamon & Nordin, 1980). The irregularity of the flow of goods and the semi-chaotic spatial organisation of the charity shop required a high tempo, a specific rhythm,

continuous checking and monitoring activities, to ensure Jane did not miss “anything at a cheaper price” (cf. Gregson & Crewe, 1997; Gregson et al., 2002b). The vegetables and fruit at the street market and in Alfo Gross also have a shorter shelf-life, which also increases the tempo of budget shopping. All the above things happened in conjunction with Jane’s individual life trajectory, coming to Sweden as a student from a country in the ‘Global South’, staying in Sweden with a temporary visa, with a limited budget. But they also happened in conjunction with a chain of actions and events, e.g. contemporary globalism, which made it possible for Jane to study in Helsingborg, for the workers and owners of Alfo Gross and of the street market stalls to move to Sweden, and to import cheaper goods from abroad.

Price of Shopping

‘Price’¹⁰² has probably been the most popular topic discussed in the literature on shopping, since it has been one of the central concepts of (neo)classical economics. Therefore, most of the previous literature has been written with such a perspective (e. g. Lichtenstein et al., 1993; Sinha & Batra, 1999; Tellis & Gaeth 1990; Zeithaml, 1982). Despite the rather simplistic and positivist epistemologies¹⁰³ that these studies are embedded in, they have produced three relevant concepts, which can help us to better understand budget shopping; i.e. ‘price-consciousness’ (or awareness), ‘price-sensitivity’, and ‘bargain-hunting’.

‘Price-consciousness’ or ‘price-awareness’, according to the literature, applies to situations where shoppers pay attention to prices; they check the prices of services and goods before a possible purchase, also create a memory of them for future

¹⁰² Price, or rather ‘pricing’, can be defined as the temporary objectification of the relative economic value of a service or good; a dynamic measurement of the ‘sacrifice’ made for the object of ‘desire’ (Simmel, 1907/2011). Its provisional and relative measurement is an outcome of the complex interrelationships between: (i) the remembered and projected prices of various pasts, futures and other places, (ii) the abundance, allocation, and institutionalisation of money, (iii) the scarcity and valuation of the service or good, (iv) the organisation of production and consumption relationships, and (v) the state of the trade arrangements and infrastructure (cf. Beckert & Aspers, 2011; Çalışkan, 2009; Hagberg & Kjellberg, 2015; Muniesa, 2007).

¹⁰³ These studies generally accept ‘price’ as the major element on the ‘costs’ side in the dichotomic equation, together with, for instance, time and distance, which balance the ‘benefits’, e.g. quality, the utility of the services and goods (cf. Binkley & Bejnarowicz, 2003; Marmorstein et al., 1992). According to this epistemology, price, or price perception (Lichtenstein et al., 1988), is regarded as one of the key aspects when assumed ‘rational’ shoppers are evaluating costs and benefits, eventually making a ‘trade-off’ while taking a shopping-related decision. In addition, these studies also assume that shoppers have absolute knowledge of the distribution of prices in the available marketplace, although this is almost never the case (Jensen & Grunert, 2014; Zeithaml, 1982). Likewise, within the studies inspired by classical behavioural psychology theories, the price aspect is essential to the theorisation of ‘utilitarian shopping’ as a shopping motivation, positioned vis-à-vis ‘hedonistic shopping’ (cf. Arnold & Reynolds, 2003; Wakefield & Inman, 2003).

reference (Gabor & Granger, 1961, see also Jensen & Grunert, 2014). It is argued that price-consciousness can lead to either avoiding paying higher prices for a service or good or searching for or paying lower prices (Sinha & Batra, 1999). In general, this is understood as shoppers' willingness to trade-off some features of services and goods, such as better quality and lower risk, for a better price, during a valuation process (cf. Sweeney & Soutar, 2001). Comparing price sensitivity with price consciousness (or awareness); "price sensitivity relates to the consumer's reaction to change in a price whereas awareness relates to the ability of the customer to recall, more or less correctly, the price of a product" (McGoldrick & Marks, 1987, p. 63). Thus, the 'price sensitivity' literature aims to measure how responsive shoppers are to the elasticity of prices, assuming that the more 'price sensitive' shoppers are more likely to pay attention to sale promotions, coupon usage, discounts, or the entry of novel stores with lower pricing strategies (cf. Lichtenstein et al. 1993, Tellis & Gaeth 1990), as well as being more likely to engage in 'bargain hunting'. Bargain hunting, on the other hand, "refers to the challenge and personal enjoyment of identifying and taking advantage of purchasing desired goods at distinctively attractive prices" (Wagner & Rudolph, 2010, p. 417). As the metaphor of 'hunting' indicates, this entails actively searching for 'bargains' in the 'jungle' of services and goods on offer in various retail places and shopping geographies. The same metaphor also suggests that shoppers become 'hunters', skilled seekers and finders who supposedly have the capacity to trace and locate the 'bargain' and then capture it. This is about taking on the challenge of finding it as well as the enjoyment derived from seizing the 'bargain'. Hence, the financial gain, in absolute terms, from 'bargain hunting' can sometimes be less important than the 'hunt' itself (Darke et al., 1995).

Since the studies in 'the cultural turn' generally position themselves in opposition to the economistic and behaviouristic literature, they have seldom studied their antagonists' favourite concept - 'price'. Gregson and Crewe (1997, see also Gregson et al., 2002b), in their research on car-boot sales, found that "it is frequently the prospect of the bargain, rather than potential profit, which is the main attraction in such circumstances, together with the possibility of discovering 'a find' or 'collectable'" (Gregson & Crewe, 1997, p. 102, see also Steward, 2020). The 'find' indicates 'buying the saving', i.e. goods that are at substantially lower prices than in conventional retail places; thus, shoppers need to know the range of prices in order to judge what constitutes a 'bargain', or does not. Similarly, they often develop gendered competences in order to be able to engage in informed trade-offs (Gregson & Crewe, 1998a, 1998b), since "things might not be all they seem" (Gregson & Crewe, 1997, p. 103). Another common price-related activity these scholars identified in their research is 'bargaining', which has been extended and resurrected from the pre-modern shopping culture (see also Petersson McIntyre, 2009).

Miller defines thrift as “the strategies by which shoppers attempt to save money while shopping” (Miller, 1998, p. 6). On the other hand, ‘thrifting’ involves continuous evaluation between price and quality; a more expensive good can be perceived as more ‘thrifty’ as well. He argues that ‘thrift’ is “the normative ethos of shopping” (Miller, 1998, p. 48), regardless of shoppers’ class backgrounds. However a ‘treat’ represents an occasional divergence from ‘thrift’, but is enabled by it, as a reward to the shopper who showed her/his ‘love of’ and ‘sacrificed her-/himself for’ her/his significant others by engaging in troublesome mundane shopping. In that sense, while a ‘treat’ is individual and ephemeral, ‘thrift’ is constant and occurs on the social and household level. Shoppers develop ‘thrifting’ tactics, e.g. avoiding big supermarkets in order not to buy more items than needed, strictly sticking to a shopping list, or carrying a small shopping basket instead of pushing a large shopping trolley. Once they succeed in their tactics, they feel ‘pride’ over their thrifty deeds¹⁰⁴. However, he argues, ‘thrifting’ is also reinforced by contemporary retailers’ innovative sales strategies¹⁰⁵.

Hagberg and Kellberg (2015) pay special attention to the materiality and multiplicity of price representations, which are “various ways in which prices are made available to market participants” (p. 180). Price representations create a bundle of potential prices (cf. Grandclément, 2004) in the form of price tags, coupons, sale signs, leaflets, and price comparison websites etc., which are temporary, often inconsistent, polymaterial price fixations (see also, Beunza et al., 2006; Muniesa, 2007; Fuentes and Svingstedt, 2017). The developments in price display technology, e.g. the introduction of price tags and price cards, have been critical to the organisation of pricing (Cochoy et al., 2018; Hagberg et al., 2020). Price representations take their part in the qualification and valuation of services and goods, becoming both an actor and a tool constructing the retail market (Muniesa, 2007; Hagberg & Kellberg, 2015)¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ Opposing Miller’s formulation of ‘thrift’ and ‘treat’, as a conceptual dichotomy in the organisation of shopping, Hulme (2019), based on her ethnographic research on shopping in “pound stores” in London in the UK, argues that ‘frugality’, as ‘consumptive thrift’, can also have “hedonic” implications such as having a treat or joy while “spending to save”, despite being enacted in the “age of austerity” of the post global financial crisis. See also Bardhi & Arnould, 2005 for their similar critique during their analysis of “thrift shopping”.

¹⁰⁵ For instance, Kelsey et al. (2018) give the example that, after the financial crisis, retailers have started selling some goods with a “yellow sticker”, designating “products that have been reduced in price because they are approaching their ‘use by’ or ‘best before’ date” (Kelsey et al., 2018, p. 2). Relatedly, some shoppers have started enacting shopping accordingly.

¹⁰⁶ Therefore, it would be misleading to reduce the notion of price to an abstract intersection, a ‘natural’ equilibrium occurring between assumed ‘demand’ and ‘supply’ curves as these are accepted in (neo)classical economics (Cochoy et al., 2018). On the other hand, this popular abstraction itself becomes a ‘market device’ during the process of price realisation, in turn influencing prices in marketplaces (Çalışkan, 2007, 2009).

Budget shopping, as a mode of shopping, carries traces of ‘price consciousness’, ‘price sensitivity’, and even occasionally, ‘bargain hunting’, as introduced above. However, it does not share the rationalistic, economistic, or behaviouristic epistemology these concepts have emerged from. Instead, it shares the position of the exemplified literature from cultural perspectives, complicating the notion of price and the act of pricing with various social, spatial, temporal, material and economic dimensions. In addition, budget shopping also emphasises the resource limitations of shoppers on Södergatan and in Söder, their ‘poor circumstances’ (Leipämaa-Leskinen et al., 2016), i.e. that this mode of shopping is not solely about a generic, normative moral disposition of ‘frugality’ or ‘thriftiness’¹⁰⁷, nor is it restricted to the joy or pride engendered in finding ‘bargains’, although it does also contain these features.

Saving Budgets

Ali, who we have met, had been running different shops on Södergatan since the early 1990s, including a butcher’s shop and a fast-food restaurant. Therefore, he knew all about the dynamics of shopping on the street, and had a clear idea about the backgrounds and priorities of the shoppers. When I asked why some retailers were disappearing from the shopping geography, while we were walking together along Södergatan, he explained:

ALI: The Swedish people living in this area are mostly poor, you wouldn’t find any ordinary Svensson-types here. A Swedish person would only live here if she or he had to. Poor people, elderly, students, but not the well-off. The rest are migrants, newcomers. Prices have to be lower here, that’s why all the chain stores have escaped.

DEVIRIM: But there are still some, Lindex, for instance.

ALI: But it’s a problem that it’s alone. Also, chain stores don’t work here because they have the same prices everywhere. If you’re going to do business in Söder, you’ll need to lower your prices. If it costs 100 in other places, you’ll will offer it for 80 here.

DEVIRIM: So you think that if the prices are the same as in the town centre, then it will be pointless.

ALI: Absolutely. Lindex, too, should adapt if it wants to stay here. For instance, there was McDonald’s here, even they couldn’t continue, and Max replaced them. It’s unheard of for McDonald’s to close a restaurant, you know? If you can’t adjust to Söder, you won’t be able to survive, even if your name is McDonald’s.

¹⁰⁷ Another similar generic formulation in the literature is ‘value shopping’, “which refers to shopping for sales, looking for discounts, and hunting for bargains” (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003, p. 81).

DEVIRIM: So, do you think McDonald's was unable to adapt to the environment here?

ALI: No, it couldn't survive. 7-Eleven, for instance, they never close a branch easily, but they shut down here. You have to fit in, but the customers don't have to.



Figure 66. Exterior of Sharif's store, 2018

Many independent retailers on the street, and in the district, have developed a pricing strategy which assists budget shopping.

According to Ali, the transnational and national retail chains lack the ability to adapt to shoppers and to the imperatives of budget shopping on Södergatan and in Söder. He argued this was the reason why they could not survive, even if their “name is Mc Donald’s”; a retailer needs to develop strategies to fit with the shopping geography and to pay attention to place-specific pricing dynamics (cf. Beckert & Aspers, 2011). He emphasised that the income level of the district was lower than in many parts of the city; hence, he argued, prices had to be lower in the district. That is to say, the prices in the shopping geography should be adjusted dynamically to the multiplicity of prices on offer in other places (cf. Çalışkan, 2009). In this sense, he claimed, the retailers that are flexible enough to adapt to the requirements of budget shopping have a better chance of survival in the shopping geography, otherwise they would be replaced by the ones that do, on the basis that they “have to fit in, but the customers don’t have to”. Many shoppers in the shopping geography are price-aware; they opt for cheaper alternatives (cf. Sinha & Batra, 1999).

It can be said, specifically, that many independent retailers on the street and in the district have developed a pricing strategy which assists budget shopping, e.g. Söder

Karamell. John had just started guiding me through the shopping geography, when he stopped in front of this shop at the north edge of Södergatan just after the city park:

JOHN: This is Söder Karamell. If you want to buy something cheap and quick then this is excellent. It's like a kiosk, but it's cheaper than any other kiosks. Here you can find things like "three for 10 SEK", or something like that. Many different sorts of crisps that are cheaper than the ordinary prices you'd find, for instance, at Willy's or ICA. So, people who live in Söder have an advantage in having this kind of kiosk, for example. You wish that there were more shops like Söder Karamell. Well, I do at least. All around, not just in specific areas... So, they have everything; fizzy drinks, crisps, snacks, and at cheap prices.



Figure 67. Söder Karamell, 2013

Söder Karamell bundles convenience shopping, on-the-side shopping, and budget shopping.

John had just earned his engineering degree at the time of the interview, but he was still looking for a job. He said he was sharing a flat with his mother and his two siblings, a 20 minute-walk away from Södergatan. That is to say, up until the time of the interview, he had only been shopping in Söder and on Södergatan as a student or a job-seeker, with a limited budget, which can partly explain his amusement at the lower prices at Söder Karamell. As John pointed, out in the shop: "They have everything", and 'everything' that is cheap is stored and on display tightly-packed into a very small area. In addition to "fizzy drinks, crisps, snacks", according to the sign on the shop window, they also sell "sweets, newspapers, toys and much more". John knows merchandized goods are "cheaper than the ordinary prices" of ordinary

supermarkets; he can locate a ‘find’ because he has developed an understanding of prices outside of the shopping geography (cf. Gregson & Crewe, 1997). Therefore, he thought shoppers living in Söder were lucky, wishing “there were more stores like Söder Karamell”, “all around” the city. Yet, retail places like this, which enable budget shopping, exist on Södergatan and in Söder. The shop is also close to the cinema, which is perfect “if you want to buy something cheap and quick” to consume while seeing a film, and “at cheap prices”. It is cheap and convenient to shop there since costs are low in terms of money and time (cf. Marmorstein et al., 1992). The retail place bundles convenience shopping, on-the-side shopping, and budget shopping.

Later on in our tour, when we had arrived in Gustav Adolf’s Square, John introduced me to the street market, emphasizing the price aspect once again, in addition to the wide range of goods being vended:

JOHN: I personally think that the street market has a great variety of fruit and vegetables, while at the same time being very cheap too. Everything’s extremely cheap here compared to normal shops, which are expensive. Here, with a 100 SEK banknote, you can buy two, three bags of fruit and vegetables; so you get a lot for your money. And I really appreciate this, because when I was studying in Jönköping, there was no market like this, and it cost a lot for me in the long-run to get some apples or bananas. So, I think it’s very good that there’s a street market here in Helsingborg. [...] Particularly if you’re going to change bus in Söder, you can very easily check the market out, and buy something. It would be worth it because if you go to an ordinary store, like ICA for instance, it would cost maybe twice as much.

Just like Jane, John also stressed that the fruit and vegetables sold in the street market are cheaper compared to mainstream supermarkets, “normal shops”. Prices are relative and dynamic, they are embedded in distinct settings, they do not have a direct, frictionless relationship with the functionality or intrinsic value of a service or a good (Beckert & Aspers, 2011). Since the street market beside Södergatan is “extremely cheap”, the mainstream supermarkets are regarded as “expensive” (cf. Çalışkan, 2009). You get “a lot for your money” at the street market, which is particularly significant if shoppers are constrained by student budgets. They become more price-aware due to the ‘poor circumstances’ they are embedded in (Leipämaa-Leskinen et al., 2016). Therefore, John explained that he missed shopping at the street market while he was studying in another city, due to ordinary mainstream supermarket groceries “cost[ing] maybe twice as much”. John further argued that, if you are already in Söder, for instance due to changing buses, as he did sometimes, then there is no excuse not to “check the market out and buy something”. Because in this way, costs for time and travel vanish (cf. Eskilsson & Thufvesson, 2017), and then the shopper can really ‘make a saving’ (Gregson & Crewe, 1997). In this example, too, on-the-side shopping and budget shopping meet and intermingle.

During our tour with Zeyneb, she said she sometimes shops at the Thai Box restaurant beside Gustav Adolf's Square, when she is not "in the mood for cooking", where a take-away box costs "just 45 crowns". This is a 'treat' for Zeyneb, who otherwise 'scarifies' herself by taking on the task of everyday shopping and cooking (cf. Miller, 1998): When shoppers' purchasing power is restricted, even 'treats' have to be budget-friendly. Zeyneb and Zahra also emphasised that both the Damas restaurant and Shawarma Xpress were "very pocket friendly". These retail places are kind to their unemployed pockets, just like the charity shop, which Zahra frequents just to drink coffee: "because it's very cheap". Zeyneb and Zahra shop at the PolShop because "they sell very good chocolate from Poland, and it's cheap; three for ten crowns"; retail places have promotions, putting special price tags on to encourage, assist, and enable budget shopping (cf. Hagberg & Kjellberg, 2015; Miller, 1998). Yusuf, too, acknowledged the aggressive pricing strategy of the shopping geography, as we passed by the Max restaurant which was advertising its student discount on its shop window. He also took me to a new restaurant at the south end of Södergatan, which sells "special mini pizzas", or as they are called in Arabic 'lahm bi-ájeen', and which are "very low price, and good, very tasty". He claimed that even the pubs in the district offer the cheapest drinks in the city, including the Charles Dickens pub and Sam's Bar, where Ingrid worked.

Pricing-off

The majority of the research participants acknowledged that the price aspect is important to their shopping enactments in the shopping geography. For them, the possibility of acquiring services and goods at 'budget friendly' prices is one of the main attractions of the shopping geography, differentiating it from, for instance, the town centre. They gladly engaged in budget shopping, but not at any 'price'.

Massimiliano, just like Jane, was a Master's student from another country, Italy. Despite his homeland belonging to the richer part of the world, he too had a limited budget during his studies, and actively sought budget shopping opportunities. He lived in the town centre, but only a couple of hundred metres from Södergatan, visiting Södergatan almost every day. This was mostly because he went to the swimming pool to exercise, but he also bought his groceries in the shopping geography:

MASSIMILIANO: I buy my groceries at the market [...] which has very good prices. And also in supermarkets, where I go and buy other cheap stuff.

DEVIM: Which supermarket do you go to?

MASSIMILIANO: The supermarkets I go to are ICA and the other one by the square called Alfo Gross. Also lots of cheap stuff.

DEVIM: So you go to Alfo Gross also?

MASSIMILIANO: Yes, in that shop, I buy fruit and vegetables because on some of them the prices are super low and you can't find anything cheaper here in Helsingborg. But still, you have to be aware that some of the fruit is not that great because they're put in trays and everyone touches them and tastes them without any gloves or anything. So it depends on what you want to buy. And sometimes you can find very good fruit at very cheap prices. Two weeks ago I bought a kilo of grapes, Italian grapes, really wonderful for just 10 SEK for a kilogram, which is much cheaper than in Italy. I mean I would have paid twice that price in Italy. Really strange, but still pretty good.



Figure 68. The street market, 2014

Massimiliano shopped at the street market due to their “very good prices”.

Massimiliano shopped at the street market due to “very good prices”, stressing that Alfo Gross also had “lots of cheap stuff”. He further claimed that some items’ prices were “super low” in Alfo Gross, not just slightly cheaper; it was impossible to “find anything cheaper” in Helsingborg. To his surprise, he had bought Italian grapes of good quality, which were cheaper than what they would have cost in Italy, where he “would have paid twice the price”. He, too, judged prices in the shopping geography to be ‘low’ in relation to many other remembered and displayed prices in the city, and even in other parts of the world (cf. Çalışkan, 2009). He remembered that he had bought the grapes two weeks ago: Because he thought the whole thing was “really strange”, but “pretty good”, the purchase had left its mark and become a memory (cf. Jensen & Grunert, 2014). However, he warned me that one needs to “be aware” while shopping in these retail places that enable budget shopping. As pointed out in Gregson and Crewe’s work (1997), in such places, shoppers need to

possess certain competences to avoid bad quality goods since “some of the fruit is not that great”. On the other hand, this actual ‘sorting out’ activity also creates a hygiene problem for Massimiliano, as shoppers check the quality of the fruit and vegetables by touching and tasting them. They are trying to reduce their risk of purchasing bad quality goods, goods which might not be as good as they look (Gregson & Crewe, 1997, p. 103). This is a ‘trade-off’ shoppers make while shopping in the street market, or in Alfo Gross: The quality is not guaranteed, and constant evaluation work needs to be done (cf. Beckert & Aspers, 2011; Miller, 1998; Sweeney & Soutar, 2001). Therefore, they need to develop their skills, competences, in order to be able to understand the quality by means of sight, feel, and taste (Gregson & Crewe, 1998b). In order to engage in budget shopping, shoppers need to learn these skills during the course of their lives, and to devote time to this sorting activity in situ. Nevertheless, for Massimiliano, this actual sorting out activity conducted by other shoppers was something he had to be “aware of”; he was involuntarily trading-off food hygiene against “super low” prices.

The very state of the fruit and vegetables is another quality that weighs in favour of lower prices. Albin specifically stressed this aspect when we were inside Alfo Gross:

ALBIN: I usually buy groceries at Alfo because it’s cheap. Maybe, the vegetables aren’t premium quality, but often, this isn’t significant; they’ll be eaten anyway. And if you are going to cook them as part of a dish, then it won’t be a problem if they don’t seem so fresh. The cucumbers or bananas may not be in perfect shape, but it’s not important.

Albin acknowledged the price advantage of the groceries sold in Söder, in the Alfo Gross supermarket; “it’s cheap”, which was important to him, possibly because he was unemployed at the time of the interview and had only a modest budget to work with. He explained that he usually cycled into the district to shop because the shopping geography offers specialized services and goods that are not possible to find in mainstream retail places, but also because these services and goods were inexpensive: He was bundling alternative shopping and budget shopping. However, this cheapness comes at a ‘price’; the vegetables and fruit sold in the supermarket were “not premium quality”. Therefore, they were more suitable for cooking, in which case their poorer quality would not be “a problem”. However, this implies that it could have been a problem consuming them raw, let us say, in a salad, since they did “not seem so fresh”. In addition to their seeming lack of freshness, Albin clarified that they “may not be in perfect shape”, pointing towards the grocery stalls in the supermarket. They are irregularly shaped, disqualifying them from being sold in mainstream supermarkets, but they find their place in shopping geographies like Söder and Södergatan (cf. Carlbom, 2003). While analysing convenience shopping, it was pointed out that the fruit and vegetables sold in Söder and on Södergatan do

not have long shelf-lives, causing mainstream retail places to disregard them, and thus they can be sold at a cheaper price. Their cheapness also comes from their alleged irregular shapes; they diverge from mainstream standards regarding their shape, and they are then discarded by mainstream shopping geographies. In other words, the strict quality and shape criteria of mainstream supermarkets reinforce budget shopping on Södergatan and in Söder.

Different categories of services and goods also tolerate different trade-off levels. For instance, Albin pointed out that when it comes to meat, he does not take the cheapest option:

ALBIN: I bought my meat from Alfo until they changed their suppliers. I mean, they had a Danish supplier before, but then they switched to a number of different suppliers, and after that I didn't buy my meat there anymore. I can pay a few crowns extra. No, I'm a bit like that, when it comes to these things. I don't have any prejudices, but if I'm going to get Romanian meat, then I want to know what it really is.

In the above case, Albin had to make another kind of judgement: This time, it was not about sacrificing freshness, or shape, in for exchange cheapness, it was about distrusting meat sourced from outside of Scandinavia and instead opting to pay "a few extra crowns". Unlike some other shoppers in the research sample, Albin was fine about consuming meat from Denmark, but that was his limit. The prices of services and goods are evaluated and negotiated in conjunction with shoppers' life trajectories, their accumulated judgements, and their cultural backgrounds (cf. Beckert & Aspers, 2011), which all influence the organisation of budget shopping. While Albin avoided buying cheaper meat in Söder, for instance, Muhammad praised that very same aspect.

Shopping Bargains

MUHAMMAD: Once I prepared a traditional dish we make in Palestine, and it had lamb in it. And I took it to my workplace in a lunch box and gave a bit to my Swedish colleague. He said "man, how can you always be eating lamb? It's so expensive. It's really overpriced, it's like 200 SEK per kilo". So I said, I don't know, they sell it here in Söder for 80 SEK per kilogram (laughing). So, they always have a decent price here.

Muhammad is a software programmer and works full time. His girlfriend is also a university graduate, working freelance on diverse projects. They live in Mariastaden, a middle class suburban neighbourhood in the north-east of Helsingborg, close to the out-of-town shopping mall Väla Centrum. They might not be well-off, but they do not have as limited a budget as the other shoppers mentioned

above. While analysing alternative shopping and social shopping, I discussed how Muhammad and Megan appreciated Söder as a place where they could socialize, where they can feel at 'home', where they can find unique services and goods. In addition to these qualities, they also expressed really appreciating the available price spectrum as well, which sparks a sense of pride and joy in them (cf. Miller, 1998; Wagner & Rudolph, 2010). Muhammad, for instance, was "always" able to experience the luxury of eating lamb, much to his Swedish colleague's surprise since, in the shopping geography, "they sell it" for 80 SEK, instead of 200 SEK per kilogram in other retail places. He was chuckling proudly, because he was clever enough to make his meat purchases in Söder at "a decent price". But this is not just about being smart, it also concerns not being duped by the mainstream retail places and their 'unfair' prices (cf. Hulme, 2019). During the fieldwork, a comparison was always being made with the conventional establishments whenever the price aspect was brought up:

MUHAMMAD: I think, here, they offer fair prices compared to other places. Like when we're comparing the prices here with ICA, for example, there it's way overpriced.

MEGAN: You feel like you're getting robbed, you know. I always complain to him, why spend 20 crowns more for avocados when I can take the bus to get them much cheaper? I guess that feeling is the reason why we come here...

As regards the pride derived from not "getting robbed", Megan pointed out that this is "the reason why" they come all the way to Söder and Södergatan to shop, by taking a bus for 20 minutes, instead of, for instance, spending "20 crowns more for avocados" in a nearby supermarket. The fact that she had a monthly travel card for local public transportation disguised the cost of travelling. However, she was also prepared to sacrifice 40 minutes doing return bus journeys. Time is not perceived as an important cost item in this equation, the 'feeling' weighs more (Darke et al., 1995). Megan even "complains" to Muhammad about the higher prices in mainstream shopping geographies, making budget shopping a household topic and a household enactment. Muhammad also reasoned in a similar way: He argued that the pricing in Söder and on Södergatan was "fair", while the mainstream supermarkets were "way overpriced", raising the notion of justice in pricing (cf. Simmel, 1907/2011). They "rob" shoppers, and Megan and Muhammad are determined to dodge this humiliating treatment (cf. Sinha & Batra, 1999). In our tour together, Megan and Muhammad stressed the price aspect numerous times, pointing out 'the bargains' they had found in the district, but also emphasising what other shoppers were missing out on by avoiding the shopping geography. Muhammad also accentuated this comparative quality of the shopping geography using his hairdresser on Södergatan:

DEVIRIM: And your hairdresser is here as well?

MUHAMMAD: Exactly. And even though I now live far away from here, I still like it, I just come and do everything here in Söder.

DEVIRIM: Do you have a personal relationship with your hairdresser?

MUHAMMAD: Yeah. But also pricewise, it's crazy. Like if I went to someone else outside of Söder, I'd pay like 500 crowns.

MEGAN: Yes, 500 crowns... And here you'd pay 100, 150. It's a huge difference! And both of them will be doing the same thing to your hair... But for me, I'm struggling, as regards my hair at least. I can't find anyone. So I'm actually flying to Hungary and getting it done back in Hungary. Because it's cheaper for me to do that, including the airfare and all, than to do it in Sweden.

“Crazy”; this is the adjective Muhammad uses to describe the price differences between Söder and other parts of the city when it comes to haircuts. On one side, it is 500 crowns, but in Söder, it is 100 crowns, or at most 150. Their claim is that “both of them will be doing the same thing to your hair”, trivializing the skill required to cut hair. However, female shoppers often ask for more refined hairdressing skills (Holmes, 2010), and most of the hairdressers in the district are ‘men only’: Budget shopping is not gender equal when it comes to body care. Therefore, Megan is flying, since she does not want to “feel robbed”, to Hungary to “get it done” there, while asserting that it will still cost less, including the airfare. If she cannot find a ‘bargain’, she will travel to another country to continue her ‘hunt’, oblivious to the traces she will leave behind (cf. Darke et al., 1995).



Figure 69. A hairdresser's on Södergatan promoting its price, 2015

“Crazy”; this is the adjective Muhammad uses to describe the price differences between Söder and the other parts of the city when it comes to haircuts.

In addition to contrasting prices in Söder and on Södergatan with mainstream retail places, shoppers were also constantly comparing the different shops of the district pricewise. Monitoring price differences, and gathering accumulated knowledge of the different pricing strategies of shops is a necessary activity during budget shopping. In this sense, it can be claimed that budget shopping is both a ‘price sensitive’ and ‘price conscious’ mode of shopping (cf. McGoldrick & Marks, 1987; Wakefield & Inman, 2003). When Muhammad and Megan took me to the Sharif’s shop, they were engaging in a similar valuation activity:

DEVIRIM: Do you come here when you can’t find things at Alfo Gross?

MUHAMMAD: Sometimes I like coming here just for a change. They even have stuff they don’t have in Alfo Gross.

MEGAN: I don’t know pricewise, we’re trying to debate which one is cheaper, but it depends.

MUHAMMAD: It could be they’re the same.

Price is something Megan and Muhammad have debates about: They engaged in a discussion, but were unable to decide which one was cheaper, Alfo Gross or Sharif’s. However, they were sure Sharif’s is not pricier, possibly “it depends” on the item, probably “they’re the same”. Muhammad and Megan shop at Sharif’s for a change; despite its smaller size, they also appreciate the fact that Sharif’s merchandizes “stuff they don’t have in Alfo Gross”, acknowledging that this retail place augments alternative shopping in the shopping geography. The Sharif’s shop was praised by Rickard for the convenience it provides, due to its nearness to his home and its generous opening hours. Megan and Muhammad, on the other hand, compliment the shop’s unique range and pricing, marking it as a retail hub that bundles alternative shopping, budget shopping, and convenience shopping.

Making the Budget

I have already described, while analysing social shopping, the fact that Ingrid took me inside a haberdashery, where she had been bargaining over the price of a piece of fabric for a time without success. During our tour, Yusuf told me that, in the small “Arabic shops”, which sell “everything you need and don’t need”, it is common to bargain over the prices, although not as common in shoppers’ home countries. According to him, it was an activity brought from the ‘Middle East’, but enacted at a reduced level in Sweden by the same shoppers. Some of the research participants also argued that the prices of the street market, in the early mornings and just before closing time, were not the same, implying there was an elasticity to these prices and a varying shopping tempo (cf. Kelsey et al., 2018; Seamon & Nordin, 1980). In any case, the pricing in the shopping geography was much more fluid than in other parts

of the city, providing the scope for bargaining, which is also facilitated by the lack of printed price tags and cards in some shops and at the street market (cf. Cochoy et al., 2018; Hagberg & Kjellberg, 2015). Many services and goods lacked material price representations; in some cases, prices were handwritten. That is to say, the absence of material stability encourages price elasticity (cf. Gregson & Crewe, 1997), and helps to resurrect the activity of bargaining from the shopping geography's past, by bringing it in from another place.



Figure 70. Ali's butcher's shop, 2013

Ali said that it had become harder for him to find shoppers willing to pay a little bit extra for his fine butchering skills and his quality meat, and thus he sold his shop once a decent offer had been made.

The lower prices of the services and goods in the shopping geography, compared to mainstream shopping geographies, are also enabled by some wider events, and chains of actions, including the recent retail restructuring occurring in the city, global trade, lower labour costs. First of all, due to the retail restructuring and decentralisation occurring during recent decades in Helsingborg, as has been made clear in earlier chapters, the capital-rich chain stores have moved from the shopping geography to the other parts of the city. Additionally, due to the pressure of long-term store vacancies, this development has lowered the rental cost of the stores in the district and on Södergatan (cf. Hubbard, 2017). Similarly, the relatively frictionless market regulations and the logistics infrastructure as regards trading with other countries, developed during recent decades, both within the European Union and globally (Wrigley & Lowe, 2010), have helped suppliers and retailers to import goods that are considerably cheaper than those produced in Sweden. Lastly, as was also discussed while analysing convenience shopping, regarding how retail

places stay open for longer, lower prices are also made possible by means of reduced labour costs by self-exhausting, and family, co-ethnic labour exploitation (Aslan, 2012; Bonacich, 1987). Importantly, there is also an institutional dimension to cheaper labour costs; i.e. the Swedish Employment Agency subsidizes large parts of the salaries of the long-term unemployed or newcomers to Sweden once they start working. Hence, it is exceptionally common to employ this kind of a 'sponsored' workforce in shopping geographies such as Söder, even often having such institutional support is a prerequisite for retail workers finding employment (cf. Aslan, 2012). Consequently, in some cases, labour costs approach zero in monetary terms for some of the retail places in the shopping geography.

On the other hand, budget shopping, and its focus on lower prices and the pricing of the shopping geography, also puts pressure on existing retail establishments. Ali explained that chain stores have gradually had to leave the district and the shopping street because they were unable to adapt to the requirements of budget shopping. However, this pressure not only affects national and transnational retail chains. As I mentioned before, when I met Ali for the video interview, he had already sold his butcher's shop. He said his business was not going as well as used to, and therefore, once he had received a decent offer, he did not think twice about it. The reason behind the decline in his butcher's shop's popularity, he claimed, was that the quality of the services and goods in the shopping geography had slowly diminished. He argued that the proliferation of lower quality services and goods, accompanied by lower prices, had put a stigma on the whole shopping geography. Consequently, he said, it had become harder for him to find shoppers willing to pay a little bit extra for his fine butchering skills and his quality meat. In his example, budget shopping was in conflict with alternative shopping, and was contesting the diversity of the modes of shopping enacted in the shopping geography.

Conclusions

Budget shopping largely concentrates on the pricing of the services and goods on offer in the shopping geography. This mode of shopping is about processes potentially leading to the purchase of cheaper services and goods due to either limited budgets or taking the strain off such budgets. In the research, it was identified that this mode of shopping consisted of a bundle of various activities, some of which included cycling, taking the bus, walking, checking items, monitoring price changes, remembering prices, comparing prices in different retail places, comparing prices in different shopping geographies, discussing prices with fellow shoppers, touching, tasting, bargaining, getting information from retailers and retail workers, reading price tags and price cards, finding bargains, and carrying goods in bags and bicycle baskets and on buses. These activities are organized by means of rules and regulations concerning the importing of goods, as well as the

organisation of the labour market. The rigid schemes of the mainstream supermarkets regarding the required shelf-life and the shapes of fruit and vegetables are also significant when it comes to making budget shopping possible in the shopping geography by creating an excess of food in the marketplace. Similarly, regulations governing price representations, and sociocultural conventions governing paying, pricing and bargaining are all influential. In order to engage in this mode of shopping, shoppers need to have accumulated knowledge of the multiplicity of prices and the price representations of separate categories of services and goods both within and outside of the shopping geography. Furthermore, they are also required to develop skills in order to conduct informed trade-offs between, for instance, quality, form, risk, and price. However, the main orientation of budget shopping is the aim of acquiring service and goods at lower prices than average, in respect to shoppers' budget restrictions and the 'poor circumstances' they are embedded in. This teleology is entangled with feelings of joy, satisfaction and pride, but also emotional protection, i.e. not feeling like you have been 'fooled' by mainstream retail places and shopping geographies.

Regarding the material dimension, many cheaper goods on sale in the shopping geography do not meet standards in the sense that they are imported and their packaging displays various languages, in addition to having irregular shapes or a shorter lifespan. This mode of shopping is also enacted in special sensomaterial arrangements of retail places in the district and on the street where the goods are displayed and the services are provided, in chaotically-organized settings. Once fruit and vegetables are unpacked, they also alter the olfactory and the aesthetic of the shopping geography. 'Cheapness' has its sensomaterial manifestations, coming with its own particular atmosphere. In many shops in the shopping geography, goods are piled on top of each other to ensure storage space is effectively used, with a fast turnover of goods being encouraged. In order to enable budget shopping, and thus reduce costs, many retail places are understaffed, or retail workers and retailers have other duties than maintaining retail places' sensomaterial order. In terms of temporality, timing is important for finding 'bargains', particularly in the retail places where prices are more fluid. Also, in order to monitor price variations and changes, and not to miss out on possible 'finds', shoppers need to frequent the shopping geography often. The shorter lifespan of inexpensive goods also encourages a high shopping tempo. Spatially, the concentration of budget shopping in Söder and the mode of shopping's clear sensomaterial arrangements both disconnect the shopping geography from the rest of the city. Finally, budget shopping has become a major mode of shopping on Södergatan and in Söder, in tandem with the recent retail decentralisation and restructuring, which have both provided fertile conditions for budget shopping since they open up the retail space to new entrepreneurs and reduce store rents. In addition, the demographic changes in the district have also strengthened budget shopping in Söder and on Södergatan:

Once the economic capacities of Swedish working-class families had improved, these families were replaced by transnational migrants and university students, joining pensioners who did not have the capacity, or will, to leave Söder, with limited purchasing power, as explained in Chapter 4.

Budget shopping, on the other hand, is enacted while lower prices are negotiated with other aspects, often by sacrificing some qualities. This can include taking the risk of being exposed to unhygienic goods, being part of semi-chaotic shopping environments, acquiring goods which are close to their sell-by date, being served by less-skilled craftsmen, or buying goods of lower quality and poorer health standards. Shoppers need to arrange and assess their priorities within different categories of services and goods, in different retail places, and engage in continuous valuations and qualification processes, while enacting budget shopping. The mode of shopping also relies on a cheaper workforce, which is often ensured by self-exploitation, as well as the exploitation of family members and co-ethnic labour. In addition, the rising pressure on prices of services and goods pushes some craft stores out, risking the homogenisation of the shopping geography.

As the last mode of shopping analysed in this dissertation, budget shopping, too, co-constitutes the shopping geography in its sensomateriality and spatiotemporality, also contributing to its vibrancy. It makes the shopping geography relevant and appealing to many shoppers living in the district, particularly students, migrants, and pensioners, but even to those coming from outside the district. It does this by creating the possibility of enacting shopping on a limited budget, which is largely absent from mainstream shopping geographies. In that sense, budget shopping distinguishes Södergatan and Söder in the city by making many shoppers' lives more economically sustainable. Moreover, it also brings joy, pride and satisfaction to some shoppers by enabling and supporting their resistance to mainstream retail companies and their pricing strategies. Budget shopping assists their struggle to not to be 'duped' by these, thus becoming their medium for 'fooling the system'.

Budget shopping's effect on the shopping geography, in terms of positioning the district and the street against the town centre and other mainstream shopping geographies, is a commonality with convenience shopping, social shopping, and alternative shopping. The four modes of shopping are bundled together via their material, sensorial, temporal and spatial dimensions. In doing so, they also provide favourable conditions for the fifth mode of shopping, on-the-side shopping. Consequently, all these five modes of shopping often cement and support each other, making the shopping geography a distinct place within the city; they co-constitute its vibrant uniqueness. How exactly do they do this? What kind of material, sensorial, temporal and spatial dynamics facilitate this ongoing becomingness? In the last two chapters, I focus on these aspects.

Part III. Discussion

Chapter 10: Shopping Entanglements

In the following chapters, I discuss how enacted modes of shopping co-constitute, shape, the shopping geography into a vibrant place, and I present the study's relevance to the practical and academic fields.

In this chapter, I first focus on the directions of the interrelationships between shopping, sensomateriality, and spatiotemporality in order to deliberate upon the “ways shopping and the local street interrelate to each other”. I emphasise the four directions of the interrelationship between the sensomaterialities of the shopping geography and the enacted modes of shopping examined in the analysis chapters, i.e. ‘onness’, ‘throughness’, ‘withness’, and ‘inness’. Subsequently, I delineate the directions of the interrelationship between the modes of shopping and the spatiotemporalities of the research site by employing the analogies of ‘verticality’, ‘horizontality’, ‘circularity’, and ‘linearity’.

The main questions I pursue in this chapter are: In what ways do modes of shopping entangle with the street's and district's sensorial, material, spatial, and temporal layers and dimensions? What are the affordances of the shopping geography on the modes of shopping? How does shopping provide the street with its current vibrant state?

Sensomaterialities of Shopping

Sensomateriality is a novel concept that is introduced in this dissertation, underlining the notion that, while examining the social world, materiality should be analysed and understood jointly with its sensory and sensuous effects and implications. This means that humans only interact with and ‘make sense of’ materiality using their senses, as sensomaterialities. At the very moment when we encounter, perceive, recognize a material, including our own bodies, it is transformed into sensomateriality.

The dimension of materiality contains, for instance, air, electricity, sunlight, the Internet, bodies, chemical compounds, or viruses (cf. Bennet, 2010; Ingold 2007a, 2007b, Schatzki, 2019). When drawing on such a broad definition of materiality, it becomes apparent that numerous materialities form, surround, penetrate shopping as it is enacted on Södergatan and in Söder. In addition, since agency is distributed among all the dimensions and links configuring social practices (cf. Giddens, 1984), the materialities, which are entangled with a mode of shopping, are also distributed agency with regard to how shopping is organized (cf. Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Gell, 1998). Consequently, these very materialities, with their presence and absence, have

‘affordances’ as regards shopping (cf. Gibson, 1979/2014, pp. 119-135), while recursively being co-constituted by it.

Concerning the ‘senso’ portion of the concept of sensomateriality, as also explained earlier, humans’ perception and experience of their environment, as well as their orientation, their ways of relating to the materialities of the social world, is understood. This multifaceted and complex process of the ‘sense-making’ formulation is inspired by several streams of related literatures (cf. Anderson, 2006; Ingold, 2000; Pred, 1983; Reckwitz, 2016; Relph, 1976; Sumarto & Pink, 2019; Thrift, 2004); it includes and is related to the notions of emotion, mood, feeling, senses, and to the concepts of ‘atmosphere’ and ‘sense of place’.

Interrelations between shopping practice and sensomateriality

Shove (2016) points out that there are three kinds of relationships between materiality and social practices, which she conceptualizes as ‘infrastructural’, ‘device-oriented’, and ‘resource-based’¹⁰⁸. Schatzki (2019), on the other hand, mentions nine different sorts of relationships between social practices and material arrangements in his latest book (see also Schatzki, 2015). He claims that “practices, generally speaking, use, set up, give meaning to, and are directed toward and inseparable from arrangements and their components, whereas arrangements and their components induce, prefigure, channel, and are essential to practices” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 41). He further points out that; “these nine types, moreover, can be collected under four broader headings: causality (setting up, inducing, and channelling), constitution (inseparability from and essentiality to), action and mind (use, bestowing meaning, directedness toward), and prefiguration” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 44)¹⁰⁹. This study takes an interest in the co-constitutive interrelationship between

¹⁰⁸ The infrastructural relationship, according to Shove, occurs when “some things are necessary for the conduct of a practice, but are not engaged with directly” (Shove, 2016, p. 156). Whereas, the device-oriented relationship “includes things that are directly mobilised and actively manipulated” by social practices (Shove, 2016, p. 156). Finally, in the resource-based relationship between social practices and materials, “there are things which are used up or radically transformed in the course of practice”, according to Shove (2016, p. 156).

¹⁰⁹ ‘Using’ and ‘setting up’ are about “using material entities and constructing as well as altering arrangements of them” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 41). Similarly, using ‘bestowing meaning’, he points out that things gain meaning in the social world through human practices, as also shown in the material culture literature (cf. Appadurai, 1986; Miller, 1988). He also clarifies that, by ‘directed toward’, he means that “people are directed toward entities in their activities and, thus, in their enactment of practices” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 41). When a shopper examines a good through a shop window, he/she is ‘directed towards’ that thing. Inseparability designates that some social practices cannot be enacted without particular material arrangements, e.g. in order to cycle, we need a bicycle. Additionally, putting materialities in a protagonist role, Schatzki explains ‘inducing’ as a material event leading to a human activity. A heavy rain shower can ‘induce’ humans to act in certain ways, e.g. going to a mall instead of a town centre to shop, or staying at home. By ‘channelling’, Schatzki means “being physical, obstruct movement and, thus, the performance of certain actions” (Schatzki, 2019, p. 43), as in the supermarkets, shoppers’ movements are

shopping and the local street, how they make an impact on each other's configuration, which cut across many of the above-mentioned relationships formulated by Shove and Schatzki. In this matter, I draw on Ingold's argumentation that materiality provides substance, surface, medium to the social world (2007b, and see also Gibson, 1979/2014), yet I also refer to Shove's and Schatzki's formulations in the discussion. In abductive dialogue with the fieldwork and the research data analysed in previous chapters, I have reformulated the directions of interrelationships between sensomaterialities and social practices, as *onness*, *throughness*, *withness*, and *inness*.

By 'onness', I mean how sensomaterialities provide relatively stable and durable surfaces and barriers to shopping, e.g. pavements, doors, shelves, and store counters (cf. "surface" in Ingold 2007b). 'Throughness', on the other hand, designates how shopping is enacted employing sensomaterialities as an intermediate, including bodies, atmosphere, and electricity (cf. "medium" in Ingold, 2007b). However, it also comprises how various sociocultural relationships are organized 'through' sensomaterialities while enacting shopping. 'Withness' implies a more pragmatic connection; using sensomaterialities while enacting of shopping, as is the case with shopping bags, shopping trolleys, or credit cards. Lastly, 'inness' indicates the enactment of modes of shopping within the enclosure of sensomaterial layers, in 'atmospheres', e.g. an unfamiliar store or a lively shopping street. It can also be the stuffing of the materialities essential to an enactment of shopping, e.g. the alcohol or food ingested during a restaurant visit (for both 'withness' and 'inness' cf. "substance" in Ingold, 2007b). However, these four directions of interrelationships do not have any clear-cut distinctions and there are blurry cases. In that sense, they are analytical abstractions, formulated for this research in order to reach to a better, detailed, and elucidated understanding of the ways shopping interrelates to the shopping geography in sensomaterial terms and, in turn, in order to develop a more concrete argument regarding how shopping makes the street vibrant.

Shopping 'on' sensomaterialities

In the case of shopping on Södergatan, the direction of 'onness' is established, for example, by pavements, roads, shop floors, counters, shelves, stalls, tables, chairs, benches, and bus seats, which all ensure the flow¹¹⁰ of goods, shoppers, retail

'challenged' using aisles, counters, shelves. 'Prefiguration' is about the "bearing of the present on the future" (Schatzki, 2019, p. 43); it implies a rather loose connection between present material events and future practices, e.g. the effect of the introduction of the Internet on future shopping activities. Finally, for the relationship of 'essentiality', his example is human bodies; enacting practices involves bodily actions and thus human bodies are essential for all social practices, including shopping.

¹¹⁰ As Ingold (2007b) points out, the surfaces are the boundaries where life flourishes due to the possibilities associated with border-crossing, as in the case of earth, organisms and events both under the ground and on it mutually supporting each other. Similarly, the asphalt road surface, the

workers, and which often function as the infrastructure for shopping (cf. Shove, 2016). In addition, the surfaces of the shopping geography are not always lateral, as is the case with doors, walls, shop windows, which all block and channel shopper mobility (cf. Schatzki, 2019). These would let some shoppers in while keeping others out, creating a relationship between ‘inside and outside’ (Seamon, 2000) and, in the case of shop windows, blocking shoppers’ bodies while inviting their curious gaze and seducing their vision (Benjamin, 1982/1999; Cochoy, 2016).

In convenience shopping, just like Richard’s enactment as analysed at the beginning of Chapter 5, the direction of ‘onness’ enables shoppers to walk smoothly ‘on’ pavements towards retail places without facing significant obstacles. They go inside shops via their semi-open doors, navigating easily ‘on’ the floor, choosing everyday goods effectively placed ‘on’ the shelves, stretching from floor to ceiling, and then putting these goods ‘on’ the counter at the moment of exchange, which also boundarises them from the retail worker. Another example, the convenient ‘drop-in’ quality of hairdressers and other retail places on Södergatan, is also enabled by ‘frictionless’ shopper movements ‘on’ the road and the pavements, as well as by the accessibility provided by transparent shop windows made of glass, and frequently left-open doors which were made level with pavements (Kärrholm, 2012). In particular, the material used in the glass is important, since it provides visual accessibility, a ‘directedness towards’ (Schatzki, 2019) the interior of the retail place and the display in the shop window, thus allowing shoppers to make sense of the services and goods on offer while they are passing by (Fredriksson, 1998; Fuentes, 2015; Cochoy, 2016). Yet, glass also blocks the ‘dirt’, ‘noise’ and ‘smell’ from the street efficiently, -the ‘matters out of place’ (cf. Douglas, 1966/1984, pp. 36-41), as well as unregulated movements from outside into the retail places. For instance, when Felicia walked to the cinema on Södergatan, along the pavement, she saw the goods in the Lindex store through the window, as described in Chapter 7. The displayed goods invited her in and her enactment of on-the-side shopping, and she entered this retail place through the automatic sliding doors, conveniently, which then effectively separated her from the street. A smooth, frictionless and effortless connection through various ‘onnesses’ of sensomaterialities to being between ‘attraction stations’ and the ‘nearby’ retail places is crucial in order for on-the-side shopping to be enacted (cf. Jackson et al., 2006). Thus, just as for convenience shopping, flat pavements, the road, pedestrian crossings, and semi-open doors encourage this mode of shopping, too, supporting ‘informed improvisation’ in the shoppers already in the district. Similarly, constant price-monitoring requires

pavements, and the shop floors of Södergatan establish borders with the storage rooms, water pipes, and sewage systems, and the electricity and Internet cables expanding under it. The flow above is also made possible thanks to the flows and movements occurring underneath, and thanks to the semi-solidity and partial permeability of the surface.

accessibility and a connection both between and within stores; therefore, budget shopping also needs ‘trouble-free’ mobility ‘on’ sensomaterialities.

Just as much as guaranteeing flow, the direction of ‘onness’ between sensomaterials and shopping is also crucial to the providing of settings for stops, pauses, rests and engagement. As said by Ingrid in a quote in Chapter 6, one often needs to “stop” in order to be able to “talk to each other”. In particular, the ‘rests’ provided ‘on’ couches, chairs, and tables in the ‘third places’ (Oldenburg, 2001), which are separated by the fuzz and flow of the street by the ‘onness’ of doors, walls, and shop windows, function as ‘infrastructure’ for social shopping. As was the case at Ali’s butcher’s shop, the counter was also used as a table to put coffee cups on, to lean elbows on while conversing, to spread a newspaper on and initiate a group discussion between him and his shoppers. Similarly, shelves, floors, counters, and boxes provide surfaces for cheaper goods to be piled upon, displayed and examined, which is crucial for the enactment of budget shopping. Similar kind of ‘onness’ supplied by sensomaterialities is also significant for the enactment of alternative shopping; in this way, shoppers can make sense of ‘alternative’ goods by means of seeing, smelling, touching, and sometimes tasting them ‘on’ shelves and stalls.

Via the direction of ‘onness’, the sensomaterialities of the shopping geography enable, encourage, and sustain the analysed modes of shopping. In turn, the enacted modes of shopping co-constitute the sensomateriality of the street and the district since they ask for these and need them in the form of roads, pavements, lanes, counters, boxes, tables, chairs, shelves, floors, doors, walls, and shop windows. In other words, while enactments of shopping co-constitute the shopping geography as a vibrant public arena, they also shape its complex vibrant sensomaterial arrangement. The sensomaterial arrangement of the shopping street, at the same time, becomes an active agent in ensuring the vibrancy of the place.

Shopping ‘through’ sensomaterialities

Shopping in Söder and on Södergatan is enacted ‘through’ sensomaterialities; ‘through’ shoppers’ bodies, ‘through’ air, darkness, brightness, and electricity. Shoppers move ‘through’ rainy, windy, calm, cold, warm, clean air, they see services and goods, advertisements, labels, price tags, packages, sometimes ‘through’ glass, sometimes on screens; ‘through’ the movement of the light (cf. “directed towards”, Schatzki, 2019). They smell a retail place, food, clothes, fellow shoppers ‘through’ the molecules dispersed within the shopping geography. They touch the goods ‘with’ their hands, and sometimes taste them, making sense of them

‘through’ their bodies¹¹¹. At the same time, shoppers also create meanings ‘through’ goods (cf. “bestowing meaning”, Schatzki, 2019).

Social shopping, in particular, is enacted ‘through’ associated bodies, using hand-shakes, eye contact, hugs, smiling lips, and the nodding heads of shoppers, retailers, and retail workers. Similarly, Jane enacted alternative shopping through her body, too, ‘through’ touching, by checking openly displayed vegetables at Alfo Gross and at the street market ‘with’ her hands, just like this was done in her home country, Kenya. On the other hand, Bengt and Rickard enacted alternative shopping at the seed shop ‘through’ the bodies of their companion animals, when buying pet-food, when getting their pets’ bodies checked out by a veterinarian in-store.

Smelling was a significant activity in the organisation of alternative shopping, hence it was enacted ‘through’ (and ‘with’) noses, but also through the sensomateriality of the special odour, for instance, circulating at the Damas restaurant or the charity shop. In social shopping, shoppers interact with the help of mimics, gestures, but also because their voices can reach each other’s ears as sound waves, again, ‘through’ materialities. Therefore, retail places need to be sufficiently ‘silent’ to encourage communication; social shopping is enacted through the absence of ‘noise’, e.g. the sound of traffic from the street, or loud music (cf. Ingold, 2015, p. 107). Likewise, in the enactment of convenience shopping and on-the-side shopping, the absence of ‘hostile’ weather is significant. On the other hand, the presence of the light provided by the streetlights and the in-store lighting infrastructure eases and extends convenience shopping, as well as on-the-side shopping, into the otherwise nocturnal hours of the day (cf. Edensor, 2015; Shaw, 2018); the modes of shopping are enacted ‘through’ the sensomateriality of light. Special lighting arrangements also create a certain cosiness in retail places, in which case, social shopping is enacted ‘through’ the dimmed light, the glow and the shadows (cf. Bille, 2015). Obviously, ‘through’ light, shoppers can also see and compare prices ‘with’ and ‘through’ their own eyes, reading information about the goods written on their packaging, helping them to enact both budget shopping and alternative shopping. As mentioned earlier, while enacting convenience shopping and on-the-side shopping, shoppers often go window shopping, thanks to the transparent materiality of glass, which gives ‘throughness’ to light and the activity of seeing (cf. Fredriksson, 1998; Fuentes, 2015; Cochoy, 2016).

Shopping is done ‘conveniently’ in the shopping geography, also ‘through’ material payment infrastructure consisting of POS terminals, Internet connections, cash registers (“infrastructural relation”, Shove, 2016). In addition, at the pub where Ingrid worked, socialisation and community-building is done ‘through’ toasting

¹¹¹ Shoppers enact shopping both ‘through’ and “with” their bodies. This ambiguity is linked to the dual ontological position of our bodies, as body-as-subject or lived-body (*leib*) and body-as-object or physical-body (*körper*) (Husserl, 1907/1997, see also Casey, 1998, p. 217).

strangers with glasses of beer. In a similar vein, when Zeyneb and Zahra enact alternative shopping in Sham Baazar, they remember and imagine their homelands ‘through’ the materiality of the store sign, the calligraphy, Arabic letters, and the store’s ‘alternative’ goods (cf. “bestowing meaning”, Schatzki, 2019).

Via the interrelationship direction of ‘throughness’, sensomaterialities become media for shopping activities. Because of this direction of the interrelationship, these sensomaterialities gain agency during the process of making the local street a vibrant shopping geography by means of supporting, enabling, and maintaining the modes of shopping. Conversely, modes of shopping also require these sensomaterialities to be enacted: They request the street lighting infrastructure, the dispersal of odour in restaurants, the flow of the Internet, money-handling systems, and corporal and verbal connections. They need these, therefore they co-constitute these vibrant sensomaterialities of the shopping geography while operating ‘through’ them.

Shopping ‘with’ sensomaterialities

In Söder and on Södergatan, shoppers enact their shopping ‘with’ various tangible tools and artefacts, e.g. credit cards, coins, bags, backpacks, shopping trolleys, bicycles, clothes, packages, price tags, as well as ‘with’ goods and their bodies, transforming these sensomaterialities into ‘shopping devices’ (cf. Cochoy, 2008; Fredriksson, 2016; Fuentes & Fuentes et al., 2019). That is to say, shoppers ‘use’ these ‘shopping devices’ during their enactments of shopping (cf. “device-related orientation” in Shove, 2016 and “use” in Schatzki, 2019): While these shopping devices facilitate modes of shopping, they also modify their organisation (cf. Latour, 2005a).

First of all, although shopping is principally ‘directed towards’ services and goods (cf. Schatzki, 2019), ‘through’ various sensomaterialities, it is also enacted ‘with’ them, essentially also making services and goods ‘shopping devices’. In particular, this is the case during alternative shopping and budget shopping; these are enacted ‘with’ ‘alternative’ and ‘cheaper’ goods. Secondly, the sensomaterialities of money, in the form of credit cards, smartphone applications, banknotes and coins, are also indispensable shopping devices for all modes of shopping. Specifically, they support the convenience aspect of convenience shopping and on-the-side shopping, while also assisting shoppers in focusing on expenditure while enacting budget shopping. Additionally, everyday shopping devices, e.g. plastic bags, shopping trolleys, backpacks, bicycles, and bicycle baskets, are also important in integrating the aspect of convenience into shopping. They encourage and enable the daily shopping rhythm of convenience shopping, due to their limited carrying capacity, but also due to the comfort they provide when carrying and moving, equipped with wheels, handles, and storage space (cf. Cochoy, 2009; Grandclément, 2006; Hansson, 2014). In particular, shopping bags enable modes of shopping by assisting

the carrying activity and protecting the goods from wind, dirt, and rain (Hagberg, 2016). They also make the acquiring of goods possible without any serious previous planning, since they are often provided by retailers and thus particularly support convenience and on-the-side shopping. In addition, cutlery, plates, glasses, cups, and trays etc. are shopping devices utilized by restaurants, cafés, and bars and, depending on which modes of shopping the retail place facilitates, their quality and function varies. Moreover, since modes of shopping require movement through the open air of the district, shoppers' clothes, shoes, umbrellas, hats, sun glasses, and headphones also become crucial shopping devices. They protect shoppers from the disturbance caused by noise, dirt, light, wind, rain, and snow, and thus they prolong shopper movements in the open air, for instance while enacting budget shopping and alternative shopping at a street market. They enable the lowering of the movement tempo, supporting activities of, for instance, window shopping and chatting, thus also facilitating the enactment of alternative shopping and social shopping. They also provide comfort and convenience, assisting in the combining of shopping with other activities while on-the-side shopping is being enacted.

Packages, handwritten or printed price tags, receipts, shopping lists, price cards, store signs indicating retail places' names, ranges of services and goods, and opening hours are also shopping devices, supporting all the modes of shopping at different intensities (cf. Cochoy et al., 2018; Hagberg & Kellberg, 2015). For instance, the packaging of imported goods plays a substantial role in the configuration of alternative shopping since it provides information about these goods' content and origin, makes claims about their 'authenticity', and provides cultural translation, while at the same time prolonging these goods' lifespan (Fuentes, 2015). Conversely, the absence of packaging at street markets also enables and encourages alternative shopping, because it represents resistance to the modernisation of retail. It also supports budget shopping, since shoppers can decide on the amount of groceries they want to purchase and make informed trade-offs by touching 'with' their hands, smelling 'with' their noses, and tasting 'with' their mouths. When packaging is absent, shoppers' bodies effectively become 'shopping devices'. Similarly, social shopping often withdraws devices from the configuration of shopping and retailing, e.g. in smaller shops, at street markets, even partially at *Alfo Gross*, with tools such as self-scanners, shopping trolleys, shopping baskets, packages, and even smartphones being absent; social shopping is enacted 'without' them. In this way, some of the competences that have been assigned to modern shopping devices over the last century are re-distributed back to shoppers and retail workers (Fuentes et al., 2019), in turn encouraging, inducing and enabling social interaction, social cohesion, and community-building.

In the organisation of shopping at the research site, the arrangements of sensomateriality in the direction of 'witness' include shopping trolleys, bags, bicycles, packages, banknotes, credit cards, coins, shoes, buses, cups, price tags,

chairs, umbrellas, trays, goods, and shoppers' bodies. However, in some cases, the withdrawal of particular materialities also becomes central to the modes of shopping to be enacted. As for the other directions of the interrelationship between shopping and the sensomaterial arrangement of the shopping geography, the sensomaterialities mentioned also assist, enable, and sustain the analysed modes of shopping via the relationship of 'witness' they provide, thus contributing to the vibrancy of the shopping geography. At the same time, the enactment of modes of shopping needs, requests, and thus co-constitutes these very sensomaterialities in their vibrancy.

Shopping 'in' sensomaterialities

In the empirical data, the sensomaterial arrangements, the atmospheres that surround shopping activities, which modes of shopping were enacted 'in', took many different forms, e.g. lively street markets on a sunny day or a cosy corner of a charity shop. Nevertheless, it is not always easy to make distinctions between the 'inness' direction of the interrelationship and others. For instance, in some cases, artefacts which are deemed to be manufactured for use can also become part of the general decorations and contribute to the general atmosphere of the retail place (Miller, 2007). Likewise, the bodies of other shoppers, or the specific lighting, smells or sounds which shopping is enacted 'through', also create an overall feeling, a mood in the store and the modes of shopping, such that shopping is also enacted 'in' them, situated 'in' their atmospheric sensomaterial arrangement (cf. Anderson, 2009; Thrift, 2006; Bille & Simonsen, 2021).

Overall, some shoppers thought the district had a dull and boring aesthetic due to the dominatingly grey and beige coloured immensity of the concrete-based functionalist architecture built during the post-war period (cf. Ristilammi, 1994). Even the monotonous, orderly traces of more recent city development projects are pointed out as 'boring', which does not do justice, for instance, according to Veronica, to the multiplicity and diversity that the shopping geography contains now. The perceived dullness and coldness of Söder and Södergatan works against on-the-side shopping and social shopping in particular, since this dullness and coldness transforms the district and the local street into a void for some shoppers to pass by en route to their destinations inside the shopping geography, restricting their engagement with these surroundings. Likewise, the sense of insecurity was emphasised by some female shoppers as another general atmospheric feature of the shopping geography, discouraging their enactment of convenience shopping and on-the-side shopping at night in particular (cf. Van Liempt et al., 2015). On the other hand, despite a bad reputation and occasional incidents involving criminality, as Ingrid specifically pointed out, the co-existence of other shoppers and retail workers creates a safe atmosphere in the district for many, also facilitating the enactment of modes of shopping even during the darker parts of the day (cf. Högdahl, 2003). Shoppers also emphasised that the disorderliness of the shopping geography, caused

by, for instance, litter in the street or the arranging of the sensomateriality of the retail places in non-standard ways, produces a sense of intimacy that is exclusive to that shopping geography, also encouraging social interaction and cohesion. Megan described this aspect by pointing out that the shopping geography is full of “hole-in-the-wall places”, unlike mainstream shopping destinations (cf. Hubbard, 2017). This ‘roughness’ and ‘grittiness’ of Södergatan and Söder, i.e. that it is not really clean or neat, also generates a sense of ‘authenticity’ (cf. Zukin, 2008), which assists social shopping and alternative shopping in particular, and on-the-side shopping to some degree.

The retail places which enable social shopping and alternative shopping also configure cosy, homely sensomaterial arrangements. For instance, Jane praised the atmosphere of the street market, i.e. that it felt relaxed and convivial due to the unpacked boxes of fruit and vegetables, the shouting vendors. However, even in a supermarket like Alfo Gross, there are dedicated spaces for socialisation, e.g. tables placed outside, and a diner-like fast-food restaurant located in the lobby. At the Damas restaurant and the haberdashery, for instance, alternative shopping is also enacted in an intimate, homely atmosphere, although clearly with a nostalgic and exotic touch, which extends retail places into distant places and pasts, taking shoppers on journeys with the help of olfactory, auditory, gustatory, and visual elements (cf. Brembeck & Sörum, 2017; Mankekar, 2002; Sjöholm, 2010). However, both convenience shopping and budget shopping, and especially the latter, are oblivious to in-store ‘atmospheres’, although cheapness and practicality clearly have an atmospheric effect. In order to reduce costs, increase flows, many retail places facilitating budget shopping and convenience shopping invest limited amounts of money and energy in decoration, staff, and store maintenance, partially co-constituting the ‘grittiness’ of the shopping geography mentioned above (cf. “setting up”, Schatzki, 2019).

Conversely, while enacting social shopping and alternative shopping, some sensomaterials provide shoppers’ bodies with substance in the form of food and drink, which can be discussed using the direction of ‘inness’. By getting alcohol, for instance, shoppers become keener to socialize with strangers at the restaurant and bar where Ingrid works. Alcohol and food, as ‘vibrant’ sensomaterialities (cf. Bennett, 2010), change shoppers’ moods, shorten social distances, and help to build relations (cf. Miller, 1995). In the organisation of alternative shopping, ingesting food, which tastes of ‘home’ or ‘tourist travel’, is an important activity (cf. “resource-based relation”, Shove, 2016). Similarly, while enacting on-the-side shopping, the purchase and consumption of food and drink in the shopping geography assists and enables other activities being engaged in within the district, e.g. working, studying, going to either formal institutions or the cinema, by supplying shoppers’ bodies with pleasure and energy.

The atmospheric enclosures that modes of shopping are enacted 'in' included cosy and 'homely' spaces in certain retail places, unpretentious, 'gritty' environments in the shopping geography, spaces of nostalgia and exotic adventures, as well as semi-chaotic, under-cared-for spaces of cheapness and fast-flow. In addition, food and drink that is purchased and ingested 'in' the bodies of shoppers supports enactments of the mode of shopping. Hence, also by means of the direction of 'inness', arrangements of sensomaterialities ensure and enable enactments of the modes of shopping in the shopping geography, also co-constituting its vibrancy. Likewise, the modes of shopping also have sensomaterial effects and implications; thus, the modes of shopping are also co-responsible for their vibrant arrangement.

Spatiotemporalities of Shopping

'Spatiotemporality' is based on the idea that space and time should be discussed and referred to in an adjoined manner. Nevertheless, the concept acknowledges and preserves the distinct qualities of spatiality and temporality, thus being a compound term.

Social space is open, dynamic, multiple, uneven, heterogeneous, subjective, and fluid (Gregson & Lowe, 1995; Gregson & Rose, 2000; Rose, 1993; Massey, 2005). It also comes into existence in its interrelationship with social practices, as well as with various sensomaterialities (Schatzki, 2010, 2019). According to Schatzki (2010), distinctions in social spatialities do not differ in quality, and neither do they establish a hierarchical order, instead they are larger or smaller, nearer or further. Thus, spatial distinctions, shapes, forms, distances, and scales are products, they are made, they are social and material effects (Law & Hetherington, 2000; Murdoch, 1998; Seres & Latour, 1995). Their emergence, maintenance, stability and transformation all require continuous work by multiple actors (Law & Mol, 2001). Finally, social spatialities inherently contain movements: shifts through places, which also occur in time (Ingold, 2007c; Latour, 2005b; Schatzki, 2019). There are 'wayfarers', 'travellers', 'passengers' who move along paths, trajectories, and routes, while they 'weave their lives' (Ingold, 2007c). And they are seldom alone, they move together with various sensomaterialities; they carry things, memories, competences, diseases (Calvignac & Cochoy, 2016; Hui, 2012).

Since all human activity has a duration, time is a scarce resource for humans (Giddens, 1984; Shove et al., 2012). In addition, some human activities also have sequences, thus what comes before and after is important (Shove, 2009; Southerton 2006). Social temporalities also have a rhythm, a distinct orchestration of activities, sometimes depending on the synchronisation of social practices (Blue, 2013; Bourdieu, 1972/1977; Southerton, 2006), at other times on the limitations of intuitional regulations, the movements of the Earth and the Moon (Giddens, 1984),

and the bundling of life trajectories with other lives and larger ‘chains of actions’ (Schatzki, 2019). These already-mentioned arrays of rhythms can also have different tempos (speeds), depending on the resistance and assistance of (senso)materialities (Latour, 2005b).

Interrelations between Shopping and Spatiotemporality

Schatzki (2015) emphasises that practice-arrangement bundles, i.e. the bundling of social practices and materiality, make spaces in two different ways: First, these bundles, which also include the bodies of the humans, form ‘objective’ spatial configurations¹¹². The second way in which practice-arrangement bundles interrelate with spatiality is that “they contain interwoven activity timespaces” (Schatzki, 2015:2; see also Schatzki, 2010)¹¹³. Shove et al. (2012, pp. 130-134) argue that there are four ways in which practices interact with space. First of all, social practices need space to happen, and by means of the travelling of their elements (i.e. materials, competences, and meanings, according to Shove et al., 2012), practices can move from one location to another. Second, social practices and space co-constitute each other: As social practices and their elements travel, the combinations of these elements re-make the space. Their third point regarding the relationship between space and social practices involves the kind of spaces defined by social practices. Lastly, similar to Schatzki’s ‘activity timespace’ concept (Schatzki, 2010), they argue that space and time are produced through the enactment of social practices, with their effects sustaining and accumulating in the social world.

When it comes to the interrelationships of social practices with temporality, Giddens makes a distinction between reversible and irreversible time. Nevertheless, Shove (2009) claims that one should focus on “patterns of temporality”. She, just like Bourdieu (1972/1977), points out that the same activity can mean different things during different hours, days, and seasons; social practices are bound to the dimension of temporality from different angles (see also Shove et al., 2012, pp. 127-130). Moreover, Shove also explains that activities are often sequential, and that they also need to compete against other activities for the same time interval (Shove, 2009; also see Shove et al., 2012; Southerton, 2006). Lastly, she also makes it clear that the sense of time is something developed through social practices (Shove, 2009, p. 19; Shove et al., 2012, p. 129).

¹¹² Not to be confused with more common meaning of ‘objective’, as free of subjective interference, according to Schatzki, “[s]omething is objective if it persists independently of human activity, experience, and understanding, even if it is or was effected through human activity” (2015, p. 2).

¹¹³ As regards the first way of making space, his example is waving a hand, which includes inevitably, the space of a hand, while for the latter, he gives the example of a desk; i.e. the same desk can be a place to write, to think, or to listen to a teacher.

Between space, time and human activity, which would also include shopping activities, there is a multifaceted, recursive and constitutive relationship; “interwoven timespaces are a constitutive feature of social phenomena” (Schatzki, 2010, p. x). However, as I did in the previous section, instead of focusing on the different qualities of the interrelationship between the dimension of spatiotemporality and social practices, I look below at the directions of the co-constitutive interrelationship between shopping practices and spatiotemporalities. This is, firstly, in order to have a simpler framework to apply, and most importantly, to be able to demonstrate explicitly how shopping interrelates with the shopping geography and also makes it vibrant in spatiotemporal terms. In order to accomplish this, in dialogue with the empirical data, and taking inspiration from previous literature, I employ four geometric concepts as analogies for the different directions of the interrelationship; i.e. *verticality*, *horizontality*, *circularity*, and *linearity*.

‘Verticality’, in this dissertation, refers to the ways in which progressive (spatio)temporalities, i.e. pasts and futures bearing on the present, make an impact on enacted modes of shopping, and vice versa. But under the heading of ‘horizontality’, I discuss the spatial demarcations, scales, and distances, including their temporal boundary-work and their effects on the modes of shopping. By ‘circularity’, on the other hand, I mean recursive temporalities, i.e. the various repeating rhythms during the enactment of shopping, and their spatial implications. Finally, using the term ‘linearity’, I examine movement and mobility; i.e. the individual and collective paths, trails, routes of shoppers, and the choreographies of shopping. As was also the case in the previous section, the analytical distinctions presented are not clear-cut: They have been formulated for this research project in order to elaborate on the discussion, and there are also messy cases which can fall under more than one ‘direction’.

‘Vertical’ spatiotemporalities of shopping

Vertical spatiotemporalities, which are about the interference of various pasts with the present state, whereby possible plural futures open up (Latour, 2005a; Schatzki, 2010), have an array of implications for shopping on Södergatan. The accumulation of the shopping geography’s pasts by means of material and sensorial layers into the present, for instance the buildings and retail places that have remained, decayed and been dismantled, inform, enable, assist, and constrain the modes of shopping. Historically-cemented sociocultural conventions, individual and collective memories about the district, the street, shops, and past shopping trips, all have clear implications for present enactments of shopping (cf. Certeau, 1980/1984; Certeau et al., 1980/1998). Which direction the district is taking, or believed to be taking, the so-called gentrification and ghettoization of future trajectories, also affect current enactments of shopping. Shoppers’ immediate and more distant future plans and projects are similarly significant (cf. Shove et al., 2012). Finally, in the present,

many parallel presents, lives and wider ‘chains of actions’ are bundled and stretch out into each other (cf. Schatzki, 2019); hence, shopping on the local street and in the district is enacted in a conjunctural manner, not in isolation (cf. Bourdieu, 1972/1977; Randles & Warde, 2006).

Söder and Södergatan have always had the cheapest services and goods in the city, and their inhabitants have had limited budgets ever since their foundation. This quality of Söder seems to be constant, relatively untouched by ‘time’, and inherited from the past. The past dictates what sorts of retail places might survive in the shopping geography, and what might not; therefore, budget shopping is a historical mode of shopping in the district. Similarly, alternative shopping, and to some degree social shopping, heavily lean on the past. Enacting these modes of shopping, shoppers ease their nostalgic longing for ‘lost communities’ in distant pasts and places (cf. Belk & Bryce, 1993), for things they remember or imagine, relying on a set of memories with the ‘pain removed’ (Lowenthal, 1985). In other words, thanks to these modes of shopping, they can take refuge in the past, without totally leaving the present (cf. Berdahl, 1999; Cross, 2005). In particular, alternative shopping is mostly about ‘absence in the present’ and ‘presence in the absent’; the shifts and journeys of vertical spatiotemporalities are critical during the enactment and organisation of this mode of shopping. On the other hand, as is emphasised in the analysis chapters, all the modes of shopping enacted in Söder, including alternative shopping and social shopping, are supported and sustained by a contemporary event and a chain of actions regarding migration and retail decentralisation, both linked to conjunctural ‘globalisation’. That is to say, while enacting alternative shopping and social shopping, the contemporary and the historical support and intermingle with each other.

The existence of small-scale, independent shops which encourage and enable convenience shopping, as well as to some extent budget shopping, social shopping and alternative shopping, is also due to the sensomaterial heritage of the past; shop sizes, employment organisation, layouts, and sociocultural codes are sustained by the resilient tradition of having ‘old school’ mom-and-pop stores in the district (cf. Aretoft, 2011; Folklivsgruppen, 1987). On the other hand, convenience shopping is also momentary, instantaneous: The luxury of unburdening shoppers from past and future planning work makes this mode of shopping appealing. In a sense, for the shoppers who enact convenience shopping, the dismissal of progressive temporality is supported and made possible by the accumulated pasts of the district, its architectural heritage and its retail conventions. Similarly, on-the-side shopping is enacted during ‘excess time’, when the pressures of the past and future are temporarily diminished. However, it also is supported by various past- and future-leaning spatiotemporalities: Most of the ‘attraction stations’ which bring shoppers into the district and onto the street are relatively late modern constructions built during the post-war ‘decontamination era’, or the outcome of recent ‘regeneration’

processes, while many retail places in the shopping geography are the sensomaterial legacies of earlier periods (see, Chapter 4). Accordingly, especially while enacting on-the-side shopping, but also during budget shopping, alternative shopping, and social shopping, shoppers bundle diverse histories, pasts in the present (cf. Latour, 2005a).

In some cases, the enactment of modes of shopping is also informed by future concerns and projects: For instance, since Jane was not planning to stay in Sweden for long, she did not want to invest in costly possessions or enact budget shopping. Near-future projects, e.g. equipping oneself for coming seasonal changes in the weather, can also lead to the enactment of a particular mode of shopping, as was the case for Linda, when she enacted on-the-side shopping because she had remembered she needed warm socks for the coming winter, while already in the shopping geography. Mikaela, on the other hand, was enacting on-the-side shopping in the district mostly because she was excited about the future 'New Söder', i.e. the trajectory she is hoping this shopping geography will be taking, and thus she was enjoying recent middle- and upper-class 'attraction stations' like the Radisson Blu hotel, the art gallery called Kulturhotellet, and the renovated 'Söder' mall. Similarly, some other shoppers combined shopping with these newer establishments in order to counteract it becoming a 'ghetto' in the future, and to advance the diversity of the shopping geography.

The 'vertical' direction of the interrelationship between the modes of shopping and the spatiotemporalities of the shopping geography particularly concerns the rich, heterogeneous history of the district, manifested in sociocultural conventions and sensomaterial arrangements. Similarly, the collective and individual memories, the escape from the present into various remembered and imagined pasts, as well as future projects, are important in the organisation of modes of shopping. On the other hand, especially in the case of convenience shopping and attached shopping, being in the 'moment', at the expense of pasts and futures, is significant. These spatiotemporal dynamics enable the modes of shopping, and they also manifest themselves in sensomaterial arrangements of the shopping geography. Thus, they too acquire agency in shaping the street into its current vibrant form. They are required by the modes of shopping; therefore, shopping also partially shapes and sustains the vertical spatiotemporal dimension of the street and the district. For instance, shopping influences which past sensomaterial arrangements are maintained, inherited by the present, which of them would be dismantled, and how they would be replaced.

'Horizontal' spatiotemporalities of shopping

In the case of shopping in Söder and on Södergatan, the direction of the 'horizontality', which is primarily about the 'regionalisation' of space and its interrelationship with social practices (Giddens, 1984), manifests itself in the

spatiotemporal divisions of the shops, buildings, street, district, but also as (time)spaces of comfort, home, socialisation, isolation, and segregation (cf. Schatzki, 2010, 2015). All these demarcations of spatialities in the shopping geography, based on size, scale, shape, distance, and activities, are relative, dynamic and fluid, yet of different densities and viscosities (cf. Law & Hetherington, 2000; Schatzki, 2010).

In convenience shopping, the spatial ‘nearness’, the experienced lack of ‘distance’ to retail places, provided comfort for the shoppers; i.e. to be able to walk from home to the shops in a short time, without encountering any significant obstacles (Latour, 2005b). On the other hand, this was not always the case for Zahra, due to her gendered sense of insecurity regarding the street at night-time; what was ‘near’ during the daytime, became ‘far’ for her during the dark hours, and constrained her enactment of shopping. ‘Nearness’ is also a key spatial element of on-the-side shopping; the perceived and experienced ‘nearness’ encourages the ‘informed improvisation’ required for the mode of shopping. Hence, it is important that the primary destination in Söder and on Södergatan is felt to be ‘near’ by shoppers to the retail places in order for this mode of shopping to be enacted. The retail places and ‘attraction stations’ need to be frictionlessly connected: There should be shops ‘near’ the swimming pool, or the cinema, or the tax department, or the bus stop in order to encourage on-the-side shopping.

The ‘smallness’ of retail places, as a dynamic scale, is another horizontal spatiotemporal feature, which primarily encourages convenience shopping, but also alternative shopping, social shopping, and sometimes budget shopping. The smaller sizes and compact shapes of retail places facilitate shoppers’ navigation, with the goods on the shelves, and in the freezers and boxes, becoming available at ‘arm’s length’; shopping becomes convenient. The same ‘small’ size can also help in creating intimacy outside of busy hours, in facilitating co-human interaction and cohesion and, subsequently, in social shopping. It also lowers costs for retailers because they will seldom need to employ additional staff, apart from themselves or their family members, to manage their establishments and to serve and monitor their shoppers, and thus they will dare to vend alternative or cheaper services and goods.

The sociomaterial border that is Trädgårdsgatan (Högdahl, 2007), the street separating Söder from the old town centre, favours social shopping, budget shopping, alternative shopping, and convenience shopping: However, it has the opposite effect as regards on-the-side shopping. The pulling power of the ‘attraction stations’ needs to be strong enough to convince shoppers to pass this segregation border, this threshold, shoppers who would otherwise prefer other shopping geographies. However, for the retailers who facilitate all the other modes of shopping, this spatial demarcation of the district means lower and more stable rents, since they do not need to compete over retail space with mainstream, chain retailers.

Therefore, traditional craft stores would be able to survive in the same location for a long time in the shopping geography. Likewise, since entry costs are lower, migrant entrepreneurs, with their alternative, cheaper goods, and “old school way of serving”, can start retail businesses in the local shopping street more easily. Thus, the segregation of Söder and Södergatan, in one way preserves and encourages retail and shopping diversity in the city. Consequently, the speed of change takes on a duality in the shopping geography; fast, due to new entrepreneurs continuously trying their chances, and slow, due to the preservation and resurrection of so-called pre-modern forms of retailing. In other words, spatial segregation creates temporal dissonance with the rest of the city, resulting in heterotopic and heterochronic retail places.

Lastly, social shopping and partially alternative shopping both create and require private, intimate spaces making a distinction between ‘inside and outside’ (cf. Seamon, 2000). These divisions are both established and sustained by rigid sensomaterial arrangements, and by activities which produce ephemeral, fluid spaces of recognition, spaces of socialisation, spaces of nostalgia etc. Transitory regionalisation is also significant for budget shopping, e.g. the construction of temporary sales corners in shops (cf. Kelsey et al., 2018), and the dynamic spatial organisation of the street market, where vendors’ stalls are simple, mobile, and adaptable (cf. Petersson McIntyre, 2009).

The ‘horizontal’ direction of the interrelationship between spatiotemporalities and shopping is critical in the shopping geography, particularly due to the experienced ‘nearness’ and ‘smallness’ of retail places, which support almost all of the modes of shopping. Furthermore, the spatiotemporal segregation of Söder from the old town centre has implications for social conventions, rental costs, and retail variety, and encourages all modes of shopping apart from attached shopping. Finally, more fluid, ephemeral spatial divisions, which are mostly created by human activities, but with the help of sensomaterial arrangements, enable social shopping, budget shopping, and alternative shopping. The already-mentioned spatiotemporal regionalisations assist the enactments of modes of shopping on the local street; thus they also gain agency as regards how these modes of shopping co-constitute the shopping geography as a vibrant part of the city. They are necessary for the modes of shopping, and thus shopping is also responsible for these dynamic spatiotemporal divisions emerging and sustaining.

‘Circular’ spatiotemporalities of shopping

The circular spatiotemporalities, which are primarily about the recurrent rhythms of the social world and also depend on the rotatory movements of the Earth and the Moon (cf. Giddens, 1984), have a variety of implications for shopping on Södergatan and in Söder. This is because they are related to notions of days, nights, months, seasons, and years, and as well as the conceptions attached to these cycles,

e.g. birthdays, annual celebrations, commemoration days, seasonal groceries, meal times, holidays, weather conditions, working hours, school hours, sleeping hours, hours when noise is permitted, paydays, weekends, opening hours of retail places, weekdays, rush hours, sunsets etc. (cf. Giddens, 1984; Shove et al., 2012). Hence, the circular rhythms are, too, about synchronizing different social practices with shopping and creating practice bundles (cf. Southerton, 2006), as is the case, for instance, when coordinating shopping with after-work activities. Additionally, how shoppers enact shopping also has links with the bodily rhythms of walking, the heartbeat, breathing, sleep, hunger, thirst, menstruation, and excretion (cf. Blue, 2013).

As I explained earlier, the generous opening hours of the retail places until late, including weekends, is what particularly reinforces convenience shopping in the shopping geography. In that sense, convenience shopping on Södergatan and in Söder challenges the traditional dichotomy of daytime and night-time activities, and extends shopping into the dark hours of the day. Thus, it enhances what has been occurring in the modern age (Melbin, 1978, Giddens, 1984), i.e. the ‘nocturnalisation’ of city life (cf. Koslofsky, 2011; Shaw, 2018). This is, among other things, mostly thanks to the proliferation of electricity and the development of lighting technology (Garnert, 1993), which effectively reveals the environment and channels shopper movements (cf. Bille & Sørensen; 2007). Convenience shopping also contributes to the ongoing prolongation of shopping into weekends, particularly Sundays, in accordance with the secularization of Sweden (Engstrand, 2007). Budget shopping, and to some extent on-the-side shopping, have a similar circular relationship with spatiotemporality; long opening hours strengthen the modes of shopping. Merchandizing cheaper services and goods is often compensated for by longer opening hours in order to increase overall revenues, despite prices, in the case of the street market, typically going down just before dusk. Opening retail places until late also makes it possible to combine other night-time activities with shopping, while enacting on-the-side shopping, e.g. having bite to eat after a cinema visit, or a night out.

The seasons, too, have implications for the modes of shopping, e.g. winter discourages on-the-side shopping, convenience shopping, and to some extent budget shopping: Going to a ‘nearby’ shop, combining activities, and monitoring prices between places would mean exposure to hostile weather conditions, when a cold wind, rain, and snow make an otherwise relatively frictionless route a rough one for shoppers (cf. Ingold, 2015; Latour, 2005b). This runs contrary to social shopping and alternative shopping, which often require semi-private spaces where the tempo is lower: Thus, the winter, when being indoors is more enjoyable than being outside, encourages the modes of shopping, since being in a smaller venue creates a sense of intimacy and inspires social interaction and cohesion (cf. Oldenburg, 2001; Sennett, 1977b). In addition, the coupling of winter with the socio-religious annual

celebration of Christmas further reinforces a sense of togetherness while shopping, despite many shoppers and retailers in Söder and on Södergatan not being Christians. Winter is also associated with the sales in Sweden, and thus also budget shopping, particularly at the few clothing stores left in the shopping geography. However, most groceries are more expensive during the winter. The summertime often has the opposite effect on the modes of shopping due to the 'pleasant weather' it provides, the availability of open-air events in the shopping geography, and shoppers' tendency to spend more time outdoors.

The synchronisation of shopping with institutional, organisational, and leisure rhythms, e.g. rush hours, work and study hours, lunch hours, and holiday activities, is essential for the enactment of on-the-side shopping. While on-the-side shopping happens in the spatiotemporal nodes of movement, social shopping and alternative shopping, however, require a retreat away from the urban hustle, rush hours, instead thriving at slower tempos, in calmer retail places, which make it possible to become immersed in sociocultural and sensomaterial surroundings. Although in a different manner, a feature of convenience shopping that also appeals is freeing up shopping from the burden of synchronizing it with other activities and practices. It does not need to be squeezed into the journey from work to home, for instance, and neither does it need to be coupled with 'family time' at the weekends. Convenience shopping is available to be enacted whenever this is suitable and desired; regardless of the hour, day, or night, or whether it is a weekday or the weekend; as long as it gets its tempo, it does not have a rhythm.

Circularity is primarily about how recursive temporalities, with their spatial implications, are related to shopping in Söder and on Södergatan. It has been pointed out that the institutional rhythms, but also the cycles of the Earth and the Moon, which manifest themselves are essential to how shopping is organized, and also to how it is synchronised with other social practices. Nevertheless, the circular interrelationship with spatiotemporalities and modes of shopping is neither homogenous nor harmonious: While a certain recursive temporality, e.g. winter, supports one particular mode of shopping, it might discourage another. Regardless of this, by means of the direction of their circularity, spatiotemporalities acquire agency in the organisation and enactment of shopping on the street and in the district, and thus in the making of a vibrant shopping geography. Yet, the same enactments of shopping also have a role in the organisation of rhythms on the local street, while modes of shopping influence how shoppers develop a sense of some recursive temporalities, e.g. winters or nights, by associating particular shopping activities with them.

'Linear' spatiotemporalities of shopping

In Söder and on Södergatan, the linear¹¹⁴ interrelationship with spatiotemporalities and shopping, which focuses on movement and mobility (cf. Ingold, 2007c, 2015), includes the activities of walking in the street, strolling, walking between and inside retail places, stopping, as well as cycling, driving, and taking the bus to and from the shopping geography (cf. Hansson, 2014; Hui, 2012). Depending on the mode of shopping they are enacting, shoppers move in different rhythms, at different tempos, taking various trails, paths or routes, often in the company of others too. These ways of moving are usually bundled with the carrying of goods using plastic bags, backpacks, handbags, wheeled shopping bags, bicycle baskets, and baby buggies (cf. Calvignac & Cochoy, 2016; Cochoy, 2009; Grandclément, 2006; Hagberg, 2016).

For convenience shopping, it is important that there is little sensomaterial resistance to shopper mobility (cf. Latour, 2005b), that pavements, roads, and bicycle lanes are smooth and free from obstacles, that shop floors are level and 'frictionless', in order, for instance, to be able to push shopping trolleys with ease (cf. Hansson, 2014). Shoppers, while convenience shopping, are inattentive to their surroundings: They take the shortest route possible, at a relatively high but still comfortable speed, and with little cargo to carry home. In that sense, the mobility trajectories of shoppers enacting convenience shopping are more weighted towards 'transporting' than 'wayfaring', in Ingold's terms (2007c), in contrast to social shopping. Social shopping's movement tempo is lower in order to make stops and detours to exchange words with and greet friends, strangers and acquaintances (cf. Certeau et al., 1980/1998). Second, this mode of shopping does not have a 'destination', as does convenience shopping. Shoppers do not pick a 'route', they walk along an erratic 'trail', frequently pausing: What is important here is the socialisation 'in-between', the creating of a sense of togetherness 'along the way' (cf. Ingold, 2007a).

Wayfaring can be also combined with transportation while enacting modes of shopping. For instance, in social shopping, shoppers cycle or take the bus to the shopping geography: However, once they are in the district, they switch to walking and make themselves available for social approaches. In on-the-side shopping, while reaching the 'attraction stations', the process is typically not important. However, once they are already in the district, shoppers switch from being 'passengers' to being 'travellers', to flâneuse and flâneur even, and to investigate and observe surroundings during their 'extra' 'time to kill' (cf. Ehn & Löfgren,

¹¹⁴ The analogy of 'linearity' is inspired by Ingold's investigation of 'lines' in the social world (Ingold, 2015), which is not similar to the straight geometric line; i.e. the shortest route from one static dot to another, i.e. the modernist interpretation of 'linearity'. Rather, it is about the traces left on material surfaces due to movement, and the threads that are interwoven during the course of moving (Ingold, 2007a), creating a 'meshwork of habitation' (Ingold, 2007c).

2010). Yet, it is also possible for shoppers to take the opportunity to enact on-the-side shopping in a more teleological way, such as John did while combining a change of bus with a quick bit of shopping at the street market. In that case, the shopper tempo would be faster while the rhythm is uniform. Similarly, during the enacting of alternative shopping, shoppers sometimes pick ‘routes’, i.e. Megan cycling into the district just to buy Iraqi bread from a fast-food restaurant and back, while at other times, their movements happen along ‘trails’, taking the form of ‘wayfaring’ (cf. Ingold, 2007c), while immersing themselves in a nostalgic ‘journey’ to longed-for pasts and places.

The mobility embedded in budget shopping has more of a zigzagging character; it constantly shifts between ‘wayfaring’ and ‘transporting’. Due to the activity of price comparison and price monitoring, shoppers need to have an updated understanding of the price tags, price cards, and promotional signs of different retail places, moving between these and enacting the mode of shopping accordingly (cf. Hagberg & Kellberg, 2015). While their speed between retail places might be high, they lower their tempo upon engaging with the price representations of the services and goods. However, when budget shopping is integrated with the bargain-hunting activity, the ‘meshwork of trails’ gains an even more complicated nature since there needs to be active searching for the ‘bargain’, and since it is not always obvious where and when the ‘hunt’ will end (cf. Darke et al., 1995). Therefore, while they are bargain-hunting, shoppers are more observant, moving more in an exploratory manner.

The mobilities that the modes of shopping encourage and make possible in the shopping geography are heterogeneous: They are slow or fast, have a wayfaring or transporting character, and sometimes either pick a straight route or unfold along an erratic path. This complex choreography of shopper mobility is also accomplished in concert with different carrying and transportation devices, e.g. bicycles, backpacks, and shopping bags, and also in negotiation with other materialities, e.g. light, air, and pavements. The described multiplicity of trails, paths, and routes should be celebrated as the rhythmic richness of the shopping geography, which also ensures the multi-speed and manifold vibrancy of the district. Thus, in its diversity, and also by means of the direction of linearity, the dimension of spatiotemporality becomes fundamental to the organisation of shopping in Söder and on Södergatan, while the enacted modes of shopping simultaneously leave their ‘traces’ in the shopping geography and weave this place using ‘threads’ and ‘lines’ (cf. Ingold, 2015).

Conclusions

In this chapter, the aim was to provide a detailed investigation of the ways in which modes of shopping co-constitute the local street into its vibrant current state, both in terms of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality. To be able to illustrate and discuss how enacted modes of shopping interrelate with the sensomaterialities and spatiotemporalities of the shopping geography, in dialogue with the empirical research, practice theory and other relevant literature, I have formulated four directions of this interrelationship for each dimension. First, the interrelationships between modes of shopping and the sensomaterial arrangement of the shopping geography are presented under the directions of ‘onness’, ‘throughness’, ‘withness’, and ‘inness’. Subsequently, in a similar manner, I deliberated upon the interrelationships between shopping and spatiotemporalities by employing the geometrical analogies of ‘verticality’, ‘horizontality’, ‘circularity’, and ‘linearity’.

‘Onness’ indicates relatively stable surfaces and barriers, as well as the openings supplied by the sensomaterialities of Söder and Södergatan that enable, assist, constrain, and facilitate modes of shopping, e.g. the pavements, roads, doors, walls, and shop windows of the retail places, as well as the shelves and shop counters. Using the interrelationship direction of ‘throughness’, there is deliberation upon how shopping is enacted while employing sensomaterialities as a medium; this can be the bodies of shoppers, air, light, electricity, and the Internet. This direction also encompasses how different meanings are established and communicated ‘through’ sensomaterialities while shopping. ‘Withness’, on the other hand, implies the more pragmatic utilisation of various sensomaterialities as ‘shopping devices’, as is the case when using shopping trolleys, shopping bags or credit cards while enacting shopping. The fourth direction of the interrelationship between modes of shopping and sensomateriality, ‘inness’, suggests a two-fold relationship. It implies that the sensomaterial arrangements of retail places provide atmospheric enclosures, e.g. instance the chaotic arrangement of a shop or the ‘nostalgic’ atmosphere of the street market. Also, some sensomaterials become part of the shoppers’ body ‘stuff’ in the shopping geography, when taking ‘in’ drink or food for consumption. Every mode of shopping analysed in this book interrelates with the sensomaterialities of the shopping geography through these directions, but in different and sometimes conflicting ways.

When it comes to interrelations between shopping and spatiotemporalities, ‘verticality’ is defined in this study as progressive temporality, the collapse of pasts and futures in the present, together with their spatial manifestations. Progressive social temporalities are discussed, both through the shoppers’ pasts, their future projects, as well as through the temporalities of the shopping geography, its sensomaterially accumulated retail history, and its unfolding future ghettoization and gentrification trajectories. ‘Horizontality’, on the other hand, is formulated as it

is primarily about 'regionalisation', that is spatial demarcations, borders, as well as the relative notions of distance and size, which are continuously being contested and negotiated. The segregation of the shopping geography from the old city centre, the demarcation of retail places, various ephemeral spaces, which emerge and are sustained by means of activities, experienced 'nearness', and the 'smallness' of retail places, are examples of this direction. 'Circularity' is also a predominantly temporal direction of interrelationship, designating the recursive, reversible temporalities, rhythms, and their spatial implications for modes of shopping. Cycles like weekends, seasons, day and night, annual holidays, and institutional work rhythms, as well as human cycles like sleep, resting, and hunger all have a substantial influence on how shopping is enacted on the local street and in the district, also being synchronised with other social practices and activities. Lastly, the concept of 'linearity' is employed to underline mobility and movement in the district and on the street. All the modes of shopping analysed in the book imply different mobilities and transportations, and wayfaring and carrying activities, which are assisted and resisted by different sensomaterialities. They all have a direct impact on how the 'choreography' of movements occurring in the shopping geography are organized.

The explained and discussed directions of the interrelationships between the modes of shopping and the sensomateriality shape the street and the district from 'below', asking for 'onness', 'inness', 'throughness', and 'withness'. Because modes of shopping need these for their enactment, they are co-responsible for their emergence and maintenance. This co-constitution process is done in a much more complex and multifaceted manner than any kind of top-down managerial or planning strategy can accomplish. While injecting life into the shopping geography, as a part of this process, the modes of shopping also co-constitute Södergatan and Söder in their vibrant sensomateriality; the air, smells, colours, bodies, pavements, Internet connection, street lights, counters, shelves, in-store decoration, vehicles, bags, shopping trolleys, shop windows and goods. Nevertheless, through this co-constitutive interrelationship, the sensomaterial arrangement of the shopping geography also gains agency during this process; it ensures, maintains, and encourages the very modes of shopping that are to be enacted. Similarly, various pasts and futures, different spatial divisions and forms, recursive social rhythms, and the web of mobility trajectories, tempos, enable and encourage the modes of shopping enacted in the shopping geography, consequently also ensuring and contributing to the co-constitution of a vibrant street and district. In turn, the enactment of modes of shopping maintains, reproduces, and dismantles these spatiotemporalities, and shoppers' understanding of them. They shape what is remaining, forgotten, and emerging in the shopping geography, as well as the rhythms, tempos, trails within it: They influence how multiple spatiotemporalities manifest themselves in the district and on the local street. With the help of these

four directions of the interrelationships between shopping and spatiotemporalities, as well as the directions of the interrelationships between shopping and sensomaterialities, I have illustrated that modes of shopping are entangled with and co-constitute the shopping geography, in multiple, dynamic, comprehensive and complex ways, into its vibrant state. Accordingly, shopping, when bundled with other social practices, co-constitutes the district and the local street as *praxitopia*; places made through social practices.

Chapter 11: The Making of Vibrant Shopping Street

Shopping and trade have been injecting vibrancy into our cities and town centres for centuries. This relationship, as I also described at the beginning of this dissertation, has been contested over the last couple of decades, along with the decentralisation and replacement of retail by out-of-town establishments (Ferne, 1995; Hubbard, 2017; Kärrholm & Nylund, 2011; Wrigley & Lambiri, 2015). This phenomenon has generated discomfort among politicians, researchers, and citizens, fearing that the ‘void’ emerging in town centres could lead to significant social problems (Hudges & Jackson, 2015; Oram et al., 2003).

As Helsingborg, a mid-sized port city in south Sweden, is closely connected to global developments and wider ‘chains of actions’ in the world, the decentralization of retail away from the town centre is also something that has manifested itself in the city (Aslan & Fredriksson, 2017a). In particular, during public debates, the stigmatized, ‘superdiverse’ and central district of Söder, and its main street Södergatan, are portrayed as though they had already lost the battle. Yet, during my initial fieldwork, I documented the fact that there were many shoppers in the district and on the street, and that vacant shops were quickly being filled with new retail establishments, mostly run by entrepreneurs who had moved from other countries. The research problem dealt with in this book has emerged from the noted contradiction between the claimed ‘death’ of town centre retail and the observed ‘vibrancy’ of the research site. I have sought to develop a profound understanding of the dynamics that keep this shopping geography vibrant, despite many known chain retailers having left the district and the street during recent decades.

There is a lack of knowledge of shopping activities on the local streets of mid-sized cities like Helsingborg. The majority of the scholarly work done focuses on the retailer side, on the architectural organisation of the streets, generally investigating local streets in larger global cities, which have peculiar dynamics and conditions. However, there are thousands of local streets like Södergatan all around the world; the everyday shopping geographies of ordinary towns where ‘common people’ meet, greet, connect, disconnect, avoid, update each other, learn and perform differences, where they fulfil some of their basic needs, run their daily errands, purchase their bread, repair their shoes, have their hair cut, and where they develop a sense of belonging, creating ‘homes’, ‘sanctuaries’ beyond their households and making meaning for their entangled lives while consuming services and goods (cf. Hall, 2011; Hubbard, 2016; Zukin, 2012). We need to know more about these shopping geographies, about their sociocultural, sensomaterial, and spatiotemporal dimensions, the shopping activities that enable and assist, because they are vital, indispensable parts of our shared urban civilisation. This research project finds its

relevance in this knowledge gap. Throughout this dissertation, I have aspired to conceptualize and empirically illustrate how a vibrant local shopping street in a mid-sized city is made using enactments of shopping, while simultaneously being shaped by it.

In order to reach to this research aim, I have predominantly drawn upon practice theory (e.g. Certeau et al., 1980/1984; Schatzki, 1996; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005), albeit in close dialogue with other relevant literature in ‘cultural’, ‘material’ and ‘affective’ turns in the social sciences (e.g. Anderson, 2009; Cochoy, 2016; Gregson et al., 2002b; Miller, 1998; Kärrholm, 2012; Rose et al., 2010). The research data was collected using video ethnographic investigation (e.g. Martens & Scott, 2017; Pink, 2007a), mostly in the form of shop-along and go-along interviews. The chosen theoretical and methodological frameworks particularly helped me to scrutinize and differentiate between enactments of shopping, and to detail shopping’s multifaceted and dynamic interrelation with the shopping geography.

In the rest of this final chapter, I first crystallise the findings of my research, whereby I describe the identified modes of shopping and their entanglement with the street and the district via the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality. This part is followed by a presentation of the implications of my research for town centre management policies, while also relating to the state of the art regarding that matter. Finally, I summarize the main contributions of my research.

Shopping on a Local Street in a ‘Super-diverse’ District

In this dissertation, I have investigated five major modes of shopping which are enacted on Södergatan and in Söder. As distinct ways of enacting shopping, as I frame them, these are ‘convenience shopping’, ‘on-the-side shopping’, ‘social shopping’, ‘alternative shopping’, and ‘budget shopping’ and they are analysed in separate chapters. The analysis chapters are guided by the developed definition of a mode of shopping, formulated as: *a sensomaterially and spatiotemporally enacted set of activities in, for and by praxitopia, which might lead to the acquisition of services and goods, distinguished on the basis of how they are linked by rules, competences, and teleoaffectivities*. In other words, while analysing modes of shopping, I have looked at how the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality are intertwined with the identified modes of shopping, examining the activities that comprise them, and I have also investigated the associated services and goods. I have, in addition, also paid attention to the necessary competences and skills, the rules and regulations concerned, and the aims, moods, intentions, emotions, and senses embedded in the organisation of the modes of shopping.

Lastly, I have also examined how they jointly co-constitute the local shopping street where they are enacted, while recursively being shaped by it.

Using the dimension of *sensomateriality*, a concept I introduced in this dissertation, I have emphasised that moods, affects, emotions, and feelings are intertwined with, for example, things, technologies, air, light, bodies, earth, and architecture in the social world. Hence, while examining shopping, the materialities which compose the street are analysed and discussed together with their sensorial effects. Likewise, by employing the already-established concept of *spatiotemporality*, I have emphasised that the notions of space and time are inseparably interwoven. Accordingly, in the dissertation, I have discussed the spatial properties of modes of shopping together with their temporal implications in an adjoined manner, and vice versa. *Praxitopia*, another concept I have introduced in this dissertation, marks the fact that the places of the social world are not external to social practices; on the contrary, in the social world, places are essentially the products of social practices. In particular, I understand ‘praxitopia’ in terms of being *transitory sensomaterial arrangements of spatiotemporalities, co-constituted through enactments of social practices*. In this research, the concept signifies and emphasises the interwoven and constitutive interrelationship between the enactment of modes of shopping and the shopping geography under study.

Enacted modes of shopping

‘Convenience shopping’ consists of activities that may lead to the purchasing of mostly everyday services and goods, being encouraged by the spatiotemporal availability and the sensomaterial accessibility. The mode of shopping is supported by relatively loose regulations concerning opening hours and self-employment conditions, as well as shoppers’ practical knowledge of the existence of everyday items and services at retail places. However, in particular, it is the feeling of enjoyment deriving from the experienced luxury of not needing to plan shopping which gives convenience shopping its orientation.

‘Social shopping’, on the other hand, contains activities which encourage social interaction and interpersonal cohesion among fellow shoppers and retail workers, something which, during the process, can lead to the purchasing of services or goods. These activities are organized through place-specific socialisation codes and conventions, and their knowledge, as well as the regulations governing store signs, layouts, and storefronts which provide convivial, social atmospheres assisting the mode of shopping. Yet, social shopping is primarily about longing for intimacy, togetherness, socialisation, and community-building, while shopping in the urban space.

‘On-the-side shopping’ contains activities which could semi-spontaneously lead to the purchasing of services and goods in the shopping geography, where the original

intention behind arriving there is something other than shopping. Thus, in this mode of shopping, shopping is enacted 'on-the-side' of an array of everyday work- and 'leisure'-related events and activities. These activities are organized by means of regulations governing the opening hours of institutions, schools, workplaces, and activity centres, as well as zoning plans and the organisation of public transportation. In order to enact this mode of shopping, shoppers need to be aware of and prepared for the possibility of combining these activities; likewise, they must enjoy and embrace partial suddenness, 'informed spontaneity'.

'Alternative shopping' is composed of activities which may lead to the purchase of unique services and goods, which are excluded from today's mainstream shopping geographies. It is particularly about shopping activities enacted in 'alternative' retail places, diverging from the 'here' and 'now' and stretching from distances and from pasts. These bundled activities are facilitated by contemporary trading laws, as well as regulations governing food packaging and payment systems. Religious, ethno-cultural, and historically-developed rules, customs and conventions are similarly important. To make sense of, and be able to use, specialized services and goods, shoppers ought to possess a specific historical and cultural competence. The driving force behind this mode of shopping is, however, wanting and enjoying these heterodox, unusual, and deviant services, goods and retail places, which extend through time and space.

Finally, 'budget shopping' concerns activities that may lead to the purchase of cheaper services and goods primarily due to being on a limited budget. Rules and regulations governing the importing of goods, price representations, the rigid standards of the mainstream retail place regarding the form and lifespan of goods, as well as the organisation of the labour market, are all significant for the enablement of the mode of shopping. In order to enact this mode of shopping, shoppers need to accumulate knowledge of the multiplicity of prices both inside and outside the shopping geography, and they are also required to have delicate skills when it comes to engaging in trade-offs. Nevertheless, budget shopping is mainly about aiming to acquire services and goods at lower prices than normal, something which is accompanied by feelings of joy, satisfaction, and pride.

A vibrant shopping geography

The modes of shopping identified and analysed accentuate the fact that local streets such as Södergatan have exceptional and diverse shopping qualities, thus holding a vital position in our cities, from social, cultural, and economic perspectives. For instance, the enablement of convenience shopping lifts the shopping geography of the city as regards the comfort, ease, accessibility and availability it provides. Therefore, the mode of shopping co-constitutes the vibrancy of the shopping geography during most parts of the day, and every day, by securing generous opening hours for the retail places and providing constant shopper movements on

the street and in the district. Analysis of social shopping shows that encouraging a 'sense of togetherness' may be valid a strategy for regenerating and revitalising deprived shopping geographies. Social shopping dampens shoppers' tempos, ensuring that they stay in retail places for longer: Due to the social and cultural bonds developed with other shoppers and retail workers, this mode of shopping also guarantees 'shopper loyalty' and recurring shopping tours. It 'privatises' otherwise 'public' urban spaces, and transforms the shopping geography into a space of recognition and care. On-the-side shopping injects vibrancy into the district and the local street by aligning multiple, seemingly unrelated activities with shopping, e.g. working, taking the bus, going to school, seeing a movie. It converts 'visitors' to the district and the street into 'shoppers' of the shopping geography, and it anchors retail places around 'attraction stations'. Alternative shopping, on the other hand, asks for and sustains unique and specialized ranges and craftsmanship in the shopping geography. It also preserves and sets up special sensomaterial arrangements in retail places, which stretch out into individual and collective pasts and remote places, into distant 'homes', into 'exotic' destinations, into persistent memories, and imagined olden days. Hence, the mode of shopping, too, co-constitutes the local street and the district as vibrant places, in that it attracts shoppers from the whole city who are seeking 'asylum' from what is 'here and now', who are escaping from increasingly homogenous mainstream shopping geographies. Lastly, budget shopping makes the shopping geography appealing to many shoppers who have limited purchasing power. It democratises shopping and sustains lives, while also stimulating joy, pride and satisfaction by empowering resistance to mainstream retail companies and their pricing strategies.

Consequently, all five of these modes of shopping cement and are bundled with each other, in doing this, they simultaneously make the shopping geography a distinct place in the city; they co-constitute its vibrant uniqueness. Their entanglement ensures their continuity and endurance and, while supporting each other in various ways, they also stabilise the local street as a dynamic place.

Co-constituting a vibrant shopping geography

The bundled modes of shopping co-constitute the vibrancy of the local street and the district in complex ways, in both the sensomaterial and the spatiotemporal dimensions, as I deliberated upon in the previous chapter. Modes of shopping shape the place into its vibrant state from 'below', by engaging with the shopping geography's sensomateriality in the directions of 'onness', 'throughness', 'withness' and 'inness', a framework inspired by Ingold's account of materiality providing substance, surface, and medium to the social world (2007b, see also Gibson, 1979/2014). The direction of 'onness' clarifies what shopping activities ask for, and thus they are co-responsible for the existence of surfaces, barriers, and openings in the shopping geography, e.g. pavements, doors, walls, shelves, shop

windows, and counters. In the case of the direction of 'throughness', the modes of shopping employ sensomaterialities as media. Since shopping requires these media, e.g. the bodies inside the shopping geography, its air, light, electricity, and even the Internet, it also co-constitutes them. 'Withness' indicates a utilitarian relationship, the use of various sensomaterialities in the form of devices used while enacting modes of shopping, thus shopping co-constitutes the presence of, for instance, shopping trolleys, shopping bags, goods, bicycles or credit cards in the shopping geography. In the case of the direction of 'inness', modes of shopping demand specific sensomaterial arrangements, atmospheric enclosures, e.g. cosy, homely, familiar, messy, welcoming, and exotic retail places. Consequently, while injecting conviviality, the analysed modes of shopping also co-constitute the shopping geography on the sensomaterial level. They make the shopping geography's vibrant sensomaterialities, while at the same time being shaped by them.

In addition to the sensomaterial dimension, the bundled modes of shopping also co-constitute spatiotemporal dynamics, rhythms, demarcations, and movements in similarly complex ways, through the formulated interrelationship directions of 'verticality', 'horizontality', 'circularity', and 'linearity', a framework developed as a result of engagement with the previous literature. In the case of the direction of 'verticality', merging the various pasts and futures of the shoppers and the district with their presents, modes of shopping interfere with which bodies, stores, and buildings remain, dismantle or decay. The modes of shopping, in the case of the direction of 'verticality', also have an influence on what kinds of sensomaterial arrangements, retail formats, infrastructures, and shoppers emerge in the shopping geography. The bundle of the modes of shopping, in the case of the 'horizontal' interrelation, on the other hand, co-constitutes the regionalisation of the shopping geography, e.g. the segregation of the district away from the rest of the city, and the demarcation of retail spaces. These divisions might take more rigid forms, e.g. the sizes and shapes of the stores or the sections in them, made using shelves, racks, and counters, as well as more ephemeral divisions, e.g. sale corners or intimate spaces created through social interaction. The modes of shopping, in the case of the 'circular' direction of the interrelationship, also affect how recursive social temporalities manifest themselves in the shopping geography. They do this by synchronizing with, or decoupling from, various recurrent social and physical rhythms, e.g. by avoiding or embracing rush hours due to work and school, weekends, annual holidays, and seasons, or by challenging traditional nocturnal idleness. Lastly, in the case of the formulated direction of 'linearity', bundled modes of shopping choreograph movements in the shopping geography, as well as the paths and trails of shoppers' bodies, vehicles, carrying devices, and their routes and traces. Therefore, while injecting conviviality into the shopping geography, in addition to shaping its vibrant sensomaterial arrangement, the modes of shopping also make an impact on the local street's and district's spatiotemporal dimension, co-creating its

dynamism. Recursively, the modes of shopping are also formed by spatiotemporal dynamics.

These multidirectional interrelationships between the modes of shopping and the dimensions of sensomateriality and spatiotemporality, discussed in this dissertation project, co-constitute the local shopping street and the district as a diverse, open, dynamic, fluid and vibrant shopping geography. In other words, the shopping geography encompasses multiple rhythms, heterogeneous movements, speeds, bodies, goods, atmospheres, sounds, smells, various spatial forms, sizes, borders, stores, air, ruins and memories of the past, as well as future aspirations, thanks partly to the modes of shopping enacted on the street and in the district. Shopping, together with other social practices, co-constitutes the place's vibrancy in complex ways, and thus the street and the district acquire the quality of becoming *praxitopia*, a place made through social practices. Hence, the modes of shopping are enacted *in* praxitopia but also *for* and *by* praxitopia, in the sense that shopping makes the very place in which it unfolds, while recursively being shaped by it.

Saving Town Centres

What are the implications of this dissertation project for city planning and town-centre management? What do its findings say about the mentioned phenomenon of 'town centre death', which it garnered its research problem from?

On the topic of town-centre 'death', occurring due to retail decentralisation and replacement, many articles, books, and reports have been written, commissioned, published over the last three decades, with countless consultancy firms selling their services to municipalities, regions, and states with the aim of examining the 'damage' and offering 'cures. Above all, there is a demand for a clear central and local political will to focus on the 'health' of shopping streets and town centres. Accordingly, with the aim of reversing retail decentralisation, and putting the 'town centre first', some countries have implemented a number of regulatory legislations which restrict the establishment of new out-of-town malls (Wrigley & Lambiri, 2015; Wrigley & Lowe, 2002). In addition, a certain level of deregulation of retail places in town centres is proposed, particularly concerning business rates/taxes, while making it difficult for property owners to keep stores vacant or to raise rents (Grimsey et al., 2013; Portas, 2011). Overall, more public and private investment is needed to support town centres and shopping streets, often within the framework of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs); correspondingly, joint public-private partnerships have been established in many countries, including Sweden, with the aim of managing town centres (Thufvesson, 2017; Warnaby et al., 1998). Although some academics and consultants particularly advocate a shopping-mall-oriented and effective 'business mentality' and management model, others emphasise instead the

importance of bottom-up organisation and policies in improving the resilience and adaptive quality of shopping geographies (cf. Findlay & Sparks, 2009; Wrigley & Lambiri, 2015). The importance of relocating workplaces, schools, and residences back into town centres to increase their human density again is also stressed (Fraser, 2013; Grimsey et al., 2013).

Traditionally, in town centre revitalisation projects, decontamination and the improvement of the physical environment and infrastructure have been prioritised, with the expectation that social and economic benefits would then ensue, presuming that there is a hierarchy between these (cf. Bromley et al., 2003; Kärrholm, 2012; Otsuka & Reeve, 2007). For instance, an increased sense of security from lighting infrastructure and surveillance, an improved overall aesthetic from the restoration of building facades, the arrangement of shop windows, and the cleaning and greening of the environment, as well as enhanced accessibility resulting from the pedestrianisation of precincts, the establishment of bike lanes, free parking, and bus routes, are all commonly-applied measures (cf. Dökmeci et al., 2007; Grimsey et al., 2013; Kärrholm, 2012). However, these management bodies are also asked to make interventions to ensure there is a ‘healthy’ retail mix in and a multifaceted public use of town centres and shopping streets (cf. Carmona, 2015). Relatedly, the role of community engagement and the organisation of civic activities both in and around shopping streets are emphasised (cf. Dobson, 2012; Parker et al., 2014; Wrigley & Lambiri, 2015), as are the creation of loyalty schemes for street markets, shopping streets, and town centres (cf. Worthington, 1998), and the employment of policies that accord with the ‘identity’ of the place (Findlay & Sparks, 2009). More recently, adopting digital technologies is also proposed as a new way of dealing with the competition that town centre retail faces, in the form of having additional online stores or totally transforming town centre retail places into ‘showrooms’ for online shopping (cf. Becker et al., 2019; Miller, 2012).

In addition, a particular stream of literature has proposed transforming town centres into ‘experience and event-scapes’, a perspective derived from place marketing and place branding studies (e.g. Gehl, 2010; Landry & Bianchini, 1995; Warnaby et al., 2002). According to the literature, this goal might be accomplished by branding these areas as destinations and products, by finding, or in many instances fabricating, a ‘unique’ soul or character for a place, by image managing it to give it a distinguished identity. This perspective has particularly emphasised the potentially positive role that cultural and arts events might play by convincing people to visit town centres even when they are not primarily interested in doing some shopping (Bianchini, 1988; Evans, 2003; Fredriksson, 2017). Accordingly, the spill-over effects of cultural and arts events, in increasing the ‘footfall’ of shopping geographies, would eventually benefit retailing too. These cultural and arts events would also ‘coolify’ town centres, improving their overall reputations and gradually transforming them into objects of attraction in their own right.

Planning a vibrant town centre

Surprisingly nonetheless, in their diversity and richness, the above-mentioned reports and articles on town centre management and shopping street revitalization seldom focus on shoppers and shopping dynamics. Shoppers only come in to the picture as demographic categories, as abstract conceptualisations, or as part of wider consumption trends. In particular, these studies lack a social practice perspective in the sense that they do not focus on shopping as an organizing and organized practice. Analysing organisation and the enactment of modes of shopping, the findings presented in this dissertation are at odds with some of the scenarios and solutions presented. To start with, the relative absence of e-commerce, smartphones and the Internet in the organisation of the modes of shopping enacted at the research site signifies that a shopping geography which enables and is co-constituted by the analysed five modes of shopping cannot easily be replaced or challenged by the popularisation of online shopping. In this sense, what e-commerce challenges, at least for now, is not all of the shopping geographies of our cities, but probably only a certain type which is primarily based on the pillars of standardisation and self-service. Similarly, this research shows that a vibrant shopping geography is not a place which can be captured or defined through a single identity or homogeneous 'soul'. It is multiple, flexible and contradictory in its constitution: It asks for multiple spatial formations and demarcations, it is flourishing in terms of its sensomaterial variety, it requires dynamic atmospheres, and it is bundled with numerous and conflicting rhythms, tempos, paths and trails. It is also historically vigorous, accumulating from various pasts, being thrown into multiple futures, and being affected by conjunctural presents; its messy diversity ensures its vibrancy (Jacobs, 1961/1992).

What this study suggests is that, while managing and developing policies, it is important to ensure sensomaterial and spatiotemporal flexibility, as well as diversity, in a shopping geography, encouraging and enabling multiple modes of shopping which, in turn, provide vibrancy in different forms. The same flexibility also facilitates shopping enactments that co-constitute shopping geographies, with this change-from-below (or middle) enhancing a shopping geography's overall resilience and adaptability. Secondly, once the major modes of shopping enacted in a shopping geography have been identified, it will be possible to take measures to encourage them further by means of careful planning and management. For instance, permitting longer opening hours, developing lighting and security infrastructures, and ensuring smooth sensomaterial connections with retail places would all improve convenience shopping. Likewise, the creation of intimate social spaces can be supported by not imposing standardized ways of organizing retail places. A local sense of belonging, a kind of local 'patriotism' could be stimulated by organising public activities in a shopping geography, as well as by supporting local initiatives and civic participation. Specific sensomaterial arrangements on

shopping streets can encourage the production of ‘private’ spaces, thus enabling further social interaction and cohesion at a slower tempo, and fortifying social shopping. However, it is also important not to ‘clean’ the ‘authenticity’ and messiness of a place by ‘over-planning’ and decontamination, ending up in the creation of just another ‘clone town’ (cf. Hubbard, 2017, Zukin, 2009) or a ‘non-place’ shopping geography (cf. Auge, 1995). By organizing temporary events, establishing additional ‘attraction stations’ or creating transportation hubs within a shopping geography, on-the-side shopping can be boosted. In order to support alternative shopping, diverse retail places with specialized ranges of services and goods, which are uncommon in mainstream shopping geographies, can be invited into a shopping geography, and the existing ones can also be supported. Lastly, it would be possible to nurture budget shopping by providing, for example, long-term and stable rental contracts, decreasing the taxation of independent retailers, organising seasonal, weekly, or hourly sales, and supporting both a second-hand retail market and repair shops.

Principally, this dissertation argues that a resilient and adaptive shopping geography needs to enable, assist, encourage, and maintain multiple modes of shopping, modes which are bundled and cemented together. A vibrant shopping geography is a place which is open, flexible and fluid enough to be co-constituted by modes of shopping: Town centre management policies should acknowledge, appreciate and support this quality by also taking into account the sensomaterial diversity and spatiotemporal dynamics. What should be striven for, thus, is not a single, exclusive, static, enrooted place-identity or the rigid formation or sanitation of a shopping geography by means of top-down planning, but a rich and malleable ‘praxitopia’ which can be reinforced by informed, modest, and careful planning strategies. Policymakers should not forget that the ‘vibrancy’ that is created in a place from below is fragile (Seamon, 1979).

Research Contributions

This dissertation project has made contributions to three bodies of academic literature. First and foremost, it advances existing knowledge in its own empirical field, ‘sociocultural studies of shopping geographies’. Additionally, it also nuances some of the discussions taking place within practice theory. Finally it has implications for the applied policy-oriented literature developed around the topic of ‘town centre retail’.

The main contribution made by this dissertation is to the defined interdisciplinary field of shopping geographies, in which the study is empirically positioned. Previous studies in this field have mostly focused on ‘spectacular’ shopping geographies and the consumption culture that has emerged there, e.g. theme parks, retail parks,

flagship stores, and newer shopping malls. Until recently, there has been scarce research focusing on ‘other’ or ‘secondary’ shopping geographies, e.g. flea markets, second-hand shops, local centres, and local shopping streets, even though much of the shopping activity is being enacted in such places. On the other hand, over the last decade, an increasing amount of research has specifically been conducted on local shopping streets: However, as mentioned previously, most of this empirically focuses on global cities and seldom studies shopping as an activity. In particular, it lacks a theoretical perspective on deliberating upon the constitutive interrelationship between shopping and shopping geographies. While this study fills the empirical gap regarding the local shopping streets of mid-sized cities, conceptualising the modes of shopping enacted there, it also provides a detailed account of the relationship between shopping and place. Specifically by means of implementing a practice theory approach in dialogue with recent material and affective turns in the social sciences, and by conducting video-ethnographic research, this study has illustrated that local shopping streets are fluid, heterodoxical, open, and dynamic configurations. Hence, shopping geographies are the sensomaterial and spatiotemporal effects of bundled modes of shopping. The dissertation also clarifies that the same shopping geographies also have affordances; i.e. they shape the actual modes of shopping recursively. Consequently, this research demonstrates the complex ways in which shopping constitutes shopping geographies, and vice versa. Moreover, it also equips the field with a novel vocabulary, by framing and detailing the different modes of shopping.

In formulating shopping as a social practice, analysing its enactments, and discussing its relation to place, the research also contributes to the scholarly work centring on the notion of social practices. It proposes a perspective for examining the modes of a social practice, which has developed as the result of a constant ‘triple-helical’ abductive dialogue with the previous literature, as well as analysis and ethnographic fieldwork. As an outcome of this process, the research also accentuates the essential role of the sensorial, material, spatial and temporal dimensions that interrelate places and social practices, some of which remain relatively underdeveloped in the practice theory literature. Relatedly, the concepts of *sensomateriality* and *praxitopia* were first introduced in this study with the aim of strengthening these perspectives. Finally, this dissertation project shows that video ethnography, combined with other methods, has the potential to grasp and appreciate the complexity of enactments of social practices. The research method, for instance, situates interviews in spatiotemporal dynamics and sensomaterial settings, by enabling, in particular, mobile research data collection. Additionally, it also provides a detailed research memory, thus making it possible to revisit research data to look for emergent theoretical or empirical interests, while also enabling collaborative knowledge production.

The dissertation also shows that, while discussing and ‘managing’ town centre retailing, urban shopping geographies should not be solely evaluated in terms of the revenue they generate or the jobs they create, but jointly with their sociocultural importance and implications. In the same vein, instead of focusing on rather static categories, e.g. the overall architectural aesthetic, parking facilities, cleanliness, the retail mix or homogeneous place identities when assessing the attractiveness or resilience of a shopping geography, a more important criterion to look into would be the ‘shopping mix’, i.e. the bundle of modes of shopping, the districts, streets, and town centres enabling, encouraging, assisting, and maintaining. Shopping is a multifaceted social practice integrating many activities and events: It has varying aims, orientations, feelings, emotions, competences, understandings, and rules, and neither can it be reduced to, for instance, a retail mix based on a rigid taxonomy of services and goods, nor can it be contained within a singular place identity. In that sense, the practical implication of this study is a paradigm shift towards a ‘shopping-oriented logic’, so to speak, while developing policies concerning town centres. However, in this matter, further research is required to map out and formulate additional modes of shopping, and to continue developing our understanding of the shopping enacted in diverse shopping geographies. This ‘shopping-oriented logic’ also has implications for retailers. In order to position themselves in alignment with the common enactments of shopping in circulation, retailers will need to have a clear understanding of the kinds of modes of shopping they would like to invite and assist. In order to do this, they will also need to have knowledge of the major modes of shopping enacted both inside their shopping geography and outside it. However, this requires a change in the way retailers define themselves, and in the way they prepare their business plans and understand their relationships with their shoppers. Once retailers have a clearer realisation of which modes of shopping they aim to encourage, or are already assisting, they will then be able to implement modifications to their ranges of services and goods, the social interactions they inspire, and the sensomaterial and spatiotemporal arrangements of their establishments.

After Research: Seeing Södergatan with Informed Eyes and an Infected Vision

April 2021, and it is 2 pm on a Saturday. I have prepared my camera and sound equipment on the north edge of Södergatan, just like I did six years ago to make the observation I opened this dissertation with. While assembling the equipment, I wondered how Södergatan was doing. What has changed since my last observation, since the last go-along interview I conducted? Then, I thought of the previous year. A global pandemic had hit the world, leaving at least three million dead in its wake, radically changing how shoppers shop, and how they move around in cities.

Sweden's handling of the pandemic had been rather 'relaxed'; it had not enforced any strict lock-downs, which had kept urban life afloat, and most retailers open, at the expense of having one of the highest death rates per capita in the world. Could the shopping geography survive the virus?

The first thing I recorded with my camera was what looked like a large family of eight chatting beside a bench on the street next to the city park. A larger group of youths were walking past them going south. I started walking in that direction, too. Some cars and a bus were passing by, there were cyclists on the other side of the road, a couple walking with two dogs, a woman and a child were walking hand-in-hand, a man was taking a baby-buggy out of a car to push his baby along the pavement, a line of young boys on electric scooters were gliding by... Some people were queuing to withdraw money from a cashpoint, while some retailers were standing by the doors of their shops staring at the traffic, and other people were rushing to the gyms in the district with their sporty clothes and bags. Yes, Södergatan was moving, it was certainly not dead.

A number of shops were closed since it was a Saturday, but many had made themselves available to shoppers. I saw some kids sitting by the gaming computers in Laserdome. The Bagel Café had closed down, Veronica's favourite place on the whole street, it was turning into Chloe, with "opening soon" in its window. The café would continue selling bagels and baguettes, but also lunch and brunch buffet, in addition to Persian food. It would be continuing to assist social shopping, but would it be developing alternative shopping and on-the-side shopping further? Instead of the old toy shop, which was almost like a time-travel device, there was another café called the "Sweet House", open till late every day; a significant loss to alternative shopping, but maybe a gain to social shopping and convenience shopping? Next to it, a new shop was open selling children's clothes, together with some toys. There is a certain continuity in the ranges of services and goods, if not the retailers and the retail places.

I kept on walking, recording the pulse of this shopping geography using my microphone, seeing how it breathed through the lens of my video camera. No, the shopping geography was not in a coma either. A lot had changed since last time I was there, but much more had remained the same. Some shops had moved to other parts of the city, while new retailers had arrived and filled the vacant spaces: However the vast majority had managed to keep their places, to sustain their businesses: PolShop, Lindex, the Asian Market, Söderports Kaffé & Te, the Afghan Shop, Sharif's, the charity shop, Majid Livs, Sam's Bar, Radiocity, Shahi Masala, and "the shop without a name", with others being open and trading in the shopping geography, assisting a variety of modes of shopping.

Söder Karamell was one of the many retailers of the shopping geography which had survived the pandemic, retaining the same squashed feeling inside, as well as its

aggressively cheaper goods. Budget shopping was there, but how about on-the-side shopping? For instance, Felicia would not be able to buy snacks from Söder Karamell on her way to seeing a film because all the cinemas had been shut down due to the pandemic. Likewise, the private upper secondary schools in the shopping geography were also closed, not only because it was a Saturday, but also because much of the tuition had gone online. The city library was only open for borrowing and returning books; you are not allowed to spend time inside it. Natalia would not be able to combine meeting her language tandem group with a visit to the Asian Market for instance. Another significant 'attraction station' in the district, the indoor swimming pool, was also closed. On the door of the Public Employment Centre, there was a sign asking people if they really needed to enter. Just like other state institutions in the shopping geography, the opening hours here were restricted, with many officers working from home and people simply not being welcome inside. The virus, this vibrant materiality, had become an active agent in the organization of shopping in Söder and on Södergatan. If, for instance, Söder Karamell had been a retail place only relying on on-the-side shopping, it would not have survived one of the biggest crises of the contemporary age.

At August Palm's Square, I could see that the renewed Söder mall was advertising the cinema and the bowling alley on its exterior, hoping that restrictions would soon be eased. On the other side of the street, I saw a 'mural', a new giant and well-crafted 3D graffito of Swedish tea cups covering one side of the Söderport building, an art piece whose creation had been organized by the now-closed Kulturhotellet. It provided the beige concrete building constructed after the war with colour; maybe supporting on-the-side shopping by uplifting the aesthetics of the district and by 'coolifying' it? I entered the new Söder mall, whose interior made me feel totally detached from the rest of the shopping geography. It had a distinct atmosphere, a special kind of heterotopia and heterochronia. Maybe just like many contemporary airports and shopping malls, it refers to an imaginative future while shaping what exists today. A clean, sterile, rich, frictionless, levelled, and homogeneous utopia within Söder, a non-place place, illusioned by a peculiar sensomaterial arrangement. Given that, the mall was rather empty, this is not surprising as it heavily leans on on-the-side shopping and social shopping. The virus distances humans, since it mushrooms in their togetherness, through conversations, chats, by means of hugs and handshakes. If the whole shopping geography had relied purely on social shopping and on-the-side shopping, it would have been a dead shopping geography, just like the new Söder mall.

I crossed the street. The Max hamburger restaurant was open only till 10 pm, said a 'sandwich board'; after 8 pm, only take-aways were available due to the pandemic rules, which had reorganized convenience shopping. If the shopping geography had relied purely on spatiotemporal availability and nocturnal convenience shopping, it would not have survived either. Although it was sunny a day, it was only eight

degrees Celsius, and fairly windy, which is probably why the outdoor seating areas of Max, Shawarma Xpert (apparently, Shawarma Xpress had changed its name), and the Charles Dickens pub were mostly empty. However, the Damas restaurant's outdoor seating area was deserted, not because of the weather or the season. This restaurant was closed because of another circular rhythm, because it was Ramadan, a holy Islamic month determined by the movements of the Moon. Spatiotemporal dynamics, entangled with sensomaterialities, were continuing to reshape shopping on Södergatan.

Further south along the street, Garn City, the haberdashery where Albin wanted to repair his pants, had been replaced by a spice shop advertising its goods only in Arabic. A primarily heterochronic retail place assisting alternative shopping had been replaced by another shop also encouraging alternative shopping, although primarily by means of being a heterotopia. A new shop called Al Amira had opened in place of the fruit shop by the swimming pool, to which Bengt went to buy some ginger. This new shop sells women's clothes that accord with Islamic rules and traditions, e.g. veils, long sleeves, long dresses. The Curry Pasta, at the south end of the street, which mostly sold goods from Iran, had become Al Rayis Mejeri, a retail place selling dairy products, further diversifying alternative shopping in the shopping geography. While I was filming the exterior of this newly-opened shop, the retailer came out to market it, maybe assuming I was a media worker; he said they even had fresh milk and eggs. Such shops were common in the shopping geography until the 1960s. In this case, too, the past had been revived from the distant. The divergents from the mainstream compete over retail space in the shopping geography; yet, the shopping geography is not only the home of heterodoxical retail places. The retail place left vacant after the 7/11 had closed had now been filled by another international chain store, it had become a branch of Domino's Pizza. A branch of the German-based discount supermarket chain Lidl, which had opened last year, was quite busy. It obviously matches the dynamics of the shopping geography, however not as much as the Aldo supermarket does.

Alfo Gross had changed its name to Aldo, yet it continued to be run by the same family of entrepreneurs. It had also slightly altered its interior and exterior, but the range of services and goods, and their cheapness, were the same. Intertwining my research with alternative shopping, I bought 'sucuk', a spicy sausage from Turkey; this is a delicacy which is not possible to find in mainstream supermarkets. This retail place still supported alternative shopping and budget shopping, but how about social shopping? The Aldo supermarket was definitely the most crowded space in the shopping geography; there were almost 200 people inside it. The most popular spot was the meat counter, where retail workers sell fresh meat, cutting it up according to the requirements of the shoppers. However, the small fast-food restaurant located after the checkouts had gone; there was no place left dedicated to sitting, resting, eating, and chatting inside the supermarket.

The street market was also open, serving shoppers a huge variety of fruit and vegetables, flowers, clothes, and toys, which were also thoroughly cheap. I could hear vendors speaking Arabic with each other, and joking in Swedish with shoppers. However, there were fewer shoppers and vendors compared to my previous observations, maybe 50 in total. This was probably because it was a Saturday, maybe because it was windy, or simply because we were in the middle of a global pandemic accompanied by an ongoing economic crisis.

Along the whole street, there were six vacant shops, three less than I had counted in 2014. One of these was the vacated venue of Kulturhotellet, the other being Sjunnes TV and Radio shop, which had moved to a larger retail place after remaining in the same spot for more than 50 years. One of these was a long-term, vacant major store, which used to be a cinema, then a supermarket, and later on a bowling alley, but had been empty since 2015. The fourth was an association. The remaining two shops were in the new Söder mall.

Putting my video equipment back into its bag, I was certain that neither Södergatan nor Söder was dead. Although infected by the virus, the shopping geography was surviving yet another crisis nicely. It was changing slowly, adapting itself to new circumstances. It is a resilient shopping geography because it supports a good mix of modes of shopping. On the upside, these entangled modes of shopping, through various spatiotemporal dynamics and sensomaterial arrangements, still make this shopping geography vibrant and keep it that way. There are certainly lessons to be learnt from this messy but flexible praxitopia.

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Praxitopia



Devrim Umut Aslan is a transdisciplinary researcher at the Department of Service Management and Service Studies, Lund University, with a background in sociology, migration studies, and ethnology. He has a broad interest in enactments of consumption in urban settings, and particularly in the relationship between shopping and place.

During recent decades, shopping's geographical manifestations have altered radically and the presumed 'death' of town centre retailing has become a public concern. The social, cultural, and economic backgrounds of this decentralisation of retail and its effects on city life have been studied comprehensively. However, to date, few studies have examined the changing dynamics of non-mainstream shopping geographies, particularly local shopping streets. How shopping is enacted in such places, and shopping's part in shaping them, has been largely overlooked. Aspiring to fulfil this knowledge gap, this dissertation examines shopping activities on Södergatan, a local shopping street in a stigmatized 'super-diverse' district of Helsingborg, Sweden known as Söder, and contributes to the literature on shopping geographies by drawing on a sociocultural perspective.

The study draws on practice theory and focuses on shopping as the main unit. The analysis is built on a sensitivity to the interrelationships existing between social practices and place, emerging from the epistemic positioning resulting from the identification of 'modes of practices'. In order to grasp the enmeshed character of shopping, which is complicated by cultural, spatial, temporal, material, and sensorial layers, video ethnography was employed as the primary research collection method, in combination with go-along interviews, observation and mental-mapping.

