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Behavioural Atmospheres and Vagueness in the Sharing of Urban Public Places

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of urban public places and social interactions understood as a *sharing of place*. Against the background of urbanization, migration, urban densification and new technologies, it can be assumed that our everyday ways of sharing place with one another are becoming more diversified. This calls for responsive theoretical tools and concepts to keep our understandings updated. This thesis unfolds theoretical considerations on vagueness in how we share place with each other. It is thus the subtle, peripheral and often unnoticed side of socio-spatial behaviour that is of interest here. How can vague place-sharing be understood?

The notion of *behavioural atmospheres* is advanced to discuss vague place-sharing. Sharing of place happens in context, and there is an atmospheric side to this context. A behavioural atmosphere is neither good nor bad by definition, and all places have them, in the sense that we — often without reflection — behave differently towards each other depending on circumstances like location, time of day, and with whom we interact. Studies of a public park, a residential area and street furniture offer different entry points into the world of behavioural atmospheres and vague place-sharing. Theory on rhythms, territories, material culture and everyday encounters is mobilized. Field observations, interviews and autoethnography are the primary research techniques.

The exploration leads to a theoretical discussion of the social, spatial and temporal aspects of vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres. The discussion is thematized as *vague figurations*, *situated instructions* and *temporal thresholds*, along with a range of tentative insights and terms for further research. Thereby, an alternative view on spatial use of and social interaction is suggested. It is a view that nuances preconceived ideas in urban design of how public places work.

Keywords: vagueness, place-sharing, behavioural atmospheres, rhythms, territories, material culture, encounters, socio-spatial, public space, urban design

Beteendestämningar och vaghet i delandet av stadens offentliga platser

Abstrakt

I denna avhandling undersöks stadens offentliga platser och sociala samspel förstådda som ett *delande av platser*. Mot bakgrund av urbanisering, migration, förtätning och nya teknologier kan det antas att våra vardagliga sätt att dela plats med varandra blir mer och mer olikartade. Med detta kommer ett behov av teoretiska redskap och begrepp som är finkänsliga nog att hålla våra förståelser uppdaterade. Avhandlingen utvecklar teoretiska överväganden kring vaghet i hur vi delar plats med varandra. Det är alltså den subtila, perifera och ofta obemärkta sidan av socialt-rumsligt beteende som är av intresse här. Hur kan det vaga platsdelandet begripas?

För att diskutera det vaga platsdelandet utvecklas en tanke om *beteendestämningar*. Att dela plats sker i ett sammanhang, och detta sammanhang har en dimension som kan beskrivas som en stämning. En beteendestämning är inte per definition bra eller dålig, och de finns på alla platser på så sätt att vi — ofta utan att tänka på det — beter oss olika mot varandra beroende på omständigheter som var och när vi befinner oss och vem vi interagerar med. Undersökningar av en park, ett bostadsområde och stadsrummets möbler fungerar här som olika ingångspunkter till beteendestämningars och det vaga platsdelandets värld. Den teori som mobiliseras rör rytmer, territorier, materiell kultur och vardagliga möten. Fältobservationer, intervjuer och autoetnografi utgör de huvudsakliga teknikerna för empirisk insamling.

Undersökningen leder till en teoretisk diskussion som tar upp sociala, rumsliga och tidsrelaterade aspekter av beteendestämningar och vagt platsdelande. Diskussionen är indelad i de tre temana *vaga figurationer*, *situerade instruktioner* och *temporala trösklar*, tillsammans med en mängd preliminära insikter och begrepp för vidare forskning. Så föreslås ett alternativt synsätt på rumslig användning och social interaktion. Det är ett synsätt som nyanserar förutfattade bilder inom stadsutveckling om hur offentliga platser fungerar.

Nyckelord: vaghet, platsdelande, beteendestämningar, rytmer, territorier, materiell kultur, möten, socialt-rumsligt, offentliga rum, stadsutveckling

Contents

List of publications

This thesis is based on the work contained in the following papers, referred to by Roman numerals in the text:

I. Wirdelöv, J. (Forthcoming). Encounters in Pildammsparken: The Urban Park as Meeting Place. In preparation for submission to *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, Vol 18, spring 2023.

II. Edensor, T., Kärrholm, M. & Wirdelöv, J. (2018). Rhythmanalysing the urban runner: Pildammsparken, Malmö. *Applied Mobilities*, 3(2), pp. 97-114.

III. Kärrholm, M. & Wirdelöv*, J. (2019). The neighbourhood in pieces: the fragmentation of local public space in a Swedish housing area. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43(5), pp. 870-887.

IV. Wirdelöv, J. (2020). The trash bin on stage: On the sociomaterial roles of street furniture. *Urban Planning*, 5(4), 121-131.

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*The authors are listed alphabetically, with no division between first and second author.

The contribution of Johan Wirdelöv to the papers included in this thesis was as follows:

I. I am the sole author of this paper.

II. I participated in planning the study with regards to the theoretical framework and the fieldwork methodology, and I conducted the interviews and the autoethnographic running. I contributed to analyzing the empirical material together with the co-authors. My main writing contributions concerned the selection and presentation of empirical examples in the text. I also produced the visual material.

III. I conducted the interviews and most of the other fieldwork. I produced the visual material. Me and the co-author elaborated and wrote up the paper in collaboration.

IV. I am the sole author of this paper.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research project is an exploration of public places and social interactions. There is, I believe, a simple phrase that bears within it an unexhausted potential for analysing and understanding how urban public places work. That phrase is *sharing of place.* As human beings, we share everyday places with each other in many ways — for a short- or long-term, peacefully or in conflict, routinely or extraordinarily, and so on. It can be assumed that our ways of place-sharing are becoming more and more intricate and diversified with global developments such as urbanization, migration, urban densification and new technologies. Responsive theoretical tools and concepts are called for to keep our understandings updated.

A contemporary interest in places and sharing is expressed as an attention to, for example, community gardens, the traffic solution called 'shared space', and other places related to the so-called sharing economy. The approach of this thesis project is different from those distinct cases. Here, place-sharing is instead understood as something inherent to public places. Public places always involve some degree of sharing, and here the question is what kind of sharing that is and how it plays out. Here, sharing is not understood as necessarily connoting acts of kindness or solidarity. As we shall see, sharing of places may very well be coloured by conflicts.

The kind of meaning given to place-sharing here allows everyday urban life to be described as it is often experienced: full of vagueness, nuances and ambiguities. Part of place-sharing is about what is weak and slowly changing and seemingly unimportant in how people deal with place and each other. There is low intensity place-sharing that almost goes unnoticed, that tends to be underestimated, that is not in full sight, and that is mostly taken for granted. There is place-sharing that goes on in the periphery, or, to refer to one of the studies in this thesis, that plays out *in the corner of the eye* (Paper

I). 'Eye corner-ness' is an informative phrase: place-sharing is in many ways so common that we — as researchers, design practitioners or regular visitors to a place — are oblivious to it. This is the aspect of place-sharing upon which this project aims to shed light.

'Place-sharing' and 'sharing of place' are not distinct or established concepts in discourses on the urban, but I believe them to describe something fundamental about the everyday dynamics of the city. Sharing is phenomenological, it refers to a lived experience, and it is better interpreted than measured. It concretely involves bodies, gestures, small movements, distances and materialities. In the ontology of this thesis, the sharing of place is the socio-spatial *in situ* — sharing the light of a lamp post, sharing a walkway, sharing a parking lot, sharing a running route, sharing a seating surface, sharing ground. The project presented here explores a theoretical route towards these ways of sharing.

Does place-sharing describe something primarily spatial or something primarily social? I hypothesize that place-sharing, when acknowledged as potentially vague and subtle, could actually help in overcoming the haunting habit of perceiving the spatial and the social separately. The idea of place as shared is *socio-spatial* — we cannot think of it as happening without either one of these two categories. A partner dance takes form: in 'place' there is always an aspect of sharing, and in 'sharing', there is always an aspect of place.

From this perspective, the city is full of small scenes of local cultures of place-sharing. The processes of people interacting spatially — when walking or sitting or simply looking at each other — builds up to become a specific temperament of the place being shared. A particular sharing-ness of each place arises from how socio-spatial usages and interactions happen and are repeated. We could even say that this sharing-ness is akin to an atmosphere formed by place and behaviour together. This *behavioural atmosphere* includes the often vague and subtle dimension of how an urban public place is shared. This view of places is my point of departure in the search for nuances in the role of place for everyday social interactions.

A behavioural atmosphere is neither good nor bad by definition. All places have a behavioural atmosphere, in the sense that we — often without reflection — behave differently towards each other depending on circumstances like location, time of day, and with whom we interact. Sharing place through social interaction happens in context, and there is an

atmospheric side to this context. A behavioural atmosphere is naturally also influenced by other things, such as laws or cultural norms, but part of this interplay is the vague but concrete co-presence of strangers in public. The term behavioural atmosphere itself is not an object of exploration for this thesis, as much as it is a hypothetical dummy tailored for catalysing a theoretical discussion on place-sharing. As will be shown, imagining urban public places as behavioural atmospheres facilitates seeing places as *situations*, and it helps to catch sight of some of the vagueness in how places become what they are when being shared.

Imagine waiting at a bus stop with strangers for a bus running behind schedule. How long before the way of sharing place shifts from silence to the exchange of a few comments about the delay? How long before it even turns into full-scale conversation? We can envision how there is something of an atmosphere regarding the social interaction at this bus stop. More interestingly still, there is a length of time between the moment of realization that the bus is late and the moment of more active place-sharing through the exchange of comments. A process occurs during which the atmosphere subtly changes, a duration of time of vague sharing of the bus stop during which people start scanning to determine whether others are aware of the delay, or when people begin moving in new manners because they are tired of standing or sitting in the same position. How places can be seen from the aspect of these and similar processes of sharing is one of the things that this thesis aims to explore.

In this thesis, the terminological setup of vagueness, place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres will support an exploration into a phenomenon; other available phrasings on public places and everyday life circulate around this phenomenon without sufficiently covering it. It is adjacent to and overlaps with a loose group of expressions used in research into urban public places, such as *life* (c.f. 'public life', Gehl & Svarre, 2013; 'social life', Whyte, 1980); how places are *used* (c.f. 'everyday uses', Sun et al., 2020; 'everyday practices', Tran & Yip, 2020); how places are *socio-spatially structured* (c.f. 'micro orderings', Koch & Latham, 2013), and the *social usage* of places (Jarvis, 1980). This exploration arguably transgresses disciplinary borders. Somewhat simplified, we can say that they span from sociology and ethnology on the one hand, and spatial disciplines like studies in urban design, architecture and landscape architecture on the other. They are not confined to function-oriented approaches (e.g. usability, navigation)

or to approaches dealing only with less tangible dimensions (e.g. aesthetics). Place-sharing as use and place-sharing as behavioural atmosphere weave together and shape each other in continual loops. Exploring what these loops may look like is to a large extent what this research project is about.

Each of the four academic papers compiled in this thesis offers a different entry point into the world of vague and low-intensity ways of sharing place. I draw on these papers to ask about how places are shared in the urban everyday, and to ask about the role of place itself in this process of being shared. I do this to stake out a theoretical position for an alternative view on how everyday use of and social interaction in urban public places can be understood. It is a view that frees, or at least differentiates, sharing of place from preconceived ideas about what social life of urban public places is.

Departing from the seemingly simple phrase 'sharing of place' and enquiring into how that occurs, with all of its vagueness and low intensities, unfolds theory that can expand existing thinking on place usages and place typologies. This thesis results in a discussion propelled by the notion of urban public places as characterized by behavioural atmospheres. The discussion conceptualizes how some of the less obvious nuances of place-sharing occur. My hope is that the endeavour can be theoretically rewarding, helping us to see the places of public life in new ways that bring the peripheral into full view.

1.1 A Question of How We Live Together

This research project is oriented towards studies in urban design and neighbouring fields such as architecture, landscape architecture and planning. It draws on a wider range of social theory to enrich the theory of these fields. This work can thus be seen as subscribing to a wide epistemological mission concerned with finding ways of thinking about 'the social' and 'the spatial' together. Completely or definitively bridging these two broad realms is not the goal; it is rather about sustaining and continuing an ongoing theoretical development concerning the role of design and architecture in shaping daily life. Ultimately, it is about making a contribution, however small, to humanity's written records of analytical thinking.

The hybridity (Latour, 1993) of public space seems notoriously difficult for modern society to conceptualize without separating the social and the

spatial. Ali Madanipour argues against drawing 'a distinction between the physical and the social worlds too sharply' (2013, p. 8), such as when studies in e.g. urban sociology foreground human behaviour at the expense of the material, whilst studies in public space design tend to over-prioritize the environment. Similarly, Matthew Carmona (2014, p. 4) points at a discord between 'a critical social sciences perspective on urban design, and those hailing from practice-based, particularly design, backgrounds.' Considering how 'explicitly pro-social' much of mainstream urban design theory is, in that it often pushes for the socially vibrant and convivial (Rishbeth et al. 2018, p. 37), it is relevant to pursue developments of theory that reflects on socio-spatial processes.

Although much theory concerning public space design involves a social aspect of some kind, there is a tendency to reduce the social to a matter of cause and effect. One illustrative case in point is the broken windows theory (Kelling & Wilson, 1982), which posits that visible decline in an urban area encourages criminal and asocial behaviour. This idea certainly concerns both spatial and social aspects, but pointing out a causality also immediately severs these aspects, separating them into two very separate entities. A comparison can be made with the dichotomy of 'city' and 'nature'; Hanna Erixon Aalto (2017, p. 17) writes that 'the core of the problem here is that *the very conceptualization into a dualistic balance relationship in fact opens up the possibility for one of the two units to dominate and govern the other — i.e. a hierarchical dualism*' (italics in original). The same could very well be said about the social and the spatial.

Such a dualistic approach risks oversimplifying the 'wickedness' (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that characterizes several contemporary urban challenges. A wicked problem is a problem that escapes definitive descriptions. It is understood in retrospect rather than in advance, and solutions to it are better or worse rather than right or wrong (Conklin, 2005). Wickedness is thus a special kind of complexity; some examples are homelessness, climate change, pandemics, terrorism or financial crises.

There is also a degree of wickedness in questions of what makes good or bad urban public space and in how to understand the social dynamics thereof. Sustainable Development Goal 11.7 states that by 2030, 'universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities' should be provided (United Nations, 2015). In the Swedish context in which this thesis

has emerged, policy-level statements on public space posit that 'a sense of belonging and pride in the shared environment contributes to the building of a society that holds together' (Kulturdepartementet, 2018, p. 4, my translation). It is also said that a socially sustainable development is threatened by increased social and spatial division (Delegationen för Hållbara Städer, 2012, p. 14), and that public space is essential for confirmation of democratic values (Gestaltad livsmiljö – en ny politik för arkitektur, form och design, 2015, p. 57). Even more locally, in the city of Malmö, which is where this thesis is primarily situated empirically, it is stated that easily accessed places in which to encounter others are a way to increase security and 'collective strength' (Malmökommissionen, 2014, p. 55, my translation).

Not only do these and similar postulations lead to general questions of what good or bad urban public space is, they also evoke questions of conceptual clarity on a more detailed level: How do 'inclusivity' or 'accessibility' really play out in the lived everyday? How does 'sense of belonging' actually take place? What forms are taken by the encounter that is supposed to foster 'collective strength'? While these questions certainly deal with fairly complex matters, we also need to consider that contemporary public spaces are often subject to larger, ongoing structural changes. Urbanization is an example of one such change; globalization is another – but I am referring in particular to demographical changes and concerns regarding what groups of people share space in public, and how we understand them. In his seminal article, Steven Vertovec (2007) states that 'Diversity in Britain is not what it used to be.' (p. 1024). His main claim is that diversity can no longer be understood with traditional categories such as ethnicity, gender and age; instead, the diversity of today is characterized by certain levels of complexity that lead to a state of 'super-diversity'. Here is a wickedness: How can we understand phenomena such as inclusivity, accessibility or encounters when the matter of whom to include, who should have access, and whom to encounter is constantly changing?

There are also changes playing out from the perspective of urban material culture. While the notion of super-diversity points at a diversifying world of humans, we should not forget that the world of *things* is also diversifying. Material culture should be understood here as referring to the cultural meaning of all the 'stuff' (Miller, 2010) that surrounds public places. This includes everything from fashion and fast food to vehicles and technological

gadgets. As noted by Ash Amin, '[t]he encounter is always mediated' (2012, p. 81), and non-humans can be regarded as important co-actors in how public places are used: the electric scooter might enable a human to reach the park, the mobile phone allows two humans to meet at the square, and the dog leash facilitates negotiation between different parties sharing space. It is even possible to imagine a 'cyborg urbanism' (Gandy, 2005) in which the boundaries are blurred between machine and organism and between nature and culture.

In short, there are tendencies that should make us question whether sharing of place is described sufficiently by the standard user categories to which design theory often refers. The street vendor, the jogger, the biker, the shopper, and the dog-walker all share place in ways that are not always immediately obvious, and some degree of agonism (Mouffe, 2013) is inevitably involved in so-called 'meeting places'. Missing out on the concrete subtleties of how people interact with places and one another in might entail the upholding of a naïve view of how urban public places work.

There are examples of changes concerning public space in Sweden that may be presented as a background for what is explored in this research project: The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted our relationships to outdoor environments and our ideas of how close or far away we should be to or from each other. The 2015 migrant crisis renewed questions of the ontology of 'the stranger'. There have been debates and recent legal revisions concerning public space: in 2021 a law came into effect that allows individuals to be expelled from retail stores and shops. Only a few months later, a proposal was introduced to expand this to encompass libraries and bathhouses as well (Killgren, 2021). There are also proposals of so-called visitation zones. On the side of urban material culture, we see for example the proliferation of electric scooters; these are not only a new figure in terms of mobility and materialities, but they have also sparked debates about public space aesthetics. These vehicles have furthermore been known to have been programmed to not enter certain districts because of the risk of 'incidents' and damage to the bikes. While none of these phenomena are explicitly dealt with in this project, they are pieces of a discursive and societal background in which the project is situated — a background in which social, spatial and material mutually shape each other.

These background examples do not aim to evidence a simple development of 'more' complexity, but rather of ever-changing complexity.

Over time, some elements enter the dynamics of place-sharing and influence how it happens, whilst others disappear. How the places of the city are shared is always in a state of change; sometimes the changes are big, and sometimes they are small. There is a 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005) to public space that invites for asking about how we live together, not only in terms of politics and living conditions generally, but also in terms of the details of the socio-spatial everyday that the project at hand attends to.

There is no shortage of societal challenges and ongoing changes with a direct or indirect impact on public places. For one thing, urbanization and densification entail more diverse people in less space in terms of numbers of citizens, as well as more lifestyles, movements, encounters, exercising, leisure activities and other parts of the urban everyday. Without conceptual tools for the nuances of these processes, discussion and analysis of public places risk becoming insubstantial and shallow, and the knowledge community gathering around public place theory would ultimately rely on stereotypes. Ignoring the vague phenomena of the world may lead to 'false clarity' (Van Deemter, 2010). Not only the apparently visible and urgent merits research attention; in fact, the mundane and less obvious comprise a significant part of urban life.

1.2 Aims and Purpose

The core assumption of this research project is that there is an aspect of vagueness to how urban public places are shared, and that this aspect can be explored with support of the idea of behavioural atmospheres. Given that vague place-sharing is a phenomenon 'out there' (Law, 2004), the overarching question guiding this research project is: How can this phenomenon be understood? Or, more operatively: What could be a heuristic framework for understanding vague place-sharing?

The aim of this research project is thus to undertake a process of sense-making (Brown, 2002, p. 574) that inquires into ways of sharing place, with all its nuances and vagueness. In other words, I believe that there is something about parks, plazas, street-corners and other public places that can be discussed as a kind of peripheral or low-intensity social usage, and that the aim is to convincingly initiate such a discussion. The framework comprises three themes that structure the discussion in Chapter 5. These themes deal with perceptual, interactional and temporal aspects of

behavioural atmospheres and have here been labelled *vague figurations*, *situated instructions* and *temporal thresholds*. My hope is that they are received as helpful for specifying and concretizing how the sharing of urban public places occurs.

The overarching question of understanding vague place-sharing entails a range of subsidiary research questions of epistemological, ontological and methodological character. How can vague place-sharing be described? How can it be studied? How does it change? Does it take different forms? Where do we find it? In what ways does it matter? These questions are engaged with by drawing on Papers I-IV and their socio-spatial aspectualizations of things like rhythms, temporalities, encounters, territorializations, scale, home, mobilities, slow changes, material culture, and everyday life. Together, the papers are a patchwork of theoretical and empirical resources. A common feature of them is that they can all inform questions about the sharing of urban public places in some way, and that they provide theoretical entry points to the idea of vagueness. Each of the four papers included in this thesis thus suggests a different, but related, way of studying and understanding the phenomena.

The exploration of this research project is hopefully a way to conceptually differentiate the everyday use and life of public places, and to support socially-oriented research on public space to be updated and attuned to its research object. The project is meant as a counter-move to simplifications of e.g. sociality or 'the meeting' in urban design theory, as well as an initiative for a more qualified discussion on the role of materialities in wider discourses on public space. Understanding socio-spatial processes is important for understanding the role of public places in daily urban life — whether if being a designer seeking for the impact of design on social dynamics, or if being a theoretician seeking to spatialize how social dynamics happen.

The many different material conditions under which people encounter each other in public merit theorizing, and I believe that unfolding a theory of place-sharing in all its vagueness and messiness can make a relevant contribution to knowledge on public space. Better understanding of the life of public places may in turn support and facilitate research, design, planning and management of the urban landscape.

1.2.1 A differentiation of place-sharing

In order to understand a place, we can pay attention to it from different particular perspectives, e.g. related to ecology, justice, management, aesthetics or usability, as well as more fundamental spatial properties like narrowness and spaciousness, or light and dark. Perspectives are ways in which to understand places, and they allow us to reach different kinds of knowledge about them. The limitation of available ways also limits how well places can be researched, analysed and discussed, and it is therefore important that perspectives are up to date with regard to how places change over time, and that there are different kinds of perspectives available for different kinds of places.

The knowledge contribution of this project lies in how it opens up for a differentiation of what a public place is. 'Differentiate' means to make more nuanced, more detailed, or to break something down into new sub-categories. In other words, differentiation is a search for differences within one phenomenon. For example, studying the colour known as 'green' and inquiring into the nuances of this colour is to make a differentiation of what green means (c.f. Thorpert, 2019). As I have argued above, there is a need for counter-stories to simplifications in urban design theory, and I believe that a differentiation of the category 'public places' can be of help in that matter.

In effect, this differentiation is achieved by drawing on the four papers to inquire into vagueness in place-sharing in a way that in turn allows for qualified analysis and discussion. As will be shown, the four papers inform a theorization that shows how place-sharing can be very subtle, detailed, and complex in terms of how social and material aspects work together. To outline distinctions of this kind potentially facilitates understanding of the role of place for everyday interactions in public.

Architectural theorist Hilde Heynen (2004) has argued that architectural theory and practice forms a relationship that is *indirect*, and that the role of theory in this relationship is about criticizing, challenging and positioning. She does not believe in architectural theory to 'guide' practice. Hers is a view in which theory, according to Fredrik Torisson (2017, p. 26), 'aims to understand what architecture is, what it does in society and how it is practiced; in a word, it is reflective.' While it certainly is easier to see how the differentiation intended here supports reflective rather than practically guiding theory, I do not want to be too uncompromising in ruling out any

applicability for design practice. In fact, one rationale for this project is the basic notion that the social dynamics of public places needs to be understood in order to design, imagine and make choices concerning physical features of those places. This is different from design research aimed at e.g. finding the right measurements for specific behavioural patterns and producing a material setup likely to fill certain requirements and desires. My aim is rather to enrich the ways in which public places can be perceived and discussed, providing terminology for analysis as part of a wider set of investigations that may in turn inform urban design decisions. Moving away from the contemporary paradigmatic way of approaching sites as a tabula rasa remains a challenge for the design discourse. As a continuation of the search for site-specificity (c.f. Braae & Diedrich, 2012; Diedrich, 2013), the differentiation supported by this thesis can play a role of one of many possible entrance points for site analysis in preparation for design work. Immediate and clear-cut statements on how a specific site should be physically transformed, however, are unlikely to be reached from this alone.

1.3 Place-sharing and the Social Usage Approach in Urban Design Theory

Given the colloquiality of the word, 'sharing' may naturally have different meanings, depending on context. Questions about what sharing of place means could be approached from a broad range of positions: philosophy would offer one answer, human ecology another, linguistics a third, and so on. Different epistemologies imply different things about what sharing is. As far as this thesis is concerned, what place-sharing means is framed in relationship to a strand of urban design theory called the *social usage approach* (Jarvis, 1980). The social usage approach provides a baseline notion of what sharing of place means, and it works as a point of departure from which to draw threads into other theoretical worlds. Furthermore, I maintain that the little-known social usage approach describes an important line of thinking and deserves to be highlighted, and that doing so would this in turn help structure a field that has been accused of bordering on pseudo-science (Marshall, 2012).

According to its formulator Robert K. Jarvis (1980), the social usage approach 'treats urban environments as social settings rather than works of three-dimensional art' (p. 27). The social usage approach was presented as a

contrast to the *visual-artistic approach* that was dominant at the time. Camillo Sittes' *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1965 [1889]) can be said to have paved the way for both these paradigms, but Sittes' influence in the visual-artistic approach is stronger, and was later in different ways affirmed by e.g. the picturesque ideals of Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* (1961) and the 'superficial symbolism' of Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture* (1946 [1926]) (Jarvis, 1980, p. 25). The language of the visual-artistic approach is one of aesthetic abstractions, and its main focus is the city perceived visually, as a work of art.

The social usage approach attends instead to behaviour, user needs, functionality, perception and navigation, and it also considers how we, as social beings, interpret experiences of the everyday world. It draws on phenomenology and ethnomethodology, and on the 'rapidly developing field of man-environment relations' of the time (p. 24). Writing in 1980, Jarvis points out an emerging trend just as much as he promotes and hopes for its further development. Presented as a key work for the social usage approach is Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Her critique of modern city planning is not occupied with visuals and aesthetics, but with social and user-oriented aspects of the life of the urban citizen. It is the city seen as 'life' rather than 'art'. Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1964) is also promoted by Jarvis for its non-essentialist points on how the city is never experienced in isolation, but always individually situated and occurring in a context of everyday events, memories and associations. 'The image of the city' is not synonymous with 'the city'.

Although Jarvis' description of the social usage approach was later included in *Urban Design Reader* (Carmona & Tiesdell, 2007), the social usage approach is not widespread as a label for a line of research. Since its articulation, it has been referred to in only a relatively small number of works, and there has been no notable further development of its meaning. However, canonical urban design literature (Cuthberth, 2008 p. 12) often aligns with the notion of approaching the urban as 'social settings', and it would therefore be fair to say that although the name social usage approach is little known, it describes a well-known body of theory. One can see, for example, how Jan Gehl's *Life Between Buildings* (1987), Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson's *The Social Logic of Space* (1989), and William H. Whyte's *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (1980) explore the intertwinement of urban space with sociality and everyday use, albeit in

different ways. . If one imagines that the social usage approach continued to develop after Jarvis' publication some 40 years ago, it would perhaps include research centred around this socio-spatial intertwinement, as well as the scale level of e.g. the street, the park, the plaza, the street corner, an inclination towards real-life observational studies, and a focus on mundane activities (sitting, talking, eating, standing, etc.). A line forward links it to works such as Ali Madanipour's *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process* (1996), Karen Franck and Quentin Stevens's *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban* Life (2006), and Vika Mehta's *The Street: A quintessential social public space* (2013).

The kind of place-sharing implied by the social usage approach might seem to mean that active public space per se means sharing of place. To use, to experience, and to be subject to everyday belonging means to share place with others. Sharing is then part and parcel of what constitutes public space. Determining what 'public' is, however, requires some reflection. Jeff Weintraub (1997) argues that public and private define each other, and the broad range of meaning of each sometimes results in confusion when parties do not have the same understanding. When a space is described as public or private, this may refer to formal and regulatory aspects, but it may also refer to purely experiential aspects, or to immaterial social and political aspects, as often represented by works of social and political philosophers like Hannah Arendt and Jürgen Habermas. Prefixes like semi- or quasi- are sometimes used to refine the distinction further.

Weintraub (1997) outlines several interpretations of the public-private dichotomy, one of which frames public as in 'public life'. Here, public is used in the same sense as when we casually talk about a public park or public square. Crucial to this view of what public means is *sociability*, referring to how we inevitably experience the presence of people that we do not know in the public life of parks and squares. The sociability of such places is characterized by 'conventions that allow diversity and social distance to be maintained despite physical proximity.' (p. 19). This view of public as sociability is well represented in larger bodies of writing on the modern city and cosmopolitanism; Ferdinand Tönnies' (1887) idea of the city as *Gesellschaft* and Richard Sennett's *The Fall of Public Man* (1977) are two influential examples.

Of the definitions of public, public as sociability is the one most intimately linked with the organization of space, e.g. via design or planning.

Public is seen as impacted by 'the ways that the configurations of physical space facilitate, channel, and block the flow of everyday movement and activity'. (Weintraub, 1997, p. 23). In other words, in this view, the publicness of the public park or square is a social aspect, and one role of the physical is that it can support, hinder or in other ways interplay with this social aspect. This appears as a recurring notion in the urban design discourse at large — think of the fixation with creating 'vibrant' and 'attractive' urban space — but more particularly, it corresponds to how I conceive the sharing of public place to be implied in the so-called social usage approach. Jane Jacobs (2011 [1961]) is something of a primary common denominator here; the kind of public spaces on which she focuses — the park, the plaza, the street corner, the café, the sidewalk, the neighbourhood, and so on — are acknowledged as physical entities but also as small worlds of interaction and great social importance.

1.3.1 Thematized sharing

There is, then, a somewhat underdefined line of thought in urban design theory that can be referred to as a social usage approach. In it, place-sharing is seen as inherent to all kinds of public space. Perhaps contrast renders this framing more visible. One can speak of a loose group of urban places related to the current trend of the sharing economy (c.f. Bradley & Pargman (2017) on 'contemporary commons'), and that seems to exemplify a view in which a particular type of sharing is pronounced or thematized. When it comes to the mobility hubs being implemented in new urban districts that allow people to park, service a bike or to use a carpool, the sharing of things — electric bikes or tools to service them — is the primary focus, not the place as such. The same is true of borrowing centres, give-away shops, libraries of things and book-swapping locations. Collaborative workspaces or places for co-living and couch-surfing similarly frame a particular version of sharing in how they emphasize specific spatial activities.

These places centre on sharing resources in a specific and concrete way. In contrast to sharing seen as inherent to public space, they foreground a particular kind of sharing between specific groups and sharing for specific needs. The role of the physical place is not so much about being shared as it is about supporting and facilitating the sharing of stuff or activities.

Another type of pronounced sharing may offer an illustrative comparison: the traffic solution called 'shared space'. In it, zones for vehicles and

pedestrians are integrated so that different users negotiate their movements in relation to each other, rather than being ordered by physical separation (Karndacharuk et al., 2014). One could say that as a place, it promotes and fosters sharing through its name as well as its design. It supports the sharing that happens as users remain attentive to each other whilst moving, by foot or by car, across the same surface in an interplay. The programme of the place thus includes an idea of how sharing of place should happen. Like the previous examples of the sharing economy, this is a thematized sharing; the difference is that the place is shared rather than tools for bicycle repair. A community garden is also similar; the name clearly conveys the concrete resource being shared (the garden) as well as who is involved (a community).

These examples are of kinds of places that make statements about what is being shared and how this should be done. This is different from the social usage approach and the idea of public parks and squares as an inherently sociable sharing of place. From the perspective of Weintraub and the social usage approach, the shared traffic space is not shared because specific mobility users negotiate their movements to accommodate others within it; it is shared in the more general socio-spatial sense that they use the place at all. Furthermore, this latter view makes it important to abandon assumptions about sharing being synonymous with harmony and orderliness. Sebastian Peters (2017) draws on Maarten Hajer and Arnold Reijndorp's (2001) idea of the 'public domain' as a world of social exchange coloured by differences, friction and conflicts in his counterimage to such assumptions about the traffic solution shared space, showing that the sharing of 'shared space' frequently involves socio-spatially complex and ambiguous situations.

This might come off as somewhat mismatched, as we are comparing sharing as a phenomenological position with sharing when seen through spatial typologies. However, it is important to point out that both of these different ontological stances are included in a broader discourse on urbanism and the social-spatial. Hypothetically speaking, any idea of place-sharing can be defined against another idea on some level, and perhaps even compete for our understanding of what sharing public places means. The mere existence of the typological names influences our views of what it is to share in urban life. In light of the emerging criticism against so-called sharewashing (Hawlitschek et al., 2018), concerns may be raised about a commodification of sharing. In this regard, it is worth noting that no matter how many bike

tools or creative hubs we share, there is also a more fundamentally social sharing going on, namely sharing place in the sense of the presence of others.

1.3.2 Sharing the modernist city

The social usage approach in urban design can be seen as a counter-reaction to the modernist city, perhaps most evidently embodied by Jane Jacobs. What kind of sharing of place do we see if the eye is on functionalism, social engineering and instrumental understandings of the socio-spatial? Initially, one might assume that rather than sharing place, we are talking about sharing *space*; the discourse has been more oriented towards the Euclidian term 'space' as compared to the more phenomenological term 'place'. It might even seem more appropriate to speak about *dividing* rather than sharing space in this case: for modernist planners and designers, space was often something that could be quantified, boxed in, cut up, master-planned and efficiently managed (Davies, 2011, p. 62-81; 138-153).

But perhaps it makes most sense if division of space and sharing of place are not mutually exclusive. However instrumental and quantitative the modernist approach to urban development has been, it has rendered many forms of urban space in which the actually lived and experienced sharing of place may happen. Furthermore, at least in Sweden, this discourse is intimately related to ideology and political values concerning democracy and equality. There was the so-called neighbourhood unit for example, intended to foster community and democratic values. The social democratic concept of *folkhemmet* ('the people's home') was followed by spatial forms that also implying a sharing by members of the population, such as *folkets hus* ('the people's house'), *folkets park* ('the people's park'), and the spacious residential yard that has later been referred to as *folkhemsgård* (Kristensson, 2003, p. 49-50).

What we see here is an idea of well-organized sharing: sharing of zones; sharing structured by barriers and time-scapes of working hours; opening hours for retail and arrivals and departures of public transportation. Sharing happens in series and flows of walkways, bike lanes, cul-de-sacs and motorways (c.f. the Swedish SCAFT-principles for safe traffic by separation of mobilities). In addition to being a democratic citizen, a consumer, and a car driver, the person sharing is a *user*. The idea of the user in architecture and design largely emerged in accordance with this modernist discourse of

the post-war European welfare state (Forty, 2000, p. 312-315). This sharing of space is not so much organized around common interests and identity as in e.g. gated communities, and it does not centre on class as much as e.g. 19th-century society; the primary principle for sharing space is *function*.

With reference to the so-called socio-spatial dilemma presented in Section 1.1, it can be noted that sharing of the modernist city does not form an anti-example to socio-spatial thinking as such. Social and spatial are indeed thought of together in the case of the neighbourhood unit fostering democratic citizens or investing in high standard playgrounds in residential areas. What should be pointed out is the *instrumentality* of this approach, the view of space as a tool of sorts for building a modern society.

1.3.3 Sharing place with strangers

Sharing of urban public places can also be perspectivized to focus on the role of *the stranger*. The stranger — sometimes used interchangeably with 'the other' — has been the subject of a wide range of literature influential to urban theory (c.f. Simmel, 2008 [1908]; Sennett, 1977; Bauman, 2000; Amin, 2012). Considering the role of the stranger in public space often means emphasizing how urban public life is coloured by randomized everyday encounters and interactions. The stranger in public has also often been discussed with regards to questions of justice and equality between groups (c.f. Amin, 2012).

First formulated by psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) in the 1950s, the so-called *contact hypothesis* argues for the potential of public encounters to reduce prejudices between groups. Repeated meetings between groups (of e.g. different ethnicities) would foster tolerance, the argument goes, at least if these meetings involve some kind of cooperation or a common goal. Geographer Gill Valentine's (2008) later rethinking of the contact hypothesis is well known. Valentine (2008) questioned the idea, objecting to the tendency to overestimate the importance of spatial proximity in reducing prejudice. Literature on cosmopolitanism 'appears to be laced with a worrying romanticization of urban encounter and to implicitly reproduce a potentially naïve assumption that contact with "others" necessarily translates into respect for difference', she writes (p. 325). This does not mean that the urban encounter is without significance. It can be of consequence, according to Valentine, but it needs to be understood with the involved power relations in mind, and with a distinction between meaningful and unimportant

contacts. Where do we end up if we situate the social usage approach in this discussion? As the term 'social' generally seems to hold positive connotations in the social usage approach, it is easier to see it as leaning towards Allport's optimistic belief in the sharing of place between strangers, rather than Valentine's more differentiated view.

1.3.4 Place-sharing theory as a lacuna

Place-sharing exists. As social and cultural beings, we experience it every day in our interactions with others and with places. However, there is no 'theory of place-sharing', literally speaking, and as the social usage approach is rather under-defined, it is difficult to use in symmetrical comparisons. One could object that there is an epistemological problem approaching here, as discourses of 'sharing of place' simply sound too broad and underspecified to be mapped coherently. But to talk about the traditional 'knowledge gap' would be misdirected here. What we are dealing with is better described as a *lacuna*. According to Sigrid Östlund (2021, p. 101), the knowledge gap 'indicates a missing link in a chain of logic, or a missing piece in an immobile set of variables', whilst the lacuna is a 'multidimensional realm that leaves room for the imagination and exploration; it is not a missing item in a set.' My hope is that the ideas of vagueness and behavioural atmospheres can play a role in an imaginative and explorative room of this kind.

The picture presented above is thus not complete, but rather a series of excursions into different worlds of thought related to place-sharing. They are contexts that imply different things about what sharing of place is and what about it is relevant. Together, they depict an approximation that informs the reader about the kinds of ideas upon which this research project draws and relates to. They also serve as a reference point against which the reader may evaluate the heuristic framework presented.

1.4 Research Design

The binding chapter of a compilation thesis may be seen as a narrative that encompasses the included publications. The tradition of compilation theses in the social sciences and humanities is still rather young and 'unsettled', and at times confusion regarding the format and what may be expected of it haunt the compilation thesis; the right way to relay such a narrative is not always self-evident (Nygaard & Solli, 2021). In some cases, it is rather obvious how

the publications should merge smoothly into a sustained argument that can be presented in the form of a doctoral thesis. In others, the research journey has led to many routes of interpretation of the publications, making multiple narratives possible — and the most desirable of these, or the most elegant framing of the pieces is not self-evident. The binding chapter at hand belongs to the latter category. I have chosen to structure the narrative around an idea of places as *shared*, with a particular interest in the *vagueness* in this sharing. I also mobilize something called *behavioural atmospheres* to analyse and discuss how vague sharing of places can be understood.

Behavioural atmospheres is a tailor-made term for the narrative of this thesis, and while I would not object to its use in future research, its main role here is that of a handy conceptual method to facilitate advancement of a theoretical discussion. A substantiation of a theory of behavioural atmospheres is thus not a primary aim of this project; the term is rather used instrumentally for the sake of discussing the sharing of places. A parallel to algebra, where an X can be removed after an equation is completed, is not too far-fetched. In Chapter 4 I will put behavioural atmospheres in relation to vagueness and place-sharing. Behavioural atmospheres is thereby frameworked to facilitate the revealing and discussing of what Papers I-IV have to say about how urban public places are shared. Behavioural atmospheres, vagueness and place-sharing form a conceptual framework, or rather a 'framing vocabulary' for making the discussion of the papers distinct and cohesive.

Papers I-IV mainly follow qualitative social science standards. Space and place are approached as realities constructed through the research, and the starting point is that the world can be hermeneutically interpreted. The papers have been developed via abductive reasoning, although the exact form differs somewhat between the papers. Paper I differs from the other papers in being notably more inductively developed. Paper I started with site visits inspired by bottom-up approaches such as grounded theory (Groat & Wang, 2013); immersion (c.f. Lee & Diedrich, 2018), and deep hanging out (Geertz, 1998), and resulted in the idea of eye corner encounters (i.e., these were not studied from the start).

When compiled, the papers form a methodological kinship with John Law's (2004) idea of the *method assemblage*. A method assemblage is continuously crafted to be attuned to a problem that takes shape through this very crafting. Together, the four papers do not fully align with ideas of

methodological cleanliness and structure; in this way, they correspond to Law's idea. The kinship with assemblage methodology is not in the individual papers, but in the craft of synthesising and producing a consistent thesis from them. Place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres are obviously not pronounced in the four papers — they are a result of them.

Research is never conducted in isolation. It is influenced by circumstances beyond those depicted in the method descriptions (Latour & Woolgar, 2013 [1979]). The emergence of Papers I-IV has been contingent on the knowledge journey of PhD studies — a journey through different phases of maturity and shifting ideas with regard to the knowledge that I consider important and what I deem good research craft. When admitted as a doctoral student to the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, I held a Master's degree in architecture, nourished a fascination with the life of urban public places, and a had received a grant for a research proposal entitled *On the territoriography of the city: Mapping socio-material practices and borders in public space.* Initially, territoriology was going to serve as the overarching framework for the project, but is now represented by Paper III. During another phase, the overall project theme was to be the role of small-scale artefacts (bags, food, technological gadgets) in public space dynamics; this focus is now represented as part of Paper IV. Another phase focused on the concept of the *terrain*, and some time was spent in a strong belief in the stylish gracefulness of encounters and terrains as *encounterrains*. Later, I aimed for the advancement of a particular landscape character, *landscapes of encounters*, a phrase that would still be descriptively relevant here but remains unelaborated. Paper I, the final paper conceived, is important in this regard: it helped in reaching the idea of place-sharing and vagueness, it brought the project to a close, and it frames what it is about. The final missing piece — the more hypothetical term behavioural atmosphere — entered the project about six months before publication.

The composition of papers also reflects how my journey extends from my beginning steps as a diary-writing park runner in Paper II to the independent synthesis of papers offered in this binding chapter. A training in research begun before and later extended into the doctoral project. Two projects in which I worked as a research assistant prior to my doctoral studies were relevant for this thesis: Paper II started as part of a larger research project

called 'Reinterpreting fitness running: A topological study for healthy cities', and Paper III started as part of 'CRUSH – Critical Urban Sustainability Hub'.

Accordingly, the roles of the cases presented by the papers are not about *literal* replication, but more about a *theoretical* replication (Yin, p. 53-55) by which each case informs the overarching theoretical framework and is at the same time analysed in the light of this framework. The findings from each case are not meant to just corroborate the findings from the other cases; instead, they should nuance each other and the theoretical development. Swedish sociologist Johan Asplund (1970) comments on how Sigmund Freud, when analysing da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, relied on incorrect historical data and a misunderstanding of a word translated from the diaries. Asplund asks whether the use of 'wrong data' means that the analysis fails. Yes, it is worthless — if we are looking for causality or the production of facts. But if we are seeking to *make sense* of the world, the methodological standards are different. Regardless of whether the data is correct or incorrect, Asplund claims, the analysis inevitably makes us see the Mona Lisa in a new way. An *aspect* of the painting has been elicited. The narrative of this binding chapter aims to bring out aspects of Papers I-IV, and in turn, this relationship should hopefully bring out aspects that facilitate understanding of how urban public places are shared.

The social sciences should not try to emulate the natural sciences, and they should not be measured against the logics of the natural sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The theory of this thesis is such that it may very well be discussed and criticized, but it cannot really be proven or disproven. Rather than making facts, this theory works towards making *meaning.* Thus, it is not right or wrong in any absolute sense, 'only more or less illuminating, more or less provocative, more or less of an incitement to thought, imagination, desire, possibilities for renewal' (Brown, 2002, p. 574). The quality of the setup of cases is a question of how intriguing and illuminating the results they can produce together are. In this project specifically, the roles of the cases should be evaluated in terms of the extent to which they allow the elicitation of an aspect.

1.4.1 On ontological cohesiveness

It is difficult to imagine how academic publications in four different journals could adhere to the exact same ontology. Add a binding chapter that aims to take a meta-perspective on these, and a 'pure' ontology becomes unlikely.

Some cracks and inconsistencies in the implied assumptions about the working mechanisms of the world are inevitable.

With regards to this thesis, one such inconsistency occurs naturally, as the different papers represent different ways of looking at the world. Do we live in a world that consists mainly of rhythms, as in Paper II? Or is it a world of territorializations or material culture, as in Papers III and IV? It depends where one looks. Another example is how the term behaviour takes on a slightly different meaning with the behaviourist street furniture in Paper III than in behavioural atmospheres in this binding chapter. A similar matter concerns the upcoming discussion of the results, where place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres are discussed under three terms that hardly align perfectly with a single ontological source. Nor are they particularly loyal to any original theoretical strand. The term 'vague figurations' may be said to depart mainly from a gestalt-psychological line of thinking, albeit with less focus on perception, and it can also be seen as a re-interpretation of Kevin Lynch's (1964) theory of the image of the city. 'Situated instructions' is coloured by ideas relating to material culture, as presented by Daniel Miller in *Stuff* (2010), but also the microsociological thinking of Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman. 'Temporal thresholds' is influenced by the temporal focus of Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis (2013) but used with far less precision than his notion of rhythms. As a reflection on the matter of ontological cohesiveness of this thesis, it may be put forward that while a perfectionist view on theoretical craftwork might be desirable at times, there must also be allowance for some friction and cracks.

1.4.2 Style, format and process

Consolidating this project with a coherent narrative has entailed a great deal of work to reach a conceptualization that 'hits the spot' by describing something undescribed in an enlightening way. Descriptions of this kind are a craft, and a difficult one at that. My background training as an architect has not entailed the extensive work with visuals sometimes expected in spatial research. At times, developing and reaching the ideas of vagueness in place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres has felt like an explorative sketching process. With a pen and paper by the keyboard, I alternated between the analogue and digital tools on a minute level to produce lengthy lists of words and tentative models perforated with arrows and punctuated with question marks. Perhaps the process is similar for professional writers or any other

creative worker; in my case however, the explorative approach was drawn from design studio courses just as much as from writing workshops. Weighing how a word in one key sentence may impact of the overall narrative structure is not very unlike simultaneously attending to scale 1:100 and scale 1:5000 in an architectural design.

The qualities that make a concept good are up for debate. The goal here has been to arrive at something that contributes to relevant academic discourses without automatically intimidating laypeople, and that gives at least some meaning for readers with limited familiarity with the discourses involved. During the process, I used an imaginary Master's-level student in any related discipline as a benchmark; my aim was for any such student to be able to make some substantial take-aways without too great an effort. Questions guiding the process were e.g.: How much does this concept demand from a reader? What are its abilities to communicate? How straightforward can it be without its complexities being compromised?

The cover design, typography and measurements of the physical copy of a thesis such as this must adhere to formal protocol, making strategical communication of its contents to potential readers with a tailored and inviting appearance a challenge (c.f. Burroughs, 2016; Erixon Aalto, 2017 for admirable examples) — especially if the readers are outside of academia. To compensate, I have made a special effort to find a balanced voice that is accessible and straightforward without being too mechanical, that uses academic terminology but is not too jargony, and that has a human colour without being too chatty.

Chapter 2: Across the Papers

In this second chapter, I account for the theoretical baseline for each of Papers I-IV and describe how different techniques for gathering empirical data span the papers.

2.1 Theories

What is referred to as 'theory' is not exactly the same in all of the Papers I-IV. In Paper II for example, rhythmanalysis works as an explicitly stated analytical framework for understanding urban running, while in Paper IV, the idea of material culture serves more as an underpinning ontological position. Furthermore, if the territoriology of Paper III is compared to the idea of eye corner encounters in Paper I, the former comes off as a rather consolidated theoretical basis, while the latter seems looser and more tentative. Nevertheless, we can look at the most active theoretical force at work for each of the papers for a summary.

2.1.1 Eye corner encounters

Paper I advances the idea of *eye corner encounters* as a way of studying an urban park as a meeting place. The prefix frames encounters as something that can take place in the corner of the eye, both literally and metaphorically, and is a specification of 'encounter', which can be a rather broad term. Arguably, meetings are fundamental to public space. What is public space if not a repetition of strangers passing by and interacting with each other? The city is easily seen as a spatial organization of meetings and non-meetings: streets manage how cars meet; floors and walls separate residents from each other; shops, markets, and pubs shape the recurring rhythms of crowds, and so on. One should however be careful about using the rather neutral term

'meeting' as interchangeable with 'encounter'; the former does not hold the same connotative force with regards to the potential for friction or conflict (there are of course exceptions, such as meeting in the sense of 'business meeting' or 'assembly').

Helen F. Wilson (2017, p. 451) offers an overview of different definitions of and approaches to the meaning of encounters in the field of geography, framing an encounter as 'a conceptually charged construct'. To Wilson, the encounter is thus not synonymous with the meeting: the main thing about the encounter is that it involves some kind of *change*. 'In short,' Wilson writes, 'encounters are meetings where difference is somehow noteworthy.' The encounter can be understood as a particular moment in the process of sharing space in public, a moment that always involves a degree of strangeness and unpredictability. It is more specific than social interaction in general.

The prefix in Paper I modifies the meaning of encounter. While the eye corner encounter does indeed involve a degree of change, it is not the same kind of transformative power that Wilson describes. Very simplified, one might say that much of the theory about encounters seems to understand the encounter as transformative at the very moment that it happens, while eye corner encounters refer to a moment that hardly changes anything when it happens and instead builds up to have an impact over time. It is also worth pointing out that the role of eye corner encounters in Paper I is not mainly to understand this impact on humans, but rather to understand how the encounters accumulate to become a particular dimension of the park.

2.1.2 Rhythms

The theoretical framework of Paper II is *rhythmanalysis*. It draws on a 1992 collection of essays by Henri Lefebvre that was later translated to English as *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday life* (2013). The ideas presented by Lefebvre are suggestive rather than prescriptive, and especially with regards to methodology the reader is left with instructions that are more or less poetically abstract: 'Without omitting the spatial and places, of course, [the rhythmanalyst] makes himself [sic] more sensitive to times than to spaces. He will come to "listen" to a house, a street, a town, as an audience listens to a symphony.' (p. 32). The sketch-like quality of Lefebvre's writing does however appear to have been received as an inspiring opportunity for further development, leading to a hitherto small but rich range of

interpretations and explorative applications into the spatio-temporal everyday (Lyon, 2018).

According to Lefebvre, '[e]verywhere there is an interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy there is a rhythm' (p. 25). Paradoxically, rhythms are defined as repetitions with differences (p. 16). Put simply, rhythmanalysis means exploring space with an attention to phenomena that are repeated. Examples of such phenomena are changes between seasons, months, and day and night, as well as patterns of human movement, sounds, opening hours, festivals, holidays, and everyday routines on an individual level. Lefebvre makes a distinction between cyclical and linear rhythms, the former of which originate in nature and the latter from human civilization. A further distinction in his apparatus is made between isorhythmia, polyrhythmia and arrhythmia, which refers to rhythmicities characterized by being homogenous, diverse or conflicting. This distinction points at something important in Lefebvre's idea — the main interest here is not the rhythm, but the relationships between rhythms. Does one rhythm dominate over another? Are two rhythms competing for space? What rhythms work together to shape the character of this place?

What may at first appear as trivial observations in the everyday time-scape can build up to rather sophisticated accounts of how spatial production is distributed over different scale levels when the rhythms are taken together. Some rhythmanalytical projects have been 'general' in the sense that they have approached space as built up by networks of rhythms and then elaborated on that dynamic. Examples are Filipa Matos Wunderlich's (2013) exploration of 'the aesthetics of urban temporal environments' (p. 384) and Paulina Prieto de la Fuente's (2018) study of 'the micro-rhythms that repeatedly connect everyday life situations with the built environment' (p. 14) in a public square. It seems to be even more common to pinpoint a specific rhythm and investigate its relationship to place as well as to other rhythms. Here, there are studies of the rhythms of boat tourism mobility (Kaaristo, 2018); the rhythms of street vending (Tran & Yip, 2020; Sun, 2022); the rhythms of commuting (Edensor, 2011); the rhythms of shopping (Kärrholm, 2009), and the rhythms of walking (Chen, 2013; Johansson, 2013).

Rhythmanalysis seems to have developed a close relationship with mobility studies oriented towards spatial phenomenology, and the activity of running in particular has attracted rhythmanalytical interest (c.f. Edensor &

Larson, 2018; Larsen, 2019; Qviström et al., 2020). Running is also the focus of Paper II, where the practice is studied in relation to the urban context and the polyrhythmic ensemble (Crang, 2001) of the park Pildammsparken in Malmö. The study thematizes the rhythmanalytical framework in three different levels. We move from considering the everyday routines and circumstances in which urban running is embedded to the negotiations with the rhythms of others inside the park, and then in the runner's own body and rhythmic experience. The study also makes a methodological advancement as it shows how rhythmanalytical approaches can be applied through autoethnography and running.

2.1.3 Territories

The main perspective of Paper III is *territoriological*. Research into territories is conducted in the social sciences (c.f. Michel Foucault) as well as in ethology, such as when referring to the zone of an animal. Architectural theorist Mattias Kärrholm and social theorist Andrea Brighenti have developed territoriology for studies of public space and materiality. According to Brighenti (2010), territories are not defined by the spatial; they are rather processes defining space. Whilst a territory does indeed have a material component, the geographical area as such is not what constitutes the territory. Space here is part of a composition that —together with aspects of power, time, and repetitions of actions and spatial claims — builds up to a territory. Rather than talk about territories as objects, it makes more sense to talk about territorializations. They are not fixed, they *happen,* although they can of course be more or less stable and more or less long-term.

When viewed territoriologically, the city becomes a complex of large and small, brief and enduring territories that occur. The span is wide, from intentional and planned territorializations of car parking regulations, city festivals, retail opening hours and so on to the many indirectly and informally produced territories — for example when an individual claims a public bench. Drawing on Perla Korosec-Serfaty, Michel de Certeau and others, Kärrholm (2007) has suggested that the production of territories can be divided into several forms, e.g. *appropriations*, *associations*, *strategies* and *tactics.* They are 'productions' in the sense that they are ways in which territories arise and keep happening, and they refer to how the forms can be of personal or impersonal nature, and to how they can be intentionally produced or produced from usage.

Such production forms can interact and accumulate in various ways to become compositions of *territorial complexities*. The different forms can overlap, harmonize or conflict with each other. Here, street corners, fences and lamp posts appear as players in a world where places are coded with time and power. In this way, a territoriological perspective deals with space in a more sophisticated manner than e.g. the comparatively crude division between 'public' and 'private'. Examples of topics that have been approached from a territorial perspective include courtyards (Kristensson, 2003); retail architecture (Kärrholm, 2016); graffiti (Paulsson, 2016); homelessness (Smith & Hall, 2018), and materialities for social encounters and exchange (Magnusson, 2016).

Territorial appropriations and associations are of interest in Paper III. The residential area Norra Fäladen in Lund is seen as in a slow process of territorial change in which groups and activities become associated to different sub-areas, and how efforts of appropriation (e.g through local events) are made in times when the neighbourhood spirit is challenged. In particular, we pay attention to the *territorial stigma* (Waquant, 2007) that has characterized Norra Fäladen at times, and we also consider how the role of the local public spaces is subject to changes on the city- or regional scale. In short, the territoriological mapping in Paper III makes it possible to analytically describe slow socio-spatial changes and the impact of these changes on the everyday lives and public space dependencies of the residents.

2.1.4 Material culture

Paper IV's exploration of the world of street furniture takes a perspective of *material culture*. A stereotypical material culture scholar would be the archaeologist or anthropologist who interprets an ancient civilization based on its coins, urns or clay figurines. We can understand this focus as different from studies in symbolic culture, where the focus would be on non-material entities such as myths or gods. With a material culture perspective, a society is viewed from the perspective of everything that may be referred to as objects, materialities, things, or stuff. Important here is not only the belief in things as bearers of cultural meaning in general, but in their active involvement in shaping society and the everyday (Miller, 2010). In Paper IV, I have explored and tried to capture something of the active involvement of street furniture.

The influence of a material culture perspective in Paper IV is also expressed through the attention to small, carried objects in public. Frequently overlooked or taken for granted in the spatial disciplines, in some situations such objects may be rather significant for the character of a place and how we act towards each other. The shopping bag or bike that you use expresses your taste, lifestyle and economic position. There is a great difference between sitting on a bench in public with a bottle of water or a bottle of wine. A take-away coffee makes you walk slower; a smartphone may lead to careless movement. A cigarette is very powerful: it can make people stay away from you, but it can also make people approach you to ask for a lighter. Small things matter in public. Some small objects can dominate a place more, others less. At a very commercial and touristic city centre, shopping bags, take-away coffee and selfie sticks prevail, in contrast to a park, where the prevailing small objects are dog leashes, footballs, frisbees, sunglasses.

2.2 Research Techniques

As described in Section 1.4 on research design, this project uses several different research techniques. Below is an account of the research techniques and methodological experience, followed by a note on reflexivity and an excursion behind the scenes of the fieldwork.

2.2.1 Case studies

Three of the studies were conducted in the same regional context (Papers I, II, III). The park Pildammsparken in Malmö and the residential area Norra Fäladen in Lund are in southern Sweden. These cities are part of what is called Öresund Region, a transnational region that comprises parts of southern Sweden, Copenhagen and eastern Denmark. A case is commonly understood as a particular setting approached in relation to the real-life context in which it is embedded (Groat & Wang, 2013, p. 421); this applies to Pildammsparken and Norra Fäladen. The study on street furniture (Paper IV) is different in this regard, as it includes only occasional examples from the context of southern Sweden but is otherwise international.

2.2.2 Autoethnography

Autoethnography is the main method of Paper II. Autoethnography entails deliberate use of one's own subjectivity to produce empirical material. A

running diary was used to do this in the rhythmanalytical study of Pildammsparken. Chang (2018, p. 108) hesitates to generalize on the many and variated ways of doing autoethnography, but admits to the following characteristics: personal experiences of the researcher is used as data; there is an intention to understand a social phenomena; and process as well as writing product can be of diverse kinds. Importantly, autoethnography allows the researcher to shift from an initial position as the subject that experiences and produces the empirical material, to a more analytical mode when the material is to be analysed. Whether or not this is a scientifically convincing way of doing research is of course debatable, and the autoethnographer is a far cry from the image of the objective and distanced scientist. Autoethnography raises questions on the nature of knowledge — a merit that makes it epistemologically relevant.

In any case, autoethnography is arguably an effective way to harvest detailed, vivid and deeply phenomenological material. For Paper II, this shift in modes was supported in that the two co-authors also analysed the empirical material of the running diary, for which I acted as the experiencing subject. It should be emphasized that the autoethnography of Paper II was very coloured by the idea of rhythmanalysis; separating theory and method would be misleading in this case. One might instead say that the autoethnography was our interpretation of how a rhythmanalysis can be performed.

2.2.3 Observation studies

All four papers relate in different ways to the method of data collection known as field observations, which largely developed in the anthropological tradition and later extended into studies of urban public places (c.f. Whyte, 1980; Gehl & Svarre, 2013). In this research project, field observations have entailed that I have been physically located at a place and observed and documented a certain phenomenon of that place. The observations were documented in writing using pen and paper or digitally as phone notes. Photography and sketching were also used, albeit to a lesser extent. I have come to appreciate a routine of having a pen and a sheet of A4 paper folded in three to fit into the palm of my hand.

Field observations were the primary method of gathering empirical material in the study of eye corner encounters in Pildammsparken (Paper I). The observations were done in a way that can be described as a longer phase

of grounding (c.f. grounded theory (Groat & Wang, 2013)), followed by a phase of semi-structured method (as is common in interview methodology)., Observations in the park Borgarparken played a minor part for the overall study of the residential area Norra Fäladen (Paper III). Here, observations complemented the material from the interviews with some illustrative examples of everyday use of this place. Observations also played a minor part in the study of street furniture (Paper IV). Some of the examples of furniture included were gathered during walks in my hometown Malmö, as well as on visits to neighbouring countries. Although unstructured and rather coincidental, these may be seen as a very rudimentary form of observation.

2.2.4 Interviews

The interviews for Papers II and III were semi-structured, based on sets of prepared themes and questions that guided the interviews (Denscombe, 2010, p. 175). In both cases, a refinement of the interviews took place as the research work progressed. To an extent, this refinement concerned adjustments of the prepared themes and questions in terms of content, but even more importantly, it concerned a situational sensitivity regarding timing, organisation and recognising opportunities to return to questions when I believed respondents had more to say.

For example, when interviewing people in their homes for Paper III, I started to notice how responses that were personal and regarded the more emotional aspects of living in Norra Fäladen seemed often to emerge later in the interviews, sometimes when I was just about to turn off the recorder. Responses tended to begin with factual statements, developing to ultimately arrive at stories of more a personal, biographical nature (e.g. divorces, illness).

The interviews in Pildammsparken called for a sensitivity of another kind, namely that of dealing with respondents on the run. A general impression is that the extent to which runners care about their running was both an advantage and disadvantage for the in situ interview: while runners are generally not happy about interrupting their running to be interviewed, they can be almost overwhelmingly talkative when an interview has actually been granted. I located myself at one of the entrances to the park (at the north-eastern corner) to intercept them when they were about to start or finish a run. Catching them just after a run worked best, particularly when they had stopped completely to catch their breath.

As an inexperienced public interviewer, I was rather cautious about my appearance and how I approached potential interviewees. I tried to dress in what I imagined was both neutral and casual, and for the sake of transparency I wore a sign card with my name, contact information and affiliation. Initially I found it quite difficult to deal with rejections. The interviews were often short (5-10 minutes), so they seldom reached the level of emotionality as the interviews reported on in Paper III. But they sometimes felt intimate in another way: the runners were short of breath, they were sweaty, they talked quite openly about their muscles and pains. One respondent even had me doing exercises against a bench.

These examples of ongoing adjustments throughout the interview work illustrate an approach to the source material as something that can never really be exhausted, only deepened and nuanced. Although all interviews were limited by thematical frameworks — everyday territorializations in Norra Fäladen and running rhythms in Pildammsparken — each interview had its own particularity. In the process, incoming harvested material would confirm and substantiate patterns emerging from already existing material whilst also challenging these patterns and pointing to alternative experiences.

2.2.5 A note on reflexivity

During interviews, I had the impression that interviewees had particular expectations when they learned that my field is design. On one occasion, a respondent even gave the impression of having prepared answers regarding the colour of the façades in the area where he lived. Such situations raise questions of reflexivity and how one as a researcher tries to stay aware of one's role and impact. There is one particular thing that I'd like to take the opportunity to discuss in this matter. Since its publication, the rhythmanalytical study of urban running (Paper II) has been criticised for not being sufficiently explicit about what kind of body was used as an autoethnographic instrument. Whilst acknowledging the values of the running diary for the documentation of rhythms, sociologist Dawn Lyon (2018, p. 55) argues that

> given that embodied perception of the world is so central to the practice of
> rhythmanalysis pursued in these examples, it is important to know something of
> the bodies that are the instruments of the research, especially since it is well

established that different bodies perceive differently. We hear little about […] Wirdelöv.

I find this criticism to be fair and relevant. Flattening out corporeal particularities is ill-suited to the whole idea of rhythmanalysis as concrete and situated. In addition, for the sake of methodological transparency more generally, a fair overview of the body-instrument would give readers an opportunity to appreciate how it may have influenced the study. Furthermore, not explicitly stating that the body here was white, able and male (which it was, and which seems to be what Lyon is adressing) in an autoethnographic study may entail an implied assumption that this body is so expected that it does not need to be stated. Omission of such information may be seen as the naturalizing of one body-identity, and it may therefore be ethically questioned as a passive suggestion that this body should also *remain* normative in similar studies.

When re-visiting the running diary from 2016, there are few reflections of the kind for which Lyon calls; body-identity reflection was already absent during fieldwork and the gazes and attentions active in situ. The discussion can be nuanced with an example of how one positions oneself to other groups differently than perhaps expected in a rhythmanalytical study. Here is an excerpt from the running diary from Tuesday 9 August, 2016 that was not included in the final version of the paper:

> As a regular park user, I feel more of a bond to some people and groups than others. It is a kinship that sometimes extends beyond those that are just performing the same activity as me, e.g. runners.
>
> For example, I see a person pushing another person in a wheelchair. Unlike me, they are moving slowly, and in that sense, their activity and mine are of opposite kinds. But what we have in common is that both our activities demand more attention to the surroundings, compared to, say, the general group of walkers. I assume that the driver of the wheelchair has to calculate and predict just as I do to avoid bumping into inattentive walkers.
>
> This notion of kinship is activated by the crowding today. I get the impression that I can see who is a regular visitor to the park and who is just here for the show at the amphitheatre and doesn't visit the park often otherwise. These more alien

visitors have another way of staring. They stare at runners as if we were birds or trees or anything else that naturally belongs in the park. As if they had nothing better to do for the moment than to stare at some flesh in motion. Yes, they stare, but at the same time they do not keep their eyes open and pay attention to avoid congregations or block the way. They are oblivious, irresponsible and untrained in visiting this park. From now on, I will call them the blind spectators.

Lyon calls for reflection on identity 'in a general sense', but here we see how alternative, less forceful categorizations of humans can be activated. However brief, somewhat imaginary, and indeed naïve when described as a 'kinship', the kind of small inter-human formations depicted in the field note are really part of the rhythm-world built up by park visitors moving. Cautiousness in movement and familiarity with place can be a common denominator. In sum, I agree with Lyon that a 'more explicit' autoethnography would have been appropriate in our study, and that it is advisable for future rhythmanalytical research, but we should also keep in mind how rhythmanalysis might lead towards body-identities that are not always self-evident from the start.

2.2.6 Dead-ends and shortcomings

As the methodology and composition of research techniques evolved, there were naturally some unsuccessful attempts at researching public places. During one period of this research project, to be the main sites of investigation were to be three places connected to an underground rail link (the City Tunnel, Malmö, Sweden) . They were supposed to be local cases of the 'lands of strangers' that Amin (2012) writes about. While I ultimately abandoned the idea, I learned from gathering data for the case (of which no explicit traces remain in the final thesis material). I had fallen into a strong belief in the importance of things that people carry or use when moving through the places — umbrellas, shopping bags, water bottles, cigarettes, wheelchairs, bikes and so on. At the same time, I was infected by the latourian notion of the *myopic* researcher. Myopic literally means near-sighted, and I read Bruno Latour (2007, p. 165-190) literally.

The idea was that I could travel between the three stations in short intervals and harvest vast amounts of data that would work both for synchronous and diachronous analysis of the places as material cultures. Positioned at each of the stations, I counted what people were holding in their

hands or had hanging from their bodies (e.g. backpacks) when entering or leaving the station; jewellery and clothing were excluded. I used a headset and the voice memo function on my smartphone so that it would look like I was on a phone call. This, I told myself, was being an anthropologist blending into 'the field'.

I abandoned that study on the same day, having counted 1500 units of handbags, phones, skateboards etc. and realizing that the data would quickly escalate beyond manageability. This intense flow of things was impossible to overview continuously, and at times I could not even speak quickly enough to take note of things. Other challenges were bags that stubbornly wouldn't fit into the pre-planned categories. Besides, it felt silly. Maybe all these objects didn't really matter so much. Maybe one should not work quantitatively without taking a course in statistics. Maybe I had misunderstood what Latour meant by myopic. And wasn't it too unprofessional that I didn't have any real plan for analysing the data? I just expected intriguing results to emerge when getting back to the desk. This felt more and more like taking a great risk of wasting precious PhD-time. The take-away seemed to be what *not* doing real research is like.

I did however listen to the recordings and typed the units into an Excel-sheet. Some minor openings for further studies emerged when I compared the places and looked at the flows of objects over different times; for example, I saw that the category 'shopping bag' was particular in that it always tended to be carried together with other things. Only one out of five shopping bags were the only thing being carried by an individual — no other object displayed this tendency to network with other artefacts to the same degree. Another interesting thing was that there was an overrepresentation of cloth bags and backpacks at one place. This raised questions on context and demography: was it because the place was close to a university, and that these objects were more likely to be carried by students? There was also something about the extent to which smartphones were present. In retrospect it's obvious — we're more likely to pick up our phones when standing in an escalator than when we're walking up a flight of stairs, which was a difference between the places. This small insight into the details of public materialities had never occurred to me before the data pointed it out, however.

Still, I recognised that this was hardly going to lead to the great illumination of public space as material culture that I had hoped for, so I

moved on to other ideas. Much later, when aiming to develop another paper (Paper I), I needed a way of approaching Pildammsparken with fresh eyes again. Methods like free observations of everyday use and place interactions or writing lists in the manner of Georges Perec (c.f. Perec & Lowenthal, 2010) did not really work; I was too influenced by a previous study (Paper II) and all I could see were rhythms. I remembered the sense of flow and intensity from counting objects at the three station-places, and now simply did the same thing again, substituting 'carried things' with 'meetings'. A 12-hour counting study began. I documented that one pedestrian met one person on bike, one runner met two pedestrians, one person in a wheelchair passed three people standing still with a dog, and so on. The data itself was not the point here — what was absorbing about this trial was that it produced a *sense* of the place and its socio-motoric patterns. This was counting as a way of deeply immersing oneself into local space, time and movements.

This might seem trivial. Some might argue that what a place is and what people are doing there is readily perceived on a surface level — that we know how a place works the minute we arrive to it. But this research project adheres to the notion that the everyday is 'a problematic, a contested and opaque terrain, where meanings are not to be found ready-made' (Highmore, 2002, p. 1), and that it should as such be approached with sensitivity. Although the idea to study place and encounters was already emerging, the actual failure of the counting study to capture the finer dynamics of all the meetings that occurred in Pildammsparken actually led forward towards the articulation of encounters as being 'vague' and 'low-intensity'. 'Meaningless' quantitative observations have thus been highly significant for the overall theme of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Summary of Papers I-IV

In this third chapter, I will present the four papers from the perspective of the narrative. Each paper is interpreted as representing an aspect of what sharing of place can be.

3.1 Paper I — Eye corner encounters in Pildammsparken: The urban park as meeting place

Paper I *s*hows how the urban public park Pildammsparken is shared by park visitors. The type of place-sharing of interest here is what I call *eye corner encounters*, i.e., fleeting, momentary, corporeal everyday interactions that are very common and seemingly unimportant. The study draws on an analogy with Mark Granovetter's (1973) theory of weak ties, hypothesizing that it is also possible to talk about weak encounters in public. It posits that as many cities are becoming denser and socially pluralistic, there is a need to inquire into how the actual meetings of co-called 'meeting places' really happens. Supported by field observations of the daily life in the park, I describe how Pildammsparken has a 'meeting-ness' of its own, and I suggest a few ways in which this dimension is produced by the repetition of eye corner encounters over time.

The paper presents a series of different takes on eye corner encounters. For example, shifts from *predictable* and *unpredictable* encounters arise from the range of activities and user groups, as well as from the distribution of sightlines, circular routes and pathway crossings. It is also noted how these encounters happen in relation to *group elasticity*, i.e., how some groups (such as a team exercising) can adapt and spread out while passing by others. This elasticity can place the demand on visitors that they 'read' some groups' movements, and even that they determine whether they actually are a group

or simply individuals alone. *Small spectacles* also influence how these encounters happen. The park is rich with leisure activities that elicit mildly fascinated looks from passers-by. Another aspect is *facial positioning*. Different parts of Pildammsparken can be said to form their own patterns in terms of whether eye corner encounters happen face to face or in other forms. The walkways, grass areas and the amphitheatre are different in this way. Lastly, eye corner encounters whilst *waiting* happen in a range of ways. Comparisons of waiting at a restroom facility and at an outdoor gym reveals differences in their potentials for triangulation effects (Whyte, 1980).

The study concludes with an argument that eye corner encounters in Pildammsparken can be explained as an effect of the urban context of the park, and moreover that we are dealing with place-specific culture of sharing place that has gained momentum and to an extent sustains itself. Such culture develops by repetition over time. Given that eye corner encounters sometimes precede stronger meetings, the study of such encounters offers insight into how public places matter for social relations.

3.2 Paper II — Rhythmanalysing the Urban Runner: Pildammsparken, Malmö

Paper II deals with how one specific urban figure — the runner — shares space with other people and materialities, and how this sharing plays out as part of larger networks of temporal and spatial rhythms. Supported by Lefebvre's (2013) notion of rhythmanalysis, the study explores urbanized running in the public park Pildammsparken in central Malmö, Sweden. Drawing on on-site interviews with runners, site observations and a running diary (March to October), we discuss urban running in a context of time, space and everyday life. We also comment on rhythmanalysis from a methodological perspective.

The study is structured around three themes, each of which addresses a different aspect of the rhythms of running. The first of these themes is about how everyday rhythms — daily habits, weekly schedules, etc. — form a context for urban running and play into how it is planned and performed. Examples include how urban running happens in relation to routines for food shopping or parenting, or how running alternates with visits to the outdoor gyms in Pildammsparken. Due to its location, the park is sometimes used as part of a longer running route through other parts of the city. The second

theme shifts towards the inside of Pildammsparken and describes how the rhythm of running is influenced by the park's material affordances, as well as by rhythms of others that intersect with the rhythm of running. This includes negotiation with other park visitors as well as managing different weather and season-related phenomena. Lastly, we turn to the inside of the runner and the rhythmic experience. This means a special focus on the body and Lefebvre's idea of 'dressage'. Here, we account for the socio-motoric development of the runner, and of the experience of shifting between attention to the rhythms of one's own running body and the rhythms of others.

The study shows how the urban runner, although undergoing disciplining and dressage, is more concerned with the sharing of space, rather than moving on autopilot. In this sense, the study illustrates the fine-grained, lived unfolding of park life that is contrary to mobility principles of modern planning. It also shows how the studied park can be understood as produced through a polyrhythmical ensemble (Crang, 2001) in which the urban runner co-acts. In other words, we offer a concrete example of what becomes of a public place when seen through a rhythmanalytical lens, and how sharing of this place occurs in relation to other rhythms. Furthermore, autoethnography through running appears in the study as useful for rhythmanalytical studies, especially with regard to Lefebvre's call for the rhythmanalyst to use one's body as a reference.

3.3 Paper III — The Neighbourhood in Pieces: The Fragmentation of Local Public Space in a Swedish Housing Area

Paper III studies the territorial dynamics of sharing a residential area. This paper deals with slow structural changes and how those changes have consequences for the everyday lives of residents. Part of the Swedish Million Programme, the neighbourhood Norra Fäladen was completed in 1972 and has since been expanded and densified. Drawing on ten longer semi-structured interviews with residents that are supplemented by observation studies and archive- and literature studies, we ask about the possible cumulative consequences of the densifications and infills for the local public spaces over time.

We explore how Norra Fäladen was territorially stigmatized (Wacquant, 2007) sometime after its construction and gained a reputation as a problem area. There were two destigmatization processes, each with a different character. First, there was a series of territorial appropriation initiatives (Kärrholm, 2007) to counter the stigma through supporting a stronger community spirit. This included the formation of a local municipal sub-unit, events and festivals and the presence of grassroot organizations. This blended with another kind of destigmatization that was based less on social cohesiveness and was more a process of fragmentation and place detachment. From the 1990s onwards, Norra Fäladen was densified and expanded with single-family dwellings parallel to developments of car-oriented retail, new technologies and changing mobility patterns.

The study points at how the shared identity 'Fäladsbo' (resident of Norra Fäladen) and the role of the local public spaces have lost some of their solidity, although they have not dissolved completely. Changes in the structure of the built environment play a part in this process, but must be seen in the light of other changes (e.g., lifestyle, school politics and everyday mobilities). In the conclusion, we comment on how densification projects — often seemingly neutral — may have consequences that are too slow and interwoven to be spotted easily. Such problems concern differences in public space dependency and the erosion of public resources. Although of different magnitudes, we draw a parallel between the subtly challenged sharing-ness of Norra Fäladen and Rob Nixon's (2011) notion of 'slow violence'. We also suggest that attention to public space dependency, in combination with mappings of how local public places are territorialized differently over time, enables research into how slow changes accumulate as problems on other scale levels.

3.4 Paper IV — The Trash Bin on Stage: On the Sociomaterial Roles of Street Furniture

Paper IV explores how street furniture may subtly take on unprecedented roles with implications for the dynamics of the urban landscape. The co-presence of benches, trash bins, drinking fountains, bike stands, ashtray bins, and bollards is often taken for granted, but sharing everyday urban life with them means that they also play a role in how we behave in public. As we see an increasing number of furniture types entering urban spaces — furniture

that is recycled, anti-homeless, skateboard-friendly, solar-powered, storytelling, phone-charging and event-making furniture — the study departs from the claim that this development needs attending to. I ask about the sociomaterial roles of these things and how they matter for public life.

The study speculates on three such furniture roles: furniture that is part of making events and temporary places — carnivalesque street furniture — which includes furniture used by grassroot associations as well as for large-scale events such as the Olympics. Carnivalesque furniture can be said to be involved in the rhythms and time-scape of the city. There is furniture that becomes intimately involved in how we act — behaviourist street furniture. This includes so-called hostile design, but also 'nudging' design and surveillance. Behaviourist furniture can be said to be involved in the city when seen as a landscape of encounters. There is also furniture that makes a kind of visual narrative punchline by relocating objects and shapes — cabinet-like street furniture. It is a kind of eye-catching storytelling. An example is a car-shaped, car-sized bike-stands that make a point about the space a car occupies in comparison to that of a bike. Such furniture is involved in the info-scape of the city as rather straightforward discursive expressions.

These roles point at how sharing city with street furniture seems to increasingly become a question of sociomaterial densification (Østerberg, 2000), in the sense that the number of relationships between the social and material in public space are growing compact and intensified. As shown in the study, street furniture takes on different roles in relation to different 'scapes' (Appadurai, 1990), as well as in relation to other scale levels such as that of the water bottle, the skateboard, the cigarette or the smartphone. Further research on the diversity of this part of urban material culture is needed for addressing questions about power relations involving street furniture and about the implications of street furniture for privatizations of public space (c.f. Herring, 2016).

Chapter 4: Framing Behavioural Atmospheres

This fourth chapter serves as conceptual preparation for the discussion in Chapter 5. As shown in the walkthrough in Section 1.3, 'sharing of place' is a broad phrase that can mean many different things. Before attempting to answer the overarching question of what a heuristic framework for understanding vague place-sharing could be, this chapter instrumentalizes behavioural atmospheres into something of a conceptual device. Mobilised jointly, behavioural atmospheres, vagueness and place-sharing should describe more than the sum of their individual meanings and thus help further the discussion of the papers.

While behavioural atmospheres and vague place-sharing are not the same thing, they are not completely separate, either. To think of the term behavioural atmospheres as just a socially oriented version of e.g. *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) or *sense of place* (Relph, 1997) would be to divorce it from place-sharing, which, in turn, rather violently eliminates a sensitivity from both parts. When breathing the air in a room, one actively shares that air with others; there is no point at which air that is actively contributed by individuals can be separated from the collective air that surrounds everyone in the room. We know that there is an active contribution to the sharing of air happening and that there is a surrounding, shared air in the room. Although there is no clear division between the two, they can be perceived as two separate things – a verb and a noun – that, like vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres, encircle the same phenomenon.

4.1 Atmospheres

According to Gernot Böhme (1993) — philosopher of art and aesthetics, and a seminal figure in theory on atmospheres — an atmosphere arises as a meeting between subject and object. In the ontology of this thesis, we follow this view of atmospheres as something produced from relationships, but it is better framed as arising from the meeting between a place and the visitor to that place. More specifically, Papers I-IV can be seen as representing a series of shifting ontologies to be interpreted in the light of atmosphere theory, each emphasizing different versions of subject-object relationships. The papers deal with meetings between subject and place as rhythms, place as territories, place as material culture and place as small, everyday encounters.

Böhme (1993, p. 114) locates atmospheres somewhere in between subject and object, and they thus take a 'peculiar intermediary position' in relation to subject and object. In this way, atmospheres transgress the common distinction between subject and object. Without questioning the validity of this model, I read in it a tacit focus on single human experience from which I wish to distance myself ontologically. While it may be true that atmospheres assume this intermediary position, Böhme's model directs the focus on the individual subject's experience of this inbetweenness.

This research project is interested in places, specifically places when shared, and not the experience of the single subject. One might counter by saying that place exists in the experiential realm by definition, so the experience of the subject is ultimately the matter in question. The discourses I wish to inform here however are more concerned with the concept of place than the concept of experience. 'Place' exists in the realm of experience, but that is secondary. The goal here is to describe sharing of places seen as behavioural atmospheres. An atmosphere is in this sense an aspect of a place, in that it describes 'a particular status or phase in which something appears or may be regarded' (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Attending to this aspect means that the idea of 'place' is given precedence over the experience of a subject. Subjective experience plays a more important role on a methodological level in this research project, as it is key to the phenomenological approach used in the papers.

Atmospheres exist in between subject and object, as Böhme argues, and they also exist in between subjects. Atmospheres are shared, and one way of sharing them is by being at a public place with others. There are of course individual differences in how we perceive atmospheres, but this does not

exclude their intersubjectivity. In conversation, references to the atmosphere of a graveyard or the atmosphere of a festival might evoke very individual and personal associations in the listener, and the communication builds on a shared understanding of what different atmospheres are like.

As a concept, atmosphere can be tricky and paradoxical. According to Matthew Gandy (2017), atmospheres have increasingly gained attention in architectural theory and cultural geography in recent years, often in combination with an interest in 'affects' (c.f. Berlant, 2011, p. 1-22). Paradoxically, atmosphere can refer to a unique character of one single place as well as to categories of places more generally (e.g., the atmosphere of an airport or a shopping mall). The original meaning of atmosphere in a meteorological sense seems to still inform our understanding of atmosphere when referring to the mood of a place. Research into specifically urban atmospheres include an interest in affective and sensory as well as political dimensions of atmospheres, and it might even be possible to talk about an 'atmospheric turn' in some disciplines. If such a turn exists, it has, according to Gandy, occurred in close development with e.g. 'new phenomenology', 'new materialism', and 'a host of other theoretical constellations that share an interest in complex entanglements between space and subjectivity' (p. 368).

In the words of Brighenti & Kärrholm (2018, p. 211), atmospheres 'cannot be grasped or boxed in, but this is perhaps also why they often are so powerful.' It is important that the slipperiness of the concept does not discourage from exploration of its potentials. Atmospheres are difficult to pin down, but that does not make them less important, and it does not necessarily detract from the utility of the concept. For this research project, the concept's potential lies both in its capacity to describe an aspect of a place, and more specifically, in its capacity to describe *vagueness* in how that place is shared. Atmospheres can be vague – this may sound obvious, but it deserves to be emphasized. Böhme succinctly states that 'atmosphere indicates something that is in a certain sense indeterminate, diffuse but precisely not indeterminate in relation to its character.' (1993, p. 1-2). The indeterminacy of atmospheres might be easy to see, but in what way are they also *not* indeterminate? In language, 'we have at our disposal a rich vocabulary with which to characterize atmospheres, that is, serene, melancholic, oppressive, uplifting, commanding, inviting, erotic etc.' (p. 2). This is another paradoxical feature of atmospheres: they are often vague and

escape boxes, but they are at the same time the target of a very extensive and sensitive set of descriptions.

Drawing on Böhme, Niels Albertsen (2019 [1999]) provides further understanding of urban atmospheres in a theoretical discussion that engages with sociologists George Simmel and Dag Østerberg. He makes the point that atmospheres are experienced in ways that are ill-fitted to be broken down individually into five senses. Not only are atmospheres experienced in an interplay between all senses, they also bear elements of meaning:

> A good indoor climate is also multi-sensuous in that it combines light, sound, smell, humidity, and tactility in a way that is healthy and pleasant for human beings, but this does not in and of itself make an indoor climate an atmosphere. This whole becomes atmospheric first when we experience it as something more than an indoor climate, as a mood or disposition of the space, which has to do with character and physiognomy. (p. 4)

What is relevant about atmospheres for this thesis is their quality of subtly, ephemerality, and low intensity. This corresponds with the notion of vagueness in place-sharing. Of course, atmospheres can also be intense or very immediate, but more often we associate atmospheres with something that is located in the background. This is what I am after: sharing of place as a background-ness of the city.

4.2 Behaviour and Atmospheres

The collocation of 'behavioural' and 'atmosphere' was only found used in passing, with no notable development of its meaning, scattered in a number of research publications. One feature of this concept is in how the two components behaviour and atmosphere colour each other. The modifier 'behaviour' focuses atmospheres on social interaction, describing them as more than an immaterial cloud, but instead as something concretely produced by place-specific behaviours. This, by the way, means that we move away from seeing atmospheres as related to art and aesthetics, which has often been the case in atmosphere theory. What about the other way around – what becomes of behaviour when it is thought together with atmospheres? One might say that 'behaviour' plays down the somewhat abstract aspect of atmosphere, instead making it concrete by linking it to human (inter)actions.

'Atmosphere' modifies behaviour by describing how social interaction is part of the characteristic of a place. Behavioural atmospheres denotes how behaviour is interwoven with a specific location and situation.

Architects like Peter Zumthor and Juhani Pallasmaa have drawn on Böhme with a focus on the sensory, e.g. the light or tactility of a place. Sensory stimuli are indeed actors in the arising of the atmosphere of a place — Paper II, on urban running in Pildammsparken testifies to this — but with behavioural atmospheres, behaviour is foregrounded as the primary object of attention, before the sensory. This is not to say that the sensory is completely cut off; it is included but parallel to a range of other phenomena: weather, the history of a place, its spatiality and design and, as we shall see, its territories, rhythms and material culture.

Behaviour is here understood as an essentially *social* phenomenon, in the sense that it refers to inter-human interaction as embedded in forces of culture, ethics and power relations (Goffman, 1966). The term behaviour is also used in daily speech and has a place in the realm of the social, and we are thus dealing with behaviour in a different way than in e.g. biology or the more positivistic branches of psychology. Here, behaviour is a phenomenological concept; it is experienced and therefore approached with a qualitative and interpretative methodology. Furthermore, behaviour is narrower here than when seen as actions and reactions in general. This project focuses on public places, and behaviour in the light of publicness is thus its interest. We might say that it is behaviour when performed while wearing the mask of civility (Sennett, 1977). Attention is thus directed to how we act towards each other, how we negotiate and try to live together, or, in other words, how we behave when sharing place.

We need behavioural atmospheres to describe how place and behaviour are not separate, but instead shape each other in a continuous process. Place is not fixed; it is more like an event in constant formation, and this makes it more fruitful to think of behavioural atmospheres as place-*sharing* than to perceive them via a noun like shared place. It marks that we are dealing with something that is not still, but happening. Architectural historian Robin Evans (1997, p. 54-91) provides a guiding example of sharing as a process that involves place and behaviour in a comparison of domestic floor plans from different cultural eras. In the plan of an Italian renaissance villa by Raphael, there are no corridors; rooms were used for stationary activities and were passed through to reach other rooms. According to Evans, this passing

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through of one or several rooms — where someone may have been busy eating, undressing or doing any other more or less prosaic everyday activity — fostered a particular domestic culture; inhabitants met, saw, and heard each other; their bodies came close. This household was a culture of no privacy. Even the lavatory could be used as a passage between rooms.

In contrast, a British floor plan from the mid-1600s is structured around corridors. The corridors kept the rooms apart, and accordingly, this was a household in which the members lived more separate lives. One could change clothes without worrying that someone needed to go through one's room. Bodies did not have to come close to each other. With regards to the social hierarchy of the household, it is not so much about a symbolic reflection as a physical condition: the corridors meant that servants and masters could literally avoid meeting each other. In comparison to the Italian villa, this household was a culture of privacy.

Evans' comparison highlights that the relationship by which space and behaviour come together as a sharing cannot be sufficiently understood as spatial determinism or as artistic symbolism. These perspectives leave out immaterial cultural forces at play or the impact of the concrete and physical. The alternative line of thinking provided by Evans informs the understanding of place-sharing in this thesis. It is an idea of behaviour and space as co-involved in a process of a place-specific culture of sharing. The forces involved shape each other but escape causal explanations.

Evans' analysis may be seen as a simplifying image of processes that extends beyond the two very specific historical cases he selected to make his point. I hypothesize that Evans' analysis is translatable to the outside of buildings and to urban public places. From the idea that the presence or absence of corridors in domestic households fosters social everyday behaviours of intimacy or social phobia, it can be imagined that all spatial figurations foster different kinds of place-sharing behaviours. At many times, this happens in much more subtle ways than depicted by Evans.

But while behavioural atmospheres registers Evans' framing of what behaviour is, a distinction should be made concerning the spatial ontology. Evans deals with 'architectural' space, thus, something of a cultural artefact. For Evans, a floor plan becomes an expression of a certain time and civilization; the household culture and the floorplan of the Italian villa corresponds to Italian culture of the time more broadly. But what behavioural atmospheres describes is less about architectural space as a time- and culture-

specific expression and more about *place.* While neither architecture or place can be understood as cut off from their cultural contexts, there is a difference in what is emphasized. In contrast to Evans' architecture, when we talk about place, we take a more pronounced phenomenological approach, attending to the world of human experience and lived reality. 'Architecture' refers more to proportions, style and detailing; 'place' refers more to spatial situations involving our dearest memories, our dreams and nightmares, and our bodies and minds moving through everyday surroundings.

4.3 Vagueness

With behavioural atmospheres, we acknowledge place-sharing as involving inter-human relationships and the lived experience of interaction. Public places are shared in a socially concrete and phenomenological sense — we are aware of other individuals, we make assumptions about them, and we act upon their co-presence. And naturally, place-sharing involves a spatial aspect by definition, as without space there is simply no place to share. However, Evans' examples are rather direct and strategically chosen to make a strong point. Translating Evans' idea of historical place-sharing into behavioural atmospheres of urban public places of today gives room for emphasizing aspects of it somewhat differently. The one aspect of place-sharing addressed in this research project is vagueness.

What is vagueness? In *Theories of Vagueness* (2000 p. 10), the philosopher Rosanna Keefe, whose focus is on logics and language, cautions against hastily labelling things as vague simply because they are confusing. If something is underspecified, it is not necessarily vague. Things are not vague simply because we want more information. A notification that your order will be delivered between 9 am and 4 pm on Wednesday can actually be seen as *non*-vague, because there is a very clearly delimited time range. A similar point can be made about ambiguity. The fact that one word can mean two different things does not necessarily make the possible meanings of the word vague. Words like 'head' (the top of the human body or the person in charge); 'bank' (a financial institution or the shore of a river) or 'square' (a geometric shape or an open public area in the city) are ambiguous, but their meaning usually becomes clear through context. Vagueness occurs when we don't know whether we are dealing with the head or the assistant, a bank or a post office, or a square or a park, but this does not have to do

with the semantic ambiguity of the word. (Poetry is an exception here, as the intended meaning of ambiguous words is sometimes deliberately left vague.)

Although elaborate theory on vagueness such as that of Keefe have informed my understanding of vagueness, it is beyond the scope at hand. The discussion in the next chapter follows a more general and colloquial understanding of what vagueness is. In this research project, vagueness describes a cluster of properties: the peripheral, of low intensity, the subtle, the almost unnoticed, the weak, the slowly changing, the shapeless, and the unstable. It is about the moments of sharing place that we usually take for granted, but that play a role in the atmosphere of a place. Vagueness is commonly illustrated with the *sorites paradox* (Keefe, 2000), which uses the image of a heap of sand. If the grains of sand are removed from the heap, one at a time, it is impossible to pinpoint the moment when the heap stops being a heap. At the same time, everyone would agree that it inevitably will stop being a heap. The transformation from being a heap to not being a heap is vague. What is the sorites paradox of place-sharing? Looking at places from the aspect of this question is of interest in this project.

If behavioural atmospheres implies that sharing of place can be vague, it may in extension be assumed that place-sharing can also be 'clear' or 'sharp'. In contrast to the kind of peripheral meetings in public presented in Paper I as eye corner encounters, we can think of an opposite to vague place-sharing as in full view place-sharing. That is when sharing of place happens in ways that are explicit, unambiguous and an articulated part of the programme of a place. We saw this in Section 1.3 with the traffic solution 'shared space'. In the idea of the traffic solution shared space, the sharing is 'in full view' in the sense that it is specifically the sharing between different mobility users that is put to the foreground. It is spoken, articulated. The point of this research project is not, however, that some places are vaguely shared and others are not; for most shared places it is possible to talk about a degree of vagueness. Rather than 'Vague or not vague?', the question is 'What kind of vagueness?'

4.4 Behavioural atmospheres and place-sharing

Imagining a certain behavioural atmosphere for some places is rather easy, for example a prison, a religious building or a school with defined codes of conduct. We act in socially place-specific ways in such places, and much of

these ways can be sensed rather immediately as an atmosphere of the place. It is however not the most evident cases of behavioural atmospheres that is of interest here, and I do not follow a Foucauldian line of thinking about the atmospheres of distinctly institutional spaces. Instead, I hypothesize that all places can be seen as having some degree of behavioural atmosphere, including the places of everyday urban life. It is a 'sharing-ness' of which we usually do not take notice. The stairwell of an apartment building has a sharing-ness of its own that involves how people act when passing by each other. This project seeks to approach places when seen as these kinds of less apparent vague ways of sharing place.

There is a phenomenological reason for including behavioural atmospheres in the upcoming discussion of Papers I-IV, as it prevents readings of an overly deterministic nature. Weaving behavioural atmospheres into the work should make it less likely that the reader oversimplifies, thinking in terms of cause and effect. In addition, to produce the discussion in Part 4, I need to be able to refer to a concrete action (place-sharing) as well as to something more spatial and experiential (atmosphere); otherwise, I believe the discussion would risk becoming hollow and mechanical. Behavioural atmospheres allows place-sharing to be thought of as experiences that are an integral part of a place instead of as usages and interactions played out in abstract spatial typologies. In other words, behavioural atmospheres remind us of the place in place-sharing.

Vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres take different positions in relation to each other, and it is possible to form a theoretical discussion from this imagined relationship. The former is more about actions, practices, activities and the enacted. The latter is more about the sociability of a place that, like an atmosphere, exists 'between sensuousness and meaning, between sensory experiences and the semiotic or hermeneutic.' (Albertsen, 2019 [1999]), p. 4). Vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres are not synonymous; they shape each other. We can think of it dialectically: how a place is shared has an impact on the behavioural atmosphere of that place, and the behavioural atmosphere at the same time has an impact on the place-sharing. This cycle is not without fluctuations however, and the loop is not closed. Speculating on and concretizing how this cycle happens and fluctuates is the aim of the discussion in the next chapter.

4.5 Reflection

The phenomenon I try encircle to exists only as far as is evidenced through this thesis, and the reader cannot be provided with any absolute definitions. Instead, the upcoming discussion is a step towards further enrichment and refinement of a definition. The narrative of this thesis follows an approach to concepts in which precise definitions are not strictly necessary; in fact, the concepts are sometimes more productive when left with a more sketch-like quality. Although there are differences, a parallel can be drawn to *landscape*; Gunilla Lindholm noted that this concept has a flexible capacity to lend itself to metaphors (e.g. 'business landscapes' or 'landscapes of justice') and to allow for a movement 'back and forth' between different analytical levels (2012, p. 8). We can think of this as a concept's flexibility to adapt to research situations beyond what can be predicted at the moment. Prematurely and hastily making clear-cut definitions risks eliminating immanent potential and richness. A comparison can be made with the three categories of street furniture suggested in Paper IV. These categories are sharply defined (too sharply, I think in retrospect), and when presenting Paper IV I have seen how these categories have been taken as more instrumental and definitive than what was my intention. The conceptualization presented in this narrative is deliberately left as an approximate silhouette rather than absolutely defined.

Is it, then, a vague concept about a vague phenomenon? Böhme noted (1993, p. 118), 'that "atmosphere" is used as an expression for something vague, this does not necessarily mean that the meaning of this expression is itself vague.' The parallel between my statement about concepts with a sketch-like quality and the fact that the research question itself deals with vagueness should not be overestimated. The opposite setup could also be imagined — a study in vagueness that aims for a sharp and undisputable conceptual model. What I aim to express here is more a research position concerning an honouring of sensitivity and care in the development of theory.

Can vagueness and atmospheres really be researched? Sociologist and science and technology studies (STS) scholar John Law has challenged the borders of what things can actually be researched. The claim of his 2004 book *After Method: Mess in social science research* is rather simple, but the implications are far-reaching. His main argument is twofold: first, there is a normativity to method in social science, and this normativity makes us miss things 'out there'. The normativity of scientific method is ill-suited to the

actual messiness of reality. In short, method should be allowed to be messy because the world is messy. Law does not propose that method should *always* be messy; existing methodological standards have, of course, benefitted humanity in immeasurable ways. Instead, the methodology that is accepted should be broadened, and when necessary, method should be adapted to the messiness of reality. Second, existing research methods shape the reality that they are intended to reveal. Essentially, Law portrays the relationship between norms of research methodology and reality as a self-sustaining circular logic.

Law's description of the things 'out there' can inform what vagueness is in the context of this thesis. How can the vagueness in place-sharing be studied if we do not know what it is from the beginning? Does the vagueness disappear from study? I concur with Law that research must be able to accommodate the elusive and slippery aspects of reality.

Chapter 5: Nuances of Place-sharing and Behavioural Atmospheres

In this fifth chapter, I present a few thematical insights that emerge from and traverse Papers I-IV. The discussion below is a demonstration of a possible heuristic framework; it should not be seen as an attempt at a definitive theoretical model. It shows a range of partly overlapping nuances of behavioural atmospheres. First, one kind of nuance will be discussed as *vague figurations*; this relates to how behavioural atmospheres are perceived and interpreted. Secondly, we explore situations in which visitors to a place could be seen as subject to *situated instructions* in behavioural atmospheres. Lastly, we turn to a temporal perspective, discussing how different kinds of time spans are involved in behavioural atmospheres as part of the theme *thresholds of time*.

Looking to other places than those in Papers I-IV, notions from the discussion may lead us to see new similarities and differences between them; considering something else than what is studied in the papers should shed more light on the ongoing production and effects of different kinds of behavioural atmospheres. I will therefore supplement the upcoming discussion with a theoretical excursion to two other places, both of which are bus stops. They serve as a pedagogical demonstration of what the ideas of vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres can describe. Let us think of these two hypothetical bus stops – admittedly in a rather stereotypical and simplified way – as different because one of them is located in a busy city centre, while the other is located in a suburban neighbourhood. They are in the same city, with signposts displaying bus numbers and timetables. They also have shelters made of metal and glass, with a small bench and advertisements inside.

5.1 Vague Figurations

We interpret and turn the urban landscape into mental images by distinguishing a landmark, a barrier or a district (Lynch, 1964); similarly, the experience of place-sharing can also be said to be turned into sets of typical images. *Figurations* may be used to speak broadly about the experiential categorizations used to make sense when sharing place. Here, figurations refer to how everyday socio-spatial situations are habitually conceptualized; they are themes of a kind for our situational experience of people and places, like 'passing by that neighbour' or 'waiting at that crowded place'. Figurations are common occurrences that relate to how we socially associate to places. These situations are usually expected to appear as clear figurations, and we often recognize the activities and user types of public places in ways that allow for smooth, frictionless sharing of place. Despite individual differences, the life of streets and parks is largely a silent interplay based on shared behavioural understandings. But is it not also the case that figurations sometimes change and transform whilst being perceived? And that sharing of public places also involves cases of ambiguous figurations?

In these cases, one can speak of vague figurations that occur in place-sharing. Some situations are characterized by amorphous shapes, or ongoing formations. They are in a state of unclarity or a state of being in between two or more clear categories. Loud voices from the nearby football field or basketball court may be in between enthusiasm and aggression. A half-finished meal left on the table in an outdoor seating area may mean that the guest has left, or perhaps the guest has simply gone to get a napkin. A stranger may suddenly seem to be speaking to you, but actually be on the phone. But socio-spatial figurations do not only occur on a person-to-person level. As the portrayal of the residential area Norra Fäladen in Paper III shows, the slowly changing set of images of borders, neighbours, identities and nicknames of sub-areas can also be understood as a type of figurative vagueness.

Socio-material inbetweenness

Sometimes figurative vagueness concerns a certain balance between what we think of as social and what we think of as material. The humans with whom we share place may sometimes be more social, and at other times, more material. Standing crammed with other people on public transport may shift one's experience of other humans away from the social and towards the

material: the others become mainly bodies that occupy space (Østerberg, 2000). Rather than fellow co-passengers, they are perceived as crowding skin, fabric, sound and body heat.

Similarly, imagine waiting for an outdoor table to become available at a crowded restaurant. One does not see the already-seated guests as singular individuals or pay attention to whether they are enjoying their meals. When looking at the tables and guests, the figuration is primarily one of bodies in different phases of eating. Which table seems about to finish and leave? Perhaps when one group leaves a table and passes by us on their way out, they become more like individual social beings. Arguably, these and similar shifting states of socio-material inbetweenness may be seen as characteristic of the behavioural atmospheres of restaurants.

The urban runner in Pildammsparken (Paper II) exemplifies how such shifts are dealt with on the move. At one moment, the runner throws somebody a smile; at another moment, park visitors are dehumanized and turned into objects. For the runner — often focused on running rhythm and physical exertion — the figures passed by are not necessarily perceived primarily as human beings as much as bodies of user types of varying relevance to the act of running. They are 'dog owners', 'groups of teenagers', 'slow walkers' — categorizations that come into the foreground because they matter for the runner's possibility to perform. Some categories are deemed likely to not cause interruption; others, like children, can be unpredictable and call for heightened attention. This ongoing formation is one kind of figurative vagueness. For the urban runner – a figure that itself also adds to the behavioural atmosphere of the park – some degree of de-animation of others seems necessary in order to make park life and running rhythms work.

But figurative shifts happen the other way around as well, i.e. from material to social. Park visitors become dehumanized by the runner, and street furniture has a tendency to instead becoming increasingly *humanized*, or at least more animated. As shown in Paper IV, more often objects on the scale of furniture have voices, explicitly express values, and call for attention. They measure, surveil, collect data, and invite to interactions resembling inter-human interaction. Some pieces of furniture act more and more like humans, such as the trash bin that plays motivational messages about how waste should be sorted.

The tendency of street furniture to adopt more human-like traits is largely related to digitalization and the smart city discourse. At the time of writing

(in 2022), this figurative vagueness hardly leads to street furniture being confused with actual human beings. However, deviations from what we normally associate with street furniture with may leave people with unclear expectations. Does it make sounds? Will it be embarrassing if I press the wrong button? Is user data collected? To whom is it sent? Without overestimating the frequency of smart- and digital street furniture in most streets of today, we should keep in mind that socio-technological advancement seems to be on the rise rather than on the decline. Socio-material inbetweenness occurs not only with humans that are momentarily dehumanized (as in the example of the park runner) but also with objects that can display human traits.

As previously stated, we can turn to two hypothetical bus stops — one in the city centre and one in a residential neighbourhood — for further theorizing. Differences in them become visible in the light of socio-material inbetweenness. The sharing of the bus stop in the city centre is characterized by rhythms of mild crowding. There is someone talking loudly on the phone. Someone with several shopping bags has occupied most of the bench with them. Visibly frustrated tourists seem to be struggling to download an app so they can ride the bus.

The tourists' voices, the person on the phone and the surrounding traffic become one big object of noise. The shopping bags are like an extension of their people and together they seem to form an entity that occupies almost all of the seating. The tourists are like one large person whose only focus is to understand the ticket app. A upscaled human face on an advertisement seems to be seeking eye contact with the observer, and it gives a sense of intimacy.

This is how socio-material inbetweenness occur in relation to crowding at the bus stop in the city centre. In comparison, the neighbourhood bus stop is rarely crowded, and it is not uncommon to find oneself sitting alone on the bench inside the shelter, so we could expect less of this inbetweenness here. It is however possible to imagine socio-material inbetweenness also in cases that does not involve crowding, such as when a person happens to stand waiting right in front of the time table display. In this situation, for someone that needs to see the time table, the person does for a moment become something of a visually obstructing object. It is in this case the behaviour of a single individual that makes the materiality come to the fore, regardless of any crowding.

Group elasticity

Simply visiting a park means facing at least some unclear figurations. We find examples of this in situations of so-called group elasticity and distance relationships described in Paper I. Runners in groups of two or more may separate from each other, for example due to differences in individual fitness; whether they are a group or not may thus be unclear to other park visitors. This kind of vagueness is less likely for, for example, two friends who stroll in the park for an hour. The spatial features of Pildammsparken influence where and how such group elasticity happens. Runners might enter a narrow path and therefore need to run single file rather than side by side; they re-shape into a figuration that is less easily read as group or single individuals. A child might leave its guardian when attracted to e.g. the edge of the pond. When this happens, a distance relationship between child and guardian can be formed and make it unclear who is responsible for the child.

Situations like these means that park visitors are faced with subtle questions about whether they are encountering groups or individuals who are not in one another's company. This is followed by choices about how or whether one can move in between individuals, and if so, how close, or if it risks causing an interference. It is not a choice in the sense that one stops and reflects; it is an almost imperceptible socio-motoric choice made in the moment regarding the risk of breaching personal space (Hall, 1966). In the task of interpreting whether approaching individuals belong together or not, identity markers like age, activity, gender and clothing play a role for the possibility of decoding the figuration.

With regard to group elasticity and behavioural atmospheres, group elasticity seems necessary for behavioural atmospheres to unfold smoothly. Paper I describes one case of a large group of runners expanding and adapting to a populated walkway with very fine-grained movements, and one case of a group of teenagers that does not adapt and is thus reprimanded by a runner. These two situations are small insights into how an atmosphere of how to behave can be smoothly maintained, or, as in the second case, challenged and then reacted upon.

Some of the looseness and flexible capacity of the group elasticity described above can be read into the figuration 'the group sharing this place' at the two hypothetical bus stops. At both places, people can arrive one after the other to sit inside the bus shelter, to lean against the signpost or to stand a few steps to the side during a phone call. More people arrive continually,

they spread out as singular individuals and groups around the shelter, the walkway and the signpost. When the bus finally approaches, they form something that is not a straightforward queue, but that is not a bunch of individuals randomly distributed in a crowd, either. It has a vague sense of order and looks a bit like a swarm. Calling it a 'semi-queue' or 'semi-crowd' seems insufficient, since it is not really quantifiable in halves. The group transforms from being scattered around a bus stop into something that gathers towards the entrance of the bus.

Confusion arising from this figuration seems less likely at the neighbourhood bus stop because it is a routinely and less intensly shared place. A question like 'Are you in the queue or not?' is probably uncommon at a place where it is most often perfectly clear what is perceived as the group sharing the bus stop. In the city centre, the vaguely ordered group of people waiting share place under circumstances that are different. There are many others passing by this bus stop on their way somewhere else, someone may lean against a façade behind the bus stop, and someone may have just stopped for a moment to write a text message. So while the sharing of both bus stops are subject to a vagueness regarding the looseness in group formation, at the city centre this vagueness is further elevated by an ambiguity regarding who 'belongs' to the bus stop.

Borderline neighbours

The study of the residential area Norra Fäladen (Paper III) sheds light on figurative vagueness in a way that involves more scale levels. One result from the interviews was a territorial cartography of different sub-areas within the area. The map shows a perceived distribution of everyday socio-spatial figures: borders, formal names and nicknames, sub-areas within sub-areas and so on. Notable about the map is how space is turned into shapes and names, and Norra Fäladen is thereby conceptualized by its residents so that it can be understood, navigated and identitized.

This map is by no means unambiguous — one long-time resident claimed to have never heard of the generally well-known nickname of his own sub-area, and he referred to it only by its formal street name. There are other cases of contradicting perceptions about what Norra Fäladen is: for some residents, it holds an image of being 'mixed'; others talked about segregation between some of the sub-areas. Mixed and segregated are not mutually exclusive, but the two perceptions seem to vaguely shift and merge. In addition, according to one informant, there is a view of Norra Fäladen as

actually referring to only two of the sub-areas. These two sub-areas are not on the higher end of the socio-economic strata, and one of them in particular has undergone territorial stigmatization (Wacquant, 2007). At the same time, more affluent sub-areas and those built later are not always considered part of Norra Fäladen. These examples give an impression of how various figurations related to sharing Norra Fäladen are unsettled and subject to varying views.

One way to understand the case of Norra Fäladen is that while it is becoming materially densified through new buildings, the area is actually becoming less dense from a place-sharing perspective. There is a paradox in how the area is densified in terms of buildings but is probably becoming more and more fragmented in terms of behavioural atmosphere; one might say that while there is a material densification, there is, ironically, an atmospheric sprawl going on. The expansion of Norra Fäladen with newer, single detached houses has played a role in a transformation of the previous figurations of local identities. Someone who previously met 'a neighbour' when spending time in one of the local public places in the area is now more likely to meet a less familiar figure. The 'Fäladsbo' (resident of Norra Fäladen) was more prevalent in the area's earliest decades but seems to have since lost its prevalence, or at least become more vague.

It seems that a neighbour at Norra Fäladen is something that more than previously is borderlining to several levels of identification. That is, one resident may identify the neigbour along the lines of 'next door', while someone else may identify the neighbour along the lines of 'the area to the east of my area', or in some cases even on the level of the city. What level that come to the fore is contextual; recurring events like Fäladskalaset can for example be seen as the promotion of an idea of all residents within the borders of Norra Fäladen being equally much neighbours.

How might this be related to the two hypothetical bus stops? While the area is not so small that anyone using the neighbourhood bus stop will recognize everyone with whom they share place, there is arguably a greater degree of familiarity between those sharing place there than in the city centre. Naturally, there are also people in the city centre who use the bus stop daily or regularly as part of a commute, but they are absorbed more into the mass of other city visitors who are shopping, switching to other bus lines, or simply running errands. Just the fact that the city centre bus stop houses

multiple bus lines and the neighbourhood has only one makes a difference for the familiarity and attachment to the place.

This difference in familiarity and recognition are part of differences in how the two bus stops become shared as places. The question 'Does this person belong to this area?' might be irrelevant at the city centre bus stop, whilst it might arise, at least briefly, in the mind of someone waiting at the neighbourhood bus stop. Depending on whether the neighbourhood is socio-economically diverse or homogeneous, identity markers such as clothing, carried things and more become cues for estimating this familiarity.

Perhaps one can even see or at least get an impression of whether someone is familiar with a place or not by observing that person's spatial behaviour. Sometimes it is obvious, of course –most would agree that tourist groups are often easy to discern, for example. There may also be behavioural cues on a much more subtle level, however. Imagine a person biking for the first time to a new job. That person is somewhat more attentive and careful than the routine commuters. Someone who has just moved into a new flat might move differently than other residents when walking in the stairwell.

At the neighbourhood bus stop, spatial unfamiliarity may be subtly displayed by a person approaching the shelter in a certain way, maybe taking a very quick look around before entering the shelter and hesitating just a bit before sitting down on the bench. This is in no way universal, but it rings truer for some individuals than others. Some can perhaps be said to have a certain sensibility for unfamiliar places. When this kind of behaviour occurs, it acts as a signifier of unfamiliarity, i.e., it is a vague manifestation of a degree of neighbour-ness. At the neighbourhood bus stop, it plays a role in the low-intensity attitude towards those with whom we share the place. At the bus stop in the city centre, the significance of spatial unfamiliarity is more difficult to pinpoint, if there is any at all. At an intense place with a lot of people of varying familiarity, this behaviour is likely overshadowed in the rhythms and bustle of public life.

5.2 Situated Instructions

The behavioural atmosphere of a place is arguably influenced by forces such as national legislation and dominant societal ideas about 'common sense' and 'decency' in social interaction. These forces play out on what can be called a structural- or a macro-level (c.f. Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, p. 25-

26), and it is difficult to imagine sharing of place happening in isolation from them. But however strong macro-level forces can be, they are not alone in shaping the behavioural atmosphere of a place. Social orders are also produced in situ, by the everyday usages and interactions (Garfinkel, 1964). As an ethnomethodological perspective allows us to see, there are place-specific and situated rules for sharing place that play out on a detail level. Behavioural atmospheres arise, in part, from within. Seemingly neutral objects such as street furniture can work for or against different behaviours, values and codes of conduct (Paper IV). Parallel to the structural and the macro, there are local cues, signals, affordances and micro-rules that influence how place-sharing happens. Would it be possible to say that a place and its visitors in some way can *instruct* in how it should be shared?

Silent and explicit rules

We can see visitors to a place as one source of place-sharing instructions. The runner Dalia, 31 (Paper II, p. 106), recounts that

> [s]ometimes I'm bothered by people that don't keep on the right side of the path. Walkers should keep to the left and runners to the right. It's the same principle as in traffic. I holler and wave to people when I come running

This quote describes how instructing others into a behavioural atmosphere is enacted in situ. Dalia draws on a principle and tries to implement it locally, although there are no formal regulations of any kind regarding what side of the path one should keep to in the park. But instructions are not necessarily verbal. Bodily contact also works: Paper I describes how a runner — seemingly deliberately — causes a small collision with a group of teenagers that did not adapt to the usual flow of other visitors. When observed, this space-claiming appeared to be a way of teaching others how to move and admonishing them to pay attention to other visitors.

Note that the focus of conflict in these situations is specifically spatial use — navigation, movement, attention, proximity and how one occupies space. The two scenes describe sharp and articulated situations that do not exemplify the vague and silent interplay that characterizes much sharing of urban public places, but there is something else to learn from them: they show how behavioural atmospheres become visible when challenged. Following this, behavioural atmospheres are in part place-specific norms and

tacit rules of which we are not particularly aware until they are broken and reacted upon. In this way, behavioural atmospheres can be likened to a 'background hum' (Stewart, 2011, p. 449). Similarly, we do not notice the droning of an appliance (e.g. a ventilation system) until it suddenly stops. It seems part of the social life of many places that there are regular moments of short and sudden heated negotiation, in which the prevailing behavioural atmosphere becomes manifest.

How might such tacit rules work if we ask about the behavioural atmosphere of the city centre bus stop and the neighbourhood bus stop? Cutting a queue or littering would be considered behavioural wrongdoings, but that is true for both places – and for many other places as well. One possible speculation is that the two bus stops do not differ much in terms of their rules, but rather in the character of those rules. Breaching rules at the city centre stop would be considered more of an offense to *individuals*, while at the neighbourhood stop it would be more of an offense to *a group*. This makes sense because the neighbourhood bus stop has a larger proportion of regular users. They are more of a group in the sense that they recognize each other more, and their sharing of place is more socially defined by repetition over time.

Compared to the neighbourhood bus stop, sharing the city centre bus stop is more similar to sharing a *non-place* (Augé, 1995), and the persons are closer to the asocial state of being *series* (Sartre, 1976) rather than a group. Thus, at the neighbourhood bus stop, a breach of rules is not only an offense to the group, but also more of an offense to *the local rules of place*. Expectations of behavioural predictability have been imprinted in the place over time at the neighbourhood bus stop, and the associations between place, rules and individuals are stronger. Put simply, there is a difference in whether someone taking Dalia's instructive role asserts that 'Hey, that is not how we act *here*' or 'Hey, that is not how to act at *bus stops*.' The former case concerns the bus stop as a locality, whereas the latter case concern the bus stop as a spatial type.

The Dalia effect

On what authority do the two runners instruct other visitors? Factors like speed, muscles, identity and self-confidence come to mind. Perhaps some user-types are more inclined to instruct others in place-sharing than others. In addition, it is likely that behavioural instructions occur in the presence of attachment and place familiarity. It does not seem a coincidence that the

'instructing runner' Dalia has been a regular visitor to the park for a long time. In fact, the composition of regulars and non-regulars at a place appears to play an important role for how places are shared. Behavioural atmospheres may be seen as, at least in part, arising from the meeting between visitors for whom the place is well-known and familiar and visitors for whom the place is new and strange.

Dalia and the other runner echo Jane Jacobs' so-called sidewalk characters, i.e. individuals who somehow meet a lot of people in public and act as sources of information, gossip and contacts (2011 [1961], p. 68 ff). The two runners have similar features to those of sidewalk characters in that they are local information sources of a kind. However, the runners exemplify something much more specific; they do not provide information in general, but information specifically concerning the place at hand and how to behave with regards to others. They hold a position in between that of the individual and the collective: on the one hand their instructing benefits them, as their running is facilitated if other visitors follow their rules, but it would also make sense to say that the attentiveness that they request also benefits the park as a whole.

The activities of waiting at a bus stop and running in a park are different in many ways, but we can expect at least some similarities between the place attachment of the two runners and the place attachment of regular- and long-time users of the hypothetical neighbourhood bus stop. It is not likely that users of the neighbourhood bus stop nurture a special bond to the bus shelter, in the sense of loving and caring for it and its bench and signpost in the same way that a park runner may treasure the park greenery at sundown, but that they instead feel a degree of subtle homeliness. Attachment would then come mainly from the bus stop being part of the neighbourhood in which one lives.

Can this homeliness even reach to the city centre? For users in transit after shopping, the bus stop is no more of a home than any other part of town, in the sense that they are located within their 'home city'. For users who live in the city centre, the bus stop is part of home, similarly to the neighbourhood bus stop. From this comparison we can talk about different scales of homeliness, which in turn are related to attachment and possible degrees of instructive authority. In both cases however, the city centre bus stop is also an anti-home because it is a place in which occasional and random strangers intermingle.

There is a third group of users: those that live in another part of town and share the city centre bus stop on a daily regular basis when commuting to and from work. For someone who needs to ride a bus to get home, 'home' must be somewhere else – so isn't homeliness a misdirected description of this user's relation to the bus stop? For someone who lives in another part of town, isn't this bus stop, full of occasional strangers, an antithesis of the home? Yes, home is mostly somewhere else for this user, but as the study of the residential area Norra Fäladen (Paper III) indicates, home can be fluid and its borders can shift. It is not necessarily something that radiates from a centre and weakens with distance; it can also be crafted through everyday acts of domestication (c.f. Boccagni & Brighenti, 2015; Koch & Latham, 2013).

What attaches the regular user to the city centre bus stop is probably more related to the *routine* of visiting the bus stop than the distance to a home address. If this user is frustrated by non-regulars obstructing the flow between the shelter and the bus door, it is a question of an expected mundane procedure being breached. This attachment by routine is by no means synonymous with love and appreciation for the place; the user may very well dislike the bus stop. Nevertheless, it is a place deeply inscribed into the everyday life of the user. Against this background, one can imagine an authority by attachment in the line of Dalia and the other runner in Pildammsparken.

Pactivity and socio-motoric learning

The notion that there are instructions implies that some learning and adaptation also occur. How should we refer to the state of someone who experiences and learns behavioural atmospheres? According to Kathleen Stewart (2011), one becomes *attuned* to atmospheres. In the case of the urban runner (Paper II), this attunement happens rhythmically, following Lefebvre's (2013) idea of *dressage*, a process to which repetition is key. The study shows how important the behavioural atmosphere is for the activity of running — the ways other visitors act and pay attention can obstruct the performance or make it more entertaining and enjoyable. This is not to imply that runners are a more vulnerable group than others with regards to how people behave in public, but rather to point out how behavioural atmospheres affect different visitors' usage differently.

Attunement to atmospheres can be understood in more ways than the rhythmical. *Soft fascination*, as presented in environmental psychologists

Rachel and Stephen Kaplan's (1989) attention restoration theory, comes to mind when we speak of vagueness, subtlety and low intensity. But as soft fascination refers only to a positive and restorative state, it is only enough for a rather partial way of describing experience of behavioural atmospheres. A more suitable match would be *pactivity*, a state in between passive and active that corresponds well to the inbetweenness often present in behavioural atmospheres. Pactivity seems to be able to describe not only an inbetweenness of human everyday existence in a general sense (Bornemark 2020; see also Wiberg, 2018 on the more specific form *pactive listening*), but also much of the behavioural attunements to urban public places. It can be suggested that such attunement happens as a pactive and *socio-motorical* learning (Warnier, 2001). Places are internalized socially (codes of conduct, etc), but also motorically (how to move, where it is comfortable to sit, etc.), and behavioural atmospheres can be rich or poor in terms of the socio-motoric learning opportunities it offers. One develops – although not fully consciously – skills in being part of them. The urban runner of Paper I does on the one hand undergo a repetitious dressage concerning movements in relation to other park visitors, but is on the other hand not moving completely on 'autopilot'. The urban runner is, in this sense, both passive and active in the continuous learning of moving socially.

Let us turn again to the city centre bus stop. A regular user who uses it to go to and from work has learned over time how to act and move when occupying the shelter or waiting outside of it or when entering the bus. This person knows the rhythms of crowding, the bus times and what it feels like to sit down on the bench. This socio-motoric familiarity has taken time to learn – it is not every day that the bench is available. There is an unpredictability to this place, but things like the effect of rush hour and weather on crowding can be learned to some extent.

Does it take a longer time to adapt to and learn the socio-motoric skills necessary at the city center bus stop, as compared to learning the skills needed at neighbourhood bus stop? Perhaps, simply because there is a greater diversity of situations involved at the busier place, and a greater set of skills must be learned. There are situations at the city centre bus stop that do not occur at the neighbourhood bus stop; for example, a passenger needs to be ready when a particular bus arrives and quickly circumvent a slow group of people to reach the entrance door.

It may sound as if sharing bus stops with others is just a burden. We should not forget that the absence of people and rushes can also be demanding. At the neighbourhood bus stop — when the bus is late, one is alone at the bus stop, and the phone is low on battery — the act of waiting has the potential to be peaceful and meditative, but also tiresome and boring. There is a great ambiguity in sharing place, well expressed by the 32-year-old runner Jakob's (Paper II, p. 106) mixed feelings about how a crowd of football fans moving through the park impacted his running rhythm: 'they do interrupt me, but they also bring a special atmosphere to the situation.'

Instructive values

Instructions with relevance for behavioural atmospheres do not only have to be understood as situational, face-to-face interactions, such as in the case of the runners. In Paper III, the residential area Norra Fäladen is portrayed as undergoing different periods of territorial stigma; one phase is about a de-stigmatization through appropriation of the area. This period could be seen as the fostering of a particular behavioural atmosphere in the area. The efforts of appropriation include the arrangement of events. 'Fäladskalaset' in particular has been a way of appropriating the area in times of stigma as well as later in times of fragmentation and the dispersal of local services. As the informant Tord, 69, stated: 'We lost the bank, post office, police office and bakery, but the events bind together.' Other recurring events are a way of maintaining a sense of community and shared ethics. Some initiatives have been more obviously morally coded, such as the proposal of a curfew for kids after midnight.

These are not 'instructions' in the most literal sense, but a certain instructive value can be ascribed to the efforts. The study of Norra Fäladen here only offers points on which to speculate, but we can imagine the efforts of appropriation expressed as heightened neighbourhood spirit and a sense of familiarity and belonging. How can these efforts of conveying place-sharing values be seen if translated to the two bus stops? At least one possible parallel to the instructive values of Norra Fäladen would be small acts of material kindness that signal that people care about how the bus stop is shared.

This includes for example when a lost glove, a bike key or a children's toy are discovered and moved somewhere to facilitate for an owner who comes looking for the lost object. The items are put 'on display', moved from the ground to the bench or some other surface. Fabric can be easily

'displayed' in various ways, hung over an edge or draped over a post. A similar act of care with an instructive value is the removal of hate propaganda; this sometimes remains visible as scratched-off stickers and posters on which traces of extremist symbols and text can still be discerned. If there is broken glass in the bus shelter, someone waiting may use their foot to move the fragments into a neat little pile. This action can be performed both out of care for the place and as a way to pass the time.

This micro-care means different things depending on which one of the bus stops we consider. At the neighbourhood stop, one may have a child from the neighbourhood in mind when placing the lost toy on the bench. There is a small, but existing chance that one will even observe when this child retrieves the toy. At the city centre bus stop, the image of this child is weaker and more abstract. The person dealing with the toy probably thinks of children in a more general sense. In the city centre, the lost toy belongs to a child on the scale of 'a child in this city' or even to a child from another city; in the neighbourhood, it is 'a child in this neighbourhood'.

Materialities that instruct

Humans are not alone in instructing in place-sharing; materialities also share the workload. Here, it would be easy to conclude that the material world is instructive in the sense that different spatial types are associated to different behavioural atmospheres. One should keep quiet in libraries, not sit down in the middle of walkways, not drink alcohol near playgrounds, and so on. While this is true, it is not mainly the typological perspective we are after here. A 'type' of place is not itself a place in the experiential sense, a type is an abstraction, and its meaning is often learned elsewhere.

A statement about materialities — 'We shape things, but they also shape us' (Miller, 2010) — continues to be relevant for the world of benches, trash bins and lamp posts involved in behavioural atmospheres. As shown in Paper IV, street furniture can take on instructive roles and appeal to us in terms of how to act. They can, as in the case of behaviourist furniture (e.g. hostile design and nudging), instruct with socio-motoric incentives and affordances, or, as in the case of the role taken on by cabinet-like street furniture, instruct in more pronounced discursive ways by endorsing certain values. Paper IV certainly works typologically (by suggesting three types of street furniture), but the study also works with a framing of street furniture that is a bit different from the typological. In the study, street furniture is approached as

having a situated agency beyond the instructive force of just belonging to this or that type; it has a force as individual objects.

Less extraordinary furniture situations than those in Paper IV can be instructive, however. The existence of a piece of furniture, the mere fact that it occupies a certain spot, is to some extent a naturalization of certain behaviours. A behavioural atmosphere is not necessarily given, natural, or normal but can be made to be the status quo, as if it was the natural state. A city with a generous number of public ashtrays normalizes the act of smoking, and at the same time it conveys an implicit ethics regarding how to dispose of spent cigarettes (not on the ground). There is a naturalizing and instructive force in the frequency of objects in an urban landscape, and because of the tendency of these objects to be taken for granted — or, what Miller (2010) refers to as 'humility of things' — their forces often work silently and out of sight. This is also true for the type of benches that push away homeless people, e.g. by armrests that prevent laying down. Ultimately, such an object normalizes not sharing place with the homeless.

A bus stop may have a sign that says 'bus' and a bus timetable, but few bus stops have signs that read 'Wait here for the bus'. And yet this is what people do, they use it for waiting. For most people, what to do is evident: to catch a ride on a bus, you should stay at this place. You have the options of standing in the shelter, sitting on the bench in the shelter or standing outside the shelter. Occasionally, someone might lean against the signpost or even sit on the ground. There is thus a clarity to this place; instructions in how it should be used are not really needed. We have learned them. In contrast to this clarity, there are also vaguer things about the use of the bus stop; for example, how many people are the appropriate maximum inside a bus shelter?

This question is very difficult to answer because it depends on so many things. The weather certainly has an impact on this. When it is raining heavily, more people would be acceptable in the shelter, even crammed together. The distribution of group sizes also plays a role. If only single individuals are packed in the shelter, perhaps a greater number would fit, because pairs and groups demand extra space. Groups have needs, they want to be turned towards each other so that they can talk and they want keep being a coherent unit when moving from the shelter to the bus entrance. The question of maximum amounts is thus left uninstructed, and instead depends on contextual factors like material design and individual preferences.

Nevertheless, the situation is not contextual in the same way for both of the two bus stops considered here, and nor is the role of individual preferences the same. One could expect that the shelter gets crowded from time to time in the city centre, but this is less usual at the neighbourhood bus stop. In other words, crowding is more of a normal state at the city centre stop, while at the neighbourhood stop it is an exceptional state. One could be more comfortable with crowding if it is known to be common at the place where it happens. But one could also be less comfortable with it just because there are more strangers and fewer neighbours in the city centre. Similarly, at the neighbourhood stop, one might be comfortable or uncomfortable about being crammed together with people that one might encounter and recognize later at the local store or the neighbourhood gym.

5.3 Temporal Thresholds

The rhythmanalytical study of Pildammsparken and urban running (Paper II) engages with place from a perspective of time. The park is not seen as stable and fixed, but as part of an ongoing becoming in which the place-ballet (Seamon, 1980) of running and other everyday activities makes the park what it is in an interplay with rhythms and various timescales. What further aspects can we apply to the involvement of time in place-sharing? It can be suggested that situations of sharing place are characterized by different temporal thresholds, i.e. tipping points for when something transforms into something else.

Thresholds of time refer to the beginnings and ends of time spans when sharing place. Some situations in place-sharing involve sharp, clear-cut time spans, such when the urban runner veers to avoid an inattentive cyclist. It is over in a second. But place-sharing also involves time spans of a more fluid and vague character. Groups of people having picnics and playing games at an open grassy area can slowly change location as the sun and shadows change. There are no clear thresholds here for when the way of sharing changes; it is more a matter of the different groups alternating from getting closer to or further away from each other. The composition of various sharp and vague thresholds of time is arguably one aspect of how a behavioural atmosphere of a place comes into being.

Moral moments

It should be noted about temporal thresholds that they can be intimately engaged with questions of what is morally 'correct' when sharing place. How long in a public restroom is too long when there are people waiting outside? How long is too long to use a machine at an outdoor gym when others are waiting for that machine? Elements of urban public places can sometimes be rather active in maintaining ideas of what is proper. The behaviourist street furniture (Paper IV) with a hostile or defensive design (Edin, 2017) can be understood as promoting specific time spans. Benches with a slanting seating surface are a case in point: there is a limit to how long one can sit before getting uncomfortable and leaving. It is not obvious: some of us may just up and leave without reflecting on it, while others may assume that the piece is simply poorly designed. Others may realize upon contemplation that this uncomfortable bench has a subtle impact on an overall atmosphere concerning how to behave at this place. The bench acts as a timekeeper of sorts, and it can be interpreted as carrying a message about the proper amount of time to sit at this particular place.

Hostile design is a rather extreme actor in its manipulation of time spans. In a broad sense, all shared places and their elements can be thought of as having their own associations to different moral codings in terms of durations. These are seldom cast in stone: in most libraries, talking at a normal volume for a few seconds will not lead to a reprimand, but there is a vague threshold beyond which it simply becomes 'too much'. The same goes for the length of time one can stay inside a convenience store or sit in an outdoor seating area before prompting a reaction. Transgressing temporal thresholds can evoke suspicion. While these situations may not be so relatable for everyone, for the homeless or people who beg for money in public places, such matters are likely an everyday reality. One can only stay in the waiting hall of the train station or outside the entrance of a store for so long before being questioned by a security guard.

What might constitute moral moments in vague place-sharing if we turn towards the city centre bus stop and the neighbourhood bus stop? Frustration related to proper temporal behaviour could concern someone being slow when entering the bus or reacting to the presence of others, e.g. by not removing a shopping bag from the bench so someone else can sit down. We can imagine how variations in frustration or tolerance play out differently at the two bus stops. Rhythms are faster and more intense at the city centre bus

stop than at the neighbourhood stop. Perhaps though it could be expected that people are more tolerant of time obstructions at the city centre because they expect others to adapt to the surrounding rhythmicities? But perhaps people could instead be more tolerant of obstructing slowness, because diversity and unpredictability are exactly what characterizes the city centre? They should be expected. The reverse could be assumed for the neighbourhood bus stop, i.e. frustration or tolerance arise instead in relation to the absence of fast rhythms and intensities. For both places, the role of temporal thresholds is ambiguous, but they are ambiguities of different kinds.

Triangulatory effects and escape depths

We can also consider the involvement of thresholds in idle time and the act of waiting. Dealing with idle time and making use of a moment of waiting can be understood as the overcoming of a temporal threshold. Different places provide different opportunities for such overcoming, and these opportunities, in turn, have implications for how vague sharing of the place happens. As exemplified by the type of eye corner encounters that happen while waiting (Paper I), an outdoor gym and a public restroom facility in Pildammsparken can differ in this regard. At the outdoor gym, someone waiting for a machine to become available can easily stay active in the meantime by stretching, testing other machines or observing the techniques of others. People also stay somewhat active while waiting for a restroom door to open, but in other ways. The many parents with children (the restrooms are located near a large playground) were observed on their phones or tending to children who ran around nearby.

One thing that can act as a threshold and interrupt a time span of waiting is triangulation effects (Whyte, 1980). Triangulation means that an external stimulus, for exampel a street performer or a spectacular view, leads to social exchange between strangers. A sudden change in weather, a slight malfunction in a machine or the interaction of children can be triangulatory and cause more or less explicit interaction between strangers. Depending on its force, the triangulation can change the place-sharing from vague to clear, such as when transforming from just a silent co-presence to e.g. conversation. This is true of waiting at the outdoor gym as well as for waiting at the restroom facility, but the triangulatory conditions for waiting at the gym appear more varied. There are more 'regulars' at the gym, and the practice of exercising has a specificity to it that seems to invite conversation, which seems to support the occurrence of triangulations. Regular users and

specificity are not present to the same degree for the act of waiting at the restroom facility.

Does this difference in triangulatory potential mean that the outdoor gym is more 'social'? While this could be said to be true in one way, the gym also offers opportunities for the contrary — escaping developments from vague to clear place-sharing. Someone who wishes to avoid interaction can easily escape by focusing on stretching, moving around or trying another machine. At the restroom facility, one must pay attention to when the next restroom becomes available, and there are thus fewer opportunities to escape developments towards intensified interaction. The two places are in this sense different, not only in their support of social interaction, but also in the depth to which they allow escape from social interaction.

What about triangulation and the two bus stops? Earlier, we considered moral moments, and we could say that there is a certain morality to the punctuality of the buses. This becomes very evident when there are irregularities: there are sighs of disappointment, complaints and expressions of disapproval when expectations are not met. This is also a triangulatory effect in the sense that there is something making strangers interact with each other. One difference between the two bus stops is that only one bus line passes the neighbourhood stop, whilst in the city centre, there are several. Thus, everyone at the neighbourhood bus stop is affected by a delay and shares the same problem. At the city centre bus stop, however, the problem may be shared by just a few people, more than a few users, or the majority of the group. Gathering around the same problem seems less likely in the city centre, where people's agendas and routes are more diverse. (This is not to say that triangulatory effect problems concerning the entire group can never happen at the city centre stop, which of course they can – examples might be a malfunctioning digital display, or traffic delays that impact multiple bus lines.)

The specific presence of some triangulatory factors contribute to the behavioural atmosphere of a bus stop: questions of departure times or how to purchase tickets, shared frustration over late arrivals. As a shared place, it offers a special set of topics about which strangers can exchange a few words while waiting. Again, there are differences between the city centre bus stop and the neighbourhood bus stop. At the city centre bus stop, with its continuous flow of strangers and many departures, one is less likely to recognize the same stranger again. The behavioural atmosphere of the city

centre bus stop is more akin to places like hotel lobbies or airport cafés in the sense that one may casually interact with someone knowing that there will probably never be another meeting.

Vague and sharp thresholds

The study of the residential area Norra Fäladen (Paper III) invites consideration of place-sharing on the neighbourhood scale. Norra Fäladen has undergone slow changes with regards to territorial stigma, or as Loïc Wacquant (2007) calls it, 'spatial taint'. The process initially involved a period of stigmatization and the gaining of a reputation as a problem area, and later, two periods of de-stigmatization. The periods of de-stigmatization took two different forms: first, efforts of appropriation (Kärrholm, 2007) and the goal of a strong community spirit, and more recently, polarization and fragmentation. These changes can be interpreted as a kind of biography of place-sharing as seen from a neighbourhood scale level.

Paper III shows how thresholds between the periods are vague and subject to conflicting accounts. How the informants date the end of the phase of stigma seems to coincide with the point in time when they moved to Norra Fäladen. One informant said the neighbourhood was 'wild' when he moved there in 1986, but that it calmed down later when the police station opened. Another informant wasn't reached by the rumours that Norra Fäladen was 'not a good area' before 2005, when she moved there (p. 874). As for the shift from a period of the appropriation and cultivation of neighbourhood spirit into a period of fragmentation, the temporal thresholds appear to overlap. While the local unit of the municipal organization (Kommundelsnämnd Norr), which is important in de-stigmatization efforts, was active until 2000, signs of the developing fragmentation already appeared in the 1990s with the extension of the area with privately owned housing and the Swedish school reforms. While describing Norra Fäladen in terms of a succession of territorial periods is relevant, the thresholds between these periods are vague and cannot be pinpointed exactly.

How do these vague territorial thresholds relate to behavioural atmospheres? Initially, one could imagine a behavioural atmosphere that simply synchronizes with the territorial processes. The logic would be that an atmosphere proceeds in a direction in which other, more powerful forces have pointed it. This implies that other structural urban forces of similar magnitude —gentrification, touristification, or displacement — are determinants to which behavioural atmospheres automatically correspond. If

so, we should probably be careful about thinking in such terms of cause and effect too schematically. Given how 'strangely disembodied, indefinable, and elusive' (Albertsen, 2019 [1999]) atmospheres are, they might also be slippery in how they react to changes.

It seems likely that behavioural atmospheres can display different stubbornness, weakness or resilience in relation to other forces. The sound of an approaching ambulance changes how visitors to a park share place. For a brief moment they suddenly start paying attention, to the sirens and to each other. Is the ambulance coming this way? Is someone in this park injured? But in the next moment, when the sirens have faded and the ambulance has passed by, things return to normal. The atmosphere was briefly challenged, and then restabilized; one thinks of a rubber band or a piece of foam. Temporal thresholds were crossed when the sirens appeared, but only as a short, momentary exception. As for Norra Fäladen, although there are still traces of the original neighbourhood, it could be said that thresholds have been passed until the rubber band has been stretched to a fundamental change in how the area is shared.

The idea of thresholds allows us to discuss vague and sharp changes in behavioural atmospheres. What can this idea describe about how the city centre bus stop and the neighbourhood bus stop are shared as places? Bus stops are special in that sharing them is characterized by one very specific point in time; the departure of a bus is a rather clear threshold. The bus stop is shared for a longer or shorter moment, and that moment ends quite quickly when one enters the bus. This is a significant aspect of sharing bus stops. It goes the other way around, too: getting off a bus is a rather clear and sudden beginning of a moment of place-sharing. At the city centre bus stop, the ongoing rhythm of these quick and clear-cut beginnings and ends contributes to making the behavioural atmosphere what it is.

The neighbourhood bus stop has a different character with regards to the rhythm of these thresholds. For the more sparsely used neighbourhood bus stop, it is easier to imagine an atmosphere that involves more slow and vague beginnings of place-sharing. People moving to this bus stop from home arrive with a less dense temporal distribution. Someone is overly worried about missing the bus and spends 15 minutes at the bus stop prior to departure. Others arrive gradually, some only a few moments before departure – not long enough to start wanting to sit on the bench or even to

step into the shelter. The group grows slowly until someone comes running in the last minute, the bus arrives, and everyone leaves.

Fewer departures at the neighbourhood bus stop than at the city centre bus mean fewer sharp beginnings when people exit buses. As there are no other bus lines at the neighbourhood stop, no one stays there to change lines. The composition of beginnings and ends of place-sharing moments is less dense and intense compared to the city centre bus stop. However, maybe temporal thresholds should be understood not only as 'beginnings and ends', but also as points of a *transformation* of place-sharing. Doesn't sharing continue inside the bus? For the neighbourhood bus stop, and for some at the city centre bus stop, the sharing does not really come to an end when the group enters the bus; it simply transforms into another situation. In the new behavioural atmosphere of the bus — which is different, but still bears traces of the bus stop — an upcoming series of thresholds awaits as people get off the bus at various bus stops and continue their movements and practices of place-sharing throughout the city.

5.4 Concluding Thoughts

This project has been guided by a question about how a heuristic framework for understanding vague place-sharing might look. If vague place-sharing is a phenomenon 'out there' (Law, 2004), how can it be understood? I reach the conclusion that vague sharing of place can be understood through the term behavioural atmospheres, and that this sense-making can be supported by paying attention to figurative, instructive and temporal nuances. These three overarching heuristic themes have been presented through the discussion, followed by several supplementary notions, questions and preliminary minor terms. When taken together, this set of ideas acts as a springboard for understanding vagueness in sharing of place and forms a basis for further studies and conceptualizations for an ontology of place-sharing. In sum, those aiming to explore urban public places and social interaction in a way that acknowledges subtle, peripheral and low-intensity aspects may interpret and build on the work presented here.

The so-called social usage approach in urban design theory outlined in Section part 1.3 holds an idea of what place-sharing is. This research project contributes to understandings of what place-sharing is by suggesting that there is a vagueness to it, and by exemplifying how this vagueness might

look. Studying vagueness in the sharing of place enables a deeper understanding of socio-spatial processes. As argued in the introduction, an ongoing pursuit of socio-spatial thinking is relevant with regards to several current structural developments concerning cities, and with regards to a problematic wickedness associated to these developments. By addressing vagueness, we can take a step away from a sometimes stereotyping thinking through typologies (e.g. 'a park', 'a bus stop') and instead reach into some of the particularities of urban public places.

The terms atmosphere and behavioural have been combined in order to explore vagueness; the argument was that atmosphere would acknowledge vagueness in behaviour. While this has been productive for achieving a nuanced discussion of place-sharing, it is also worth pointing out that the term behavioural limits the potentials of atmospheres to an extent. The statement in Section 4.2 that 'The modifier 'behaviour' focuses atmospheres on social interaction, describing them as more than an immaterial cloud, but instead as something concretely produced by place-specific behaviours' could be turned around; perhaps the modifier behaviour takes away some of the vagueness from atmosphere? Some of the potential sensitivity of the concept of atmosphere can be said to have been lost. This is an epistemological issue that shall remain unresolved for the time being.

Various research techniques and theories have been used in the publications from which the discussion is developed. This narrative does not allow for these to be ranked as better- or worse suited for further studies of place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres, but it is worth noting how the rhythmanalytical study of Pildammsparken (Paper II) takes a somewhat more salient role in the discussion. I believe that this very largely due to the rhythmanalytical framework as much as the autoethnographic method. Of the techniques used, autoethnography appears to be able to bring us deepest into the aspect of vagueness and atmospheres. A development of a framework for autoethnographic studies specified for place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres is particularly promising for further studies; this would benefit from being combined with the less phenomenological tradition of observational studies in urban design and public life, such as that of Whyte (1980) or that suggested by Gehl & Svarre (2013).

There is something paradoxical about claiming to study vagueness, as vagueness should escape clear-cut conceptualizations by definition. One way to look at this project would be to say that what it really shows is the

difficulty of any absolute conceptualization of the vague. And yet, that difficulty is epistemologically and methodologically inspiring and invites for at least approximating the world of vague place-sharing by opening a door to it. If anything, I hope to have made the reader aware of the existence of this world, and I hope to leave the reader in a state of sharpened attention towards it.

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Popular science summary

Public places of the city, such as parks, plazas, street corners, and sidewalks are an important part of many people's everyday life. When we try to understand something about what these places are and how they work, we usually include questions about how they are *used*. Is this place used for picnics, for street vending or for waiting for the bus? To understand use seems fundamental to understand a place, and it is an aspect often included in in research fields like urban design, architecture, landscape architecture and planning.

However, if we only think about these places as 'used for picnic' or 'used for waiting', there is something that goes missing. Is there not also something *social* about using a park or a sidewalk? There is a social side to use, in the sense that publicness means that there are other persons – strangers – present. The idea that urban public places are used socially has been developed in a sub-branch in urban design called *the social usage approach*. Literature that follows a social usage approach often pays attention to the small details of life of the city, like where and how people sit, how people act in crowding, or simply what makes a place feel socially pleasant.

This thesis builds on the idea of a social use of urban public places, but not without making a particular interpretation of what it is. Instead of talking about 'social use', it is introduced as a sharing of places. To see place-sharing means to see the human experience of the place and of others. To use this phrasing connects the work to a way of thinking called *phenomenology*, that is suitable for dealing with human experience. Furthermore, this thesis posits that there is a side to place-sharing that can be understood as a *vagueness*. Not all sharing of place is obvious and easily identified. On the contrary, it can often be subtle and quickly forgotten. We often do not think much about

the moments when we spend time with others, for example when standing in a queue.

There are several changes happening today, that makes it important that we keep trying to understand urban public places in new ways. Urbanization, migration, urban densification, and new technologies, are a few of such changes. It can be assumed that our everyday ways of sharing place with one another are becoming more diversified, and theory and concepts need to be updated accordingly. It is against this background that I ask: How can vague place-sharing be understood?

The thesis includes four different studies, focusing on a public park, a residential area and street furniture. Field observations, interviews and autoethnography have been the primary research techniques. The range of theories that these studies rely on include theory on rhythms, territories, material culture and encounters. The four studies and the related theoretical perspectives are not meant to cover every possible idea of vague place-sharing; they are entry points for starting to unfold theory. What the studies make possible is *interpretations* of what vague place-sharing is.

Furthermore, the notion of *behavioural atmospheres* is advanced to discuss vague place-sharing. Place-sharing happens in context, and there is an atmospheric side to this context. A behavioural atmosphere is neither good nor bad by definition, and all places have them, in the sense that we — often without reflection — behave differently towards each other depending on circumstances like location, time of day, and with whom we interact. 'Behavioural atmospheres' is a tailor-made term that is used, almost like a tool, for revealing and discussing of what the four different studies have to say about how urban public places are shared. If one thinks of this thesis as a story that builds on the four different studies, behavioural atmospheres helps in making that story more cohesive and colourful.

The exploration leads to a theoretical discussion, structured around three themes. These themes address the social, spatial and time-related aspects of vague place-sharing and behavioural atmospheres, and are called *vague figurations*, *situated instructions* and *temporal thresholds*. The discussion also holds a range of tentative insights and terms for further research. The discussion addresses, for example, how humans and objects sometimes shift between being perceived as something social or something material ('socio-material inbetweenness'), how groups of humans can be of vague formations ('group elasticity'), how rules are involved in vague place-sharing ('silent

and explicit rules'), how certain place-attached users sometimes instruct others in sharing ('the Dalia effect'), and how morally coded time spans are involved ('moral moments').

Through this discussion, an alternative view on the spatial use and social interaction of urban public places is suggested. It is a view that allows for seeing nuances in how spatial and social interplay in the city. The conceptual results of the discussion can be used as a theoretical framework for further studies; the one who wishes to explore urban public places and social interaction in a way that acknowledges vague and experiential aspects may interpret and build on the work.

Populärvetenskaplig sammanfattning

Stadens offentliga platser som parker, torg, gathörn och trottoarer är en viktig del av många människors vardagsliv. När vi försöker förstå något av vad dessa platser är och hur de fungerar ställer vi ofta frågor om dess *användning*. Används den här platsen för picknick, gatuförsäljning eller för att vänta på bussen? Att förstå en plats användning verkar grundläggande för att förstå platsen, och användningen är en vanligt förekommande aspekt inom forskningsfält som stadsutveckling, arkitektur, landskapsarkitektur och stadsplanering.

Men något går förlorat om vi tänker om dessa platser endast som "används för picknick" eller "används för att vänta". Finns det inte också något *socialt* i att använda en park eller trottoar? Det finns en social sida av platsanvändning, i det att offentlighet innebär att andra människor – främlingar – är närvarande. Tanken att användning av stadens offentliga platser är social har utvecklats inom en gren inom stadsutvecklingsteori som kallas *the social usage approach**. Litteratur inom denna gren fokuserar ofta på stadslivets detaljer, som till exempel var och hur folk sitter, hur folk beter sig i trängsel eller vad som helt enkelt får en plats att kännas socialt trivsam.

Denna avhandling bygger vidare på tanken om social användning av stadens offentliga platser, men inte utan att göra en egen tolkning av vad det innebär. Snarare än att tala om "social användning" läggs det fram som ett *delande* av plats. Att se platsdelande innebär att se den mänskliga erfarenheten av platsen och andra människor. Att tala om delande låter avhandlingen ansluta till ett sätt att tänka som kallas *fenomenologi*, vilket är passande för att hantera mänsklig erfarenhet. Avhandlingen bygger också på tanken att det finns en sida av platsdelandet som kan förstås som en *vaghet*. Hur platser delas är inte alltid uppenbart. Tvärtom kan platsdelandet många

gånger vara subtilt och glömmas snabbt. Ofta tänker vi inte på hur det går till när vi, till exempel, delar en kö med andra.

Det finns flera pågående förändringar som gör det viktigt vi fortsätter försöka förstå stadens offentliga platser på nya sätt. Urbanisering, migration, förtätning och nya teknologier är några sådana förändringar. Det kan antas att våra vardagliga sätt att dela plats med varandra blir alltmer diversifierade, och teori och begrepp behöver vara uppdaterade i enlighet med denna utveckling. Det är mot denna bakgrund jag frågar: Hur kan det vaga delandet av platser förstås?

Avhandlingen omfattar fyra olika studier, som fokuserar på en park, ett bostadsområde och möbler i stadsrummet. Fältobservationer, intervjuer och autoetnografi har varit de huvudsakliga teknikerna för empirisk insamling. Spännvidden av teori som dessa studier tar stöd i rör rytmer, territorier, materiell kultur och möten**. De fyra studierna och deras olika teoretiska perspektiv är inte menade att utgöra någon absolut täckning av det vaga delandet av platser. Snarare är de ett slags utgångspunkter för att börja utveckla teori. Vad studierna möjliggör är *tolkningar* av vad det vaga platsdelanted innebär.

En tanke om *beteendestämningar**** framförs också för att diskutera det vaga platsdelandet. Att dela plats sker i ett sammanhang, och detta sammanhang har en dimension som kan beskrivas som en stämning. En beteendestämning är inte per definition bra eller dålig, och de finns på alla platser på så sätt att vi — ofta utan att tänka på det — beter oss olika mot varandra beroende på omständigheter som var och när vi befinner oss, och vem vi interagerar med. "Beteendestämningar" är ett skräddarsytt begrepp som används, nästan som ett verktyg, för att visa och diskutera vad de fyra studierna har att säga om hur stadens offentliga platser delas. Om man tänker sig avhandlingen som en berättelse som bygger på de fyra olika studierna kan beteendestämningar ses som något som hjälper till att göra berättelsen mer sammanhållen och färgstark.

Undersökningen leder fram till en teoretisk diskussion som är strukturerad kring tre teman. Dessa teman tar upp sociala, rumsliga och tidsrelaterade aspekter av vaghet i platsdelande och beteendestämningar, och benämns *vaga figurationer*, *situerade instruktioner* och *temporala trösklar*. Diskussionen rymmer också en mängd preliminära insikter och begrepp för vidare forskning. Diskussion tar till exempel upp hur människor och objekt kan skifta mellan att uppfattas som något socialt eller något materiellt

("socio-materiellt mellanförskap"), hur gruppers formationer kan vara vaga ("gruppelasticitet"), hur regler är inblandade i det vaga platsdelandet ("tysta och uttalade regler"), hur användare med starka band till platser ibland instruerar andra i delandet ("Dalia-effekten") och hur moraliskt kodade tidsspann är inblandade ("moraliska moment").

Genom diskussionen föreslås ett alternativt synsätt på rumslig användning och social interaktion hos stadens offentliga platser. Det är ett synsätt som låter oss se nyanser i hur rumsligt och socialt samverkar i staden. Diskussionens konceptuella utfall är möjliga att ta vidare som ett teoretiskt ramverk i framtida studier. Den som vill utforska stadens offentliga platser på ett sätt som beaktar vaga och erfarenhetsmässiga aspekter kan alltså uttolka och bygga vidare på avhandlingen.

* Någon etablerad översättning av *the social usage approach* till svenska är inte känd.

** Motsvarande engelskans *encounter,* snarare än *meeting* (c.f. del 2.1.1).

*** Jag har valt att inte översätta *behavioural atmospheres* som *beteendemässiga atmosfärer*, utan istället som *beteendestämningar*. "Atmosphere" och "atmosfär" kan framstå som mer direkt synonyma, men jag menar att den som i dagligt tal på engelska omtalar "the atmosphere" hos en plats, motsvaras på svenska av den som omtalar dess "stämning". Jag har ansett det viktigt att behålla denna närhet till talspråket.

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Rhythmanalysing the urban runner: Pildammsparken, Malmö

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ABSTRACT

In this article we discuss the development of urbanized running culture by exploring how the embodied rhythms of running interact with other urban rhythms in a park. The analysis focuses on the timings, sensations and materialities produced through running, and how the rhythms of running intersect with the materialities and rhythms of others. The investigation draws on interviews, observations and a running diary undertaken at Pildammsparken in central Malmö. Our research shows that while the runner, in endeavouring to align with the rhythms of others, may becoming a more disciplined figure, running in the park is more concerned with practising a sharing of space than moving on auto-pilot. Consequently, running is largely a mobile rhythmic practice that negotiates and adapts to co-produce eurhythmic choreographies in this particular urban location.

Urban running became popular in the U.S.A. during the 1960s and 1970s as a predominantly middle class activity to improve health (Latham 2015). Since then, interest in urban sports, and running in particular, has greatly increased. Generating new spatial patterns and rhythms, running – along with numerous other mobile practices – reproduces space and shapes the everyday experience of place.

This paper discusses the development of this urbanized running culture in a Swedish urban park by drawing on Henri Lefebvre's concept of rhythmanalysis (2004), exploring how the different embodied rhythms of running interact with the rhythms of others, the material affordances and other temporalities. The investigation draws on research undertaken at Pildammsparken in central Malmö (Figure 1), one of the most popular places for running in Sweden's third biggest city and one of the most densely populated municipalities, with about 50 m^2 of green areas per inhabitant, less than a third of that in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Hosting a variety of exercising routines and leisure activities, this park is an exemplary public space in which diverse rhythms of running are accompanied by a host of other everyday rhythms. Running does thus not happen in isolation from non-runners (cf. Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016, 764); indeed, the increasing number of urban runners adds to the social complexity and rhythmic diversity of the park.

In the first part of the paper, we detail our approach to rhythmanalysis and running before highlighting the history and key features of Pildammsparken. We then focus on three themes

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Figure 1. Runner and person walking with a cell phone, alongside the large pond at Pildammsparken.

that adopt different, though interlinked, takes on running and rhythmanalysis. First, we discuss how runners integrate their exercise routines into rhythmic everyday and weekly schedules. Second, we explore how material affordances and intersecting rhythms co-produce running rhythms. Third, we investigate how the embodied rhythmic experience of running is developed through training, or "dressage". We conclude by considering how our study draws attention to how the management of mobile rhythms can produce inclusive spaces and eurhythmic urban choreographies.

1. Rhythmanalysis and running

Lefebvre claims that "(E)verywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is *rhythm*" (2004, 15). Accordingly, places might be characterized according to their particular "polyrhythmic ensemble" (Crang 2001) through the distinctive ways in which changing rhythms interweave multiple events and passages of varying regularity. Crucially, rhythmanalysis highlights how rhythmic flows ceaselessly pass through and centre upon place, disavowing timeless and static notions and underpinning the essentially dynamic qualities of place. These emergent, vibrant qualities are grounded in both repetitions and changes at daily, weekly, monthly and annual scales, movements and actions that provide a backdrop to a simultaneously durable yet ever-changing everyday life.

A city is invariably polyrhythmical. Temporal and spatial order is continuously reproduced by the ongoing performance of regular routines and rhythms, laid down by governmental

and commercial forces. This rhythmic organization usually promotes orderliness, bestowing predictability and security upon time, space and place. Collective adherence to these rhythmic conventions becomes part of how urban dwellers inhabit the city. Children walk to school, commuters crowd roads during rush hours, tourists follow package tours, and citizens rhythmically attune themselves to the "openings and closing of shops, the flows of postal deliveries, bank deposits and coffee breaks" (Labelle 2008, 192) that mark different periods of the day.

Thus integral to the dynamic, polyrhythmic qualities of places are the mobile rhythms that cut across space. From his Paris window, Lefebvre (2004) discerns the rhythmic patterns of pedestrians and traffic, an account that has recently been augmented by discussions about other rhythmic mobile practices, including walking (Edensor 2011; Johansson 2013), coach travel (Edensor and Holloway 2008) cycling (Spinney 2010), driving (Edensor 2010), shopping (Kärrholm 2009, 2012), commuting on trains (Jiron 2010), and dancing (Hensley 2010). We supplement these accounts by focusing on how running rhythms in Pildammsparken are established and maintained within daily and weekly schedules, align or clash with other human and non-human rhythms, are produced by encounters with the park's diverse materialities, are experienced and practised in an inescapably embodied way, and are organized and developed through training.

The mobile rhythms of running are accompanied by a medley of other mobile rhythms. Some, such as the non-human mobilities of insects, birds and mammals, may be unpredictable and amenable only to limited management, as may be rhythms of the seasons and weather. In other cases, runners conform to official rhythms of traffic flow, pedestrian crossings and rail timetables. Yet these mobile human rhythms are also developed by practice: for instance, cyclists learn how to pedal at a speed and rhythm that maximizes safety and is not endangered by the rhythms of other vehicles (Spinney 2010). As we discuss below, running rhythms are crucially developed through training, here conceived as a form of dressage. In shared spaces that do not privilege the channelled mobilities of particular mobile bodies (as with the vehicular mobilities privileged by the motorway), these different mobile rhythms must align and co-ordinate as part of mobile choreographies if arrhythmic collisions and stoppages are not to occur. The material affordances of the space traversed also shape the rhythmic practice and experience of running. The qualities of surface, the circuitousness or straightness of the path, the effects of wind and rain, and gradient all impact upon the consistency or variegated phases of the running rhythm.

Equally vital is the acknowledgement of how the body is integral to the experience and performance of a mobile rhythm, and Lefebvre is explicit about this somatic dimension. In discussing how the rhythms of place might be identified, Lefebvre insists that the rhythmanalyst should call on all their senses, focusing on breathing, the circulation of blood and heartbeat (Lefebvre 2004, 21), for he contends that the rhythms of the body – its "respirations, pulses, circulations, assimilations – durations and phases of durations" are key to understanding geographical rhythms. The body epitomizes polyrhythmia, eurhythmia (healthfulness) or arrhythmia (illness), and through the body we may sense the rhythms of different spaces: "He listens – and first to his body; he learns rhythm from it, in order consequently to appreciate external rhythms" (Lefebvre 2004, 19, *sic*). Here, we rhythmanalyse the somatic responses to place and time through running. As we investigate, following a training regime and subsequently, a regular running routine, solicits an attunement to place, to its affordances and the other rhythms that flow through it, as well as an emergent attunement to

one's own body, as it becomes a running body. Emphatically, somatic and external rhythms meld and interweave.

Accordingly, this embodied approach to rhythmanalysis has informed our methodological approach. First, Johan kept a diary of his regular exercise sessions in the park, an autoethnographic approach that attends to embodied and place-based rhythms in the experience of running. The diary was written from mid-March to early October, 2016 and commences from his tentative early attempts at running in an unfamiliar runscape and becoming exhausted during a slow 1.5 km run, to cultivating a relationship with both running and place, and later easily taking on regular 5 km runs. Johan established a routine whereby he took notes immediately after completing a run and then elaborated further on his computer upon arriving home. The diary, consisting of around 15,000 words, was written and analysed with a focus on how the running experience transformed over time, and how running intersected with different rhythms. Reflexive analysis by the authors focused on writing style and the range of phenomena that should be accorded attention in the compilation of a rhythmanalysis. This process enabled Johan to interlace personal records of his running experiences with interpretative passages, combining analysis with ongoing observation so as to develop a more discriminating attentiveness while running.

Second, empirical research also includes 28 semi-structured interviews conducted on site between December 2015 and August 2016. About half the interviews took place just inside the north east entrance of the park, and the rest at other locations where many runners start and finish their runs, such as at bike stands or the outdoor gyms. Questions primarily concerned running routines, frequency, choice of route and the experience of running in the park, exploring common interruptions and temporal differences amongst other emergent issues. The interviews were recorded through note-taking, with subsequent transcription.

Thirdly, we undertook a series of observation studies and site audits, including a structured pilot observation to gain an overview of the mobilities in the park, and a two day participant observation during the musical festival and event *Vi som älskar 90-talet* ("We who love the 90s") in July 2016. The festival was included as an extraordinary occasion with its own distinctive rhythms (see Duffy et al. 2011) that affected regular, everyday running rhythms. The structured study was embarked upon during two days during which four different spots were observed[1] for a total of 12 h, and included the counting of 767 people. The four sites were chosen in order to coincide with all the different running tracks of the park: by a bench east of the small pond along the red track (2 km), by the stairs adjacent to the large pond along the yellow track (3 km), in the wooded area along the blue track (c:a 1 km) and at a junction where different tracks intersect (see Figure 2).

To provide further context to the study, we also surveyed discussions on the internet forum "Jogg" to gather quotes exemplifying the different qualities of Pildammsparken considered important within the running community.

2. Pildammsparken and its urban context

Pildammsparken derived its name from a seventeenth century water reservoir surrounded by willows (pildamm means "willow pond"). A second pond was created in the late nineteenth century together with a pump station, and a water tower was added in 1904. The park itself was built for the Baltic exhibition in 1914, when the central areas containing the
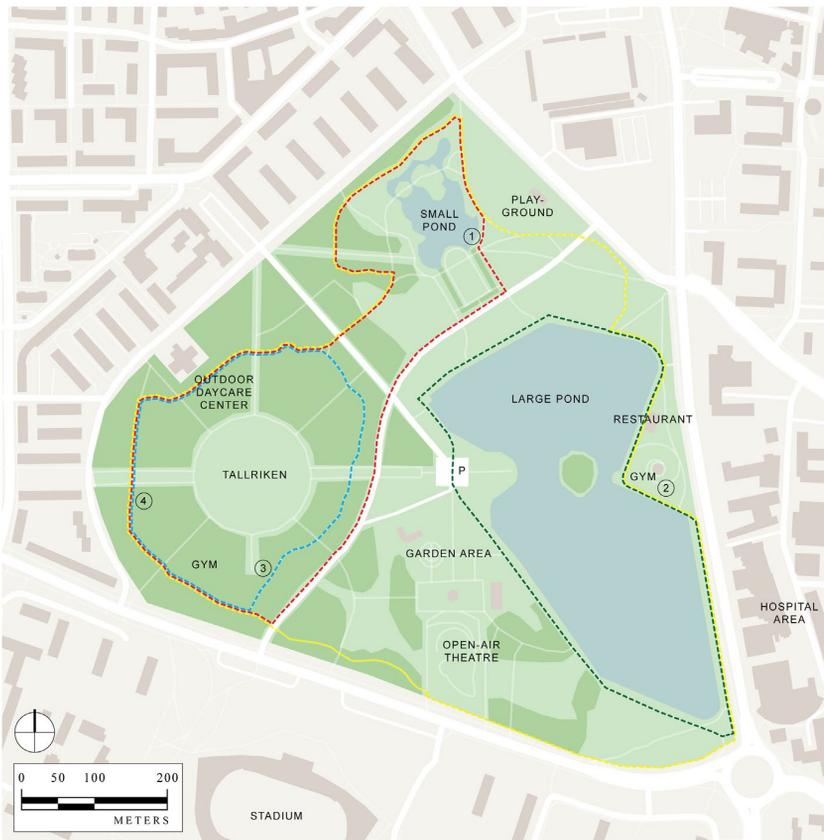
Figure 2. Map of Pildammsparken, including the three different running tracks (blue, red and yellow), Johan's route (green), and the observation spots (1–4). The map was constructed with the help of OpenStreetMap (and retrieved from http://www.openstreetmap.org, 2016).

gardens were laid out in accordance with the plans of Erik Erstad-Jørgensen. After the war, Erik Bülow-Hübe redesigned the park, adding the area with the smaller pond in 1921 and the larger woodland area between 1924 and 1928 (Hårde 2013, 21ff.). From its inception, Pildammsparken was regarded as an important amenity that contributed towards a healthier Malmö, a recreational space and green lung for a rapidly growing city. Areas within and adjacent to the park were covered with allotments, but these were erased with the expansion of the hospital to the east (Hårde 2013). The history of running in the park is by no means recent; when running facilities were first introduced in Malmö during the late 1960s, Pildammsparken became the first area (and later one of four spaces) to be identified as a venue for exercise, probably because one section resembles a forest, highly valued as a running location throughout Sweden (Qviström 2016).

Pildammsparken is presently a 45 hectare park in a growing city and in the past 20 years has become increasingly crowded. Growing demand for recreational space is indicated by a number of recent developments including public toilets, outdoor gyms, outdoor nurseries and a restaurant. Contemporary planning initiatives focus on enhancing the possibilities for

exercise (cf. Malmö stad 2012), but the polyrhythmic character of the park is also evident in the multiple activities currently practised. Pildammsparken is unlike the specialized Swedish model facilities of the post-War period (Qvistrom 2013) established in forests close to some Northern Swedish cities. Rather, it is a formal park that is a setting for intense urban activity, with restaurants, gardens, an open-air theatre (*Friluftsteatern*), pavilions, playgrounds, outdoor day care centres and boules courts. Pildammsparken attracts dog walkers, people feeding birds, families and groups having picnics or barbecues, and diverse forms of physical exercise. Professionally equipped tree-climbing, drone-flying and the location-based game Pokémon Go craze were spotted, and newly installed features include beehives and rental bikes. The park also stages the annual May Day *Walpurgis* bonfire celebration, midsummer festivities, concerts and many other events. In the last few years a camp of homeless migrants lived in the park, though this was dismantled before our study started.

The park is roughly divided into four areas (see Figure 2): the wooded area surrounding a circular grass field – *Tallriken* ("the plate") – that includes the outdoor day care centres; the garden area with the rose garden, flower walk, cafe pavilion and open-air theatre; the quarter that contains the large pond, adjacent water tower and Michelin-starred restaurant, *Bloom in the Park*; and the area that includes a smaller pond, grassy parkland, a playground, an old fire station and the garden that houses the 1938 statue of the Greek mythical figure, Galatea. Pildammsparken is thus a park in which a majority of people arrive for different purposes, with no single or central destination taking precedence. Its spatial structure is enclavic, with paths not coinciding with the urban grid (as with most Swedish parks developed from the 1930s). Thus, its pathways do not afford any obvious short cuts for people walking through the city (cf. Berg and Miller [1988] for a comparison of park structures, including Pildammsparken). From observational analysis, there was an evident tendency for people to move clockwise around the park.[2] The path around the large pond was the most populated route, with the outer circle used somewhat more than the paths deeper inside the park. The percentage of people running in Pildammsparken on our two days of observation in October 2015 was around 15%. However, at the three points (1, 2 and 4, in Figure 2) that included the longer tracks (2 and 3 km), this was closer to 25%.

3. Establishing running rhythms within everyday schedules

The mobile habits of individuals usually align with schedules and timetables, organized vehicular flows, and the channelling of pedestrian movement. These orchestrated mobile rhythms produce place specific choreographies through which cyclists, pedestrians, car drivers and runners become habituated and attend to each other's manoeuvres.

As we discuss in the following section, these rhythmic mobilities are not invariably aligned and frequently clash and disrupt each other. However, shared rhythms can provide a mobile sense of place or "dwelling-in-motion" (Sheller and Urry 2006) whereby individuals "repeatedly couple and uncouple their paths with other people's paths, institutions, technologies and physical surroundings" (Mels 2004, 16). Familiar places such as Pildammsparken are unquestioned settings for regular spatio-temporal patterns of walking, dog exercise, meeting, drinking alcohol and running. The park is thus a site at which rhythmic practices mark out regular paths and points of spatial and temporal intersection. People follow particular paths and congregate by benches, nurseries, playgrounds, lakes, bridges, cafes, exercise

stations and lawns, collectively composing "place ballets" that shift throughout the day, week and year (Seamon 1980).

These habitual routes and practices enfold Pildammsparken in broader rhythmic routines: an early morning stroll with the dog before going to work, a period of post-prandial exercise, a sojourn at the playground after picking the children up from school, or a reflective evening walk. Patients from the adjacent hospital often enjoy a moment in the sun while the slow wanderings of the homeless (Hall 2010) follow different routines: a man regularly uses the water pump for filling plastic bottles, brushing teeth and washing. Weekly social rhythms include weekend barbecues, surging football crowds walking to and from the nearby football stadium, and parkour, martial arts or fitness sessions.

Within this polyrhythmic ensemble in the park, running routines are diverse, some people running several times a week while others exercise less frequently. One woman's running rhythms are shaped by her domestic commitments

> Lina, 45: I run about three times a week, mostly evenings after work. During weekends I run during the day. I have small children and not so much time of my own. But this is a routine that I can keep, running for 45 minutes.

This exemplifies how running in the park intersects with other routines that precede and follow it. People run at all times, but most interviewees preferred to run after work or during the weekend, and especially early in the morning, during lunch and in the evening.

Because Pildammsparken is centrally located in a dense city, many runners live nearby. The kind of running enabled here is thus contextually different from, for example, the "event mobility" (Cidell 2014) of road races, to which runners may travel far by vehicle or aeroplane, and subsequently move on foot. Geographical proximity enhances the possibilities for adjusting or aligning running to other everyday rhythms shaped by work timetables or domestic routines. Living half a kilometre from the park, Johan has the luxury of doing laundry and being able to take a run within the time afforded by the cycle of the washing machine. Another runner brings a backpack to the park to shop for groceries afterwards. Living close to the park also allows runners to adopt a "standby mode", to run in the park contingently, at short notice without having to plan in advance, taking advantage of "windows" in the rhythms of everyday life or the vagaries of the weather. As has been pointed out by Cook, Shaw and Simpson et al. (2016), running might sometimes be seen as a punishment or a rewarding break, but more often it is experienced merely as one of the many mundane, routine practices that make up everyday life.

Running routes in Pildammsparken might focus on completing a circuit or circuits of the park but may also be part of a longer running journey that passes through it, as shown in Figure 3. Some serious runners connect areas of the city in their route (cf. jogg.se), using the park as part of a wider training schedule. For example, one runner mentions Pildammsparken as one part of a 15 km three-split route chosen to cover diverse environments of city, park and beach. In addition, several officially arranged runs incorporate the park into more extensive courses.

For some, the usual pattern is to connect up green spaces, avoiding busy streets and pavements. For example, Tobias, 30 states:

> When I run here, I also run to and from the park. A quite big part of the distance is covered by Slottsparken [another park], so the traffic is not a problem to me.
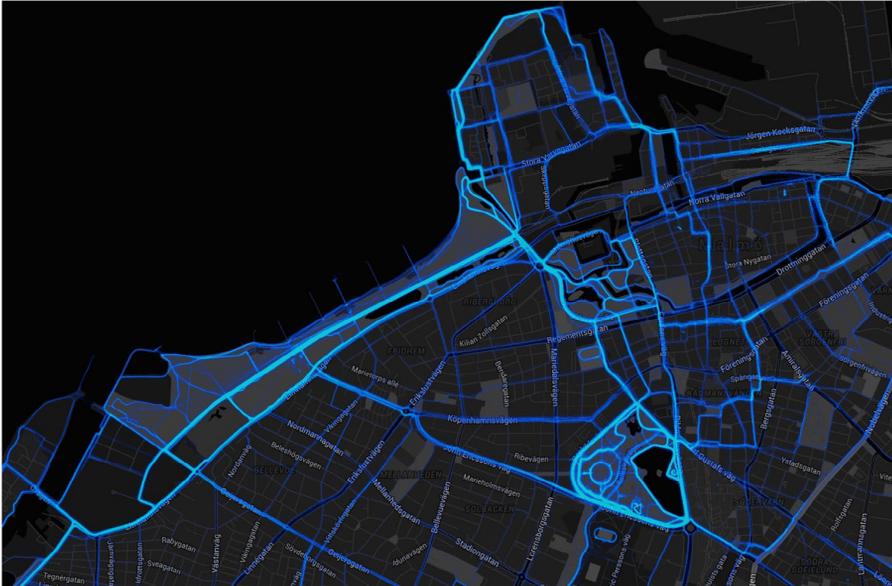
Figure 3. Popular running tracks in Malmö according to Strava. Pildammsparken is here shown as connected through Kungsparken to Ribersborg and the Western harbour area (http://labs.strava.com) (The map shows all the runs uploaded by people through the Strava mobile phone application at 2015-06-01 (Strava started in 2009). As not all runners use this application, the representability of the map should not be overestimated, but it gives an impression of popular runs in Malmö that seems to accord well with, for example, jogg.se.).

Many interviewees however, evade the disruptive affordances of the city, explaining that they did not run to the park because they found the asphalt uncomfortable, along with interruptions from traffic and people. As Esben, 35, reported, "Running to the park disturbs my rhythm too much". Several pointed out that the traffic flow at the intersecting street of Baltiska Vägen constituted an obvious interruption to their running rhythms, and Johan experienced similar disruptions when jogging home from the park:

> At the crossing there's all these cars and bikes and people in a hurry calling for my attention. The traffic lights dominate the moving of my body here, it's a big contrast to running freely around the pond. (Running diary 2016-03-21)

Disruptions to running caused by such unfavourable affordances and the intrusions of other mobile rhythms seem to risk a loss of control and produce a fragmented running experience. Because of this, many runners cycle to the park, sometimes as a way of warming up, as exemplified by Max, 31:

> To get here, I bike. I don't want to run to and from here because of all the crossings, people and cars on the way here. Running outside the park makes the run kind of chopped up.

Having explored how the intersections of runners own rhythmic routines and the rhythms and affordances outside the park impact on their running practices, we now consider the impact on the rhythms of runners by these elements *inside* Pildammsparken

4. Running rhythms in the park: responses to material affordances and the rhythms of others

Solnit (2001, 5) contends that walking is "a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned, as though they were three characters finally in conversation together, three notes making a chord". Yet as with running, this eurhythmy is an idealized aim and is interspersed by the disruptions afforded by necessary attentiveness to materiality, other mobile humans, seasonal effects and non-human intrusions. For though runners tend to re-enact regular running routes of similar duration, the rhythms that they anticipate occasionally devolve into arrhythmia. The messy polyrhythmic ensemble of Pildammsparken includes undesirable disruptive rhythms as well as enjoyable rhythms and affordances that enable a smooth running rhythm to be experienced.

Firstly, the running body may not always be able to move smoothly through space, for contingencies and material affordances ensure that rhythms have to adapt to circumstances. The body may be forced to veer away from obstacles, avoid slippery surfaces and rough textures, and become acquainted with and attuned to a variety of material affordances. A diverse terrain certainly characterizes the running experience in Pildammsparken: different routes and areas provoke different running rhythms through their particular affordances. Several runners use the lap around *Tallriken* for interval training while hilly areas are used for slope training. The wooded area provides a calm, quiet and shadowy environment for those seeking a more meditative running experience (although autumn leaf-fall makes it slippery when wet), while the circuit around the larger lake affords openness and a definitive distance. Others shape their running rhythms by following the perimeter of the park, or pursuing possibilities to add on shorter distances to the total running length: "I use the blue running track because it makes it easy to choose for how long you are going to run. You say to yourself: Just one more lap, just one more lap" (Sten, 50).

One couple combine an engagement with the excess materiality of the park by running while collecting cans from trash bins and putting them in plastic bags. One of them describes how this promotes a particular competition between them: "When I see someone going towards the refuse bin, I start running to get their first". This engagement with the material affordances of the park thus solicits the evolution of a distinctive running rhythm. Other "combinatory" practices include runners who socialize with a companion on a bicycle, exercise a dog or push a pram.

More fixed features in the park, notably the two popular outdoor gyms installed in 2014, also shape rhythm and routine. Some alternate running with gym work, one runs an extra lap instead of standing still while waiting for a particular piece of gym apparatus to become available, while others utilize other fixtures. One inventive runner, Michael, 28, who incorporates other exercises into a fitness regime, lifted a large stone retrieved from a nearby retention wall. Adriana, 30, explicitly avoids the gym in carrying out exercises: "You shouldn't depend on machines, the gym is really inside your head. The benches are my equipment". Runners are often seen using the benches for stretching, and sometimes, as in the case of Adriana, for different kinds of muscular workouts. They are, of course, also used for resting after the run.

Certain material technologies brought by runners themselves facilitate the maintenance of a steady rhythm and measure achievement. Several listen to music on headphones in order to stabilize a running rhythm, as Omar, 20, describes: "I only bring my headphones

and phone. I want to listen to music, it's like being in a world of your own when running". Others modulate their speed, distance and time with GPS-watches, one runner setting the device to vibrate if the running pace or heart rate drops. Backpacks were also important, for instance, in accommodating a change of clothes in order to combine running with work or another activity.

Besides the propensity for various affordances of the park's diverse array of materialities to shape the rhythms of running, the co-presence of other humans can potentially produce both a sense of eurhythmy and arrhythmia.

Runners and non-runners alike may appreciate the specifically urban quality of the park and the interaction with other rhythms that this solicits. Indeed, many runners who are very familiar with the site have become accustomed to rhythmic multiplicity, as Lina, 45, explains

> I've been running here for such a long time that I've learned how to run among all the other visitors in the park. I don't have to think about pedestrians or birds anymore and they don't bother me.

Most runners enjoy the co-presence of other people, as Jakob, 32, asserts:

> I think it's a quality to be able to see activities when running. It makes me feel like I'm part of the life of the city. Pildammsparken is so alive during summer. I appreciate moving in the city and feeling like becoming one in the crowd. The train of soccer supporters, for example, they do interrupt me but they also bring a special atmosphere to the situation.

Jakob also enjoys the diverting medley of social activities that occur in the park.

> If I'm lucky I get to see activities on the grass area, like hipsters, live role players with swords or some goofy yoga things.

And Johan observes how running, although often a somewhat self-absorbed activity, also allows for small forms of social interaction when set in the convivial setting of a park

> I even throw a smile to an old man when coming between him and the birds he's feeding. (Running diary 2016-03-19)

While the necessity of modulating rhythm and course might be produced by encounters with other people, runners largely accept this as a part of the quality of exercising in a park, as Omar, 20, asserts:

> Sometimes I have to step aside because of other people, but it doesn't bother me. After all, it's a park.

An entry in Johan's diary offers a similar sentiment, intimating that the runner is co-productive of a larger choreography in a park full of mobile and less mobile subjects

> The small manoeuvres you have to make – zigzag steps, to quickly slow down or speed up – to get through bottlenecks rather feels like a way of cooperating with the surroundings. I'm part of the dynamics. It makes me feel skilled. (Running diary 2016-03-28)

Crucially, these responses indicate how running can be incorporated into an inclusive sense of sociality in the park, its rhythms coexisting harmoniously with those of other park-users. Despite these positive assessments, other runners are more concerned by the disruptions to their running rhythms produced by the practices of others. For instance, Dalia, 31, details how other mobile subjects fail to recognize the specific requirements of the runner in keeping to a straight path and steady rhythm:

> Sometimes I'm bothered by people that don't keep on the right side of the path. Walkers should keep to the left and runners to the right. It's the same principle as in traffic. I holler and wave to people when I come running

Another common impediment to smooth progress lamented by some runners is that caused by dogs and dog owners (cf. Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016, 761), as Håkan, 40s, complains:

> If I should complain about one group, it's the dog owners. Not all of them, of course. But some of them don't take the runners into consideration. A typical example is the owner on one side of the path and the dog on the other. Then the leash is right where I'm about to pass.

The tolerant sociality exemplified above is absent here as walkers and dog-owners do not moderate their practices in order to accommodate the practices of runners and hence disrupt their rhythm. Yet it is crucial not only to consider the effects of others on runners, for runners themselves may produce disorienting arrhythmic disruptions for others, as Johan captures in his account of a strolling elderly couple:

> An elderly couple is walking in the middle of the path. Runners pass by them continuously. They try to turn off to get to one of the benches, but they cannot break through the flow of runners. For a second they look so rueful and confused that I think of them as two deer caught in headlights in the middle of a highway. I am one of the high speed vehicles, just passing by. (Running diary 2016-09-07)

Besides identifying how the rhythms of the runner are heavily influenced by material conditions and other people, seasonal effects inevitably shape running routines. In some cases, the advent of rough seasonal weather diverts runners to the park, shifting their usual routines. For instance, some leave the beach at Ribersborg because Pildammsparken affords greater protection from strong winds and rain, with its trees providing some shelter – as they also do in summer in providing shade from a strong sun. Interviewees also tend to avoid frozen or slippery winter surfaces and female runners in particular refer to how in the darker months they skirt areas of insufficient lighting whereas summer affords greater scope and flexibility for making evening routes.

Ola, 41, took an alternative route during summer because of the smell of the eastern side of the large pond: "I think there is rotting algae. Sometimes the wind blows so that I run straight into that strong smell". Other seasonal factors include an appreciation of the absence of other visitors in winter, the sensory pleasures gained from the cold temperature, the stark visual absence of greenery, or the climatic change signified when paths suddenly become covered with fallen chestnuts. Such seasonal rhythms can produce pleasing sensorial experiences:

> Allan 60: When I think about running during different seasons, I think about scents and atmosphere. During a summer evening the air is humid and it's so filled up with different scents. This is when it's most pleasurable to run.

Cultural and social rhythms also sometimes act as seasonal markers, as with the prevalence of young adults on benches at the start of the academic year, and the rising numbers of runners in April that "are panicking over the upcoming beach season and want to get fit" (Dalia, 31). Moreover, Pildammsparken is a popular venue for small- and large-scale events, adding to the plethora of contingencies and rhythmical encounters in which running becomes entangled. Since 2014, the group *Träna i parken* has arranged over 200 occasions for various free forms of group training arranged via social media, regular gatherings that take place at several locations throughout the park and have to be skirted around by the runner. More random events that may be disruptive include Johan's experience of a limousine that conveyed guests to a wedding at the pavilion blocking his running route. And the "We

who love the 90s" festival forced runners to adopt different routes or abandon their ear-phones because of the aural impact of loud, amplified music.

Finally, in addition to these disruptive agencies, the animals that share the space of the park are also apt to interfere with seamless running rhythms. Besides some locally reported unusual sightings such as a wild boar spotted in the park, and in summer 2015, a three-metre long python that provoked both curiosity and concern about potential danger, the park is populated by large numbers of birds. One informant explained that he quit running in Pildammsparken because of the considerable growth in the number of birds, with barnacle geese, for example, increasing from 17 to almost 300 pairs in 25 years (Hårde 2013, 231).

Other runners tolerated the waterfowl even though they occasionally interfere with their running rhythm. Katja, 36, explained that interruptions often arose "when the geese have just had kids, they get very aggressive then." Johan gives an example of how other humans, non-humans and timing interact to cause arrhythmia:

> A bread-missile is thrown right in front of me, making a posse of birds gather in excitement. I slow down and take small, aggressive, steps to dispel them. Behind me I hear laughter and someone saying: "Oh, you sabotaged the jogger!". (Running diary 2016-08-09)

Another example of non-human interruptions concern swarms of insects that gather in the light of lamp posts in June. Johan describes how these have a more profoundly evident somatic effect on running rhythms, tickling the eyes and causing coughing attacks when inhaled.

In addition to the place-specific contingencies identified above, running in the park also depends on everyday psychological and biological factors such as amount of sleep, dietary habits, stress, mood and confidence. Most runners are quite tolerant of the disturbances identified above, and similarly, their practices are tolerated by other park users. Such toler-ance is essential in such a large, shared public space, and on the whole, this collectively produces a eurhythmic harmony. Having discussed the ways in which running rhythms intersect with the other rhythms of the park, we now consider how they work to develop the stable running rhythm that maximizes the eurhythmic experience of the regular runner.

5. Becoming a runner: dressage and attunement to place

All mobile practices require training so that those enacting them may become attuned to bodies, vehicles and spaces. Consider the training required in developing an ability to swim, ride a bicycle and drive a car. Similarly, in order to become adept and fit, runners must develop routines and strategies that allow them to synchronize their weekly routines with everyday work, leisure and family rhythms (Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016). At first, such training might be something of a slog although later the development of a fit body will make routine running far less onerous – and rhythmically smooth – and regular routines must be maintained in order to sustain the ability to run at a comfortable pace and rhythm. The development of a regime that allows bodies to become attuned to regular running illustrates Lefebvre's notion of "dressage" as a means to train the body to perform, to absorb rhythm into bodies through prolonged practice so that it becomes habitual, a "second nature". Lefebvre primarily focuses upon disciplinary procedures through which workers are trained to comply with the imperatives of efficient production, inculcating unreflexive habits that render their bodies docile. Runners, though, take on a self-disciplining form of dressage

through which they train their bodies to become habitually accommodated to the demands of running, though they may follow advisory programmes such as the popular *Couch to 5k* scheme. Dressage here then, is not coercive but is undertaken to acquire running fitness and familiarity with place and space. The key is to undertake a period of training when initially, movement and breathing does not come easily, a form of apprenticeship that develops the aptitude to comfortably run the desired distance and allows entry into the community of runners.

Dressage, as Lefebvre points out, is based on repetition (2004, 39) and concerned with learning how to negotiate environments and align with different rhythms. Dressage devised to train the runner resonates with that of the pedestrian during the early twentieth century (Hornsey 2010), when knowing how to move and behave in traffic became increasingly important. Modernist planning aimed for such mobile practices to be performed on *autopilot* (Middleton 2011). Moreover, mobile forms of dressage act to attune people to place, whether to the hard asphalt of the military parade ground or to the running affordances, temporal patterns and co-users of the local park that we have discussed above.

In order to more substantively investigate the process of running as *dressage* and as a practice that progressively attunes the runner to time, the running body and place, we particularly draw on Johan's running diary. In the diary, entries foreground how becoming a runner involves on-going negotiations with different rhythms. Here, we discuss three different rhythmic encounters – with different temporalities, with different materialities and corporeal experience, and with rhythms that modulate between interiority and exteriority. Some of these negotiations might become settled and stabilized over time as an outcome of repetitive dressage and routine, but they are also constantly renegotiated.

First, the running diary recurrently reveals negotiations with, and productions of, different temporalities. Initially, running solicited a distinctly unfamiliar sense and scale of time: the feeling that the duration of a run was unreasonably long. Being unfit and unused to running, the distance to be completed was initially perceived as "endless" and stretching "forever". During the run, time as measured by the clock was deactivated, but when the run was finished, Johan became aware that "only" 15 min had passed. The experience of clock time as a deceptive measurement of running time persisted when he became more accustomed to habitually running at sundown, literally from day to night, foregrounding experiential time over clock time:

> There was still daylight when I started, but when I finish, it's dark. This reinforces my impression that way more than just twenty minutes passed during the run. I ran for so long that the world transformed. (Running diary 2016-04-11)

Though the mechanical time of the clock was in this case circumvented, other runners meticulously measure their running times, scrupulously monitoring the phases of their route with recording devices to adjusting lived rhythmic experience to a preconceived clock-based rhythm, imposing dressage on the running body.

Another aspect of this awareness about time triggered by running was the recurrence of a 15-year-old knee injury. While Johan had forgotten the injury for over a decade, the sudden activation of a formerly passively embedded corporeal memory brought back a somatic memory of the time of the injury but also invaded everyday experience more generally. Similar associations with distant biographical events were raised by several informants. For instance, one former resident of an afforested part of Sweden disclosed that he liked to run in the wooded area of the park since it reminded him of his youth.

Other references to the duration and rhythms of the life course were conveyed by references to earlier running habits that had been superseded. For example, Allan, 60, explained that "I used to run ten times per month. Now my health is limiting me", while Lukas, 30, described how "I used to run two times a week, but I recently had a child and now I can only run once a month".

Second, beginning to run rhythmically also led to an emerging self-awareness, in response to different corporeal and material elements. Enhanced somatic awareness means that the breathing, aches or posture of the body become reflexively monitored:

> My running style changed during the run. At the beginning I took short steps with my forearms raised and kept close to my chest. Eventually, there was a sort of unfolding taking place, in which I started to take wider steps and let my arms move more loosely. So the running style signals how far or how for long you've run. (Running diary 2016-04-07)

The capacity to produce a smooth rhythm does not only depend upon the initial period of training, or dressage, but also on ongoing, regular running. Attempts to improve bodily attunement to place and exercise can be thwarted if the training routine is not maintained, as the following diary entry elucidates:

> I have somehow slipped out of routine for the last week, even though I have really been longing for running. Now when I finally get to it, I am hindered by a devilish heartburn caused by the food and drinks I had at a celebration yesterday. For every running step I take there is a small sour rush of stomach acid fretting my throat, a pulse of sharp eruptions. I also feel a pressure in the chest. This is so unpleasant that I have difficulties focusing. It is a strange feeling to run with this turmoil inside, while the surroundings are so calm and peaceful. (Running diary 2016-09-17)

Johan has not fulfilled the necessary dressage routines with the consequences that his body's rhythms have become unable to perform earlier running rhythms.

Above we discussed how runners become attuned to the material affordances of Pildammsparken and a sense of rhythmic progress is also measured by passing a sequence of physical features, "milestones", such as the outdoor gym, the restaurant, and the water pump, that indicate how long remains of the circuit. Spatial variations, such as when a sense of openness is produced where views over the large pond are available or conversely, a closed in impression, also influence the running rhythm. As Emil, 27, reports: "I appreciate the parts of the park that are enclosed, like dense greenery. It makes the distance less tangible. In my head, it feels like I'm running faster when it's bushy and enclosed."

The rhythms of other runners also provide reference points during a run. For example, another runner, circling the same path in the opposite direction can serve as a useful mobile reference point, or even a challenge. For some runners, synchronizing with other runners' rhythms or racing others can enliven a session while also measuring the speed of one's body in relation to others. Jakob, 32, describes this process: "I do get motivated from passing by another runner. Sometimes I choose someone who's running fast and try to keep up with them. That also motivates me". Such encounters can be territorial, an ongoing negotiation of the line-of-running territory (cf. Goffman's discussion of line-of-talk territories, 1963). These territorial negotiations between running bodies are often resolved through quick detours or temporary changes in pace. But they may help in making estimations about one's speed: – "Can I make it before that bicycle or car?" – while at other times, the rhythm set by a fellow runner can be followed, obviating the need for self-monitoring.

Third, as part of becoming habituated to running, runners continuously modulate their experience in shifting between interior and exterior rhythms. Parts of the route that lack

distractions solicit introversion or a focus on the body, on breathing, speed and running rhythm, whereas areas with more diversions encourage a more outward looking extroversion towards other park users or scenery, and the conscious avoidance of collisions. Levels of introversion and extroversion vary according to whether the path is straight or turns, and how much is occupied by others. Distractions may divert attention away from aches or energy loss and to the surroundings, whereas their absence may assist focus on maintaining an even rhythm and speed.

Managing running rhythms according to such contingencies promotes the internalization of particular embodied responses. For example, when Johan hears footsteps closing in from behind, he automatically slows down in order to let the other runner pass. This highlights how such rhythms inform the development of a more or less unreflexive *socio-motor* skill (Warnier 2001, 9) that induces responsiveness to external elements and fosters an interiorizing ability to draw upon others:

> When approaching the bus stop, this guy starts running right beside me. The bus is just about to leave and he's trying to make it on board. He appears to be unused to running. He speeds up, I speed up, people are watching from the bus stop. He misses the bus, curses and slows down while I keep running. It must have looked as if I deliberately made fun of him. But I didn't mean to, it was just a reflex of mine. (Running diary, 2016-04-30)

This example shows how Johan not only notices and draws on the rhythm of another runner, but also how he incorporates this rhythm and interiorizes it in inadvertently committing a social faux pas.

Finally, though runners typically aim for predictable habitual rhythmic movement, unintended changes can emerge quite suddenly. One informant's style of running was dramatically transformed with the release of Pokémon Go, an augmented reality game that involves the player's geographical location (Hjorth and Richardson 2017). Instead of listening to audio books on headphones, Clara, 45, now ran with her phone in one hand to play the game, which consequently made her pause and walk more often but also extended the distance she covered.

The habits of running evolve as interiorizing and exteriorizing impulses combine to produce particular embodied routines, as Adriana, 30, exemplifies:

> My running route is the outer lap around the park. I run it once in one direction, and then once again the other direction. It's because I want an even distribution of how much the muscles have to work. If you always run the same direction and always make the same turns, the muscles one side of your body will have to work more than the other. This is important for me.

Such reiterative routines might also solicit diverse comforting, habitual engagements with fixtures, like the need to always run around a lamp-post or "a tree that I have to run round and a root that I always jump over" (Jakob, 32). This exemplifies how though becoming a runner tends to aim for consistency, contingencies and new desires can produce an ever-changing engagement with place as well as rhythmic repetition.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we suggest that the runner is a rhythmic figure par excellence. By combining running as theoretical orientation and mobile practice, we have explored the ongoing production and negotiation of rhythms in an urban park through a reflexive and engaged rhythmanalysis. Accordingly, we have exemplified how Pildammsparken is continuously

reproduced by the mobilities that centre upon and flow through it by focusing on how the urban runner contributes to a distinct polyrhythmic ensemble that characterizes everyday experience. Runners are some of the mobile bodies that reproduce a stable, consistent understanding of what a place means, how it feels and is practised. Yet the tensions and negotiations they must face at times also indicates how place may change, subtly as well as dramatically, and through multiple timescales. The pressures imposed upon Pildammsparken by a growing urban population and increasingly diverse leisure demands have shifted activities in the park over time. The huge rise in urban running as leisure pursuit has particularly changed the park's character, and supplemented the forest facilities in which Swedes have exercised.

We demonstrate how the urban runner comes to know places and routes through dressage. Repetitive forms of training and the subsequent reiteration of familiar mobile rhythms condition bodies and attune the runner to the material affordances and human and non-human actors who share the space. The runner is thereby co-producing a mobile sense of place undergirded by everyday and weekly habits and schedules.

We have demonstrated that most runners attempt to align themselves with the rhythms of other humans and non-humans, often negotiating disruptions. Accordingly, we might conceive Pildammsparken as a microcosm of the city, in which mobile rhythms clash, align and are managed according to urban strategies. Vehicles, people and non-humans are invariably entangled in a mashup of rhythms that in the park is largely eurhythmic and therefore chimes with Jane Jacob's depiction of an urban place-ballet, where participants do not conform:

> to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. (1961, 50)

While the runner in Pildammsparken is perhaps becoming a more disciplined figure, running in the park is more concerned with practising the sharing of space than moving via autopilot, directed towards eurhythmia rather than isorhythmia. As with the pedestrians discussed by Lavadinho and Winkin (2008), the adaptations of runners as they attempt to maintain the steady rhythm integral to their pursuit are emblematic of the performance of civility that largely pertains in the shared public space of the park, underpinning its essential role in bringing together different people and practices.

By pointing to the urban runner as a rhythmic figure this article also contributes to expanding rhythmanalytical approaches and applications. Notions of dressage, polyrhythm, eurhythmy and arrhythmia have proved useful for describing urbanized running in itself as well as its relationality to wider temporal and material contexts. The urban runner has served as a rewarding figure through which to interpret the Lefebvrian imperative to use the body as a reference in order to understand rhythms. Thus, rhythmanalysis provides a pertinent excellent approach through which to track how different rhythms, multiple routes and microspaces, schedules, intersections and connections can characterize an inclusive site. The park is exemplary in demonstrating how lightly and loosely regulated public spaces provide settings in which tolerance and diversity can prosper and most park users accommodate each other as well as non-human co-inhabitants, and adjust to the material affordances. This calls for greater exploration into why and how such sites are successful in contradistinction to those realms in which timings, materialities and mobilities are orchestrated to provide

"relatively smooth 'corridors" only for some" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 213), while others may be disconnected and excluded.

Notes

1. The observations were made in October 2015 during weekdays, between 9.30 and 15.30, the weather was somewhat cloudy with 10–14 degrees Celsius. In this study we also had help from Gustav Kärrholm.
2. In 60% of the observations of places 1, 2 and 4, people were moving clock wise. In place 3, clock wise could actually be in both directions where, depending which the loop one is following, the ratio was 50–50.

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III

— THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN PIECES: The Fragmentation of Local Public Space in a Swedish Housing Area

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Abstract

In this article, we investigate the transformation of local public spaces in the ethnically and socially diverse housing area Norra Fäladen during 1970–2015. After being built, the area soon faced stigmatization and became known as a problem area. This was followed by a series of investments in local public spaces aiming for a stronger appropriation of the neighbourhood by its inhabitants. The production of a 'neighbourhood spirit' has, however, slowly deteriorated over the last two decades. Through the introduction of new areas, with large single-family houses on the one hand, and a densification of the existing housing stock on the other, the inhabitants' dependence on the existing (but now decreasing) public spaces within the area has been polarized. Local public spaces are also being increasingly relocated from central parts of the neighbourhood to the peripheries or outside the area. In this article, we investigate how this quite slow, yet steady, transformation has affected the local public spaces and the everyday life of the area.

In Sweden, densification projects have often been localized to areas built during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1965, the Swedish Parliament decided that one million dwellings should be built between 1965 and 1974 (The Million Program), peaking in 1974 with 110,000 newly built units (Grundström and Molina, 2016: 323). At the time, this was the highest number of built units per capita in the world. The quality of the Swedish Million Program areas was often quite high in terms of the plans and standard of the apartments, and sometimes also the infrastructure of the public services, but they were criticized from the outset for their poor outdoor environments and large-scale and uniform design. In the decades that followed, an increasing critique of the Million Program areas also led to several waves of amendments (Hall and Vidén, 2005; Tägil and Werne, 2007: 65 ff). Many of the areas struggled with stigmatization and a bad reputation, and as a result, almost any kind of change was seen as good change; in fact, it seemed as if urban development in these areas could only mean improvement. The decades after the 1970s were thus characterized by upgrades, densification and infills (Kristensson, 2003; Hall and Vidén, 2005: 324). One hypothesis of this article is that over the decades, these densifications and infills have slowly amassed to effectuate large-scale changes, affecting for example the infrastructure of local public spaces. Rather than rethinking public spaces through the new urban developments, the densifications quite often seemed to rely on the original infrastructure of public space; that is, on the very resources that they were slowly eroding. The effects of deregulations and the abolition of state subsidies that followed in the wake of the Million Program have been described elsewhere (Andersson and Turner, 2014; Grundström and Molina, 2016), and so has displacement that often followed from the renovations of these areas (Baeten *et al.*, 2017; Thörn and Thörn, 2017). Here, we aim to address how the often quite slow, yet steady, transformation that followed affected the infrastructures of public spaces and services in these areas.

The aim of this article is to discuss the transformation of local public spaces in a Swedish housing area over the last 50 years. How do the local public spaces that were planned in the 1960s work today? Where and when did and do people from these areas meet? This article is based on a single case study of Norra Fäladen in Lund. This is a fairly typical area from the Million Program era, with three-storey multi-family housing and one- to two-storey single-family housing. The area is built as a neighbourhood unit (Tägil and Werne, 2007: 25), with housing complemented by a centrally located retail area together with public or communal services, such as schools, a church and health facilities (for a discussion of the Swedish neighbourhood unit model, see Franzén and Sandstedt, 1981). It is not one of the more spectacular examples of a Million Program area (with a concentration of tower blocks), but can rather be seen as a good representation of an average area of the time with quite mixed housing of one- to three- or four-storey buildings. Densification has (mostly for environmental and economic reasons) been an explicit strategy in the municipal comprehensive plans of Lund since the early 1980s. This has also affected Norra Fäladen, which has changed over the years through a slow densification of the existing area, but also though the addition of new areas with apartments and single-family dwellings. As in many Million Program areas, Norra Fäladen has undergone a process of territorial stigmatization (Wacquant, 2007), peaking during the late 1980s to early 1990s. During this time, the area was appropriated by the local community in an attempt at stigma inversion (Wacquant *et al.*, 2014: 1276) to produce a more positive territorial appropriation and association for the area. Later, the new spirit of the neighbourhood seems to have fragmented as new areas were built, new populations moved in, and many people (but not all) began leading more mobile everyday lives. In this article, we discuss two processes of destigmatization: one that worked with neighbourhood appropriation, and investments in new and more positive associations; whereas the other was a more unplanned process of place detachment, slowly evolving through the relocation of services and a growing neighbourhood independence among a large proportion of the inhabitants.

A territorial perspective

In this article, we work with a territorial perspective (Malmberg, 1980; Sack, 1986; Delaney, 2005) that is on an everyday life level, following particular recent research on territorology and urban studies (Kärrholm, 2007; 2017; Brighenti, 2010a; Brighenti and Mattiucci, 2012; Magnusson, 2016; Smith and Hall, 2017). The territorial perspective includes studies of how time spaces are both claimed and produced; that is, how certain activities, groups, rules and people become associated with and expressed through a specific territory. There are of course multiple ways of producing territories, and here we focus especially on territorial appropriations and associations within the area of Norra Fäladen. After years in the same neighbourhood, one comes to know how certain spaces are associated with a certain activity or group. One might also become attached to the area oneself, appropriating different parts of it to different degrees, and these parts start to define a person just as much as that person defines them. Thus, over time, the neighbourhood or different parts of it become appropriated and associated with certain uses, values, groups or even individuals (stigmatization as discussed by Wacquant is thus but one theme of such possible associations). In times of questioning, the territorialization becomes visible and one might choose to claim it more explicitly and even defend it; that is, by intentionally setting up certain territorial strategies (plans) or tactics (expressive operations in an ongoing situation); the processes of territorialization now become explicit and part of ongoing, brief or long-lasting projects.[1]

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1   The notion of strategies and tactics is inspired by Certeau (1984), but without the preconceived duality in which a tactic necessarily works against a strategy. For a longer discussion on different forms of territorial production, see Kärrholm (2007).

Territorial appropriations are produced at different scales and are dependent on different modes of visibility, intervisibility or invisibility (Brighenti, 2010b). They play an important part in the production of private and public space. The territorial borders between public and private are always multiple and dependent on the situation; public spaces might, for example, be domesticated to become appropriated and part of home-making (Koch and Latham, 2013; Boccagni and Brighenti, 2015; Mandich and Cuzzocrea, 2016); homes might be stigmatized and seen as a matter of concern for people outside the home, and so on. Taking a territorial perspective of space, one soon realizes that all spaces are full of different kinds of territorial productions; there are multiple associations, appropriations, strategies and tactics at play.

When we talk about local public spaces here, we mean spaces that are appropriated not just by one, but by several different persons and groups. At times, there might be a specific group or person that acts as gatekeeper of the place (Magnusson, 2016: 108*ff*), but it is also a place where people can be strangers. Hannah Arendt's point is informative here: local public spaces are small enough for the contribution by individuals to be discerned by others (Arendt, 1958; *cf.* Schutz, 1999)—local public spaces are places of beginnings, and as such they are seeds for the necessary reproduction and transformation of the public domain. In an article on meeting places in Tensta, a Million Program area just outside Stockholm, Räthzel discusses certain communal neighbourhood meeting places as kinds of pre-public spaces (Räthzel, 2005: 32*f*). Spaces like this might need to be partly hidden or to have restricted access for a group to claim a space and form a voice which only later could take part in a more public discourse; it is a kind of pre-institutional public sphere (Räthzel, 2005; Nylund, 2007) that also can be manifested as counter publics (Wolf-Powers, 2009). In Sweden, the Million Program areas have been an especially important arena for these kinds of spaces where, for example, new migrant groups and cultures have been able to establish themselves [for an interesting study of this, see Mack (2017)] and form communities of different scales (Glick Schiller and Çaglar, 2010). We argue that the public spaces of a neighbourhood such as Norra Fäladen, including its community spaces, square and parks, might work in a similar way, and that they, together with the more private or collective indoor meeting facilities of the area, are important resources and prerequisites for new publics to be produced (*cf.* Marres, 2005). Fäladstorget might perhaps seem quite small and obscure from an urban or regional perspective, yet it is a stage where strangers potentially meet, and where individuals and groups can be made visible to a local audience (Citroni and Kärrholm, 2017).

An area such as Norra Fäladen is obviously the arena for several different territorial associations and appropriations, as well as strategies and tactics with deliberate aims to change the character and notion of its public spaces. In this article, we look at how different groups have appropriated different parts of the neighbourhood (to form different kinds of local public spaces), and the various territorial associations that the neighbourhood and its parts have. The empirical studies are based on a series of methods and techniques. First, we performed observation studies in one of the more important public spaces of the area, the neighbourhood park Borgarparken, in 2014 and 2015, which included shorter *in situ* interviews and observation notes on the spot. We studied everyday life, especially in the spring and autumn of 2014, noting the variety, extent and duration of different activities. These studies also included the attendance of the largest neighbourhood event, the annual *Fäladskalaset*, in 2014 and 2015. (*cf.* Citroni and Kärrholm, 2017). Second, we carried out archive and literature studies, including books and articles on the area (e.g. Wahlöö, 1989; Lieberg, 1992; 1995; Tägil, 1997; Rasmusson, 1998; Kärrholm, 2005); newspapers (especially the local newspaper *Sydsvenska dagbladet*); and the quarterly neighbourhood newspaper *Knorren*, produced by the city district of Norra Fäladen (Kommundel Norr) from

1988 to 1999.[2] Third, we conducted 10 longer semi-structured interviews of 1–2 hours each between 2015 and 2017, most of which took place at the homes of the people interviewed. The interviewees were mostly found through notices put up at the local grocery shop in Fäladstorget, and through conversations at the neighbourhood festival. There were five female and five male interviewees, ranging in age from 14 to 82 years. The interviews started with questions about how the neighbourhood spaces were used, what different areas were called, and so on, followed by a more free discussion about everyday life and personal experiences of being a resident of Norra Fäladen. Maps of the area were used during these discussions. Finally, it might be worth mentioning that one of the authors lived in the area for more than 20 years: first from 1991 to 1999, and then from 2003 until the present day.

A portrait of a stigmatized area

At the end of 1970, Lund was a town with 56,000 inhabitants, and growing fast. There was a housing shortage, and especially a lack of student accommodation. Norra Fäladen was planned by Fred Forbat and Stefan Romare in the early 1960s and completed in 1972. The area, located in the northern part of Lund, was planned to have 9,000 inhabitants (of which 2,000 were students), with 23% built as single-family housing and the rest as flats, mostly in three-storey buildings; the majority of them were rental properties. There was also a new housing type for the time: a family apartment for students. After the second world war, there was a new trend for students to form families; this was very uncommon before the war. Student apartments started to be built in 1957 in Sweden, but only as single room apartments (i.e. not flats); thus, this was the first student family housing in Lund (Wahlöö, 1989; Tägil, 1997). Public and collective spaces included the large Borgarparken, integrating the different subareas of the neighbourhood, day-care centres and playgrounds, as well as different kinds of community spaces spread over the neighbourhood.[3] In a central location there were two schools (one with the local library) and Fäladstorget, with both retail units and services (such as a health clinic, church, dentist, bank, hairdresser). In the student area there was also the Delphinen centre, with a public swimming pool, restaurants and a grocery store.

Although there are many single-family homes and a lot of student housing in Norra Fäladen, the area with the rental apartments and the local public square is the one that featured most often in the newspapers. In the mid-1970s, the area started to get a bad reputation as having a younger population and larger households than the rest of Lund. Fäladen became associated with trouble and crimes. The newspapers kept writing about the problems, and this escalated in the early 1980s; one tenants' association even threatened to form a vigilance committee in 1981 (Tägil, 1997: 103). During the 1980s, the children of the 1970s had become teenagers, and when Lieberg studied the area around 1990, he noted that the square was sometimes appropriated by large gangs of 30–40 teenagers on summer evenings (Lieberg, 1992: 175). During the 1980s, one of the biggest problem areas, Rådhusrätten (locally known as Maggan), got a neighbourhood police station and a new service office; the large garages in the area, which were considered problematic hangout places for youth at the time, were let to small businesses.

During the 1970s, Norra Fäladen was also known to have many immigrant residents, especially from Chile and Latin America; later, in the 1980s and 1990s, many immigrants had also come from the Middle East (most of them from Iraq, according to numbers from 2006). In fact, quite soon after it was developed, the area became the

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2   *Knorren, Tidning för Kommundel Norr* (Knorren, Newspaper for Municipal District North) was produced by Lunds kommun (the municipality of Lund). In its final year of publication (1999) there were two issues only.

3   In Sweden, community spaces were often integrated in the housing areas. These spaces have been subsidized since the 1940s, and became important during the post-second world war era. Facilitating local public and even collective spaces for local organizations was at this time actually a matter for the state (Franzén and Sandstedt, 1981).

most multi-ethnic urban district in Lund. In the beginning, the area was jokingly called Södra Eslöv (Eslöv south), referring to how far the neighbourhood was from Lund's city centre; Eslöv is a smaller municipality just north of Lund. However, the area was soon dubbed Fladden (a reference to the Latino population's pronunciation of Fäladen). As more immigrants from the Middle East lived in the zone served by public bus line 4, that bus line became nicknamed 'The Orient Express' or 'The Garlic Express' (garlic was still uncommon in Swedish cuisine at this point; see Metzger, 2005). This more racialized stigmatization (Molina, 1997) might also be part of the more general trend of racialization that seemed to escalate in Sweden during the 1980s and 1990s (Pred, 2000).

During the 1990s, the municipality readdressed the area's bad reputation through different projects, and the residents were also mobilized to participate in different events. New housing areas were also developed during the 1990s as the neighbourhood was extended and slowly became densified. Important new extensions were the areas Ladugårdsmarken, dominated by apartments, and Annehem, which was exclusively single-family housing. Residents of these areas generally have a higher income and level of education than in the rest of Norra Fäladen. Slowly, Norra Fäladen thus started a process of destigmatization coupled with densification, with the addition of new more affluent subareas and a relocation of services. However, the bad reputation still haunts the area to some extent; although Annehem is formally part of Fäladen, people from Annehem do not always want to identify with the area.

In his work, Wacquant combines Goffman's discussion of stigma with Bourdieu's theory of distinction and symbolic power to discuss territorial stigmatization, and the notion of space as a vehicle of discredit (Wacquant *et al.*, 2014). Norra Fäladen is a clear example of a territorial stigmatized area in Sweden, and over the years it has been territorially and negatively associated with violence and crime, as well as with immigrants. The immigrant association was even verified in a Swedish Government Official Report (SOU) about ethnical discrimination, in which Norra Fäladen is mentioned by informants in Malmö, together with Rosengård and Linero, as areas in the Malmö–Lund region where people of 'foreign background' often establish themselves (Kamali, 2005: 56).

From our interviews, it was evident that the perception of Fäladen as a stigmatized area was well known, but often placed in the past rather than in the present. However, there does not seem to be any consensus on when this changed; the informants seem to associate this change with their own move to the area. For example, one of the informants, 69-year-old Tord, told us about Norra Fäladen when he arrived in 1986:

> it was a wild neighbourhood then [1986], because we had different groups of Romani fighting each other … We got police here when the bank left [the police moved into the former premises of the former bank], and then things calmed down.

Maria (41) says:

> When I moved here [in 2005], I heard rumours that Norra Fäladen was not a good area. Mostly I heard that Magistratsvägen was quite rowdy. I do not know if that is really the case, I do not know people there. It is also rumoured that Svenshögskolan [the local school] is not so good.

Our youngest informant, Oskar (15), from the single-family housing area, said that he was afraid to go into 'Maggan' when he was younger, even though most of his friends from school lived there: 'There were a lot of older kids, teenagers, who walked around there'. Now he goes to school in the city centre, and goes on to explain: 'some people at my school have told me that Gunnesbo [a district in the northeast part of Lund]

is the new Norra Fäladen', meaning that another area might now be about to succeed Norra Fäladen as Lund's 'worst' district. Norra Fäladen thus still seems to be considered one of the less popular areas of Lund, but it is no longer unquestionably at the bottom of the list. It still has more foreign citizens than the average Lund area, but the difference is declining; for example, after the large immigration to Sweden from Syria starting in 2015, housing was prepared in other areas of Lund, and only a few Syrians have ended up in Norra Fäladen.

Parallel to recognitions of stigmatization, we also see strong expressions of love, nostalgia and attachment in the interviews. It is not uncommon for people to move between dwellings within the area, or for close family such as sons or daughters (when they become parents themselves) or parents (when they becoming older) to move into the area. Ritva (60) offers an alternative perspective on the stigma: 'I have never ever felt unsafe. Sometimes I read about Norra Fäladen in the newspaper and wonder if we are talking about the same area'.

Looking at the history of Norra Fäladen, one can see how the process of territorial stigmatization was countered by two different processes of destigmatization: one focuses on the intentional appropriation of the area by its inhabitants, while the other process could be described as its opposite: a more unreflective, slower detachment process resulting from densification, new areas being built and increased mobility among part of the population. The process of appropriation affirmed the importance of the existing local public spaces designed in the 1960s, whereas the process of neighbourhood detachment can be seen as connected to the dispersion of local public spaces to other places both within and outside the area, resulting in increased economic segregation in the area itself. In the following section, we address these two processes and their consequences.

Destigmatization and neighbourhood appropriation

One of the problems of the Million Program areas was the quality of the outdoor spaces (Hall and Vidén, 2005). The open spaces were quite generous, but in residential yards the green areas were often quite poor. Therefore, the interstitial, bushy zones between subareas often attracted informal uses (Wikström, 2005), which made some people feel unsafe. This was also the case in Norra Fäladen and so several of the outdoor spaces have been remodelled over the years. For example, one of our informants told us about a grassroots initiative of redeveloping the yard at Skarpskyttevägen, which she was involved in during the late 1980s.

During the late 1980s, the first extensive changes also started in the area. At this time in Sweden, there was a general trend towards decentralization; in 1985, the city of Lund wanted to divide its municipality into different districts (*kommundelsnämnder*). Together with the village Veberöd, Norra Fäladen became a pilot case in these trials, working as a district—Kommundelsnämnd Norr (hereafter called KDN North)—between 1985 and 2000. As soon as KDN North was established, it began to take action against small and large neighbourhood problems. For example, a car and trailer with a Polish registration that had been parked in the square for several months was moved. Evening activities at Fäladshallen (the local gymnasium) were regulated and forced to end by 22:00. Kommundelschefen (the head of the municipality district) also discussed the local problems with youth in the neighbourhood newspaper *Knorren* (established in 1988), and suggested that 'in certain areas' all kids should be grounded after midnight. In 1996, seven police officers and one police investigator were assigned to Lund North, and a local police office opened at Fäladstorget. In *Knorren*, the local police officer Lennart is quoted as saying that they 'will no longer tolerate that 8-year-old kids are out and about in the middle of the night' (*Knorren*, 1995: 5). Before the new police station opened, the municipality had organized a night watch to patrol the square for 8 hours each night (the fundraising for this was done through advertisements in *Knorren*). At the same time,

FIGURE 1   Fäladstorget. Photo taken on 13 December 2012 from the Church tower. In the background we see the school with the local library. The high-rise building on the left is an addition from 2011 (photo by Albin Brönmark, reproduced by permission of Bilder i Syd)

the local politicians admitted that, in terms of crime statistics, the neighbourhood did not differ much from other areas in Lund (Niklewski, 1995: 3).

The central square of Norra Fäladen, built in 1971, has a church, two health care centres and spaces for stores and services (see Figures 1 and 2). These services have changed over the years, but the descriptions by *Knorren* (1993: issue 2) and Åström (1985: 79) provide a good picture of what they would have been like in the early decades: two grocery stores, a pharmacy, a dry cleaners, a kiosk, a hamburger stand (later a pub and pizzeria), a bank, a hairdresser, a bakery, a post office, a flower shop, a parish house, a dentist, and a day-care centre. In 1987, a small daily market also opened on the square. During the 1990s, a second-hand shop, a local police station, and a local municipality office were opened. In 1996, the square was refurbished after locals completed a questionnaire making their own suggestions for improvements: new benches, a fountain and new trees were then added (Kärrholm, 2005). Norra Fäladen also has a second, smaller centre called Delphinen, which opened before the square was built. During the first decades, the centre had a local grocery store, a kiosk, a restaurant and pub, and a public swimming pool (for a short time, there was also a café).

As KDN North started its work, there was a lot of debate about the identity and symbolic representation of the area (the territorial association). The area of Norra Fäladen needed to be better appropriated by its inhabitants and have new and more positive associations. To achieve this, at first, there was an idea of displaying public art on the square. The famous sculptor Alexander Calders's statue *L'un de notres* (which translates as 'One of ours', but locally, the sculpture was referred to primarily as 'the iron giraffe') had been bought in 1968 and placed at the local schoolyard of Fäladsgården. In 1990, there was a heated debate about moving the sculpture to the square, and when it

FIGURE 2 Location of services at Norra Fäladen (in 2018). The map includes original locations and later additions. Map constructed from OpenStreetMap (and retrieved from http://www.openstreetmap.org, 2015)

was decided that it should remain at the school, anonymous threats of illicit nocturnal relocation were sent to KDN North. However, in the spring of 1993, the statue was given a more prominent setting in the schoolyard and the debate died down. There were also discussions about a second piece of artwork: a sculpture of the local cat Tusse. Tusse, sometimes called 'the flower cat' (*Blomsterkatten*), was a cat that lived in the flower shop on the square. When he was killed in a car accident, inhabitants created a local fund to honour his memory and eventually a statue was made. In addition to the statue, Tusse also got an exhibition that was shown both at the local library and at the Lund city library in downtown Lund (*Knorren* 1989: issue 3; Kärrholm, 2005).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, several different events took place in the area. There were cultural evenings and events related to creating a sustainable environment (environmental issues, including how and where to sort rubbish, were high on the agenda during these years). In 1989, various associations started working together to create an annual event known by different names, such as Kulturfestival, Norra Festivalen and Norrfesten. Quite soon, the name Fäladskalaset was settled upon. The festival goes back to 1990, but according to Britta (54), who was involved in planning the event since the start, the contemporary form and name were settled in 2001. Other events include Norrdagen (a cultural event that started around 1990), the Walpurgis Night celebration at Sankt Hans, Sankt Hansloppet (a competition for runners), Miljödagen (an environment day), and Äldredagen (a day for the elderly). The work thus started very clearly with KDN North and investments in events, and in addition to the local newspaper *Knorren*, this included the local police station, environmental commitments, and the refurbishing of the square with planning input from the inhabitants. Many local associations, such as the ACLA (Asociación cultural latinoamericana, started in 1977), the Swedish-Icelandic association (which had its base in Norra Fäladen), Romano Trajo (the Romani after-school centre started in 1990) and LH Rådhusrätten (a local union of tenants), together with other inhabitants, also played important roles in this work.

Destigmatization and neighbourhood detachment

Today, KDN North and many of the active associations of the 1990s are gone, and with them, to some extent, the square as the natural meeting place for the neighbourhood. Norrdagen and Fäladskalaset do still exist (as of 2017), and one of our informants, Tord (69), describes the importance of these events in relation to what he perceives as an impoverishment of the services in the square: 'We lost the bank, post office, police office and bakery', he says, 'but the events bind together'. However, while the events are characterized as something that unites the area, they also render segregation visible. Ritva (60) says:

> People from all of Norra Fäladen meet at the events, but with some exceptions. It is mostly the people from the single-family houses that do not come. It could be that they spend their leisure time somewhere else. The ones who perform at the events are for example the ones who are part of leisure groups at [the schools] Svenshög and Fäladsgården. Maybe these are kids and youth who do not play at Limus [the private international music school] or go riding in Dalby, but are dependent on the local range [of activities].

When KDN North and the work with *Knorren* were discontinued around 2000, the process of appropriation seems to have also lost its momentum. The change from appropriation to something else is, however, neither sudden nor linear. Services started to move and disappear from the square even when KDN North was planning new events and investing in the square. In fact, another slowly emerging trend was already discernible in the 1990s: the trend of increasing fragmentation and neighbourhood detachment. Some of the main reasons for this were the large developments of privately
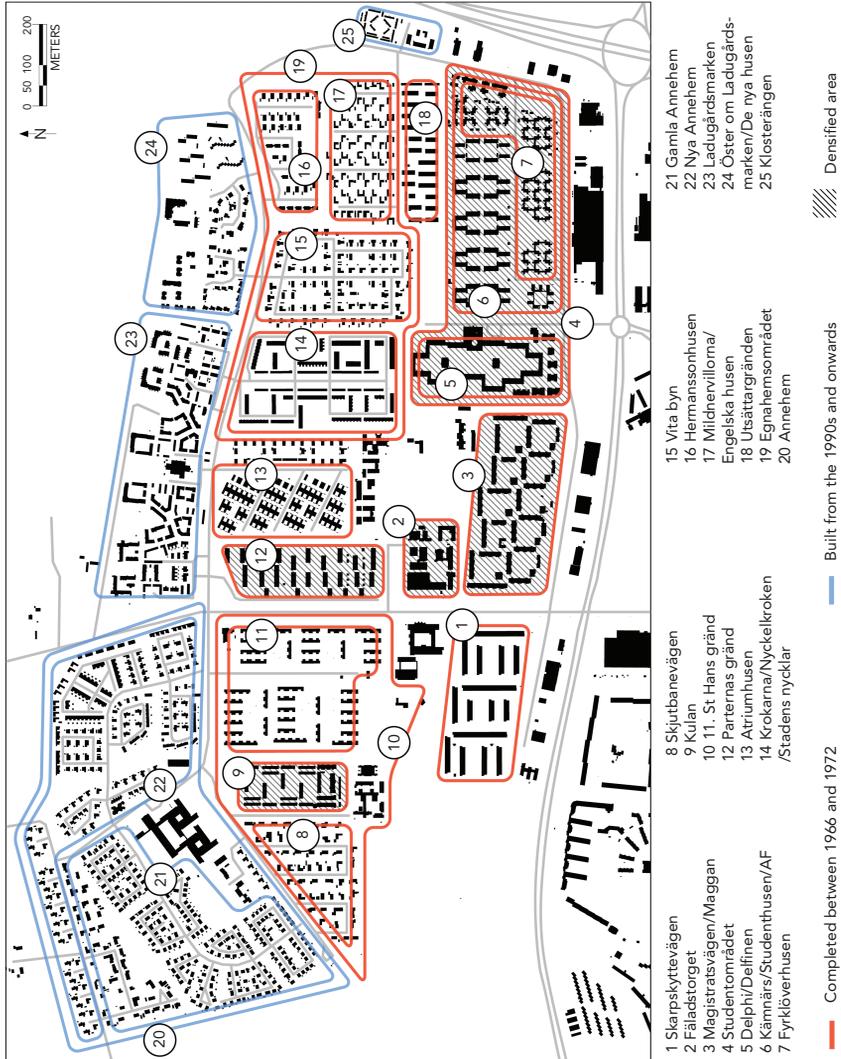
FIGURE 3 The different subareas of Norra Fäladen. The names of the subareas are given by the informants 2015–17

1 Skarpskyttevägen
2 Fäladstorget
3 Magistratsvägen/Maggan
4 Studentområdet
5 Delphi/Delfinen
6 Kämnärs/Studenthusen/AF
7 Fyrklöverhusen

8 Skjutbanevägen
9 Kulan
10 11. St Hans gränd
12 Parternas gränd
13 Atriumhusen
14 Krokarna/Nyckelkroken
   /Stadens nycklar

15 Vita byn
16 Hermanssonhusen
17 Mildnervillorna/
   Engelska husen
18 Utsättargränden
19 Egnahemsområdet
20 Annehem

21 Gamla Annehem
22 Nya Annehem
23 Ladugårdsmarken
24 Öster om Ladugårds-
   marken/De nya husen
25 Klosterängen

Densified area

Completed between 1966 and 1972

Built from the 1990s and onwards

owned housing and student housing, a more general change in retail structures, better communications, and the Swedish school reforms of the 1990s.

–   Changing services

As mentioned above, there was a new wave of building in Norra Fäladen in the 1990s with the construction of Ladugårdsmarken (mostly apartments and privately owned housing) and new student housing (for example at Delphinen). This was followed by Annehem (exclusively devoted to single-family housing, with about 1,400 inhabitants) and more student housing in the eastern part of Norra Fäladen (see Figure 3). In short, the number of single-family houses and small apartments increased, together with the student and middle-class populations. The effects of such developments are reported by the informants in terms of changed perspectives. For example, Kjell (69) recalls being a new resident in the 1970s and being asked 'Do you really live all the way out there?' 'But now I think of this area as very central', he says. Ritva (60) describes a similar experience: 'Now I feel more and more surrounded by buildings, but I also feel closer to the city'.

Retail structures have also changed since the 1970s. The first regional shopping mall, Burlöv Center, opened just outside Malmö in 1971; the small shopping centre Mobilia opened in northern Lund in the early 1980s; and the first larger shopping mall, Nova Lund, opened in the northwestern outskirts of Lund in 2002. People have increasingly started shopping outside their own neighbourhoods, and even outside the city proper, which has often left the local neighbourhood squares in decay (Olsson *et al.*, 2004).

At Delphinen, the local food store has closed, as have the pub and the kiosk, and the public swimming pool has been sold and become part of a private gym. At Fäladstorget, the flower shop, the bakery, the kiosk, the bank and the hairdresser are now gone; so are the local police station and the local municipality office. To some extent, the decline in the number of services on the square has to do with retail units and services needing larger premises for their economic survival. This means that distances between services increase. But new services have also cropped up in Norra Fäladen, but along the main road that circumvents the whole area (car-oriented retail). A petrol station and a hypermarket were established quite early on, and during the last couple of decades they have been followed by, for example, a bakery, half a dozen fast-food restaurants (including McDonalds, Burger King and Subway) and two supermarkets (Lidl and Netto).

The church has adjusted its activities according to the change of services in the square. As there is no longer a café and several services close during the summer, the church has set up a café of its own, serving waffles, with the intention of providing people with a place to meet. The church has even adapted some territorial strategies borrowed from a more commercial field, such as putting out plastic furniture even though the weather is bad, simply to promote the ongoing activity. Another way in which the church has reflected the fluctuations of the outside world is through a certain social decline affecting its activities. Lately, Gunilla, who works with the Swedish church, has seen an increasing number of single parents or people on long-term sick leave. She has also noticed that the elderly seem to live in their own homes for longer periods now before moving to a retirement home. After talking to the health care centre, also located in the square, and being told that the number of young adults and students seeking help is increasing, the church has plans to reach out to these groups by organizing support meetings. According to Tord (69), the church does not particularly matter to people when their lives are running smoothly, 'but when there are difficulties, or even disasters, they come and light candles'. While the church building is still located, as Gunilla expresses it, 'in the middle of the village', its organization is being rescaled. In 2012, the parish originally limited to Norra Fäladen was joined with three other parishes that border the city to the east to form a larger parish. This is quite a problematic change since the three former parishes do not have much in common and are separated by large roads. According to the church staff, local activities, such as work with youths, has

decreased as a result of this change and have become more scattered over the previously separate parishes.

Connections from Norra Fäladen to the outside have improved, especially through the regional bus 171, from Norra Fäladen to Malmö, which started running around 1990. It was cancelled for a short time in 2009, but was reintroduced after major protests, and a new bus station for regional buses was built in Magistratsvägen. Ritva says: 'We now have the yellow buses—I am so happy about that … The buses have really changed the map for me'. Kjell (69) describes the changes:

> When I was a student at the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s I often went into town. But now we are more stuck out here, because everything you need is here. We go the new retail area, Nova, about every third week. There are some special retailers there, like Clas Ohlson. Then we take the car. We go to Malmö once or twice a month. Then we take the bus. Bus number 171 makes it very easy to go there.

Public transportation to the centre of Lund has also improved, with buses every 10 minutes on weekdays. In addition, car ownership has been steadily increasing in Sweden since the 1970s. However, one of the most important changes since the 1980s is altered regulations for the choice of school. In Sweden in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a series of reforms increased the options for choosing a different school than the one located closest to the child's home or automatically assigned to the child's address.[4] These reforms initiated a process of privatization and marketization that quite rapidly changed the distribution of children from different areas in schools (Lundahl *et al.*, 2013). It has been argued that the school reforms are a factor in the increase in Swedish school segregation; that is, the differences between schools in terms of performance and students with foreign background have increased (Yang Hansen and Gustafsson, 2016), and Fäladen is no exception. Beginning in the 1990s, home-owning parents often chose the new schools associated with the newly built areas in the northern part of the region, whereas children from the poorer housing areas more often ended up at Svenshögskolan. Svenshögskolan has struggled with problems for years and generated quite a lot of bad press. The school is being reorganized (as of 2017), and it will also change its name to Fäladsskolan in an attempt to shed its old associations.

– The different subareas

There are, of course, many subinterests in Fäladen in terms of local clubs and associations, and expressions of more local territorial appropriations such as street parties, the regular skaters at the ramps, the cricket players at Borgarparken, the '11 p.m. roar' (*elvaskriket*) at Delphinen (a collective scream at 23:00 as an expression of anxiety from the students living in the one-room flats with kitchenettes), local initiatives such as 'Fladden odlar' (an urban gardening initiative at Magistratsvägen), among others. These are (or were, in some cases) all part of a quite rich and diverse neighbourhood.

Paradoxically, some of the informants expressed a positive attitude towards Norra Fäladen being 'mixed', while also observing that the different subareas are somewhat segregated from each other. Per, for example, stated that 'there has always been a mix of people within the area; I come in contact with this at the square and at the shops'. At the same time, Per notes that there is a division between subareas, depending on whether the residences are rented or owned, or whether they are flats or single-family houses. He also says that children from the different subdistricts have become more separated from each other after the introduction of free school choice.

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4   These include the 'Free-school reform', allowing non-municipal actors to manage basic education, and the 'Free choice of school reform', both introduced in 1992.

Commenting on the area's bad reputation, Oskar (15) says that: 'I believe that when people think about Norra Fäladen, they only think about the subareas Magistratsvägen or Kämnärsvägen'. It is also noteworthy that Norra Fäladen might often be represented by areas that have been considered most problematic, while at the same time the more recently built—and more expensive—single-family houses are not fully recognized as a part of the area. According to Gunilla, the church calls its domain 'Norr' ('North') because 'Norra Fäladen' would be misleading, since not everybody includes Annehem in that definition. In short, there is a discrepancy between the administrative border of Norra Fäladen (including Annehem) and the way in which some people use the name. Oskar, for example, says that:

> I have never thought about Annehem as a part of Norra Fäladen. I have walked through the area, but I have no friends there. It is a district in itself; it even has its own bus line.

Gunilla says she generally sees two groups of people at church. The middle-class people visit for services and worship, and families and single parents come as they wish to apply for special funding for Christmas or vacation trips. The latter mostly come from Magistratsvägen, St Hans gränd and Stiftsvägen. This might be a sign of a growing polarisation between a richer and poorer part of the neighbourhood, where the gap in terms of different economic standards seems to be increasing. Similarly, from our interviews, we also learned that there might be differences in where people shop. Soledad describes how: 'Everyone at Maggan shops at Lidl and the rest of Fäladen at Ica'. There is also a hypermarket, Willys, adjacent to the student housing district in the eastern part of the area. Willys attracts people from outside the area as well, but it is also clearly the store most favoured by students.

For one informant, 41-year-old Maria, the opportunities to chat with people at the events or at the library are important. Annehem is different in this sense: 'When I am at Netto and meet the parents of children who live in Annehem, I only say hello. It is not that I do not want to talk, but everyone is in such a hurry'. She tells us about a series of articles that pointed out differences between St Hans and Annehem, which stated that there were academics in Annehem, and unemployed people and immigrants in St Hans. Maria thinks of St Hans as more socially mixed than portrayed in the articles, but admits that the subareas differ: 'I see it [Annehem] as another [sub]area, and I think that the conditions for children are very different'.

When we asked our informants about the names of the different subareas within Norra Fäladen (see Figure 3), most of them structured their division based on categories such as building typology and delimitations through street pattern. Nicknames are used for some subareas, for example Skarpskyttevägen and Magistratsvägen are shortened to 'Skarpan' and 'Maggan'. While this might be attributable to a need to adapt somewhat lengthy names for more comfortable pronunciation in everyday speech, it should also be considered that a more casual moniker might add to a higher degree of community and familiarity. Informants from both of these subareas who had moved in by the 1970s used the nicknames, implying that they had originated before any process of strong stigmatization had begun.

It should be pointed out that the different names are only established to various degrees, and that they are not always universally recognized. One informant who had lived in Norra Fäladen for 14 years did not know of any names, and he referred to his own neighbourhood with the official name of the street, Magistratsvägen, although 'Maggan' seems to be one of the most recognized nicknames. Likewise, maps advertising real estate, such as on the web pages of Hemnet, seem to delimit subareas differently from the informants, for example by including area 10 (Figure 3) in Annehem.

While care should be exercised to avoid making overly conclusive comparisons based on the limited number of interviews conducted, the map shown in Figure 3 suggests some differences between the subareas. For example, the degree of subdivision is less perceptible in the northern, more recently built parts of Annehem and Ladugårdsmarken. Subarea 24 is given names such as being 'east of' the adjacent area, or 'the new houses', and it was unclear to some informants whether it belongs to the area called Ladugårdsmarken or not. As for Annehem, this relatively large part was consistently pointed out as a single coherent subarea by everyone except the one informant who actually lived there. This informant made a distinction between 'the old' and 'the new' Annehem, based on when they were built.

In sum, there seems to be increasing differences in the everyday life of people living in various subareas of the neighbourhood. The differences can be associated with more general changes, such as the new school reforms, new and more differentiated shopping and transport patterns, but also to local changes such as the densification of subareas (both in terms of buildings and inhabitants) with rental apartments, on the one hand, and the building of new and more spacious single-home areas, on the other. The number of private gardens has, for example, increased in the north and wealthier part of the area, whereas parks have disappeared in the southern part.

Local publics on the move

One of our informants, Åke (69), finds great pleasure in simply watching everyday life in the centrally located green area, Borgarparken; for example, a volleyball game or a barbeque party. 'It is more fun to walk there when there are activities. I had a gathering here last Friday and then I took [the guests] out for a stroll'. Through our studies of Borgarparken, it also became clear that the park was an important complement to residential yards, both of the rental apartments and the student housing, but also to specific users, for example, children, runners, dog owners, skaters. The social dimension of the everyday practices in Borgarparken is clearly visible in several of the small spaces of the park. However, not all activities seem to be performed in the ways originally intended by the planners. The playgrounds are not only used by children and accompanying parents, but also as a meeting place for older kids who use the swings instead of the benches to sit and talk. Runners also use the playground for stretching. Other inventive uses related to exercise include placing a bench in the middle of the tennis court to replace a missing net, or putting one's bag on the ground for tennis training, aiming shots at it. The wading pool is a popular place for children during summer, but when empty it is an inviting space for playfulness and running around. As it is close to the ramp, the empty wading pool is also used for performing skateboard tricks.

In the posthumously published book *Toward an architecture of enjoyment* (written in the mid-1970s but published in 2014), Lefebvre notes that:

> the (bourgeois) apartment becomes a microcosm. It tends to replace the city and the urban. A bar is installed to simulate the expansive sociability and conviviality of public places. The kitchen mimics the grocery store, the dining room replaces the restaurant (Lefebvre, 2014: 5).

Lefebvre thus complains that the privatization of urban and public activities also degrades social life, and goes on to describe how proletarian housing, on the other hand, is deprived of spatial amenities, and that working class people thus are more dependent on facilities outside the dwelling. Lefebvre's position gains relevance as the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning recently lowered the minimum residential floor area in new houses, allowing for a 35% decrease in the smallest allowed dwelling size (Boverket, 2014).

The development of Norra Fäladen has led to a more scattered pattern of local public spaces, but also to an increased polarization when it comes to *public space dependency*; that is, the degree to which basic necessities can be found and accommodated for inside or outside the perimeters of the home. On the one hand, there are the new large single-family houses; on the other, there are the experimental houses for students, including Sweden's smallest apartments, which measure less than 8 square metres per person. But the existing areas of rental flats have also changed. A shortage of housing for poor people is very much a reality in Sweden today, with overcrowded dwellings as a result (Grundström and Molina, 2016: 317).[5] At Magistratsvägen, Soledad complains of deteriorating services and lack of care exercised by landlords concerning surveillance, placement of rubbish bins and non-opening windows in the stairwells. The distance to the indoor rubbish sorting station is 150 metres; the laundry facilities have been closed down (all the laundry is now done in the flats); and there are more large families living in the area. Soledad (51) explains:

> We have thirteen children in our stairwell of six apartments. On the first floor there is one family in every room, there are four families in one apartment, I had a friend who lived with seven children in three rooms … It is enough of a ghetto to get charity groups like Tamam coming here.

The neighbourhood park Borgarparken is a very important resource for the people living in the rental apartments. Recently (in 2015), private housing companies proposed densification projects in the park and in the nearby schoolyard of Svenshögskolan. Through strong protests, the movement 'Rör inte Borgarparken!' (Don't touch Borgarparken), and a later shift in political regime, these projects were stopped, at least temporarily. The group used Fäladstorget, as well as Borgarparken, for protests and demonstrations, but also worked through social media and had demonstrations downtown. Soledad was one of leading actors in the movement, and it seems as if people from Magistratsvägen led many of the protests (although a lot of other people from the neighbourhood were involved as well). Other protests in the area include the violent resistance to the closing of Romano Trajo—which ultimately failed, and the recreational centre was closed in 2009—as well as the local protests against the establishment of a McDonald's restaurant in 2002 (which also failed).

The differences in public space dependency not only relate to physical space, but, as Raoul (in his 70s) points out, also include internet accessibility:

> Before, there were a lot of people visiting the library to use the internet. Now, most people have internet in their homes and do not come to the library.
> But not everybody actually has internet in their homes. There are only three computers in the library now; that is too few.

In summary, it seems as if local spaces are becoming more and more reduced or dispersed. Formerly vibrant places such as the local square are losing both services and certain groups or kinds of visitors, while other important public places are put into question, such as Borgarparken. The new investments that have actually been made in public spaces have mostly benefitted more specific interests. For example, as local parks decline, we can see new large recreation areas on the outskirts of the area, and investments have been made in paths for joggers and riders. A new riding facility is also being planned for the north of the neighbourhood. Somehow it seems as if the nearby spaces—those used in everyday life, especially for people with dense living

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5   This overcrowding is sometimes also discussed as a combination of poverty and the much debated Swedish EBO law (a law from 1994 which gives migrants the right to move wherever they want to in Sweden).

conditions—are being downgraded, while spaces for middle-class recreation (riding, running and nature walks) are being upgraded. Although these recreational services often have been added outside the neighbourhood, parts of the existing parks and paths of Norra Fäladen have, for example, also been appropriated as running tracks or been remade into riding paths. The fragmentation of local public spaces also makes the possibility of resistance more difficult. Pre-publics or counter-publics might be harder to form, as the natural meeting places of the area decrease in size or become scattered. One important aspect of a large central park such as Borgarparken is, for example, that it allows large crowds to gather (such as for Fäladskalaset); if it is reduced in size, its democratic potential might decrease as well.

The territorial association and appropriation of the neighbourhood as an entity is thus weakening, and other places both inside (for example, Annehem with its own local store and bus line) and outside the area (for example, the shopping mall Nova Lund) become stronger and more important. This process seems to come with a tendency that Koefoed and Simonsen (2012) call 'jumping scale'. Norra Fäladen becomes less important as people search for alternative spaces of identity, both within the area, such as Annehem (e.g. I am from Annehem), and outside it, such as recreational spaces and gyms (e.g. I am a runner). This might be a way of escaping the stigmatized identity of Norra Fäladen, but it may also be that, for some, the neighbourhood scale is of less importance in general today when new technology and more complex and global mobilities have made specific spatial identities less obligatory. On the other hand, for a group of informants we can still see that the neighbourhood identity is very strong; at times one can feel more like a Fäladsbo (from Norra Fäladen) than like a Lundabo (from Lund) or a Swede. The neighbourhood is an important resource for people, and its qualities thus need to be guarded and sustained.

Concluding remarks

Today, local connections and belonging seem to grow ever more complex as people connect through and shop on the internet, for example, and live their lives in urban regions rather than within the boundaries of a single town or neighbourhood. The problem of the local squares of the Million Program areas is thus a general Swedish problem, and in fact, some of these squares no longer function as squares or as meeting places at all (see Olsson *et al.*, 2004, for some Gothenburg examples). The architectural design and symbolic role of public institutions and services were often downplayed in the Million Program areas (Tägil and Werne, 2007). A municipal building or a post office looked just as anonymous as the residential blocks surrounding it. At the church of Norra Fäladen, the staff observed that because of its non-traditional and box-like character, the building is not always recognized by people as a church. The structure of public spaces and services was, however, still well planned and accommodated for, and a lot of public services were also located at a neighbourhood level. There are probably many reasons for their deterioration and withdrawal. The neighbourhood planning depended on a quite rigid scheme of location relating to local rather than urban or regional movements, which made these services ill-suited to adjusting to changing lifestyles and technologies. As neoliberal planning and *laissez-faire* capitalism (Baeten and Taşan-Kok, 2011) have weakened public planning initiatives, investments have often been relocated to other places. However, in this article we have especially highlighted how densification and a polarization between different subareas might have a role to play in these changes. One can perhaps argue that densification is an issue of environmental concern; however, it is wise to remember that densification is by no means an innocent strategy that only affects its immediate vicinity; it is a strategy that needs to be seen and traced through different scales.

In this article, we have looked at how the local public spaces and interests of Norra Fäladen in Lund have slowly changed. Community spaces in apartment blocks have been shut down, several small playgrounds have deteriorated or been closed

and replaced by a couple of new and much larger playgrounds. Stores and restaurants have closed at Fäladstorget, and new ones have popped up within subareas, or along the large roads instead. The public swimming pool has been privatized and services have disappeared. Although certain counter-strategies were mobilized to change the initial process of stigmatization of the area, the slow fragmentation and deterioration of public spaces seem to have gone on almost undetected. As this fragmentation is coupled with increasing differences in terms of living standards and public space dependency, the question of local public spaces will be an ever more pressing issue. Although some people might live increasingly multi-scalar and complex lives, none can escape the vicinity of their homes—in fact, some might even find escaping it difficult [see Massey (1994) for examples of time–space compression and local 'imprisonment']. If local public spaces become scattered, specialized or deteriorated—divided up into different territories through strategies and tactics, but also through appropriations and association—the effects of these changes will also affect people in increasingly asymmetrical ways.

Drawing on a discussion on Galtung's structural violence from the 1960s, Nixon has coined the term 'slow violence', suggesting that it is a contemporary problem (Nixon, 2011). Nixon studies environmental and pollutional effects on poor populations, and points to the non-armed struggles and violent effects that often remain hidden, or are regarded as not very intensive if seen from the perspective of a specific situation, but that might actually have huge and even devastating effects over time. Norra Fäladen is of course a small example, and it is perhaps too early to talk about slow violence; the area is still quite well functioning, and from an international perspective the economical differences are perhaps not very high. Nevertheless, growing differences in terms of public space dependency are important to keep track of, especially as one plans and discusses the development and transformation of housing areas. If public resources and services are slowly eroding at times when the number of poor people is increasing (both in relative and absolute numbers), it might ultimately, arguably, have consequences beyond single incidents. Nixon (2011: 10) suggests that to confront slow violence, we need to 'plot and give figurative shape to formless threats whose fatal repercussions are dispersed across time and space'. Here, we suggest that mappings of the territorialization of local public spaces in relation to a discussion of differences in public space dependency could be one way to illuminate how slow changes, for example through seemingly neutral densification projects, might accumulate problems on a larger scale.

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IV

COGITATIO

Article

The Trash Bin on Stage: On the Sociomaterial Roles of Street Furniture

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Abstract

They are easily overlooked, but benches, trash bins, drinking fountains, bike stands, ashtray bins, and bollards do influence our ways of living. Street furniture can encourage or hold back behaviours, support different codes of conduct, or express the values of a society. This study is developed from the observation that the number of different roles taken on by street furniture seem to quickly increase in ways not attended to. We see new arrivals such as recycled, anti-homeless, skateboard-friendly, solar-powered, storytelling, phone-charging and event-making furniture entering public places. What are typical sociomaterial roles that these things play in urban culture of today? How do these roles matter? This article suggests a conceptualisation of three furniture roles: Carnivalesque street furniture takes part in events and temporary places. Behaviourist street furniture engages in how humans act in public. Cabinet-like street furniture makes itself heard through relocating shapes of other objects. These categories lead to two directions for further research; one concerning the institutions behind street furniture, and one concerning how street furniture shapes cities through influencing different kinds of 'scapes.' The aim of this article is to advance theory on an urban material culture that is evolving faster and faster. By conceptualising this deceptively innocent group of things and articulating its relations to the everyday structures of the city, I hope to provide a framework for further studies.

Issue

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1. Introduction

At the ruins of Pompeii, there is a table-like piece of furniture with inscriptions and bowl-shaped holes in different sizes in its surface. The *mensa ponderaria* was used as a public measuring table, and the holes worked as standardised units for trading goods. It can be imagined how this object played a particular role in structuring the daily life of the ancient market place: It probably changed how people negotiated prices and maybe helped avoid conflicts and made trading more efficient. The combination of a technical dimension and a social dimension here makes the *mensa ponderaria* a striking case of when a thing takes on a role best described as 'sociomaterial.' Today, other kinds of furniture have entered squares and streets. What sociomaterial roles do they play? How do

they take part in structuring everyday urban life? They are easily overlooked, but benches, trash bins, drinking fountains, bike stands, ashtray bins, and bollards do influence our ways of living. They can encourage or hold back behaviours, support different codes of conduct, or express the values of a society. The trash bin keeps you from throwing things on the ground; the traffic sign tells you how to behave; the length of the bench seat forces you to decide on how close to sit to an unknown person. In short, street furniture allows and disallows. The subtle but many ways in which these objects perform makes them powerful actors in the social game of city life, and without them the masks of civility we wear in public (Sennett, 1977) would probably look a bit different.

This study is developed from the observation that the number of different roles taken on by street furni-

ture seems to quickly increase in ways not attended to. Furniture is simply doing more and more in public places. While the milestone, the whipping post, the horse water trough, and the scrapers for cleaning one's shoes from dirty streets have retired (cf. Warren, 1978), we now see a range of new and evolving kinds. There is furniture that is produced from recycled materials, that is deliberately uncomfortable and targets the homeless, that is 3D printed, that charges your phone, that is friendly to skateboarders, that is heated by solar panels, and that sends a signal when maintenance is needed. There is street furniture partaking in explorative artistic and collaborative interventions (cf. the Berlin-based, interdisciplinary project "Hacking Urban Furniture"). There are anti-terror installations camouflaged as artwork, bike stands, or even in the shape of decoratively cute animals (Coaffee, 2018). There are retired phone booths turned into Wi-Fi hotspots and mini libraries. Street furniture appears to become increasingly intricate; it mutates, hybridises, and acts in multiple ways. It seems to densify and diversify at the same time. How can this changing landscape of things be made sense of?

While street furniture is acknowledged as an important place-making tool in urban design (cf. Gehl, 2011), this rich group of objects has mostly escaped questions about its societal and cultural impact. Against the background of urban areas becoming more complex, we need to understand cities also from the deceptively innocent viewpoint of street furniture. A hypothesis here is that street furniture can be understood as actors in processes of sociomaterial densification (Østerberg, 2000). The term densification is in this case broadened to describe more than planning strategies; cities can be thought of as more or less dense with regards to strangers, lifestyles, narratives, everyday practices, and so on (see also Harvey, 1989, on time-space compression). From this perspective, the hyper-diverse 'land of strangers' (Amin, 2013) that now characterises many public places is a form of densification. One way to put it is that this land of strangers is paralleled by a densifying 'land of strange things'—including street furniture.

As frameworks of how furniture can support desirable place-making are provided elsewhere (cf. Main & Hannah, 2010), this study shifts focus toward street furniture as a cultural artefact. What are typical sociomaterial roles that these things play in urban culture of today? And how do these roles matter? In the following, I will suggest three sociomaterial roles named carnivalesque, behaviourist and cabinet-like street furniture, and I will demonstrate how shifts between furniture roles occur. I end by pointing out two directions for further research; one concerning the institutions behind street furniture, and the other concerning how street furniture shapes cities through influencing different kinds of 'scapes.' This mapping is speculative and should be understood as a preliminary, rather than absolute, model. The aim is to advance theory that is up to date with an urban material culture that is evolving faster and faster. By conceptual-

ising this overlooked group of things and testing how its relations to urban culture can be articulated, I hope to provide a rough blueprint for continued studies.

1.1. Approaching Street Furniture

The word 'furniture' stems from the French word *fournir*, meaning to supply or provide, while in many European languages the word for furniture is related to moving or being mobile, from the Latin *mobilia* (German: *möbel*; French: *meubles*). The term is sometimes unclear: Do technical objects such as power boxes belong? Bus shelters, public urinals, and kiosks can border between 'building' and 'furniture'—where to draw the line? Categories such as artworks and monuments further add to the fuzzy borders. To convey the richness of this subject, I have kept to a loose and inclusive view on what street furniture can be.

As noted in Song's (2011, p. 16) review of definitions, history, and design principles of street furniture, research on the subject is fragmented. When approaching this field, I have used systematic and intuitive methods in combination to gather empirical material. In October 2019, I searched in Scopus and Web of Science Core Collection for works containing the phrase 'street furniture' (or alternative phrases such as 'urban' or 'public furniture') in title or abstract. Duplicates removed, the results amounted to about 500 (of which some 25% were conference proceedings). Some of the most apparent areas associated with street furniture span from urban planning, urban design, and architecture to transportation, ergonomics, engineering, product design, and art.

I limited the results to works including the search phrases in its title and screened the one hundred abstracts left in order to better approximate themes characteristic of current research into street furniture. Some often overlapping themes found in this variegated body of works include street furniture related to ecological sustainability (cf. Jaramillo, Gallardo, & Martinez, 2018; Siu & Wan, 2011), digitalisation and smartness (cf. Ciaramella et al., 2018; Lamsfus, Cazorla, & Sanjuan, 2014), place identity (cf. Bayraktar, Tekel, & Ercoşkun, 2008; Bolkaner, Inancoglu, & Asilsoy, 2019), design method (Prazeres et al., 2019; Şahin & Curaoğlu, 2019; Schindler & Mbiti, 2011) and to questions of human behaviour and perception (cf. de Paiva, 2017; Pizzato & Guimarães, 2019).

The mapping of these themes outlined an area of things that is undergoing a rapid development—technically, ecologically, and in terms of design—but that also lacks conceptualisations from more societal perspectives. This outcome further motivated the study, while the literature also led to early ideas of possible furniture roles to elaborate on. These ideas were developed through a more intuitive orientation, as I then turned towards a wider range of sources: social media, magazines, Google street view, manufacturer's websites, and books in the fields of design and urbanism. Van Uffelens's

Street Furniture (2010) and online magazine *Dezeen* provided an introductory overview of what is celebrated in the design discourse. Further sources include colleagues and people approaching me after conference presentations to offer views and experiences of street furniture, as well as personal observations during travels and in my hometown of Malmö, Sweden. In the process of selecting and discarding among the great number of examples encountered, I have been guided by an overarching aim to identify on-going tendencies and to label these in fair and telling ways that also convincingly allows for a sociomaterial perspective.

Below, I present a grouping that has been reached by moving between phases of deductively filtering source material through preliminary categories and phases of developing categories through interpretation of source material. Methodological risks include a bias towards well-known Western(ised) cities and a possible overrepresentation of exceptional and eye-catching cases of street furniture. Nevertheless, I argue that the examples gathered provide a sufficient basis, as long as the three groups are not taken as overly essential or universal. The categories are suggested names of tendencies. They do not dismiss other sociomaterial roles that may be equally arguable. Neither of the groups mutually exclude each other but may overlap in the sense that one piece of furniture can belong to more than one category.

2. Carnivalesque Street Furniture

Urban time patterns can be understood as networks of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) of, e.g., transportation, working hours, seasonal sales, daily routines, and so on. Street furniture is part of these rhythms in many ways: through timetables, maintenance, and streetlight schedules. One specific player in the time-city relationship is carnivalesque street furniture, which is employed in events and temporary places. Temporary use of public places such as popup parks and car-free summer streets (see Figure 1) as well as happenings, exhibitions, workshops, interventions, big sales, and city festivals are to some extent dependent on furniture. One case in point is public places formed by activism and grassroots movements. For example, furniture is often used in tactical urbanism (Lydon & Garcia, 2015) to make events such as 'chair bombing' or workshops for building planters, tables, or stages from shipping pallets. The global event "PARK(ing) day," during which parking spaces are dedicated to picnics and other social activities, also engage intimately with furniture. This event assembles a range of furniture-like artefacts such as parklets, home-built miniature golf courses, sunshades and sunbeds, furniture that is inflatable or built by cardboard, colourful installations from leftover materials, and equipment for games and playing. The climate protest movement "Extinction Rebellion" also

Figure 1. Furniture on a temporary traffic-free street in Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

makes use of furniture-like objects when appropriating public places. Modular plywood boxes have been used for seating or the forming of a temporary stage. During a protest at Trafalgar Square, this system even enabled building a small tower (that was demolished by heavy machinery).

These tactical (de Certeau, 1984) uses of furniture can be understood as successors of the hundred-year-old practice of; to use a wooden (soap) box to form a small podium when holding a public speech. In contrast, there are the more top-down and commercial uses of street furniture in temporal and event-like contexts. To state just a few of the numerous examples, there is the furnished Level Up Street Pavilion designed for Rijeka being the European Capital of Culture 2020, or the organic bench Please Be Seated and the colourful living room-like Walala Lounge for London Design Festival. Large-scale events also employ street furniture, such as when the Royal Mail post boxes were painted gold during the 2012 Olympics in London, or when JCDecaux advertising columns with integrated internet arrived in Baku just in time for the 2012 Eurovision Song Contest (timed with a poster campaign in 26 European capital cities).

Street furniture supports events, but the events can at the same time cause shifts in the furniture hierarchy of a place. Some objects are put on trial, like benches and trash bins becoming overfilled with people and waste. Others might become less important, such as bollards on a temporarily traffic-free street or lampposts made redundant by the lighting from a festival stage. Furniture roles are shifted when people sit on anti-terror barriers, decorate lampposts, and dance on benches. The urinal is exemplary of how events transform furniture hierarchies. Intense crowding in combination with beverage consumption brings this type to the foreground. In fact, the temporary urinal seems to be on the rise; recent innovations include vessel and pipe-concepts that are easily attached to, e.g., trees or fences, as well as aims at gender equalising by providing safe urination-only facilities for women (Block, 2019).

In his study of Berlin around the year 1900, Fritzsche (1996, p. 120) accounts of the popular attraction of watching people moving between homes: On the two yearly moving days in April and October, one could observe "streets filled with wagons and handcarts stacked high with furniture." This recurring event generated newspaper reports, so called *Ziehtagen* stories that preyed on the display of poverty and sights of families in misery. Although concerning private furniture, this eccentric example summarises two important characteristics of the public furniture role outlined above: its carnivalesque potential and its engagement with the urban timescape.

3. Behaviourist Street Furniture

When considering the relation between human behaviour and street furniture, things like sitting positions

or efficiency in moving or wayfinding might be the first to come to mind for most people. There is, however, a group of street furniture that is characterised by a more intense relation with behaviour. It can be understood as a particular concern with how people behave. This concern is evidenced not only by a special effort to influence what people do in public and how they do it, but also by surveillance and data gathering. One example of this kind of behaviourism is found in street furniture engaging in nudging, a strategy often used to foster sustainable or healthy behaviours. Waste seems to be of particular focus in this field; there are anti-littering projects with ashtrays highlighted with bright colours and humorous signs (the campaign TÄNK in Gothenburg), trash bins reprogrammed to act as charity collection boxes ("Bin it for Good" in the UK), and app-connected diaper recycling bins that reward deposits with discounts and visualisations of environmental impact (Pampers Recycling, in Amsterdam). Further examples include paving patterned with green footprints (REN kærlighed til KBH, in Copenhagen), mazes, or hopscotch boxes (Lucerne Shines, in Lucerne) leading up to trash bins.

By preventing or making impossible certain behaviours, hostile design makes another example of an active concern with the way people act. Hostile design also includes non-furniture like automatic sprinklers or sound frequencies only perceptible by young people, but street furniture is a main character in this phenomenon. Examples include anti-sleep benches with strategically placed armrests or a tilted seating surface, handrails with anti-skateboard metal applications, and trash bins shaped to obstruct picking up, e.g., discarded food or deposit bottles (cf. Rosenberger, 2020). Also, decorative objects such as big flower pots can be used to occupy places that otherwise would have been used for begging. Most notable is perhaps the Camden Bench, in the UK. This concrete piece not only prevents sleeping, skateboarding, and vehicle terror attacks, but is also void of small cavities for hiding drugs and has a recession where a bag can be placed more safely from being stolen (Edin, 2017, p. 39).

Street furniture can take on the task of supporting surveillance technology. Some lampposts are even designed to uphold CCTV cameras (cf. the Victorian-styled security products by manufacturer English Lamp Posts). According to Piza, Caplan, and Kennedy (2014), public CCTV cameras come in mainly two different designs: overt and semi-covert. The traditional overt camera has a box-like appearance and its field of vision is limited. The newer, semi-covert type is spherical and allows for 360-degree surveillance. The overt camera is sometimes assumed to better prevent crime through mere presence as it is more noticeable than its subtler counterpart. On the other hand, the semi-covert camera is sometimes said to be the better crime preventer as the impression of all-round vision seems more inescapable and cannot be sidestepped. In any case, street furniture is here partaking in panopticon-like situations in which behaviour is

not only observed, but also influenced by the very experience of being watched.

Public surveillance is not a new phenomenon, but the recent development of smart cities has spurred debates on privacy and anonymity. The connected, sensor-equipped, and Wi-Fi-providing smart city gathers data on how much trash we throw out, how we drive, and where we commit crimes, and also in this context, street furniture plays a part. Among the current advancements in smart street furniture we find a number of approaches to human behaviour: The outdoor advertising platform Soofa has sensors that register audience reactions in real time. The Steora CCTV bench is equipped with four cameras, one on each side, and includes a night recording function. When used, the interactive EvoBin responds with informative and motivational messages on how to sort waste. The camera in the kiosk totem of the STiNO platform can sense if a child is near, and thus adapt the commercial content. The Airbitat Oasis Smart Bus Stop, tested in Singapore in 2018, not only measures average waiting times and the amount of users, but also includes a "smart alert" for detecting "unusual activities" (ST Engineering, 2018). In sum, with the rise in behaviourist street furniture we see new types of relations develop between humans and non-humans in public space. And, as shown by the case of anti-surveillance protesters tearing down smart lampposts in Hong Kong (Fussel, 2019), just as with human-to-human relations, these encounters are not without conflicts.

4. Cabinet-Like Street Furniture

Terms such as urban soundscapes, smellscapes, visual pollution, and the availability of information through personal digital gadgets indicate that public places might be more loaded with flows of stimuli, messages, and narratives than ever before. While signs and billboards as well as figuratively ornamented street furniture can easily be understood as a form of storytelling, there is one more particular way in which street furniture plays a part in the urban infoscape. It is similar to how the cabinet historically has been used to showcase curiosities and artefacts from other places. Street furniture sometimes takes on a cabinet-like role by relocating and incorporating shapes of other everyday objects. By moving a motif between environments, it can deliver a kind of narrative punch line.

There is street furniture that makes a point of relocating shapes between the interior realm and the exterior. This includes furniture shaped like office supplies such as pencils, paperclips, and keyboards (Luntz, 2019) enlarged table top lamps (Piccadilly Place, in Manchester), seating shaped like open books (various locations in Istanbul and London), or piano keyboards (Vörösmarty utca, in Budapest; the Cynthia Woods Mitchell Pavilion, in Texas). The furniture-like installation Tokyo City Bench is a fiberglass piece looking like a slice of a classic living room, including dining table and chairs. The Community

Chalkboard at the City Hall in Charlottesville, US, is, just like its counterpart at Les Berges de Seine, in Paris, a slate chalk wall that in the name of democracy offers itself to the citizens. The Flying Grass Carpet is a decoratively patterned rug of artificial grass up to the size of a public square that to this date has 'travelled' some twenty cities around the world as a temporary place-maker. It is used for open-air festivals and other popup-concepts and can be hired together with additional features such as plants, furniture, and events.

One extraordinary case of interior-exterior relocation is a campaign for a hardware store chain in Thailand. The company typically used sidewalk billboards for advertising, but this campaign also made use of the backsides of the billboards through turning them into interior walls—including shelves, lamps, and wallpaper. Besides being an eye-catching way of displaying the product assortment, this action also referred to the habit of poor people taking billboards and using them to repair the roofs and façades of their homes. In the short campaign movie (Boonyanate, 2013), we see an old lady waving towards the camera before closing the door to her shelter that is now clad with sale offers and the HomePro company logotype and colours. This campaign can be seen as another example of how a narrative punch is gained from a play between the interior realm and the exterior.

In contrast, there is street furniture that relocates everyday objects within a place. A thing that is somehow associated with the place is represented in a piece of furniture. Such is the case with bike stands in the shape of bike locks or keys, cigarette bins looking like a cigarette (cf. the Chiave Cycle Stand or the Fu Cigarette Bin by Artform Urban Furniture), or trash cans shaped like ice cream cones placed outside of ice cream parlours. Similarly, there are the benches and tables in the City of Gold Coast, Australia, that by being shaped like surf boards reference the region's famous surfer culture (van Uffelen, 2010, p. 226), or the alphabet-shaped seating at the Arts and Humanities Faculty of the Aix-Marseille University. Also in the small island municipality of Træna, Norway, we find object-relocating furniture that accounts of local history: fish industry pallets redesigned into public seating. A related example is the bench seats at Roosevelt Island, US, which are shaped like the island contour. One further case of intra-place relocation of objects is The Car Bike Port (see Figure 2), a bike stand that has spread to a number of European cities. It carries the silhouette of a full-size car, thus making a point about the amount of space that a car occupies as compared to ten bicycles.

The cases perhaps most similar to the traditional cabinet displaying exotic artefacts are the ones working on a transnational level. This goes for the red, white, and green painted fire hydrants and bollards in New York's Little Italy, as well as the phone booths with pagoda roofs in Chinatown and the one in 'Little Sweden' Lindsborg, Kansas, in the colours of a Swedish flag. Similarly, there are cases of iconic red British phone booths left in former colonies (and some painted green in Kinsale,
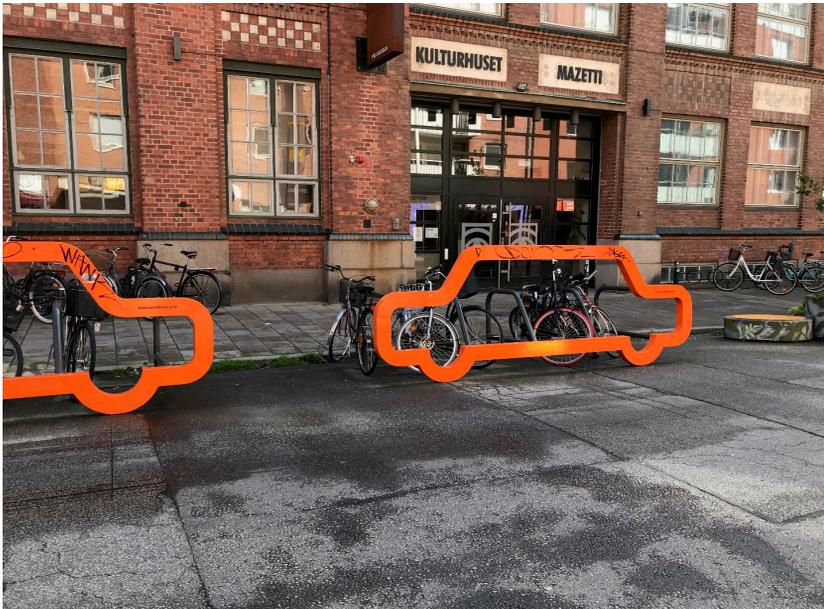
Figure 2. Bike stands displaying the silhouette of a car, Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

Ireland). A striking case of transnational relocation is Superkilen, Copenhagen. This square exhibits objects associated with over 60 different ethnicities, for example, an elephant-playground slide from Chernobyl, a Moroccan fountain, and swings from Iraq. The way in which cabinet-like street furniture engages in a play of references might at first come off as something from a theme park, or as a postmodern game of cheap tricks. But these cases illustrate how the relocation of shapes and materials can enable street furniture to take on very clear-cut and direct storytelling roles. As shown, it taps into discourses on sustainable mobility, democracy, marketing ethics, and local and national heritage.

5. Commanded Street Furniture Roles

While this article so far has described roles, the following part focuses on shifts between roles. I will here suggest a few type-situations by focusing on a particular relationship often overlooked in studies of public life: that with smaller objects that people carry. Not only do these small things provide a useful limitation here, they can have a significant influence on how we interact with places and other people, and they seem to imprint themselves on a considerable part of urban culture (cf. Cochoy, Hagberg, & Canu, 2015; Kärrholm, 2017; Magnusson, 2016, pp. 263–268).

In short, some furniture roles are commanded through the force of external objects. First, furniture roles can be dependent on another object that is manda-

tory, a kind of deal-breaker, for activating a role. On a general level, bike stands are dependent on bicycles, trash bins on empty packages and waste, turnstiles on tickets, and telephone booths are dependent on coins, phone cards, and telephone books. Semi-public situations where you need to buy something (ice cream or coffee) to be allowed to sit at a table are also a case in point. One more unexpected type of transaction here is an anti-littering campaign in Mexico (van der Kroon, 2012) in which bins provide Wi-Fi in return for dog excrements (20 minutes for 70 grams). Dependency on external objects is perhaps best illustrated by newspaper stands. As analogue media loses some of its prevalence, the cancellation of a newspaper can now suddenly retire the newspaper stands of a whole city in an instant and leave public places full of empty boxes. As shown in Figure 3, while waiting to be removed, the stands are sometimes appropriated by another group of objects: trash. This role shift occurs especially during events and city festivals.

Secondly, some furniture roles are extended or reinforced by external objects. Blankets and quilts used at open air cafés at the end of the outdoor season postpone the expiration date of chairs and tables by a month or so. The camera supports the souvenir value of red British phone booths and Guimard's Art Nouveau metro entrances in Paris by mediating them. The refillable water bottle teams up with urban drinking fountains and extends its provision from a momentary resource to something you can save and consume later.

Figure 3. Newspaper box after the newspaper was cancelled, Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

A sub-type in the long tradition of drinking fountains (Becker-Ritterspach, 1990) is the one compatible with an additional non-human: the pet-friendly drinking fountain with a dog bowl at its foot. Even gravestones make an example here. Gravestones are perhaps not usually thought of as street furniture, but as cemeteries in densifying cities accommodate more and more everyday activities and user groups (runners, cyclists, dog owners; cf. Grabalov, 2018), they do assume a street furniture-like role. They become one type in an assembly of other pieces popping up in the urban cemetery: dog trash cans, signs with opening hours or codes of conduct, and even battery recycling bins due to the use of electric lanterns. Here, we see the role of the gravestone as a memorial reinforced by small things such as wreaths, candle holders, stuffed animals, and flower bouquets.

Thirdly, a small object can command one out of several roles from a piece of furniture. This is what the cigarette does when it turns movable furniture into demarcation tools in smokers and non-smokers negotiations over space (Subasinghe, 2019, p. 38). Similarly, the skateboard brings out a role from the railings and

bench-like blocks in public places such as Auditoria Park in Barcelona, Phæno Science Center in Wolfsburg, Riverside Museum in Glasgow, and the Oslo Opera House (Borden, 2019, p. 156). Loan books turn the iconic tubular bus stops of Curitiba, Brazil, into small libraries, called *tubotecas*. The most powerful artefact in commanding one out of several roles is perhaps the smartphone. Following the smart city trend, there is a range of furniture from which a smartphone can elicit charging, Wi-Fi, or Bluetooth connection.

A fourth and slower type of influence on furniture roles occurs when a culture of small things develops into sub-types and pieces of furniture co-develop to stay synchronised. This is not a role shift, rather a kind of branching, or role diversification. Bike stands now concern regular bikes, rental bikes, or electric bikes. What was previously one trash bin are now often several smaller bins for glass, paper, combustibles, and so on. One recent innovation here is the type of trash bin that offers a side-vessel for users to place empty deposit bottles. The bottles are made available for people who make a small sum of money when turning them in for recycling. A related

example occurring in Beijing and Rome is ticket machines accepting deposit bottles as payment.

The perspective of small, carried things demonstrates how street furniture roles can be conditioned by other scales of material culture. This allows for a particular sociomaterial aspect, in which public places are characterised by their specific setup of combinations of furniture and carried objects. An analogy can be made to an ecosystem, where organisms of different sizes have various possibilities of forming symbiotic relationships (a sea urchin can attach itself to a crab, but not to a jellyfish). In his discussion on material culture, Miller (2010, pp. 42–54) points at a 'humility of things' that makes the formative powers of ordinary objects escape our attention. Their tendency to be taken for granted makes us overlook how they shape us as social and cultural beings. It is through naturalisation and humility that everyday objects—or, in Miller's words, "stuff"—can so strongly work as settings that frame our ideas of whether behaviour is normal or abnormal in a given situation. Following this line of thinking, constellations of furniture and carried objects are active in the formation of social life. One important point here is that what we carry in public to a large extent is a matter of social demography. Cigarettes and cups of take-away coffee have different associations to identity and lifestyle (see Graham, 2012, on smoking, stigma and social class; see Zukin, 2009, p. 4, on 'domestication by cappuccino'), and are distributed differently over social groups. The group of people that throws bottles in a trash bin is arguably not the same as the group that goes picking them up for deposit. The bike, fast food, or shopping bag—if any—someone carries in a public place is a question of living conditions. Depending on the furnishing, the carrier might, as shown in Doherty's (2018) account of the exclusionary mechanisms of smart trash bins, be subtly welcomed or rejected.

6. Discussion

With regards to research on hostile design, Rosenberger (2020, p. 890) calls for "greater conceptual clarity." Considering the richness of the subject—of which this article has really only scratched the surface—Rosenberger's call seems valid also for street furniture at large. There is an interesting point in Subasinghe's (2019, p. 40) study on public smoking at a college campus, when an ashtray bin takes part in an ethical drama: "Scattered cigarette butts that had fallen out of bins were seen as the direct responsibility of the smokers rather than accidental in nature due to misplaced lids." Just as the *mensa ponderaria* in Pompeii, the ashtray bin here mediates social relations. It is playing innocent and blame is transferred from non-human to human. What do we call these and similar sociomaterial situations involving street furniture? How could we analyse and discuss them if we do not have names for them?

This article provides an example of how a conceptualisation is possible, while it at the same time points at a need for continued research in a similar vein. I hope that the suggestive character of the roles sketched out can inspire research that supports, questions, or expands on this mapping, and that the sweeping approach to empirical harvesting can prepare for studies that tailor more rigorous methodologies to the subject. Aspects out of scope here serve as openings for further studies: What street furniture roles are specific of different cultures? This study deals with existing and upcoming roles, but what kind of roles are currently retiring from public space? How can roles be understood in the context of specific types of places (the park, the square)? Below, I will conclude by recommending two more specific concerns for continued research.

First, further research into sociomaterial roles of street furniture should address relations to different actors and institutions. Between the lines of this study looms a range of activists, design firms, artists, advertising agencies, charitable organisations, retail companies, and local governments. Who makes use of what furniture roles, and with what intentions? One of few in-depth works portraying a relational development of street furnishing is design historian Herring's (2016) study on street furniture controversies and modernism in post-war Britain (see also Abildgaard, 2019). While public authorities' engagement with street furnishing has weakened during later decades, the private sector has gained influence. Following ideological shifts and an increasingly market-dependent urban landscape where cities compete in branding themselves, street furnishing has become a lucrative business. The influence of the private sector over street furniture is linked to a privatisation of public space itself, according to Herring (2016, pp. 197–201). It can be argued that this development calls for an up to date terminology that can go beyond dualities like classic/modern, mobile/fixed, or mono-/multifunctional, and that is able to address how the intentions of different actors are played out through furniture roles. The categories proposed in this article can be seen as building blocks towards an updated terminology. To recognise carnivalesque, behaviourist, or cabinet-like features of street furniture allows for questions about who exerts what influence over which places. Who benefits from this rhythm, observation, or storytelling being installed at this place? It would furthermore be possible to explore how furniture roles differ in flexibility of employment by many or few actors. For example, carnivalesque furniture is employed by both grassroots movements and formal institutions, whereas the behaviourist category seems more associated to the latter—what other patterns of relations are there?

Secondly, continued research should address questions of what kinds of cities are co-produced by street furniture of today. I suggest that the notion of -scape as a way of seeing (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296; DeLue & Elkins, 2008, pp. 162–164) has potential here. As a tentative demonstration of this idea, the three categories can be understood as corresponding to three different

'scapes.' Carnivalesque street furniture contributes to a timescape. It takes part in public events and temporary spaces, and so adds to a densification of the rhythms that structures urban timescapes. Cabinet-like street furniture contributes to the infoscape of a city. It makes itself heard through the relocation of other things, and so contributes to the flows of information in public. Behaviourist street furniture forms closer, more intimate connections with how humans act and behave. Meetings between strangers in public are often described as everyday encounters (cf. Wilson, 2011), and it is in a behaviouristically furnished landscape of encounters that we see a densification of relations between humans and non-humans.

Founder of ethnomethodology Harold Garfinkel (1964, p. 227) set out to reveal "how the structures of everyday activities are ordinarily and routinely produced and maintained." Timescapes, infoscapes, and landscapes of encounters can be regarded as examples of the structures that Garfinkel (1964) refers to, and in light of the presented cases, street furniture provides one possible answer to the "how" posed in his quote. The notion that street furniture has structuring capacities might at first seem obvious: Traffic flows are ordered by signs and bollards, streetlights are turned on at regular intervals, and the trash bin prevents disorder. But, as I hope to have shown, the ways in which these objects structure daily life work well beyond the obvious. Street furniture plays roles on several scale levels, it changes roles, and it forms alliances with other materialities such as water bottles and mobile phones.

In *Paris: Invisible City*, after listing that Paris has 400 newsstands, 700 billboards, 9,000 parking meters, etc., Latour and Hermant (2006, p. 64) state that:

> Each of these humble objects, from public toilet to rubbish bin, tree protector to street name, phone booth to illuminated signpost, has a certain idea of the Parisians to whom, through colour or form, habit or force, it brings a particular order, a distinct attribution, an authorisation or prohibition, a promise or permission.

By gathering notions on street furniture, sociomateriality, and everyday orders, this is a rare quote. Although one should probably be careful about going too far with ascribing power to objects, it is more likely that we are underestimating the influence of street furniture—and while perhaps not so much today, it might be even more so tomorrow.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Johan Wirdelöv holds a Master's degree in Architecture and is currently undertaking doctoral studies in Landscape Architecture at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU). Research and teaching interests focus on how urban public places and everyday life shape each other. Previously published work draws on autoethnography, rhythmanalysis, and territoriology, and deals with questions of urban design, densification, and the sharing of space between strangers.

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Place matters for social behaviour, but social behaviour also matters for place. Exploring what this relationship looks like is what this thesis is about. Qualitative methodologies are here used to study the vague and subtle aspects of how urban public places are shared in everyday life. The cases involve a public park, a residential area, and street furniture. The resulting theoretical discussion suggests *vague figurations, situated instructions* and *temporal thresholds* as ways for understanding how sharing of place happens.

Johan Wirdelöv received his postgraduate education at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management, SLU, Alnarp. He received his degree of Master of Science in Architecture at Lund University.

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