



Spaces for Consumption and Congregation

Topologies of Themed
Consumption Spaces

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Abstract

The object of this thesis is to develop an understanding of the impact of consumption on the experience of public life. This understanding is derived in a twofold manner. A first project is to outline a methodological framework and theoretical outlook adept to grasping the central question in a manner that goes beyond the existing literature of a material and cultural critique. As a result, this thesis proposes a less Cartesian methodology and a theory a less Euclidean space. In other words, the work borrows from the recent development of actor-network theory in urban studies and will concentrate on spatiality in terms of topologies. A second project is empirical and attempts to apply the developed theory of spatiality to the object of the post-modern and neoliberal market hall. In turn, it analyzes the territories in place and critiques on the ability of consumption spaces to create public life. Overall, the concept of territorial complexity is argued to be of importance in the creation of possibilities for public life. In the case studies, this complexity is derived from the reading of territorial productions and territorial layers.

Keywords: *actor-network theory (ANT), consumption space, everyday life, market place, retail structures, territoriality, topologies, public space*

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Introduction

In Ersilia, to establish the relationships that sustain the city's life, the inhabitants stretch strings from the corners of the houses, white or black or grey or black-and-white according to whether they mark a relationship of blood, of trade, authority, agency. When the strings become so numerous that you can no longer pass among them, the inhabitants leave: the houses are dismantled; only the strings and their supports remain.

From a mountainside, camping with their household goods, Ersilia's refugees look at the labyrinth of taut strings and poles that rise in the plain. That is the city of Ersilia still, and they are nothing.

They rebuild Ersilia elsewhere. They weave a similar pattern of strings which they would like to be more complex and at the same time more regular than the other. Then they abandon it and take themselves and their houses still farther away.

Thus, when traveling in the territory of Ersilia, you come upon the ruins of abandoned cities, without the walls which do not last, without the bones of the dead which the wind rolls away: spiderwebs of intricate relationships seeking a form.

(Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities, 1974: 76)

Commerce, urban space and urban life are intrinsically connected. Transactions of commerce located in space have created traditional places of exchange around which have shaped the city and its urban culture. Traditionally, the market place is one of the most important places of social and economic exchange in the city. With their function of transaction, they represent the interface between the economy and civil society. Hence, commerce is an agent of both urban form and urbanity; economic and social institutions can be traced back to geographies and spaces of consumption.

However, commerce in the city has changed. The cityscape has changed from one characterized by production to a landscape of consumption. At the roots of this urban transformation is the emergence and restructuring of a global economy. Western urban centers have lost their competitiveness as sites of production and have shifted their economic base to the production of services in a global city network. The economic shift has had significant spatial and social impacts. Accepting its role in a global city network, cities have also accepted the global capitalistic economy. To comply with this supranational economy, cities have resorted to different methods of governing. A type of urban entrepreneurialism with the goal of promoting urban competitiveness has entered the domain of urban policy. The competition between post-industrial cities is about attracting both the firms and the workforce of the services oriented economy. Firms are believed to be moved by a pleasant business climate with well developed infrastructure. Its knowledge workers are said to be captivated by a creative living environment with high quality facilities.

Not just the urban economy and urban politics have changed, the city's society as well. The post-modern city is the dwelling place of the post-modern society. In this society identity is no longer stable. The urban dweller copes with this situation through lifestyle consumption. Consequently, cultures of consumption have developed helping the individual out of its identity crisis. Symbolic economies play on this new demand. The symbolic value of a product and the experience of its consumption are characteristic of the post-modern economy.

In short, consumption is principal in modern capitalism and contemporary culture. Above all, consumption is central in the economy, politics and culture of the city. In the post-modern society, commerce in terms of shopping is the engine of post-modern urbanity. As a result, the city is a site for consumption. The impact of consumption is great, it has infiltrated into new urban spaces and social activities. Its spatial impact is the commercialization and privatization of urban space. Its societal impact has made it one of the last social activities of our times.

With the changes in the urban landscape, the notion of urban culture has changed along. An everyday urbanism has become subjected to the demands of the capitalist experience economy. In this economy aesthetic values and symbolic claims precede over principles of legitimacy; gentrification is an issue of the everyday. The carnivalesque has become a characteristic of spaces of consumption and has transformed the city into a leisure destination. In this situation the city itself has to be consumed and it is through consumption that city space is practiced. Hence, the impact of consumption on urban space has put into question the notions of urban citizenship and public space. At the same time, consumption is an important social activity since it is what the post-modern society does in its free time. In conclusion, consumption has transformed the notions of public space, has created new experiences of urban space and has redefined social life in the city.

Contextualization

The hold of consumption on the city has expanded and this suggests the demand for a critical evaluation of the impact of consumption on the experience of urban space and everyday life. Based on the character of consumption, the existing literature deals with the working of the urban economy, the performance of urban culture and the character of the public domain. The aim of the present thesis is to combine and go beyond an analysis of the geographies, cultures and spaces of consumption. In other words, this thesis integrates the material and cultural critique to arrive at a less Cartesian approach to the impact of consumption on public life. More specifically, it will aim for a theory of spatiality that concentrates on the topologies in a less Euclidean space. Through this approach it will borrow from the recent development of actor-network-theory in urban studies.

Aim and Relevance

The aim of the present research is to arrive at an understanding of the impact of consumption on the experience of everyday life. Derived from the contentious relation between consumption and public life, the question to be answered is:

What topologies are produced in the consumption space of the post-modern and neoliberal market hall?

This understanding is to benefit from a theoretical outlook that goes beyond the objective and cultural critique on the materiality of consumption spaces. Through this aim a large part of the present thesis will be concerned with the theoretical conceptualization of spatiality. In this way, the thesis delivers a contribution to the recent research interest on urban assemblages and the perspective of topologies in urban studies. Besides the development of a theoretical and methodological framework, the thesis will present a comparative study of the issue at hand. As a result, this thesis hopes to shed light on the ability of consumption spaces to create public life and to be of practical relevance to projects of urban regeneration driven by retail.

Outline

This thesis is divided into two parts, a first one aimed at developing the theoretical conceptualization and methodological framework, and a second presenting the comparative study of the make up of the social in the post-modern and neoliberal market hall. The first part attempts to systematically set the framework of analysis by presenting first the literature review followed by the theoretical outlooks of the trialectic of space (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996) and actor-network-theory (Latour 2005). The integration of these theories will be undertaken in the final section through the concept of territoriality. Part two of this thesis will be a demonstration of deploying the framework and an empirical investigation of two cases. While aiming to be holistic yet concise, this investigation into topologies will be structured as a threefold reading of space.

Part I

Theoretical Conceptualization

Literature Review: Consuming the City

Theorization of the economic life of cities starting in the last part of the 20th century, could be understood as the dichotomy between the modern and post-modern city (Glennie 1998). The modern city is considered to be centered around industrial production, material wealth and a welfare state; the post-modern city is considered to revolve around a service sector, symbolic economies and a neoliberal state. In this light, the transition from a modern to a post-modern city has been described as the shift from a 'landscape of production' to a 'landscape of consumption' (Zukin 1993).

The impact of this transformation has been the subject of numerous writings (see for an overview Miles 2006). Some scholars suggest that in this transformation 'the city is less a place for the people and of the people and has lost track of its broader social role' (Miles and Miles 2004: 172; see also Sorkin 2003). Instead, the primary function of the city is reduced to consumption and as a result we can experience and engage with the city only through consumption (Bauman 2007). Overall, the claim is made that consumption in the post-modern city has "profoundly altered the experience of everyday life and public life" (Miles 2010: 164).

Research on consumption, in turn, has a long tradition with contributions by Karl Marx, Thorstein Veblen, Max Weber, Theodor Adorno, Roland Barthes and Jean Baudrillard (see Gottdiener 2000; Miles and Miles 2004). However, it is in relation to post-modernity that shopping emerged as a field of research in cultural and urban studies. In cultural studies, shopping is studied as an important component of our lifestyle and society. Consequently, researches have looked at shopping as an everyday practice, as a public activity and, as an identity constructing activity (Shields 1992, Miles 1998, Savage and Ward 2005, Zukin 2005). The centrality of a culture of consumption has led to the postulation of a consumer society (see Fine 2002, Bauman 2007) where 'to be a citizen you simply have to consume' (Miles : 8).

In fields of urban theory and architectural theory, shopping is an emerging topic of study presenting 'contextual approaches on relationships among consumers, supplies and consumption sites' (Glennie 1998). Beyond theorization, shopping has been welcomed as a valuable tool in urban planning through the writings of Jane Jacobs (1961) and Richard Florida (2002, 2005). In addition, consumption has entered the field of architecture with influential works such as *Learning from Las Vegas* (1977) and *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (2001).

Within the diverse studies of consumption, the interest for the present work lies with those studies addressing the claim of consumption on urban space and the individual's experience of urban life in a consumer society. For this sake, a detailed review of the literature on the commercialization of space, the commodification of experience, the privatization of the public domain and the complexity resulting from all of these will be presented. With this review, an attempt is made to understand the spatialization of the urbanite living in a 'city consumed by consumption' (Miles and Miles 2004 : 172).

Entrepreneurial Cities

A city that does not produce but consumes is governed by different principles. This 'new urban politics' (Harvey 1989) has been researched in relation to the 'neoliberal restructuring of Fordist-Keynesian capitalism' (Peck and Tickell 2002: 390) which, in turn, has marked the emergence of the 'revitalized post-industrial city' (Miles 2010: 35) in the 1980s. The restructuring is both economic and political and is driven by 'a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property right, individual liberty, unencumbered markets and free trade' (Harvey 2007: 22). In the integrated global city network (Sassen 2002, Taylor 2004) the new game of inter-urban competition is played in a regime of 'flexible accumulation' (Harvey 1989) by the rules of 'urban entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989; Jessop, 1993; Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

The result is a political project committed to 'ongoing marketization and public-private partnerships' (Harvey 1998: 7-8). Urban policy, in turn, is a set of growth strategies that view 'city space as an arena for market-oriented economic development and for elite consumption practices' (Tickell and Peck 2003: 3; see also Molotch 1976). Thus, Harvey (1999) concludes, 'the task of urban governance is to lure highly mobile and flexible production, financial and consumption flows into its space' (11). Prompted by de-industrialization and stimulated by urban entrepreneurialism, the city has resorted to privatization and commercialization for a new concept city. This city is an entrepreneurial project of public-private partnerships directed at improving the aesthetic and economic value of targeted development areas.

The city is 'now a commodity to be produced and consumed' (Hall 1997: 65). Rather than holistic planning, this concept city is steered by 'ephemerality and eclecticism of fashion and style rather than the search for enduring values, by quotation and fiction rather than invention and function, and, finally, by medium over message and image over substance (Harvey 1989: 13). The aim of this city is to create an attractive environment for living, working and visiting (Florida 2002). Urban competition then, takes place not between cities but between city authorities and private developers mobilizing the spatial economic potential by branding their qualities for attractiveness.

In short, the city has reinvented itself by basing its economic model no longer on industrial infrastructure and material production but on 'soft' place qualities that are productive and open for consumption; the city is 'a growth machine' (Molotch 1976). Place matters as Florida (2002) sees that 'regional economic growth is driven by the location of creative people who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant, and open for new ideas' (223). An idea well received among policy-makers but also much critiqued in academia (see Peck 2005). These critiques point out how the 'creative city' (Florida 2002) is build up from the imaginary of the urban elite. In other words, an illusory layer of an idealized city covers the reality of a segregated city. Therefore, the post-industrial city is argued to be reduced to an imaginary of ideals and nostalgia; the real is manipulated and the imaginary is commodified.

Accordingly, Hall (1997) states that the 'city is a theme park' with a commercialized and commodified urban landscape. Miles (2010) takes this further and claims that 'in its latest incarnation, the city is less a social place and more a unit for the efficient maximization of consumption' (2). Rather than a productive unit, the city is thus a space for consumption where 'the power of consumption is omnipresent' (Miles 2010: 1). From these critiques it can be concluded that if cities are not 'engines of competitiveness, they are generators of demand. They possess the economic power of consumption and circulation.' (Thrift 2002: 67). However, as Glaeser et al. (2001) point out, 'too little attention has been paid to the role of cities as centers of consumption' (27; in Thrift 2002: 68). Also as objects of consumption the debate on the city has shortcomings since 'too little attention has been paid to the way images of places are consumed' (Miles 2010: 41). In summary, numerous writings have addressed the commercialization and commodification of city space but the processes and forces behind the city as a landscape of consumption have been little theorized.

Architecture of Consumption

Although the power of a consumption landscape (Zukin 1993) exercised on the ground may be underdeveloped in much of the theorization of urban economic life (Thrift 2002), the power embedded in consumption architecture has been the subject of substantial research. In this field research has focused on the engagement with and negotiation of the architecture of consumption spaces (Shields 1989, 1994; Hopkins 1990; Goss 1993, 1996, 1999; Gottdiener 1995). In turn, writings discuss the meanings embedded in the architecture and scrutinize these from a normative approach. In other words, the studies focus on how meanings are manifested by 'developers and designers to manipulate shoppers' behavior through the configuration of space, and consciously design a symbolic landscape that provokes associative moods and dispositions in the shopper.' (Goss 1993: 8). After all, designed and controlled by institutional power, themed spaces of consumption are endowed with "a

set of living, embodied geographies which provide a new source of value through their performative push". (Amin and Thrift 2002: 125). An extension from this field of research is the study of consumer agency in negotiating the meanings and instructions embedded in retail architecture (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: 210, Jackson 1995: 1875, Campbell 1995: 105, Glennie and Thrift 1996, Amin and Thrift 2002:40).

Another line of research has developed around the question how shopping has increased in size and has expanded in scope (Leong 2001: 134). The research interest lies with the infiltration of the market economy into urban space and the way consumption has colonized new places and activities. Scholars of the neoliberal transformation have explored the emergence of 'developers' utopias' (Harvey, 2000) that seek to mobilize urban space as a productive and competitive factor. The role of consumption and retailing in these neoliberal spaces has been studied through the large-scale urban development project such as waterfront developments, cultural districts, new urban areas and leisure spaces (see Brenner and Theodore 2003). Next to neoliberal, these new spaces are post-modern as they put emphasis on the experiential dimension of the place. This dimension has been highlighted particularly in research on new spaces of consumption and pleasure through the theme of the carnivalesque (see Shields 1989, 1992).

A typology within these neoliberal and post-modern spaces and central to the present writing is the themed retail structure or, more specifically the 'festival market place' (see Goss 1996). This market place can be described as a combination of indoor and outdoor space submerged in an atmosphere of nostalgia. Overall, the space is fabricated with the aim of recovering the loss of a civic urban ideal, the traditional market place. With the project of restoring this ideal, this consumption space is popular among policy-makers as it is believed it can re-integrate the city and the market, and encourage social interaction. In his discussion of the festival market place, Goss (1996) explains how the 'mythical spirit of the marketplace' is manifested through a symbolic mix of location, architecture and, retail concepts. In this reproduction of an ideal, developers are 'reshaping the inner city as a stage and staging of urban life as a drama of conspicuous consumption' (239). He moves on by viewing 'The festival marketplace [as] a phantasmorgia of capitalist production that marks the threshold to a dream world of utopian images and imaginings of a mythical natural urbanism.' (Goss 1996: 240).

Others have identified the festival market place as the urban answer to the suburban mall (Maitland 1985; in MacLaran et al. 1999: 308) or as a 'pseudo-place' (Wood 1985: 81; in MacLaran et al. 1999: 308) referring to something that has never existed before. In their discussion MacLaran et al. (1999) point out the 'inherent contradictions in the festival market place' (308). A first contradiction is past and present expressed in 'an eclectic post-modern blending of the old with the new' (309). Other contradictions are the local place-making for global uniqueness, the proximity of consumption and production, the opposition between hedonistic and utilitarian shopping and finally, the contrast between unique retailing and the mass market (308). Regardless of the contradictions, the festival marketplace is designed and managed to be reminiscent of the traditional market square as a place for local commerce and communal gathering.

As a result, a common theme in the literature on consumption spaces is authenticity (see for example Goss 1993 and Zukin 2009) which is understood as the romantic experience of times bygone. In the present writing, central is the authenticity of retail architecture which will be defined as 'those market spaces, both real and virtual, that affect the relationship between supply and demand' (Vernet and de Wit 2007: 16). The concept of authenticity then, needs to be understood as the mediator between supply and demand. Thus, authenticity is a form of power in the consumption landscape.

Claiming authenticity becomes prevalent at a time when identities are unstable and people are judged by their performance rather than by their history or innate character. Under these conditions, authenticity differentiates a person, a product, or a group from its competitors; it confers an aura of moral superiority, a strategic advantage that each can use to its own benefit.

... In modern times, though, it may not be necessary for a group to be authentic; it may be enough to claim to see authenticity in order to control its advantages. (Zukin 2009: xii)

Although authenticity is a fictional quality that has been fabricated in the physical environment, it has a 'real effect on our imagination of the city and a real effect as well on the new cafés, stores and gentrified places where we like to live and shop' (Zukin 2009: xiii). Therefore, through authenticity we construct our image of the city and in turn build the city of this image. Our liking for this utopian city based on the image of authenticity could be explained by the post-modern condition of urban living; a condition under which space is rationalized and life is individualized.

Ultimately, however, we must realize that the nostalgia we experience from authenticity, commerce and carnival lies precisely in the loss of our ability to collectively create meaning by occupying and using social spaces for ourselves. While developers may design the retail built environment in order to satisfy this nostalgia, our real desire ... is for community and space free from instrumental calculus of design. (Goss 1993: 43)

Hence, authenticity mediates the economic performance of supply and demand, and the social experience of community in a consumption space. Of importance is not necessarily to be authentic but to appear authentic. The emphasis lies on representations of authenticity, an assertion that is suggestive of 'the society of the spectacle' (Debord 1995). Invoking this concept, the post-modern market place can be understood as a spectacle or, 'a social relationship between people that is mediated by images' (Debord 1995: 12). This place is a representation created after a representation, an 'inverted image' in which relations between commodities are put over relations between humans. As a result, to identify with the spectacle implies to refrain from genuine practices of reality and to resort to practices of representations. Fabricating and practicing the city in the light of images is illustrated by Boyer's (1992; in Miles 2010) notion of the city tableaux.

These tableaux separate pleasure from necessity, escape from reality. They widen the gap between the city on display and the city beyond our view. And in doing so they sever any connection they might have had to the art of building real cities, for after all, these city tableaux only claim to be special places for fun and entertainment, areas of the city to explore during periods of play, which promise not to burden the spectator with the seriousness of reality. (Boyer 1992: 192; in Miles 2010: 159)

To sum up, retail architecture has been analyzed in terms of the performative push, the broadening in scope and the spectacle. Concerning the latter, authenticity is frequently recited in discussions of an imagined city build upon images of an idealized past. In these accounts however, only little attention is paid to the actual performance and lived experience of retail architecture and consumption spaces. Accordingly, Thrift (1995) concludes that in theorizing spaces of consumption "there is, to use de Certeau's terms, too much emphasis on strategies of control and too little emphasis on tactics, on the re-appropriation of space by consumers for purposes that exceed those of the designers" (210).

The shortcomings in the debate are further addressed by Zukin (2009) who points out that though 'urban spaces have been reshaped in recent years by consumer culture, those who write about cities haven't focused on how these changes occur, how they are experienced on the ground, and what their social consequence are for both specific areas and the city as a whole' (28). Also Sack (1992) has highlighted that in spite of the 'heavy burden of latent social functions which envelope the exchange of commodities in social practices and rituals of commensality for both vendor and buyer ... there is little *critical* sociological work on retail which takes this into consideration' (101). In essence, studies of retail architecture and consumption spaces have largely adopted a formal and objective approach leaving the social reception, experience and repercussions underdeveloped.

Consumerist Citizenship

One of the more developed topics related to the impacts of the consumption strategy on urban space is the private control over public space. The re-invention of the post-industrial city in the light of consumption has come at the price of an increased homogenization, commercialization and privatization of the urban landscape. This transformation has prompted research on the social and political impacts on a space characterized as public and democratic. On this question Sheller and Urry (2003) note that 'the "public" is being privatized, the private is becoming over-sized, and this undermines democratic life' (107). The statement seems to be even more true for a themed consumption space where 'speech itself is restricted ... The effort to reclaim the city is a struggle of democracy itself' (Sorkin 1992: 14). Consumption then, has colonized space and our lifeworld which impacts on the places and modes of practicing citizenship.

The writings of Habermas (1992) on the transformation of the public sphere might, however, indicate that the impact of consumption on public space is overstated. As some scholars have argued 'that there ever has been a clearly defined public realm in stark opposition to a private realm is itself problematic' (Savage and Warde 1993, 142). In a historical study Habermas (1992) has indicated that the public sphere can be thought of as the realm of the elite yet forming a democratic space between civil society and the state. Of interest to the present object, the study draws attention to the intricate historical relationship between commercial and democratic spaces. In his example of the Greek city state, Habermas states: 'the sphere of the polis, which was common (*koiné*) to free citizens, was strictly separated from the sphere of the *oikos*. The public life, *bios politikos*, went on in the market place (*agora*).': (3). Then, the present issue of public life in a privately controlled consumption space does not necessarily imply a contradiction. On this scholars have stated that "the claim that material public space is the space, not a space, of the public is the product of a rather narrow reduction of the ideal of publicness to 'direct, less mediated interaction'" (Iveson 2004, 920).

Nonetheless, it should be recognized that consumption has a significant impact on the spatiality of everyday public life. According to Bauman (2007) a new spatiality is formed by 'the interdependence of private spaces of subjectivity, media and commodity consumption in a consumer society'. Instead of a dissolution of the public domain, public space has altered in character and 'perhaps our experience of the places has thickened, not thinned' (Thrift 1997: 141). Yet, new experiences of everyday life stand for new connections with urban space and this has meant a redefinition of citizenship in a consumer society based on new values.

The public sphere of democratic legitimacy has shrunk. . . . The autonomous citizen, whose reasoned judgement and participation was the *sine qua non* of the public sphere, has been transformed into the 'citizen consumer' of packaged images and messages, or the 'electronic mail target' of large lobbying groups and organizations. The impoverishment of public life has been accompanied by the growth of the society of surveillance and voyeurism on the one hand (Foucault) and the 'colonization of the lifeworld' on the other (Habermas). (Benhabib 1992: 112; in Sheller and Urry 2003: 111)

By living the new spatiality, 'we allow ourselves to be lulled into a false privacy. In which privacy is in fact traded for security, where we become willing participants in a regime of constant surveillance.' (Koolhaas 2008: 323; in Miles 81). Then, the new experiences we gain entail a loss of privacy, democracy and identity; visitors of the consumption spaces are surveilled, muted and standardized. However, a critical analysis of the socio-political and socio-cultural repercussions of the consumption space cannot explain the voluntarily handing in of democratic rights by the consumer society. In other words, the architecture of consumption spaces cannot be viewed outside the domain of society and culture.

Architecture can't do anything that the culture doesn't. We all complain that we are confronted by urban environments that are completely similar. We say we want to create beauty, identity, quality, singularity. And yet, maybe in truth these cities that we have are desired. Maybe their very characterlessness provides the best context for living". (Koolhaas 1996: 7)

However, a cultural explanation of consumption spaces should be taken with care as it involves the risk of 'reproducing the excesses of Adorno's critique of ideology and popular culture' (MacLeod 2002:167). Nonetheless, two cultural approaches to consumption space are noteworthy. First, culture can account for the identity of traditional consumption spaces as sites of public life. This approach emphasizes the social function of consumption spaces.

As opposed to something new, *post-modern*, sociality and public spaces have thus survived repression under modernity from earlier periods when they were the heart of community life as market and town squares, sites of carnival and everyday life. Although their specific mode has changed, they have retained a recognizable cultural form. In this sense, the spaces of community, of sociality are trans-modern, having existed before, during, and after modernity. (Shields 1992: 110)

In addition to continuity, culture can be invoked to represent a space as readable, calculable and sociable. This view highlights the consumption spaces as a landscape of power.

Every historical epoch has distinct ways of organizing time, space, behavior and subjectivity. These converge in its principal architectural sites and public spaces that articulate cultural texts of meaning, identity and power. Who may enter, what is done within, why do they do it and how do they think of themselves? (Langman 1992; in Shields 1992: 40)

Both approaches imply social centrality; the quality of a place to be experienced as a social institution, and the prerequisite for a place to be appropriated as public. Scholars have argued that the success of consumption spaces lies in creating the experience of social centrality (Shields 1992). In turn, 'retail is one form of exchange among several' (105) with social exchange being more than 'a latent function of retail' (105). In short, consumption spaces of social centrality can be considered public spaces of social activity. This leads to a rethinking of the relation between consumption and public life. In fact, it has been argued that the practice of consumption is 'one of the only means by which we experience public life' (Leong 2001: 134). Furthermore, it has been considered a social activity for it 'is one of the few activities that still bring all classes of people together in a public, or somewhat public, space' (Zukin 2003: 61). This is further promoted by the blending of consumption and leisure that were previously practiced by different people at different times in different places. Consequently, it has been said that the postmodern consumption space marks 'the genesis of cultural change, of social experimentation, a theatre of everyday life.' (Shields, 6-7).

Above all, scholars have addressed the democratic effect of consumption where through the commercialization of experience and lifestyles, identities and other forms of belonging are made economically accessible (see Shields 1989). Another form of democratization is 'the revolutionary achievement of mass consumption to construct another space between the self and civil society - and by shopping, we place ourselves in this space. Neither completely free nor completely democratic, the public sphere of shopping is a space of discussion and debate.' (Zukin 2003: 32). The public sphere is a transformed economic sphere, the experience of publicness is created 'by reclaiming the sites of consumption through a crowd practice which returns the (usually private) spaces to the public sphere of market squares and street behavior' (Shields 2002: 100).

To conclude, the experience and proceedings of urban civic life are impacted by the commercialization and privatization in a consumer society. As has been argued, the notions of democratic and public space have been altered but this should not be projected against the ideal of public space for political publicness. Instead, the ideal of public space has adapted to a space where the '[e]veryday life has been transformed into an extension of consumer capitalism and the person rendered a consumer or spectator in whom the commodified meanings, the symbolic and affective values embedded in the sign system, have been interiorized as representations of reality' (Langmann; in Shields 1992: 47). Recognizing the centrality of consumption spaces in our everyday life and identifying the 'practice of citizenship' embedded in the practice of consumption, one could ask '[w]ho exactly are our cities for? Who belongs in contemporary cities? How can we envisage the substantive nature in urban citizenship?' (167).

On the surface, the world of consumption glitters with excitement and change ... But not everything in the consumer's world is smooth, even on the surface. The threads which it interweaves threaten to unravel. This is a world without constraints and without responsibility. It makes each of us the arbiter of what is important and how much to consume. How do we choose one thing over another when there are no clear obligation and responsibilities and when there is no necessity? How do we form social relations and define ourselves when we have no particular projects or tasks? The unrestricted freedoms of the consumer's world could also create a weightless and disorienting world. (Sack 1992: 199)

Complexity through Consumption

In the present writing it is believed that the picture is not as bleak as the above questions paint. The consumer, or the individual for that matter, is not seen as a passive element or another cog in the machine. Existing research on the impact of consumption on urban space have presented critical readings of representations rather than studies of practices and uses, and have started from an ideal of a clearly defined public space. Unlike these normative accounts of form, this thesis is more descriptive and addresses the experiences of public life and the informal practices. Hence, consumption spaces are approached as spatially practiced and actualized; instead of a finished object, it is a set of continuous moments of becoming. Recognizing the city as a network of consumption, analyzing the social impact of consumption space and respecting the limitation of the public domain, it is proposed to look at the complexity resulting from the interplay between culture, society and space.

As a result, key to understanding space is the idea of the technocratic production of space being 'confronted by an entirely different kind of production, called 'consumption' ... characterized by its ruses, its fragmentation ..., its poaching, its clandestine nature, its tireless but quiet activity, in short by its quasi-invisibility, since it shows itself not in its own products but in an art of using those imposed on it' (de Certeau, 1988, 34). Space then is understood not as a fixed but as practiced in time, and in particular in the time of the everyday life. The challenge lies in uncovering the practice of the space of everyday life, as Benjamin notes (1970):

Buildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use or by perception - or rather by touch or by sight. Such appropriation cannot be understood in terms of the attentive concentration of a tourist before a famous building. [...]. Tactile appropriation is accomplished not so much by attention as by habit. As regards architecture, habit determines to a large extent even optical perception. (242)

The interference of habit in our everyday life, poses difficulties to theorizing the everyday since "spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized, but the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life, and so does very little justice to the unconscious

level of lived experience.' (Lefebvre 1991: 34). From this Lefebvre points out that '[a] theory is therefore called for, one which would transcend representational space [i.e. spaces of representation] on the one hand and representations of space on the other, and which would be able properly to articulate contradictions (and in the first place the contradiction between these two aspects of representation).' (365). To work with such a theory is the objective of this thesis; a theory that can further the debate on the impact of consumption on public life to a critical understanding of the experience of everyday life.

Theoretical Considerations: Towards a Framework

With the aim of analyzing a site of social centrality and studying the everyday life it engenders, a crucial consideration is to theorize beyond representations. This means, first of all, that the discussion should refrain from explaining everyday life through consumer culture. With this in mind, the writing will set itself apart from discussion of consumption spaces in the light of the society of the spectacle and the consumer society (see Debord 1995; Fine 2002). Instead it will aim for a sociological descriptive account of the everyday practices in a consumption space. This account of everyday life, secondly, is 'to describe and explain the asymmetries, hierarchies, conflicts and homogenizations - not to repeat them, or explain power with power' (Latour 2005: 63-4). With these two considerations in mind, the method of study incorporates critical theory developed in sociology over the last decades.

The task of sociology is to break through the sewer of dead or perverted ideologies, as much as through the illusion of pure individualism or the fascination of decadence, in order to bring to light the presence of the actors and to help their voices be heard. Sociologists ought then to conduct their analyses far from the discourses that a society holds about itself, and work rather in close proximity to the emotions, dreams, and wounds of all those who assume the lives of actors but are not acknowledged as such because the ideologies and the forms of political organization lag well behind truly contemporary practices, ideas and sensibilities. (Touraine 1988: 18; in Miles 2010: 184)

Instead of using categories to organize space, time and movement, the challenge lies in describing the spatiality of everyday life as a function of materiality and sociality. In other words, the method of study follows from the exploration of the relation between the material qualities and social practices of the space. In this relation, a decisive understanding is space as fluid and contingent.

In this part on theoretical considerations, the attempt is made to arrive at a conception of space and everyday life that offers a framework for sociological study. With this destination in mind, some notions of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) will be considered in a first instance. This will be interpreted and elaborated on with the help of Soja (1996) and will lead up to his idea of 'thirdspace'. After this first part of conceptualizing, a next part of operationalizing will invoke the sociological approach of actor-network theory (ANT) developed by Callon (2005) and Latour (2005). In a third and final part the concept of territorial production (see Karrholm 2012) will be introduced as the final step towards a comprehension of space through which the virtualities and topologies can be grasped. Together these three parts will form the foundation for a theoretical framework capable of grasping the production of everyday life in terms of materiality and sociality. Thus, the theoretical undertaking is to arrive at a sort of semiotics of space that can be applied to the object of the post-modern and neoliberal variant of the market place.

Trialectic of Space

In *The Production of Space* (1991) Lefebvre develops a sociological understanding of space and so critically evaluates planning practices. Of particular interest to the present object is the notion of spatiality as a socially produced space. This concept can guide towards the understanding of space beyond design strategies and measures of formal control over space that is looked for in this thesis.

In effect, Lefebvre uses spatiality to understand the complexities of space in terms of social processes of production and re-production. Subsequently, he views the production as a trialectic of space composed of spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. The trialectic helps him to establish a critical science of space based on a double illusion of transparency and opacity. Put briefly, the first illusion comes from the dynamism between subjective design and spatial practices, the second deals with the reality of objects and thought. More specifically, the first illusion emerges in the mediation between the mental activity of invention and the social activity of realization. Consequently, it is an illusion of representations where spatial practices only have a material reality if they are part of the medium of subjective design. Subjective design is then itself a discourse and the practices that take place within this medium only form a discourse on a discourse. Thus, the opposition in the illusion is between subjectivism of practice and idealism of design. The second illusion is based on the difference in reality between thoughts and objects. While imagined thoughts are unseen and therefore considered unknowable, natural and material objects have a physical reality. In this way, the illusion gives rise to the opposition between objectivism of reality and materialism of the surface. (Soja 1996: 53-70).

To Lefebvre the oppositions of subjectivism versus idealism, and objectivism versus materialism are in a constructive relation cumulating in a third moment of space. From its origins, this third moment of space is simultaneously real and imagined. A first moment of space captures the spatial practices that produce the material form of social spatiality. This is the perceived space of the medium of materially produced space and the outcome of socially practiced space. Or, as Lefebvre (1991) puts it, '[s]patial practice ... embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets of characteristics of each social formation.' (33). By prioritizing spatial practices, a study of first space will be concerned with surface appearances of processes that organize space. The organization is the result of the mediation between materially invented and socially practiced space through human activity, behavior and experience. With respect to the object of study, the first space of the market place concerns the activities and conducts in the space. Thus, the science of the first moment of space holds on to objectivity and materiality and relies on quantitative descriptions of spatial patterns.

The second moment of space is the technocratic conceptualized space, a conceptualization inspired by the identification of what configuration of space is lived and perceived. Based on this inventory, space is invented and conceived not materially but in the mental space for utopian thinking. In the case of the festival market place this mental space is inspired by the nostalgia of the market place as a civic institution and by an atmosphere of authenticity. Although it is possible for this space to include first space representations, it is only so through thought. The science of a second moment of space consists of explanations of conceived spaces. As a result, the spatial knowledge to be obtained from this science is a discourse on representations of space. (Soja 1996: 54-59). Noteworthy is how this space of representation has the capacity to transform from imagined into 'real' as soon as images come to define and order the reality. For the market place this entails that the claim for authenticity and social centrality in the form of representations can have a real effect on the appropriation of an authentic and public place.

As already mentioned, the first two moments of space come together in a third moment of space that is both real and imagined. This duality can be understood from the feature that 'the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing space

itself' (Lefebvre 1991, 129). Although this space is directly lived, it is unknowable; it encompasses both an experience and a becoming. In other words, the duality of first and second space are productive of a third moment of space. Within a spatial science, the third moment of space both deconstructs and reconstitutes the first two spaces, and so expands the spatial knowledge. In Soja's (1996: 83-100) interpretation and elaboration of Lefebvre's trialectic of space, the third moment of space is fundamental in understanding the formation of lifeworlds and key to approximating the everyday life. It means that the formal production is confronted with an informal consumption of space creating the many moments of becoming of the market place. Although the users are informed how to operate the space through the design, the actualization of the space is still volatile.

In *Thirdspace* (1996), Soja relates his reworking of Lefebvre's (1991) trialectic of space to Foucault's (1980) trialectic of power, knowledge and space. From this association, Soja (1996: 145-162) builds his theory of 'thirdspace' out to include Foucault's (1984) 'heterotopia'. On these heterotopias, Foucault writes that these are space which 'have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect.' (Foucault 1984: 3). Heterotopias possess, in contrast to imagined utopias, more reality and although they are outside all other places they have a place in reality. Hence, 'heterotopias' are simultaneously real and imagined, and can be related to the accumulation of a first and second space, or to the approximation of thirdspace. Above all, the idea of the 'heterotopia' offers an approach to the central object of the market place. Through an analysis of its first and second space actuality, the festival market place can be viewed as a 'heterotopia' and understood as having a third space existence.

To explore the use of the concept of 'heterotopia', it is worth considering its specific character through Foucault's principles of heteropolologies (Foucault 1984: 3-6). For the current study it is of interest that a heterotopia is described as 'other spaces' (Foucault 1984) that can contain all places and spaces. Thus, a heterotopia can juxtapose several different places in one 'real' place, even if these are incompatible with each other. In this light, the market place is 'a space in which strangeness and ambivalence are of central importance' (Hetherington 2003: 29). In addition, heterotopias are simultaneously isolated and penetrable through a working of territoriality based on power. To illustrate, the market place is a site of capitalistic exchange but also a space for chance encounter and social contact. Moreover, these 'other spaces' are linked to slices of time and the cultures they are in which allows them to change function and meaning accordingly. Following this principle it is possible to speak of the neoliberal and post-modern variant of the historical market place. Finally, heterotopias have a comprehensive relation to all the spaces outside them through which they can create a 'space of illusion' exposing every real space or a 'space of compensation' that is 'another'. Through this working the post-modern re-invention of the medieval market to a market of the carnivalesque can be experienced as authentic.

In the spirit of '... leav[ing] the discussion of thirdspace epistemologies radically open' with the purpose 'to be moving on to new possibilities and places' (Soja 1996: 82), this thesis will attempt to extend epistemology of thirdspace with actor-network theory (see Latour 2005). The goal of this elaboration is to arrive at a 'theoretical and practical approximation' (Soja 1996: 82) of the lifeworld as it takes place in the festival market place.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

That spaces can be read, or that there is some sort of semiotics of space has been a common theme in the urban studies literature. In *The Eiffel Tower* (1958), Barthes addressed a semiotics of space that would 'unfold the city like a poem' (in Leach 2005: 160). Also, the writings of Kracauer (1994) are suggestive of the translation of a material reality into a social reality. In his discussion of the unemployment office, he states:

Every typical space is created by typical social relations which are expressed in such a space without the disturbing intervention of consciousness. Everything that consciousness ignores, everything that is usually just overlooks, is involved in the construction of such spaces. Spatial structures are the dreams of society. Whenever the hieroglyph of any such spatial structure is decoded, the foundation of the social reality is revealed. (Kracauer, 1994: 37)

The recent literature attempting to arrive at this semiotics of space has described the relation between materiality and sociality from less Cartesian approaches. One of the approaches has been actor-network theory (ANT) in the study of urban assemblages (see Farias and Bender 2009). This theory will also be developed here and eventually applied on the market place. In the next paragraph an attempt is made to elaborate the spatial knowledge of thirdspace with the theoretical outlook of actor-network theory (ANT). Again, the aim is to arrive at a theory of space that is able to grasp the social spatiality or, to understand the complexity of the everyday lifeworld in the market place.

From the outset, ANT presents itself as a critique on the discipline of modern sociology or the so-called sociology of the social and instead proposes a sociology of circulations. In describing the world this sociology focuses on networks set in motion by human and non-human actants. With respect to the study of the market place, the potential of ANT lies in its inclusion of material aspects. In turn, ANT is explicit about the power of materiality and this would qualify it as a theory of materiality. Above all, for actants can be both material objects and humans that act on circulations that move through space, ANT would also qualify as a theory of spatiality. Thus, 'ANT is not a theory of the social, no more than it is a theory of the subject, or a theory of God, or a theory of nature. It is a theory of space and fluids circulating in a non-modern situation.' (Latour, 1998: 3). To make the case for ANT as an approach to social spatiality, it is necessary to consider its theoretical foundations in more detail.

A central insight in ANT is the novel understanding of space in terms of circulations and becomings. It is of particular relevance to the double illusion of transparency and opacity coming forth from the trialectic of space in the theory of Lefebvre (1991). In a critique on phenomenology, Latour (2008) refers to the 'temptations to reduce humans to objects and materiality to objectivity' (84). This critique relates to the premise of phenomenology to consider a geometrical material space to which 'human subjective intentional dimensions' are being added (Latour 2008: 83). In ANT, Euclidian space is denounced as the subjective space of humans in which material objects can only be considered as static. Consequently, Euclidian space is only 'our own way of accessing objects (of knowing and manipulating)' while in another space material entities might be transforming 'to remain extant' (83). The critique of ANT is that 'Euclidian space is a rather subjective, human-centered or at least knowledge-centered way of grasping entities, which does no justice to the ways humans *and things* get by in the world' (Latour 2008: 84; emphasis author). Rather than considering the 'human dimension' of a supposed 'real material essence' (Latour 2008: 85), ANT aims to describe the world in terms of mixtures of social and material aspects that are in a continuous flow.

Through the reconceptualization of Euclidian space into a space of circulations, 'we should finally be able to picture a building as moving modulator regulating different intensities of engagement, redirecting users' attention, mixing and putting people together, *concentrating* flows of actors and *distributing* them so as to *compose* a productive force in time-space' (Latour 2008: 87; emphasis author). By considering the material as 'a flow of transformations', the material is no longer static nor objective and the human is no longer the only subjective. Thereby the aim of ANT is to abandon the objective/material and subjective/social divide, while refraining from the reduction of humans to material objects. In a space of circulations, 'Subjectivity is not a property of human souls but of the gathering itself' (Latour 2005, 218). It is through the maintenance of attachments that an actor-network can last and sustain its subjectivity. Thus, ANT 'is a theory of a space in which the social relations have become a certain type of circulation among other types of circulations, plenty of places.' (Latour 1998: 3). From this perspective, ANT underlines the 'material, actual and assembled, but also the emergent, the processual and the multiple. (Farias and Bender 2009: 15)

Understanding the space from an ANT perspective, implies a study that recognizes the actual and the becoming or, both the real and the imagined. To conceive space as a multiple object of reality and virtuality (Deleuze 2002), ANT could be used as an approximation of Soja's (1996) thirdspace. In addition, if thirdspace can be approximated through ANT and extended with heterotopology, then heterotopology can be extended with ANT. The focus of ANT on circulations with 'plenty of places' and on the becoming of virtualities, reflects the features of heterotopia as a place containing all places and spaces, both real and imagined. As an extension of heterotopology, ANT views a place as 'a contingent, situated, partial and heterogeneous achievement' (Farias and Bender 2009: 15). Furthermore, ANT considers a place as being in relation to 'plenty of places' (Latour 1998: 3) in both space and time. As Latour (2005) concludes:

So it is perfectly true to say that any given interaction seems to *overflow* with elements which are already in the situation coming from some other *time*, some other *place*, and generated by some other *agency*. This powerful intuition is as old as the social sciences. As I have said earlier, action is always dislocated, articulated, delegated, translated. (166; emphasis author)

The methodological implications of this reconceptualization of space are great and highly relevant to the study of the market place. According to Farias and Brender (2009), ANT presents 'a major challenge for urban research: identifying, describing, and analyzing these multiple enactments of the city and understanding how they are articulated, concealed, exposed and made present or absent (14). To Latour (2005), this challenge can be taken up by developing 'only some infra-language to help them [sociologists of circulations] become attentive to the actors' own fully developed meta-language' (49). Consequently, rather than defining categories and levels of analysis from the outset, ANT proposes to start with 'the traces left behind by their [actors'] activity of forming and dismantling groups' (Latour 2005: 29). Then, the study of the market place goes beyond the physical boundaries of the place and consider a whole range of actors and other place makers. Instead of 'the [sociologist] of the social who have to filter out everything which does not look in advance like a uniformed 'social actor'' (55), the sociologist of circulation has to register, record and describe.

If the social circulates and is visible only when it shines through the concatenations of mediators, then this is what has to be replicated, cultivated, elicited, and expressed by our textual accounts. The task is to *deploy* actors as networks of mediations ... Deployment is not the same as 'mere description', nor is it the same as 'unveiling', 'behind' the actors' backs, the 'social forces at work'. If anything it looks more like a PCR amplification of some small DNA sample. (Latour 2005: 136)

Therefore, it is through the understanding of circulations that ANT can surpass the double illusion of transparency and opacity. As a result, the theoretical outlook of ANT is the methodological approach to the third moment of space. The understanding of thirdspace then, is a space where reality and virtuality 'exist' simultaneously and subjectivity is 'for all' (Latour 2005, 218). Thus, as Amin and Thrift (2002) conclude:

this [focus on the artifice] leads us to understand the modern city as a whole series of circulating networks of command and control. But these networks do not add up to any definitive panoptic order, able to make the city open and transparent to the gaze of the powerful. Rather they produce what Latour has called an 'oligopticon', a series of partial orders, localized totalities, with their ability to gaze in some direction and not others. The city becomes a series of observatories - in which many of the objects of the gaze themselves been created as registers of the efficacy of that gaze - which enable the city to be overlooked, but also overlook many things. Thus de Certeau's tactics and little stratagems ... can be seen as a demonstration of the non-additive

and experimental nature of the city, which means there are always spaces and times left over and spaces and times which are neglected. (Amin and Thrift 2002: 92).

The understanding of the city that has been conveyed by Amin and Thrift (2002), is at the basis of the analysis that will be presented in this study of the festival market place. Overall, the conviction is that these 'spaces and times left over and neglected' (Amin and Thrift 2002: 92) are many and contain a great deal, it is the everyday life. Again, through an ANT perspective on circulations these spaces and times can become visible. In the sociological study of the impact of consumption on public life in the market place it is necessary to be more explicit about social spatiality. This will be the exercise in the next part.

ANT and Territoriality

In the above ANT has been presented as a theory of spatiality and an outlook able to grasp the complexity of thirdspace. To arrive at a theory that is more explicit about social spatiality, the here developed theory of space will be expanded once more. The last step of this elaboration is inspired by the writings of Karrholm (2005, 2007, 2009, 2012) and will attempt to make everyday spatiality operational. The work of Karrholm presents a conceptual approach to the relationship 'between materiality or space and use' (Karrholm 2007: 437). The theoretical foundations of this approach are grounded in ANT, where ANT is considered a theory linking materiality and sociality. As explained earlier, ANT advocates a sociology of circulations that are set in motion by a mixture of human and non-human bodies. Another important theoretical concept in the work of Karrholm is 'territoriality'. This concept will be elaborated on in more detail, and will be put in the context of ANT. The aim of this expanded theory of space is to establish a framework that can be used in the study of the impact of consumption on the experience of everyday life in the marketplace central to this thesis.

According to Latour (2005), the social in ANT is defined 'as a fluid visible *only* when new associations are being made' (79). Consequently, a theory of social spatiality involves the associations made with space which, as Karrholm (2012) argues, can be understood through the concept of 'territoriality' (see also Deleuze and Guattari 1987). In the literature the concept is presented in relation to two different areas of research. A first is within sociology, where human territoriality refers to the behavior of groups and individuals to mark, defend or appropriate a territory. Accounts of this type are given by:

Human territoriality can be viewed as a set of behaviors and cognitions a person or group exhibits, based on perceived ownership of a space (Bell et al. 1996: 137; in Karrholm 2007: 439)

The act of laying claim to and defending a territory is termed territoriality (Hall 1995: 187; in Karrholm 2007: 439)

The second field in which territoriality has been developed is that of political science. In this field territoriality refers to a strategy of power to exercise control over society and space. Definitions of this type are given by:

Territoriality will be defined as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called the territory. (Sack 1986: 19; in Karrholm 2007: 439).

[Territoriality] is a strategy that uses bounded space in the exercise of power and influence (Johnston 1996: 891; in Karrholm 2007: 439)

Within urban studies, the interest with territoriality is in the territorial structures that are embedded in urban space and that affect the everyday experience. The focus is on the power of spatiality through strategies of formal control and tactics of overlooked practices. Territoriality then, corresponds to Foucault's (1980) notion of 'governmentality' which in the present object of the marketplace can be studied through the concept of 'micro-power'. According to Foucault (1995), this power exercises spatial control and charges the everyday life and, the resulting power relations require continuous maintenance and exercise. Accordingly, micro-power is closely related to the processes of routinization and socialization in the production of territories. Also Foucault's (1980) notion of the 'dispositif' as a form of power through space can be related to here (see Pløger 2008). Hence, in a theory of social spatiality, territoriality can be defined as the exercise of power through the medium of space.

In this definition, it should be emphasized that the power relations that affect the everyday life can follow from strategies and tactics of territorial control. This implies that rather than concentrating on the 'strategies that anticipate the territory', the focus should be on the territory as it is actualized in time and space. Rather than a result of strategies of formal control, territoriality should be considered as a spatially delimited and actualized territory under effective control of strategies and tactics. As 'locals are localized and places are placed' (Latour 2005: 195) the 'reality' of a territory is dependent on the network it circulates in. The 'real', Latour (2005) points out, is a form which 'is simply something which allows something else to be transported from one site to another. Form then becomes one of the most important types of translations.' (223). Thus, a territory is a spatial actant that needs to be continuously produced and reproduced in order to remain effective. Territorial production then, is the result of strategies and tactics of territorial control. Hence, the process of territorialization is viewed as the actualization of fluid borders and stabilization of control.

The perspective of ANT informs that the borders and control are made visible when new associations are made; i.e. when territorialization is taking place. Or to repeat, in ANT the social is viewed 'as a fluid visible *only* when new associations are being made (Latour 2005: 79, emphasis author). The perspective ANT informs that the borders and control are made visible when new associations are made or, when territorialization is taking place. Or to repeat, in ANT the social is viewed 'as a fluid visible *only* when new associations are being made (Latour 2005: 79, emphasis author). In this process, the power relations of a territory can be described as networks of actants aiming to produce or maintain territories.

Here is why the word "territory" is so apposite: because the order and security it provides are not static phenomena, but mobile. Much like the space marked out by a territorial animal, territory constantly shifts as it is continually remarked and re-presented in different ways. And much as these territorial creatures can only extend their territories at great cost, so we might also note the sheer difficulty of sustaining this process of remarking. (S. D. Brown and Capdevila 1999: 41; in Karrholm 2012: 14).

Thus, it is suggested that territoriality is a mobile and dynamic phenomenon sustained by networks of human and non-human actants. Consequently, territories are not only governed by social relations but also by material features and physical boundaries. A study of territoriality from an ANT perspective then requires to understand territorialization as a diverse and continuous process. After all, territories are being produced through the power relations constituted by dynamic networks of human and non-human actors.

Forms of Territorialization

From the ANT approach on territoriality, Karrholm (2007) identifies two groups or four forms of territorial production. A first group is formed by territorial strategies and tactics, much in the light of

de Certeau (1988), that emphasize the marking, delimiting and ordering of the territory through territorial control. Then, a territorial strategy is a form of technocratic control that is delegated to or mediated through rules or material objects making it impersonal and planned. As a consequence, these strategies are usually distant in time and/or space relative to the territory where they are being exercised. On the other hand, territorial tactics refer to claims made by individuals and groups *in situ*. The tactics express desires of establishing a social relationship with the space. The second group of territorial production is formed by territorial appropriation and association. These are neither planned nor intentional but rather the consequence of routine practices. In this way, territorial appropriation viewed as a routinization of practices giving rise to an unconscious marking and production of a territory. Territorial association, in turn, relates to the routine practices that give the territory certain conventions and regularities. Unlike territorial appropriation, territorial association does not require the identification of a personal relationship with the space but rather the recognition of a certain function or category of users linked to the area.

	Impersonal Control	Personal Control
Intended production	Territorial strategy	Territorial tactics
Production through use	Territorial association	Territorial appropriation

Table 1: Forms of Territorial Production (after Karrholm 2007)

Through the concept of territoriality ANT can be used to approach to the power of spatiality. Once territories are produced they need to be maintained through the continuous exercise of power. In ANT this can be understood as the stabilization of networks of actors and actants. In this situation the formation of the network and the relations within become increasingly predictable and stable. The ANT perspective on territorial production and stabilization merits three further considerations. First of all, ANT allows for the investigation of the meaning of materiality through the role it plays in different territorial networks. This means that an artifact can be different actants depending on the territorial network. As a consequence, every artifact has a diversity of potential actant roles in a multitude of networks. Furthermore, the ANT approach allows for understanding the power relations within a place in terms of a layering of different territorial networks. In turn, the co-existence and co-operation of different territorial productions and powers can be explained. Finally, by concentrating on networks power can be approached as a landscape rather than a set of vectors. This means that territorial power is seen as a 'nonpolarized and nonhierarchical strategy' (Karrholm 2007: 443). The question then is not: what territory is produced and who did it? Rather the main questions become: how does this place functions? how are powers stabilized? The specific interest for urban studies is then to understand a place in terms of its diversity of uses and users. (Karrholm 2007).

A reworking of ANT has underlined other topologies than network topology (see Mol and Law 1994). With its origins in science and technology studies (STS), it could be said that ANT is more explicit about networks and programs than about places and artifacts. Consequently, Karrholm (2007) finds in his studies of public space that networks alone cannot explain territorial network stabilization. If there is a change in the disposition of artifacts and the network is destabilized, the same territorial productions might still be active. In this case, a description of network topology can find the same material effects but cannot explain their actualization in terms of the same networks. Therefore, other topologies might be responsible for the stabilization of the territory. From this Karrholm (2007) concludes that 'fluid, Euclidean, and network stabilization could, in fact, all be described in terms of 'actants/networks' (444). Approaching network stabilization from this view can explain the regularity in places with destabilized networks. While maintaining ANT's emphasis on becoming, the inclusion of other typologies of network stabilization can explain recurrent territorial effects.

Following the elaboration of topologies, Karrholm (2007) identifies three forms of territorial stabilization: body, sort and network. The first type of 'body' stabilization refers to a situation where stable material features are capable of fostering constant territorial effects despite changes in the disposition of actants. A second type is 'sort' stabilization which concerns situations where the place remains associated with the same sort of territory, producing the same territorial effects despite changes in actants and artifacts. Finally, 'network' stabilization refers to the balance of power relations within actor-networks as described in ANT. As Karrholm (2005) notes, and as will need to be taken into account here, these three forms of territorial stabilization are not exclusive nor extensive but do offer an analytical framework for understanding the territorialization of a place.

Forms of stabilization	Network Body Sort
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Table 2: Forms of Territorial Stabilization (after Karrholm 2007)

In conclusion, in one place multiple territorial productions can be situated simultaneously. These productions are mobilized by different artifacts within different networks and so actualize different virtualities. Consequently, a relationship exists between territorial production and materiality where territorial production is constitutive of and constituting the material environment (Karrholm 2005: 443). By analyzing the different territorial productions, one can understand the power relations and concentrations found in that place at a specific time. Thus, territorial production can be used to account for the relationship between materiality, and spatial control or use. In moments of becoming, ANT is able to grasp the territorial complexity resulting from concurrent territorial productions. This implies that ANT can make visible the situated micro-power places. Accordingly, ANT can be used as an approach for investigating the power in spatiality and materiality. Hence, the research interest following from this theoretical framework lies in how certain power relations are actualized, sustained and form clusters of disciplinary relations (Karrholm 2007: 443). The current study is in line with this research interest, its aim is to understand the territorial production and stabilization in a consumption landscape.

Methodology: A Threefold Reading

This thesis presents a European comparative approach to consumption spaces that are reminiscent of the traditional market place. Through this object of study, the aim is to come to an understanding of the relational complexity between spaces for consumption and community. It will describe, analyze and compare the impact of consumption on the experience of the everyday public life. Following the theoretical outlook of ANT, it analyzes the functioning, actualizing and stabilizing of the market place in terms of circulating networks of human and non-human actants. The structure of this analysis is presented as a threefold reading of a first, second and third-space. A reading of first space will concentrate on the surface appearances of spatial practices and the perception of the place (see chapter *Trialectic of Space*). The second space reading is concerned with the technocratic conception and project planning of the place. Lastly, the reading of third space is to account for the two afore discussed spaces in terms of territorial production and stabilization. In all, the threefold reading of the trialectic of space aims at describing the complexity, contingency and actuality of the contemporary market place.

Case Studies

With an interest in the European dimension, this thesis presents a comparative analysis of two marketplaces in an urban context. The two cases have been selected on the basis of their size, market offer, management strategy, location in the city and authority in the cityscape. The markets can be approximated as Nordic and Mediterranean, and qualify for a European comparative study of neoliberal and post-modern marketplaces. The cases studies are

1. the Torvehallerne in Copenhagen, Denmark, a 7,000 square meter development that consists of an outdoor square and two market halls. A combination of mobile outdoor stalls and indoor sale modules are rented out by the Danish real estate company Jeudan who built the structure and leases the area from the city of Copenhagen. The market halls opened September 2011.
2. and, the Mercado San Antón in Madrid, Spain, a 7,500 square meter development accommodated in a multistory building. Each floor level presents a distinct form and experience of a market place. After being closed for five years of renovation, the market reopened in May 2011. The investment required for the renovation originated from the the City of Madrid, the market traders and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Madrid.

Textual Analysis

By approaching consumption space trialectically this research will take into account two main categories of textual accounts. Of a first type are planning documents, architectural texts and other studies that are relevant to the invention of space. Part of this are zoning regulations, design intentions and strategic visions. A second category is formed by media texts and images that have the power to re-invent space. This power is accounted for by giving attention to newspaper articles, lifestyle magazines, travel blogs and other media that make a reference to the consumption space.

Observations

Surface processes in the form of spatial practices are addressed through structural and participatory observations. Three forms of observation have been practiced. First, short time-lapse videos have been recorded by fixing the camera in one point and photographing at a five seconds interval. Secondly, observations followed by written documentation have been collected from a number of fixed places. Thirdly, by moving through the space and engaging with the place a form of participatory observation has been carried out.

Interviews

The research is composed of qualitative interviews with place actors and key experts. Among the first group are those who browse, who shop, who sell and, who consume the place. On-site interviews were held and the reflections were noted down shortly afterwards. In cases where language was an issue, questionnaires have been handed out to obtain comparable data. On the supply side, questions concerned the retail environment, perception of place, origin of products and experience of working. Those on the demand side, were inquired about their reason for visit, experience of place, frequency of visits and distance from the market. As for expert interviews, semi-structured sessions were held with academics, architects and managers. The questions were oriented towards understanding the planning background, role of the market place in the city, the form of the neoliberal market place and the relation between consumption space and public life.

Methodological Implications

The scope, object and approach of the present thesis have implications that will need to be considered afore the analysis can be commenced. A first implication related to scope is the matter of a European comparative analysis of architectural form and urban space. It is necessary to recognize that 'city spaces can assume much of their personality from the dominant national-popular conceptions of urban planning, [and] traditions of welfare/workfare state action' (MacLeod et al. 2003: 1667). This statement will be accounted for by refraining from a cultural critique and instead rely on a non-categorical approach to materiality and sociality (see chapter *Consumerist Citizenship*).

A second, and related implication follows from the object of consumption space, an object intrinsically related to a consumer culture. In turn, it has been noted that 'in analyzing contemporary consumption spaces, there are obvious dangers of reproducing the excesses of Adorno's critique of ideology and popular culture' (MacLeod 2002: 167). To this end, Tourraine (1988) has made the call to 'change our perspective and place ourselves in the position of those who live in this society, who experience it, and who, especially at the industrial level, behave like consumers rather than producers with respect to it' (104-5; in Miles 2010: 184). Instead of 'explaining power with power' (Latour 2005: 63-4), the methodology used in this thesis aims to grasp consumption space as it is lived and experienced.

Thirdly, an implication follows from the theoretical approach of ANT with the emphasis on circulations. A consumption space for situated practices of consumption and space cannot be understood in the traditional sense of locality and reality. Rather, these places are to be understood in terms of complexity and contingency; in a network they are not containers but modulators. As a result the territory of the consumption space needs to be discussed in larger networks of flows. This greatly increases the complexity of the object. In the words of Latour (2001), 'we have to make sure that every entity has been reshuffled, redistributed, unraveled, and 'de-socialized' so that the task of gather them again can be made in earnest' (221). It should be recognized that to do so in earnest does not entail it can be done in its completeness, as Mol and Law note:

Things add up *and* they don't. They flow in linear time *and* they don't. And they exist within a single space *and* escape from it. (Mol and Law 2002: 21; in Karrholm 2005: 110)

Approaching places from the view of spaces of circulation and moments of becoming, one has to accept 'the white spaces of conjunctions, meetings and discussions, the part of the event which is non reducible to the state of things, the mystery of the begun-again present' (Deleuze 1986: 108; in Amin and Thrift 2002: 46) and the moments in which 'neither takes place or follows, but is present in the immensity of the empty time where the event can be seen that is still to come and yet has already passed' (Deleuze 1997: 5; in Amin and Thrift 2002: 46). This concern is to some degree addressed through the methodological framework of territoriality.

Overall, it is believed that an ANT approach to these consumption spaces is the better one among the worst to deal with the above mentioned implications. In the study of an object loaded with culture, ideology and complexity, the advantage of ANT over more Cartesian approaches is its claim 'to go from metaphysics to ontology' (Latour 2001: 117). Above all, the focus of ANT on becoming approximates thirdspace where space is simultaneously a reality and a virtuality or, the combination of first and second space. Most importantly, in the study of the consumption space of the marketplace ANT is operationalized as a semiotics of space.

Methodological Framework

With the methodological implications outlined, the framework for analysis can be set up. The structure of this analysis is threefold as it is based on the concept of the trialectic of space. A reading of the first two spaces is required to understand their combined effect in a third moment of space. The methodology for the first space reading is based on observations and textual accounts representing the space. Second space is read through architectural and planning documents as well as interviews with experts involved in the invention and administration of the space. To enable a systematic reading of thirdspace, a reference will be made to the works of Karrholm (2005, 2007, 2009, 2012) and his exploration of territoriality. The reading of thirdspace will be guided by processes of territorial production and territorial stabilization or, the process of territorialization.

To recap, territorialization is seen as the process of exercising power through the medium of space with the objective of control over space. In this process, space is to be viewed as a circulating network sustained by human and non-human actants through which territories are produced and stabilized. A first instance of territorial production takes place in the invention and administration of space. This type of control can be delegated to artifacts or place actors, is often distant in time and space and aims produce the territory in the way it was intended to be. This territorial strategy is confronted by a more personally controlled territorial production of tactics which can actualize or negate the formal territorial production. Through challenging practices of space, the space can be transformed and appropriated for different uses leading up to a collective recognition of a new use.

It has been mentioned that public space is understood as a place for the encounter of strangers and the reconciliation of differences (see chapter *Consumerist Citizenship*). Through the lens of ANT, public space is viewed as being composed of multiple territorial layers mobilized by different actants at different times. Accordingly, multiple territorial productions, in diverse forms can interact in the production of a real or actualized territory. The territorial conflicts and cooperations between these layers can be understood as the territorial complexity. Territorial stabilization in turn, is realized through the maintenance of the power relations between territorial layers. Rhythms in a place are expressed through the power shift between territorial productions and can so give rise to territorial transformations. Hence, territorial layers are mobile and circulating networks actualized by different actants at different times. Only through the continuous reworking of power relations is there a hierarchy of territorial productions.

Therefore, the threefold reading of space is to give an insight into the negotiations, actualizations and mediations of territorial productions. With ANT as a semiotics of space, the attempt is to translate actor networks into stabilized territories. Next to network stabilization, territorial stabilization will be explained in terms of territorial power of artifacts and naming. The impact of consumption on public life is then understood in terms of the accessibility and openness to territorial production and transformation. Of particular interest are the forms of control that are involved in the territorial stabilizations and the role of materiality in exercising power. The trialectic of space is integrated by the territorial layers that are practiced and apparent, invented and intended and, actual and becoming.

Research Questions

The objective of the present thesis is to evaluate the impact of consumption on the experience of public life. This evaluation is presented as a threefold reading of the post-modern and neoliberal market hall reminiscent of the civic ideal of the market place. The study of the market place can be summarized by a main research question which for methodological reasons is broken down into three subquestions relating to the trialectic of space.

Research question: What topologies are produced in the consumption space of the post-modern and neoliberal market hall?

Subquestion 1: In the space of operation, how do people practice and engage with the consumption space?

Subquestion 2: In the space of administration, how has the space been invented and how is it controlled to actualize the intended space?

Subquestion 3: In the space of configuration, how do territorial layers circulate and stabilize to a territory of becoming?

The three moments of space refer to the surface appearances of spatial practices (operation), the technocratic conception of space (administration) and the space of users and their lived experience (configuration). In analyzing the three moments of space, ANT is operationalized as a semiotics of spatiality. This spatiality, in turn, is understood in terms of the territorial production and stabilization embedded in the materiality and sociality of the place.

Part II

Empirical Investigation

Case Study I : Torvehallerne Copenhagen

Context

The Torvehallerne market is located just outside the old town on the former ramparts of the city. It is situated on a section of Israel Plads that is confined by the Frederiksbrogade, the Vendersgade, the Linnésgade and the Rømersgade. Of these, the Frederiksbrogade is an important axis that connects the old city center with the boroughs of Nørrebro and Østerbro. In the north-eastern corner of the square is the metro and regional train station Nørreport. The southern part of Israel Plads functions as an outdoor play and recreation area used by the adjacent schools and residents. Underneath this part is an underground parking lot. On either side of the Israel Plads is a park, where the Ørestaden Park to the south is directly accessible and the Botanical Garden to the north is reached through an access road. (see *Map 1: Schematic Map City Level and Imagery*)

Description

The earliest market place in Copenhagen is found in the historical center where Absalon founded the city. Next to the statue of Absalon in Gammel Strand is the statue of 'The Fishwife' recalling the fish market where fishermen sailed in and sold their catch. From here a street goes up to Gammeltorv (translated: old market square) which functioned as the central square of the city in the middle ages. The surrounding streets Vestergade, Nørregade and Østergade would all lead to the respective city gates of the fortification in the 17th century. The city opened up in the 1850s when the decision was taken to remove the ramparts. Following the opening of the Tivoli Gardens in 1843, the Botanical Garden in 1874 and the Ørestadenparken in 1876, a proletarian market called the Grønttorv (translated: green square) filled the empty space on the former ramparts and the new pleasure and green belt in 1898. The square accommodated a local market where the farmers from Amager would sell their produce to the residents of the city of Copenhagen. In 1958 this market was moved out of the city to the district of Valby. With the new name of Israel Plads in 1968, the largest part of the square was now taken up by a surface parking lot and a gas station. Only a few stalls would remain on the far northern end of the square. (Zerlang 2008).

In its origins, the Torvehallerne is a project that attempts to return to the city a market that disappeared in the 1960s. The architect Hans Peter Hagens published an article in Politiken in 1997 proclaiming the civic role a revitalized market square could fulfill in the city of Copenhagen (interview JH). The article was followed up by the founding of the action group Københavns Torvelaug whose aim was to draw attention to the issue and mobilize a debate between the citizens, the municipality and other stakeholders. At its height, the Torvelaug counted 550 supporting members and in a local initiative petition the group collected 2180 signatures in favor of the return of the marketplace in 2000. The first outcome was an adjustment to the local plan that zoned the square as a market place and classified the dimensions of future market stalls. In response, trade associations executed feasibility studies warning that the market would need a cover of fixed structures too expensive for the municipality (interview JH). In addition these studies argued that the market would not be able to compete with supermarkets and discount stores. In turn, the Københavns Torvelaug asserted that the marketplace is a civic institution that the city is lacking. Based on studies of the market culture and architecture in France, Spain and Italy, and the example of the Saluhallen in Sweden and Finland it was claimed that the marketplace would have an important everyday function in Copenhagen. (interview HPH)

Six years after the project was initiated, the political and financial support for the project was sufficient to start the realization. Without a competition, the architect Hans Peter Hagen submitted his design to the municipality of Copenhagen which gave the permission and the development company

Centerplan which would finance the construction. Afterwards in fall 2007 a dispute arose between the architect and the developer concerning the programming of the market. Eventually the project was put on hold due to bankruptcy of the development company Centerplan. (interview HPH). In an attempt to save the further realization of the Torvehallerne, the city of Copenhagen approached the Danish real estate company Jeudan. With a strong presence in Copenhagen and property surrounding the square, Jeudan agreed upon the financing and management of the project in October 2008 (interview NLB). The company signed a 50 years lease of the square and with few adjustments to the architectural plans continued the realization. (see *Map 2: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level*)

Analysis: A Threefold Reading of Space

The observations that form the basis for the here presented analysis have been collected from the opening of the Torvehallerne in September 2011 till the end of January 2012, with more regular visits in the last week of March 2012. On-site interviews have been held in English and were noted down afterwards. Expert interviews were held with Torvehallerne architect Hans Peter Hagens, Torvehallerne manager Nils Brandt, professor of urban planning Bo Grønlund and, Julie Holck with a PhD dissertation on shopping and city life.

First Space: The Operation of Space

In the reading of the first moment of space the area of study can be confined to the space demarcated by the four roads creating the square (see *Map 3: Schematic Map Site Level*). In an environment of neighborhood retailing, refurbishments and traffic flows, the square appears as an island of unique programming, notable architecture and tranquility. From the four surrounding roads, the Frederiksbrogade and the Vendersgade are highly frequented axes that connect the city and its boroughs. In turn, the square of the Torvehallerne is primarily a destination which can be explained by its connectivity and permeability. With its location just outside the old town, the marketplace is not part of a continuous shopping street. The cycling paths along the sides with the main entrances act as a physical barrier and, the bicycle parking on the northern end creates a visual barrier. Thus, the borders of the space hinder the looking and entering 'inside', and the place can be characterized as inward looking. In the next two paragraphs a more in depth analysis of the place in first space will be presented. A first part is concerned with the physical arrangement of the place and a second part will discuss the social use or enunciation of this space.

Operation through Arrangement

The Torvehallerne market is composed of two market halls and an open market square. The main entrance to the square and market halls is granted by the north-eastern corner. This corner is the location of the Nørreport station and offers the best access from the inner city. The orientation of the market halls is as such that this corner provides entrance to the far end of the market. The walls of the halls facing the square can be lifted thereby creating a better dialogue between the halls and an openness between the halls and the square. Furthermore, the lifted wall modules create new entrances. In general the architecture of glass walls and steel structures bring about a feeling of openness, lightness and transparency. The overall presence of the architecture is one of modesty, only signs on the outside of the halls underline the identity of a market hall.

The interior of the market halls is structured along a main axis and crossing secondary paths. Each stall is part of a module centered around a beam supporting the roof entailing that each stall has only a backside to other stalls and is open towards the paths. A module consists of four rentable units allowing for a diversity of small and large stalls. In this way there are three longitudinal paths, two along the walls of the halls and the main axis at the center. In line with the entrances at the end faces, the main axis is the busiest path with people passing through and shopping. The type of shops is characteristic of each hall, the hall located to the west is oriented towards cheese, meat and fish while

the other hall offers fruits, vegetables, flowers and pastries. On the far ends of each hall are take-away stands offering seating indoors and outdoors.

Operation through Practice

The Torvehallerne square is a destination, only in the mornings and evenings is the square used as a connection to the Nørreport station (observation March 21-28). On a visit to the market square, the conventional practice is to enter the market halls first from either of the end faces. The square is only visited when traversed to go from one hall to the other or to sit down. Consequently, the entrances on the sides facing the square are used when already at inside the Torvehallerne. The entrances on the Linnésgade and Rømersgade are little used by shoppers and form the backside of the market used for deliveries. On sunny days fewer people pass through the halls and people spend more time on the outdoor square. These days the square is also very popular among those who do not consume from the offer of the Torvehallerne but simply enjoy the place. Jan Gehl's (2001) principle of 'people go where people are' and praised activity of people watching seem to be expressed in this place.

As a destination, the Torvehallerne attracts utilitarian shoppers, leisure browsers and place consumers. Above all, the market draws a crowd of pioneers interested in discovering a new place in the city. The novelty of the place lies in its market character, specialty offer and out of old town location. In other words, the Torvehallerne brings a new experience of a nostalgic place and an experience of an extended city center. For those coming to the market, the most common activity is browsing and for the shopper the number of purchases is low relative to a traditional market or supermarket.

The flow of potential customers through the halls is an advantage of the market in the eyes of the vendors who consider it improving the volume of sales and diversity of customers. Browsing and leisure shopping is characteristic of the afternoons, especially in the eastern hall. The western hall is more frequented in the mornings by purpose-driven shoppers. Nonetheless, the take-away stands located in this hall are drawing crowds during lunch hours. Saturdays are the busiest days with families visiting the market for specific groceries and meanwhile enjoying a snack or lunch on site. The typical purchases are take-away food, beverages and snacks which are enjoyed on the square or at the indoor seats provided by the stalls.

The square has a public character of a space free to be used by those enjoying their purchases and those enjoying the place only. Above all, the place is used freely. Observing the behavior of people, it can be concluded that the square is practiced as a public space with people feeling free to stand still in the middle of the square, to walk across it or to sit down on its benches or floor. Homeless people regularly pass by and check the garbage bins, a behavior that seems to be accepted on the square. Despite practicing the place as public, the people present on the square do not identify with the market; a sentiment that has been strongly expressed in the media.

Today's Torvehallerne, which they called after the Parisian model, is not just a place where you go for the offer of crops and products, it is a food amusement park, where the creative class is going to get a (taste) experience and be part of a story that is about quality of life, authenticity and profits. (Politiken : 7 Nov. 2011).

In on-site interviews a recurrent remark was that the 'Torvehallerne was not a place of the people of Copenhagen' and did not feel like the market they were used to (interview March 21). Instead the Torvehallerne felt 'too conservative, too controlled and too commercial' (interview March 21). Consequently, it was pointed out that the market was too stylized and too civilized to give it the identity of a people's market. The identity that seems to be more recognized is the one expressed in the international media. In the Monocle Denmark Survey 2012 the place was identified as an important factor for the quality of life. The New York Times Travel described the Torvehallerne as 'an upscale covered market' and 'a culinary hot spot to discover delicacies' (NY Times: 2 Oct. 2011).

Second Space: The Administration of Space

In a discussion of second space, two forms of space administration are to be taken into account: one instance of imagining and a second of managing. The first is the invention of space in the imagination of the Torvelaug and the architect H. P. Hagens. This moment was inspired by research of Arkitekturværkstedet on the history and the traditions of the marketplace in different places (interview HPH). This first invention is confronted by a second invention or reinvention of space, presented by subjecting the invented space to the management of the space by Jeudan. The place management entails the continuous redefining of what the Torvehallerne is to be (interview NLB). These two forms of administration of space will be elaborated on in the next part.

Administration through Invention

The overall motivation of the architect and the Torvelaug was to return to the city of Copenhagen an important civic institution which brings value to the experience of public life (interview JH). The belief was that 'Good markets lead to an enriched urban life, better food quality and have always a magnetic effect on citizens, visitors and tourists'. (see Concept Briefing 2006). This belief was supported by studies of three models of the market represented by the Mediterranean market, the Nordic market and the former Copenhagen Grønttorv. As the architect states "We have been traveling quite a lot to show the skeptics there are some very exciting markets all over the world." (HPH interview) These places provided the sources of imagination for the invention of the space of the Torvehallerne.

A first type of marketplace was Mediterranean markets believed to be embedded in a strong market culture. These markets formed examples and were praised for the amount of life and chance encounters they created, 'you maybe plan to buy fish but when you are there you see a thousands of things. In the end you'll come home with many unexpected things. That makes it life-full. Maybe you meet your wife their, kids play; it is lively.' (HPH Interview). The second typology of markets was found in the Nordic markets or 'saluhallen' that can be found in Sweden and Finland (interview BG). The interest in these markets was in the way they dealt with climate. Finally, a historical study of the Grønttorv attempted to make the case for a Copenhagen market culture that the Torvehallerne could rely and build upon. In addition, this market form inspired the imagination of a Torvehallerne open to local farmers selling their produce in the city. (interview HPH)

The three inspirations have lead to an imagining of a place that would take a role in the closing of the green belt. According to the architect, the character of the green belt is to be maintained and he critiques the 'nonchalant urban planning' and the high-rise buildings that do 'damage' to this belt (Concept Briefing 2006: 10). On the former ramparts, the Torvehallerne would close the belt formed by the Tivoli Gardens, the Ørestaden Park, the Botanical Garden and Østre Anlæg. The inspiration derived from this role was to create a program and architecture that fits the democratic and green character of the belt formed by the former ramparts (interview HPH). The role of the Torvehallerne in the larger context of the green belt is viewed by the architect with great potential.

We are trying to convince the municipality and also Jeudan that we can maybe not do something like the Ringstrasse but maybe we can create something in between. Then we are talking about like in Paris where you have many arcades. (interview HPH)

The identity, as imagined by the chief architect, is not a commercial brand but an identity based on the values of 'diversity, high quality, reasonable prices and a fundamental respect for products and food culture' (Concept Briefing 2006: 2). With this identity the chief architect sets apart the market place from the modern ways of out-of-town shopping.

Many cities are dependent on the car and you go to a shopping mall, go the supermarket and you buy for the whole week. That's sad. You're not talking together and you're not meeting. Shopping is becoming boring. (interview HPH)

Hence, in the moment of imagination the Torvehallerne is a place that makes city life. It 'revitalizes' the city from an empty place to a place where people meet and encounter differences. The vision is to create a place that is consistent with the historical location on the former ramparts, a place that is democratic through a diverse offer and green through trees. The chief architect states that in envisioning the place 'the everyday life is extremely important' but that you 'need some interesting pulls' (interview HPH). Therefore, the place-making includes the creation of an experiential atmosphere and legible market place identity.

One thing which is very important on a market place is that especially here in the north that is to kind of create a cozy ambiance during the long winter. So we have been working lot with light, in the market hall we use up lights as indirect light. I prefer that because it is more cozy. (interview HPH)

The imagination of the market place thus involved a concern with the atmosphere of the place and the market's identity within the city. To the architect, the market place is 'a way of making city life' (interview HPH). In the view of the architect, the market is 'a meeting place ... where family life and city life melt together' (interview HPH). Consequently, the feeling he aims to convey with his design for the Torvehallerne is one of publicness and inclusion. This is expressed in the pavement that aims to create 'a seamless transition between the indoor and the outdoor' (interview HPH). The overall aim was to invent an architecture that is 'discreet' yet has 'authority'. In this way, the place provokes 'a surprise feeling that it is a big space' yet that feels welcoming (interview HPH).

Administration through Management

This first invention is confronted by a second invention or reinvention of space, presented by subjecting the invented space to the management of the space by the real estate company Jeudan. The management entails the continuous redefining of what the Torvehallerne is to be. This task is taken up by the Torvehallerne manager Niels Brandt of Jeudan, who considers himself to be 'the managing director of the market place'. In line with this function he describes his task as follows:

[Y]ou can say that in this case we try to go a bit further. If you look into the European situation markets normally are very established organizations so everybody knows what a market is. In Denmark we have had the challenge of course to find the identity of a market. And, to get the right products in. That's why my responsibility is a little bit more food-wise than you would see it in Madrid where everybody knows what they are going for when they go to a market. So I am more like a retail person running a market than that I am actually a building administrator. (interview NLB)

The manager states that that 'Borough Market in London was probably the most important in finding the identity and understanding what is important for the atmosphere and the spirit of a market' (interview NLB). With this inspiration, the manager defines the core value of the Torvehallerne the 'human touch of shopping' (interview NLB). Consequently, the vision for the Torvehallerne is that of 'a place where people and good food meet' (interview NLB).

As for the visitors and vendors, the behavior in the place is informed by signs marking the rules in the place and guards checking on the right behavior. One of the guards considered it his task to 'prevent the market from becoming an anarchy' (interview March 21). As the intermediary between the market hall management and the vendors, the wardens take care of the garbage, open the side

walls and survey the vendors in respecting the limits of their space. The security function of the guards is 'only on called demand' though it is mentioned that 'if a person is not acting right then we move them away from the market' (interview March 21). The right behavior, according to the manager, is corresponding to that of a comfortable and public place.

It should be a place where you feel well, it is a public square and we should not forget this has been a public square for generations. We cannot forget this function. If we start throwing people out then this place starts being an exclusive place. Nothing valuable will come from that. (interview NLB)

In the view of the manager, not being an exclusive place does not imply being inclusive as '99% of the public don't need the products in here' (interview NLB). The feeling of being welcome is the result of 'the whole symphony of stallholders' holding up the identity of 'the place where people and good food meet' (interview NLB). Although the place aims to create a feeling of well-being for all the manager points out that the audience is 'the people who want to buy something and go home ... the main focus is the shopper' (interview NLB).

Third Space: The Configuration of Space

The reading of the third moment of space looks beyond the limits of the site of operation, the studio of invention and the office of management. Although first and second space come together in this moment, the approach to the space will be significantly different. The concern in this reading is with the circulations of networks that connect to all other places, both real and imagined. In addition, this reading is to take into account the contingency of the place and to understand it in its diversity of material and virtual realities. To guide this reading, the following discussion will be structured along the configuration through territorial production and stabilization respectively. Through this structure the goal is to understand the place in terms of topologies and identify their impact on the actualization of the space.

Configuration through Production

The investigation into the thirdspace of the Torvehallerne recognizes the interaction between first and second space through the concept of territorial production. A space technocratically produced and controlled, and socially practiced, the Torvehallerne space will be read through territorial strategies and tactics. The formal territorial production of the Torvehallerne square is that of market trade. This territory had a material existence up to 1958 and a virtual existence in the municipal zoning plan from 1997. As the architect mentions:

When we started to deal with the municipality of Copenhagen we asked them to make some zoning plan, in that plan we made some very exact definitions of how the stalls were going to look like. To be sure that it will be small units. Many of these investors they were always asking for one big unit. (interview HPH)

The territory that was secured by the architect in the zoning plan has been fully actualized with the opening of the Torvehallerne in 2011. Consequently, territorial strategies have driven the territorial transformations the square has undergone. The latest transformation of the square that has actualized the territory for market trade can be seen as a retailization of space (Karrholm 2012).

In addition to the zoning plan, the management of the market square by Jeudan is a strategy securing the actualization of a market square. With the lease of the square, Jeudan has control over the territorialization of the square. The management controls the place through the actants of guards,

signs and rules. At the same time the management has to respect its limitations on producing new territories.

That is also why they [Jeudan] have to be very careful and will have to listen to the municipality because it is not a private area. It is a public place and then you have a responsibility. (interview HPH)

The recognition of the square as a marketplace is aided by the actants of market halls, stalls, signs and market produce. These actants succeed in claiming a feeling of authenticity that speaks to the visitors (observations 21-28). Consequently, the territory claims authenticity which can be seen as a layer is to be consumed as commodity. This territorial layer of commodification is supported by the management with the book 'Unwritten Market Rules Written Down'.

We do some schooling of new staff coming down here, we have a book for them. Where we school them in how they should act to be down here. ... Every stall has to do it, to give the whole symphony. (interview NLB)

Other territories that are formally produced at the square are in the center of the square, along the sides of the market halls and in the southern end through the actants of benches. In addition, some stalls have put chairs out on their terrace. Some smaller formally produced territories are found at the northern end of the square with the actants of bicycle stands and snack wagons. Finally, some occasional formal strategies take place with festivals and workshops (interview March 21).

The formal production of space is confronted by the territorial tactics of those who practice space. These practices do not necessarily enunciate the formal territory of market trade. To some the territory of the Torvehallerne blends into the urban fabric and is used as an access road. Other territorial tactics are those of meeting people, watching people, sitting and enjoying the place. Especially in the corners of the square these new territories that negate the territory of market trade are visible. Most of the tactics observed as they do not significantly alter the formal territorial production (observations March 21-28). However, territorial tactics of performers and promoters that are believed to 'distract too much' are not permitted by the guards (interview March 21).

Besides territorial strategies and tactics, the actuality of the space can be explained in terms of virtual circulations. A first type of this kind of topology is territorial appropriation which can refer to references people consciously call upon in the place. The Torvehallerne square can then be read as the historical place of the witch tables market. The architect wanted to emphasize this territorial appropriation to enforce the territorial production of the market square.

Here you see the metro entrance, we wanted to put up these historical photos so that when you arrive by train you get this feeling of former historical times. (interview HPH)

Next to historical references the architect was convinced to insert geographical references in the market square. This was planned through the idea of stalls representing the regions of Denmark, this would enforce the identity of a place of the people (interview HPH). In the present form the Torvehallerne topologies are filled with references in time and space which is informed by the naming and theming of stalls. Overall, the formal territorial appropriation is aimed at creating of a place of social centrality. While the Torvehallerne has nurtured the idea of an extension of the city center (interview BG), the informal territorial appropriation is strong.

It [Torvehallerne] should be a place where you feel well, it is a public square and we should not forget this has been a public square for generations. We cannot forget this function. (interview NLB)

The second type of these circulations are territorial associations which refers to the association of a certain type of users with the place. In the case of the Torvehallerne the dominant type of users and the one associated with the territorial layer of market trade is the shopper. Also the territorial association of the pedestrian is strongly expressed as no car would enter or cyclist would cross the square (observations 21-28).

Configuration through Stabilization

Once produced, territorial layers are in a constant power relation of maintaining the territoriality of the place. This maintenance can be understood as territorial stabilization and will be read here through the actants in different topologies. The most present territorial stabilization is the one in favor of the market trade territory through the Jeudan guards. Other actants that stabilize the territory are signs for the promotion of shops, marking that defines the uses of space and the prohibition of bicycle parking. An important territorial stabilizer is the opening hours of the market halls. After the opening hours the territorial layer of market trade loses power, the square is a place to cross or to hang out.

Consequently, the territorial changes are guided by the rhythms of users with commuters in the early mornings, grocery shoppers in the mornings, lunch goers around noon and place enjoyers in the late afternoon. This implies that multiple territorial layers are present in the Torvehallerne square but that their territorial production is time and actant dependent. The manager is convinced of making the food shopping the dominant territorial layer.

It is coming, it is developing. And I mean, for Christ sake, it has been going on for half a year and we have had more than half a million visitors per month. So we have more people running through this place than Tivoli. I mean there can be no doubt about it being a success. Yet of course, to fulfill my goals of that is really a food destination then it still has to have the outdoor market on top of it. It is coming, Jesus Christ, there is so much interest. (interview NLB)

Besides territorial change, it is worth considering the presence of layers of territorial networks. These layers can interact in the form of conflict or cooperation. In this way they can either increase the contingency or be productive of stabilization. In the case of the Torvehallerne square it can be mentioned that the rhythm synchronization of the market trade territory has aimed to cooperate with other territorial layers. An example of this is the early opening hours of the coffee shop to cooperate with the territorial layer of the commuters of Nørreport station. The consequence of this cooperation is the stabilization of the territory of market trade. A way of destabilization is presented by the interaction between the retail strategies of the territorial layer of market trade and the spatial tactics of place consumers. This conflict it to be understood in the context of private management and public appropriation.

Case Study II : Mercado San Antón Madrid

Context

The Mercado San Antón is located just north of the old city in the neighborhood Chueca. The Chueca square forms the central place in the neighborhood, it is the location of the metro station Chueca and the market is one block away. The neighborhood has the identity of being progressive (interview GM) and is located between the business district of barrio Alonso Martínez and the shopping district of barrio Gran Vía. Situated along the Calle de Augusto Figueroa, the market hall is enclosed by the Calle Barbieri, Calle de San Marcos and Calle de Libertad. All of these streets are one directional and the principal street is Calle de Augusto Figueroa connecting the Paseo de Recoletos and the Calle

Fuencarral. The main entrance to the market is located on the crossing of Calle de Augusto Figueroa and Calle Barbieri. In the other corners of the buildings are the entrance to the supermarket, the underground parking and the staircase leading up to the restaurant. The plot of the market has an inclination to the west and has been fully built up. Consequently, the walls are bordering the side walks and the shop entrances are on the street corners of Calle de Augusto Figueroa. The market is within reach of the metro station Chueca and offers underground parking. (see *Map 4: Schematic Map City Level*)

Description

The beginnings of the Mercado San Antón can be traced back to the 19th century when the site was a square and accommodated an open air market. The market remained in business during the Spanish Civil War and was upgraded in 1945 under the lead of the architect Carlos de la Torre y Costa to improve the waste management and limit the smells of the marketplace (interview GM). Due to the timing in the aftermath of the Civil War and the Second World War, the materials available for construction were limited. The shortage of steel forced the construction of small open spaces and poor quality (interview GM). Observing the changing identity of the neighborhood and the deterioration of the market hall, talks on the revitalization started in early 2002. In a context of the the municipal strategy of selling off the market buildings to the vendor associations (interview CE), the initiative to revitalize the market came primarily from the association of stallholders.

In 2004 the commission was issued and in 2007 the market closed down for renovations. The initial plan of updating the building through rehabilitation was reassessed to a complete reconstruction of the building. The new building had to comply with the municipal directives related to safety, hygiene and parking. Initially, the redevelopment commission was a private contract between the association of the Mercado San Antón and the architecture studio QVE (interview GM). The project thus did not include the municipality from the beginning but the municipal authorities agreed upon reimbursing 30% of the the investment after all the funding was collected from the stallholders, the Chamber of Trade and Industry, and the Regional Government of Madrid. The redevelopment of the building was a companied by a reinvention of the the business model of the marketplace towards the programming of the experience of place, the social programming and the duration of stay (interview GM). (see *Map 5: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level*)

Analysis: A Threefold Reading of Space

The presented analysis is based on observations collected at the Mercado San Antón over the month of June with a more intensive approach in the first week of July 2012. Due to language issues, on-site interviews were held in the form of questionnaires. When English was spoken the interviews were noted down afterwards. As for expert interviews, Mercado de San Antón architects José María García del Monte and Ana María Montiel Jiménez, and Carmen Espegel, architect of multiple market places have been interviewed in English. (see *Map 6: Schematic Map Site Level*)

First Space: The Operation of Space

A discussion of the first space of the Mercado San Antón can be confined to the indoor space of the market building. With entrances on the corners of the building, the market is inward looking and all its activities are concentrated inside the building. In this first moment of space there are no spill over activities other than delivery trucks standing in Calle de Augusto Figueroa. Disregarding the large main entrance, the market building does not offer any views from the outside of what is happening inside. The few windows and the imposing brick walls present the market building as a surprise box of commercial and social activities in the cityscape. Only by approaching the market building from the west does the large entrance offer a view on all levels of the market. Therefore, the market building is a

closed structure that hopes to invite the people to enter its large entrance. The operation of this inside space in terms of the layout and the practices will be discussed in more detail.

Operation through Arrangement

The main entrances of the Mercado San Antón are located on the western and eastern corner along Calle de Augusto Figueroa. The eastern entrance offers a direct access to the supermarket Super Cor while, the western entrance is the main entrance and features a large open space where an escalator takes the customers up to the level of the market floor. The market on the first floor consists of sale modules along the sides of the market and at its center. Located in the southeastern corner is an escalator taking people up to the next level offering brasseries, a wifi-area and a cultural space. In the northeastern corner of this floor is a staircase through which the top floor with a rooftop terrace and restaurant can be accessed. Through the layout of the floors and the orientation of the staircases and escalators, flows of customers are instructed in their movement through the space.

In the far corner located next to the staircase a wifi zone offers a table along the wall that does not offer seating but is used more freely without a consumption. The staircase is somewhat hidden in the market, its accesses are located in the corners of the market and not very visible. Arriving in the staircase, the space is dark, large and feels empty. Between the first floor and the second floor the staircase is little used, from the second to third the staircase is integrated in the 'market path'. For reaching lower levels, the elevator is the most popular way and while waiting for it music is being placed in this area.

The architecture of the market hall is reminiscent of that of a shopping mall where one level offers a view to all other levels. Also the way in which the arrangement guides customers through the space and the placing of the escalators are characteristic of the mall (see Goss 1992). From the outside, the market casts a feeling of nostalgia through the use of bricks. Although the building presents itself as one of all ages, its form gives the impression of a heavy big box structure that aims to capture the life inside and cover it up. The box structure closed to the outside gives a surprise feeling of brightness and size upon approaching the large open space. In short, the outside creates an expectation of nostalgia which is readjusted upon entering the space that strikes the visitor as modern.

The feeling of nostalgia is challenged upon entering the market through the modern uses of materials; steel frames, glass panels, hardwearing tiles and lacquer finishes. In addition, the use of colors strengthens the atmosphere of a modern space; black and white furnishing and, colorful decorations on the walls and ceilings. Overall, the visitor is confronted by an eclectic mix of nostalgic and modern stall designs and product presentations. While some stalls sell frozen or pre-sealed foods others service the customer in tasting, cutting and packaging. On the second floor the atmosphere is more associated with cleanliness, functionality and efficiency.

Operation through Practice

As an inward looking place, the Mercado San Antón is a destination that needs to be entered. The main entrance of the buildings draws attention and is able to capture the curious passerby (observations July 1-7). Once inside this passerby might at first be a visitor but after discovering the diversity in the offer of the market might turn into a consumer. Yet people primarily identify themselves as a visitor of the place rather than a shopper (questionnaires July 1-7). The attractiveness of the market and the curiosity of the passerby might account for this. For this group of 'customers' the atmosphere and experience of the place is the largest motivation to spend time at the market. The second largest group of customers come to the market for lunch or dinner (questionnaires July 1-7). Only a small group of people use the Mercado San Antón for shopping, the type of shopping is more for specialized products than daily groceries. In general the market is visited and enjoyed as a place. Only after discovering the space customers might decide to shop or consume. This observation is supported by the small expenditures of the customers and by the remarks on the experience of the place. (questionnaire July 1-7).

The architecture and the experiences of the different floors bring about a diversity of behaviors. First of all, the first floor of the market is most visited in the mornings and late afternoons. At other times, the space is primarily an access route to the upper floors. The busiest moments are around lunch time when the purpose driven customers make their way to the second and third floor. On the other moments, the market benefits from a steady flow of people passing by the market and taking a look inside. (observations July 1-7). Although the first floor offers spaces for the enjoying of food on location, all of the products bought are taken home and not consumed on the site. The atmosphere is controlled where behaviors are supervised by the vendors. The 'public' seating on the second floor is more popular as a place to consume the products. This seating is aligned along a long table that offers a clear view on the first floor market space. The second floor is more free with people standing still, talking and watching other people. Finally the impression of the third floor is an atmosphere coming from the identity of a restaurant.

Second Space: The Administration of Space

The reading of the second space of the Mercado San Antón needs to consider the invention of the space as the combined effort of a market vision and a mediation into architecture. The vision is coming from the president of the market association Octavio Rodriguez who sought to innovate the business model of the market. The translation of this vision into architecture is the work of the architecture studio QVE. In the reading of second space both these stages of invention and mediation will be considered.

Administration through Invention

Following the municipal strategy of selling off markets to vendor's association, the president of the association of the Mercado San Antón considered a rehabilitation of the market. This was motivated by the belief that the market did not live up to the demands and standards in the neighborhood (interview GM). With the development of the Calle Fuencarral, a process of gentrification started off in Chueca and changed the character of the neighborhood (interview CE). In this new neighborhood a need was expressed for a place that would bring new services and is economically viable and could integrate the neighborhood. The vision of the market's association president was then, to create a neighborhood center out of the adapted market. These adaptations were inspired by a place that would be experienced as public, central and worth visiting. The definition of the new functions of the market were accompanied by a new imagination of the place.

In the end, what matters is that customers enjoy their time at the market. Whether they come to buy produce, taste our products or have a drink at the third-floor terrace... what matters is that they feel welcome in what is already starting to be the heart of the quarter. (Octavio Rodriguez)

Consequently, the rehabilitation of the market was driven by a vision of creating a place of wellbeing and hospitality (interview GM). In other words, the aim was to create a place of social centrality (Lefèbvre 1991). With this aim a concern was to maintain the identity of a market place and to recognize the risk of creating a space reminiscent of the shopping mall. Hence, the reinvention of the market was driven by a holistic concept of the market that would promote the overall unity of the market.

He [Octavio Rodriguez] said, on the one hand the market has to be true to its beginnings. On the other hand, a market is a market and not a commercial center because a market is a unity. If my business goes well and yours not, mine is not doing well. We must have one concept of the whole, as a global problem. (interview GM)

Administration through Mediation

This conceptual problem statement of a place of unity and hospitality has been further developed by the architecture firm QVE. The insight of the unity of the space, its economic viability and the risk of the shopping mall identity have been carefully considered in the translation to an architectural design.

For example, the difference between a market and a commercial center is perhaps that in a commercial center everything is made for you to buy and go back to your home quickly. Here no. Here it is you are going to buy if you feel well here. Obviously we want to sell but we do not want to make a building where you are compelled to buy and which wants to throw you out as soon as possible. In a commercial center everything is artificial, you do not feel comfortable at all. (interview GM)

According to the architect the feeling of a market is significantly different from that of a shopping center. One of the main differences is the feeling of publicness, entailing that the market does not present any barriers on entering.

We tried to make a building that is open, where from the outside you see everything, it is not hard for you to enter, you enter with your hands in your pocket, with dignity, with a big door, you enter with nobody to ask you where you go to and trying to reach that sensation that people who are not aware of architecture could think that it has been there for years. (interview GM)

The conceptual reinvention of the market has been mediated into a physical structure based on the experience of publicness. In the view of the architect, the challenge was to create a building with the function of community and a role in public life.

The main problem is how to provide a cover for life. Life is the most important thing. Our work material is life. It is something exotic, it seems like something of a religion but not at all. I mean, we are building for providing an answer to a question. The question is how could we stay in one place together, a place where we can buy and eat, where we can meet with our friends and have a good time there. Buy even more, take it home, eat there and drink there. That's the question. (interview GM)

Third Space: The Configuration of Space

Approaching the Mercado San Antón from a thirdspace perspective, the focus will be on the circulations passing through the place. As a result, the space of analysis cannot be clearly delimited as the market is understood to be in connection with all other places. From this perspective, first and second space are constitutive of a reality that is complex, contingent and mobile. The goal of the thirdspace reading is then, to identify the topologies that produce the actuality of the market. To arrive at this goal, the reading is again structured along the concepts of territorial production and stabilization.

Configuration through Production

Approaching the thirdspace of the Mercado San Antón, territorial production will be read through territorial strategies, tactics, appropriations and associations. In the Mercado San Antón the emphasis lies on the territory of retail, a territory enforced by the defined limits of the space, the layout of the floors and the paths for movement. Although the territory of retail is strongly present, it does not require the visitors to enunciate this territory *per se*. Instead, the territory considers visitors potential

consumers whose movement is guided through the space through the actants of stalls, escalators and paths.

No I do not think you are obliged to buy, you can go for looking. I think the clue of a public place is not to give reasons why you are there. You are there because you are there, just that. (GM)

Next to this primary territory, other formally produced territories such as the gallery, the wifi-corner and the bathrooms can be identified. The ground floor is a space with few actants and as a result the territorial production is limited. Through its location and design this space is mostly identified as an entrance (observation July 1-7). On the first floor the predominant territory is retailing but vendor's tactics of staging and visitors' tactics of browsing are producing an identifiable territory of 'exhibition hall' (interview July 3). The upper floors are less a setting for the staging of products and more a place for the staging of the self. On these floors, people watching is a common practice by looking down to the lower levels.

An important territorial production in the rebuilt and reinvented market is that of territorial appropriation. The market has a strong symbolic presence in the neighborhood but with the renovation has significantly changed in identity. With respect to the old market, the idea has been put forward that the current form of the market matches the neighborhood better (interview GM). This would imply that the market is more embedded in the neighborhood through an increase in territorial appropriations. In all, the claim is made that the matching identity of the market has transformed it into a place of social centrality in the neighborhood. Consequently, the territorial appropriations that the new market triggers are producing a territory of community center and public space. The formal territorial production is aimed at supporting this territory.

You don't have to push a door, you must not feel there is a line that separates public and private area. You must feel that the lobby of the building is an extension of the street. It's public. (interview GM)

There are no common spaces, no public facilities in this sense. There is just only one open space which is the Chueca square but it is only an open space there is no community, no programming, no local facilities. (interview GM)

At the same time, the recognition of the traditional market as a traditional social institution has been challenged by the adaptation of a new business model. In this reinvention, the fear was expressed that the place would bring about experiences and so territorial appropriations of the shopping center. In an attempt to counter this territorial appropriation the space is aimed at bringing a distinct experience of 'unity and wellbeing' (interview GM). Another attempt is made by the literal layering of territories by means of the floors representing the territory of supermarket, fresh market, brasseries and restaurant.

Despite its motivation to act as a community center in the neighborhood, the majority of the visitors are tourists or first time visitors (questionnaires July 1-7). Moreover, the visitors living in Madrid associate with the place as a single-use facility or some future visits. Other territorial associations operate on the separate floors. Consequently, users of the art gallery on the second floor or the restaurant on the third, will use the market floor only as an access point. A very distinct last territorial association is present in the wifi-corner on the second floor. This corner is separated from all other activities at the market and the majority of the users is not consuming from the place.

Configuration through Stabilization

The strong territorial layer of retailing is stabilized by the strong identity of the place. This identity is promoted by the actants of escalators, stalls and displays. In addition, networks of actants that organize the space by means of paths and routes are instructive of the territorial production. This is for

example through the arrangement of the stalls, the placement of the escalators and the lay-out of the staircases. With the strong territoriality of retailing it is difficult to speak of territorial change, rather the rhythm of the place is to read in terms of the intensity of the territories. Consequently, in the mornings the market floor is most frequented while in the afternoons the two other floors are more in demand.

The strong territoriality of the place implies a high degree of calculability, this can explain the minimum of territorial conflicts. On a neighborhood level, territorial conflicts are prevented through the architecture of the building and the use of materials.

We tried to make a building that is open, where from the outside you see everything, it is not hard for you to enter, you enter with your hands in your pocket, with dignity, with a big door, you enter with nobody to ask you where you go to and trying to reach that sensation that people who are not aware of architecture could think that it has been there for years. (interview GM)

Other territorial conflicts that are played down are between the territorial layers of market trade and the grocery store which are protected from each other through agreements on the offer. Also within the layer of market trade, the selection of stalls aims to exclude competition. Inside the market hall the territorial layers of the different floors are cooperating with each other as the products offered in the restaurant are those available at the market (interview GM). In a broader context territorial conflicts are prevented through the architecture of the building and the use of materials.

Discussion

The threefold analysis the two selected marketplaces has emphasized the complexity of the place in terms of conception, practice and actuality. Following its theoretical outlook, the attempt has been made to trace the first and second moments of space in a thirdspace through the concept of territoriality. This outlook has included the perspective on human and non-human actants. The goal of the analysis was to analyze the topologies in the space and to understand the impact of consumption on public life.

In both case studies the motivation was found to create a place of social centrality through the reference to the traditional civic institution of the marketplace. The claim to authenticity was expressed in both places. In both the imagining and the managing of the places, the role for the community was considered next to the functioning of retailing. Consequently, both places were inspired by creating a place that is welcoming and offers a feeling of wellbeing. This experience has not been directly related to economic performance. Instead, the belief was in the social function of retailing and the overall experience of the consumer.

Despite these shared inspirations and aspirations, the findings of territoriality in the places is significantly different. Above all, the territorial layer of retailing is found to be more pronounced in the case of the Mercado San Antón than the Torvehallerne. The main explanatory factor is the definition of the limits, identity and uses of the place. As a former public square, the Torvehallerne succeeds in blending in with the urban fabric and to foster experiences of publicness. Although the Mercado San Antón aims to be inclusive, it can only do so by drawing people inside its space. Once inside, the territorial layers are clearly defined and the ability of territorial tactics to produce new territories is limited. After all the space appears to be strictly organized in order to rationalize the movement through the space.

The predominance of strategically produced territorial layers in the Mercado San Antón creates a space of calculability. A territorial transformation will not easily originate from a territorial production other than one through strategies. In contrast, the Torvehallerne was found to be embedded in multiple territorial layers that are both in conflict and cooperation. Embedded in multiple networks, the space of the Torvehallerne is much more contingent than the Mercado San Antón. With a greater availability of tactics in the practice of space, the territorial appropriation includes territories of market

trade, people watching and place enjoyment. As a result, the formal territorial layer is not predominant and in need of more territorial stabilizers than the Mercado de San Antón.

Consequently, the second space motivation of the consumption spaces studied is the creation of public life. In this way, retailing is not viewed as the economic goal but a social mean. In the first space of operation, the practices and uses in the space indicate the appropriation of the place as public. The explanation for this appropriation is to be found in thirdspace. The reading of this space informs that territorial layers are more numerous and balanced in the Torvehallerne than in the Mercado San Antón. Accordingly, the predominance of strategically produced territories undermines other forms of territorial production and so the flexibility of the space. In turn, the calculability of the space challenges the experience of the place as public and democratic. Therefore, the contingency of the space can be seen as a valuable quality in the meaningful experience of everyday life in a space impacted by consumption. Then, topologies of

Conclusion

The central question in the present thesis has been the impact of consumption on the experience of public life. The illustration used to answer this question has been the post-modern and neoliberal market place. This typology has been of interest for its references to a traditional civic institution, a claim to authenticity and an experiential consumption. Existing literature on consumption and urban space has presented a material critique on the architecture of consumption space and a cultural critique on the consumer society. In answering the question presented, this thesis aimed for both a theoretical and empirical understanding of the impact of consumption on everyday life. Consequently, it has set up a theoretical and methodological framework and applied this on the Torvehallerne in Copenhagen and the Mercado San Antón in Madrid.

Inspired by actor-network theory, this thesis has elaborated and presented a science of spatiality through the concepts of the trialectic of space and territoriality. This science proposes a threefold reading of space that is capable of understanding the negotiations, actualizations and mediations of territorial productions. Of particular interest have been the forms of control that are involved in the territorial stabilizations and the role of materiality in exercising power. In turn, territorial stabilization has been understood in terms of the territorial power of actor networks, artifacts and naming. The impact of consumption on public life is then understood in terms of the accessibility and openness to territorial production and transformation. The trialectic of space has been integrated in the study of territorial layers that are practiced and apparent, invented and intended and, actual and becoming. Hence, spatiality is understood in terms of the territorial production and stabilization embedded in the materiality and sociality of the place.

The developed science of spatiality has been applied to the study of the public life in the Torvehallerne and the Mercado San Antón. By reading the surface appearances of spatial practices, the technocratic conception of space, and the space of users and their lived experience some preliminary conclusions on the topologies in these spaces have been drawn. First of all, it has been found that territorialization in the Mercado San Antón is predominated by strategic forms of territorial production, which can be explained through the use of actants in the organization of the space. In the Torvehallerne a set of territorial layers, produced at different times by different actants, has been identified. This space is more open to informal ways of territorial production which requires the strategic territory to be stabilized by actants such as guards and signs. Overall, the territorial strategy of both spaces is aimed at the production of territory of retailing and wellbeing. The second territory claims social centrality and contributes to the experience of the place as public.

Recommendations

The double project undertaken in this thesis has been the theoretical conceptualization of the complexity in a consumption space, and the application of this methodological approach on two case studies. Through its theoretical outlook this thesis hopes to make a contribution to the recent development of ANT in urban studies. Further research can be directed to a more advanced integration of ANT, and the concepts of the trialectic of space, thirdspace, heterotopia and the dispositif. What has been presented here should be seen as a first step in the direction of a semiotics of spatiality. Consequently, further research is also recommended in the application of the here developed semiotics of spatiality. Limited to the empirical study, this future research can be more holistic and detailed in the understanding of the complex relationship between consumption and public life. Finally, understanding consumption spaces in terms of topologies has relevance to the field of architecture and urban planning. In designing and planning consumption spaces with social centrality, the task should be to increase the complexity of territorial productions and to search for a balance between territorial layers in time and space.

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Annex

Impressions and Maps



Image 1: Southern-end Hall 2

Image 2: Seating Opportunities Square





Image 3: View on Stalls Hall 2

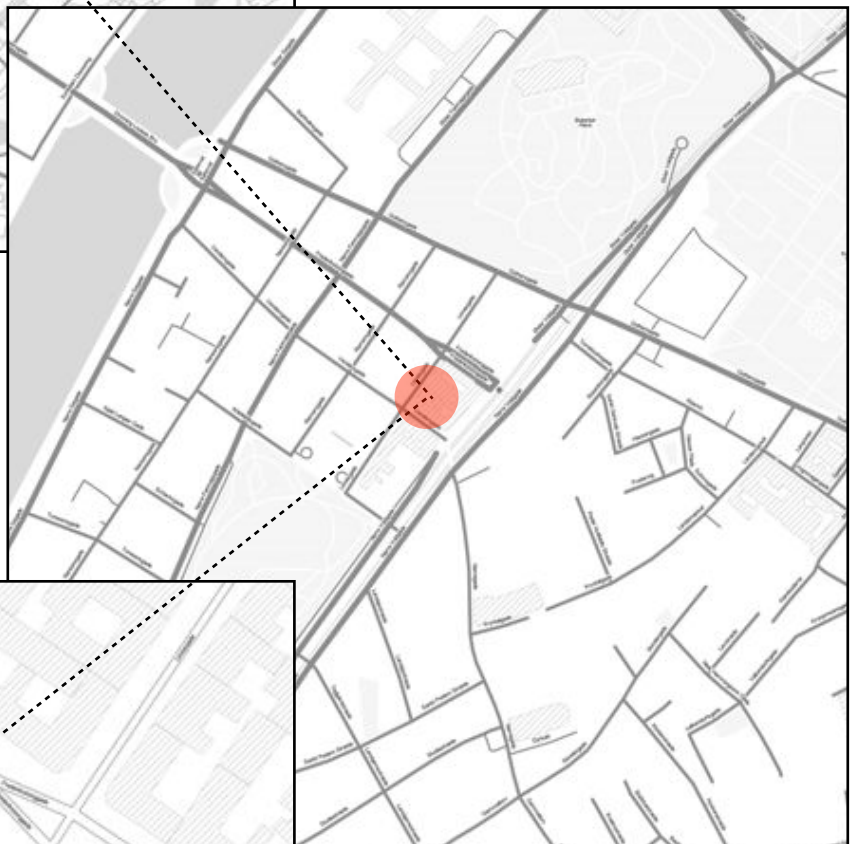
Image 4: Market Produce Stalls Hall 2



Map 1: Schematic Map City Level



Map 2: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level



Map 3: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level

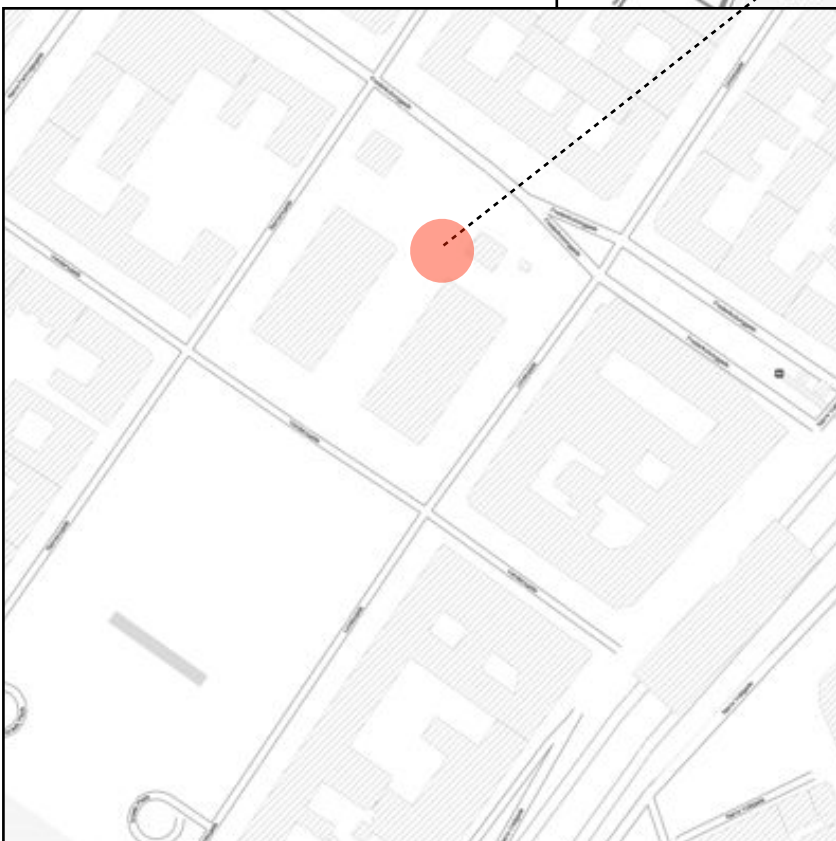




Image 5: View from Second Floor

Image 6: View from Market Floor





Image 7: Second Floor Seating

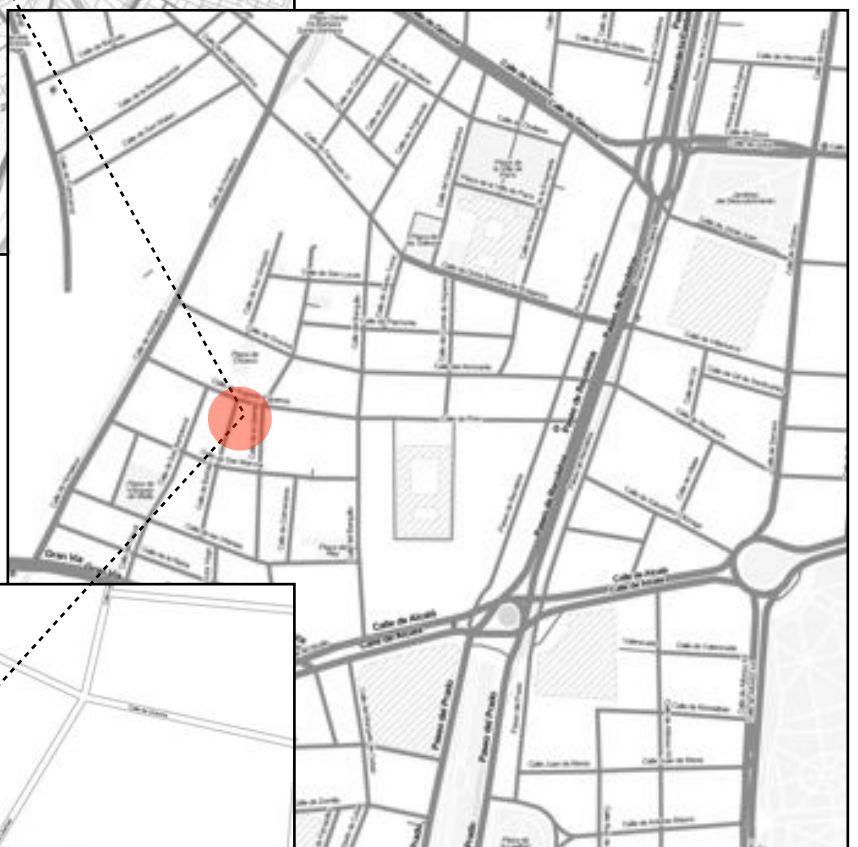
Image 8: View on Main Entrance



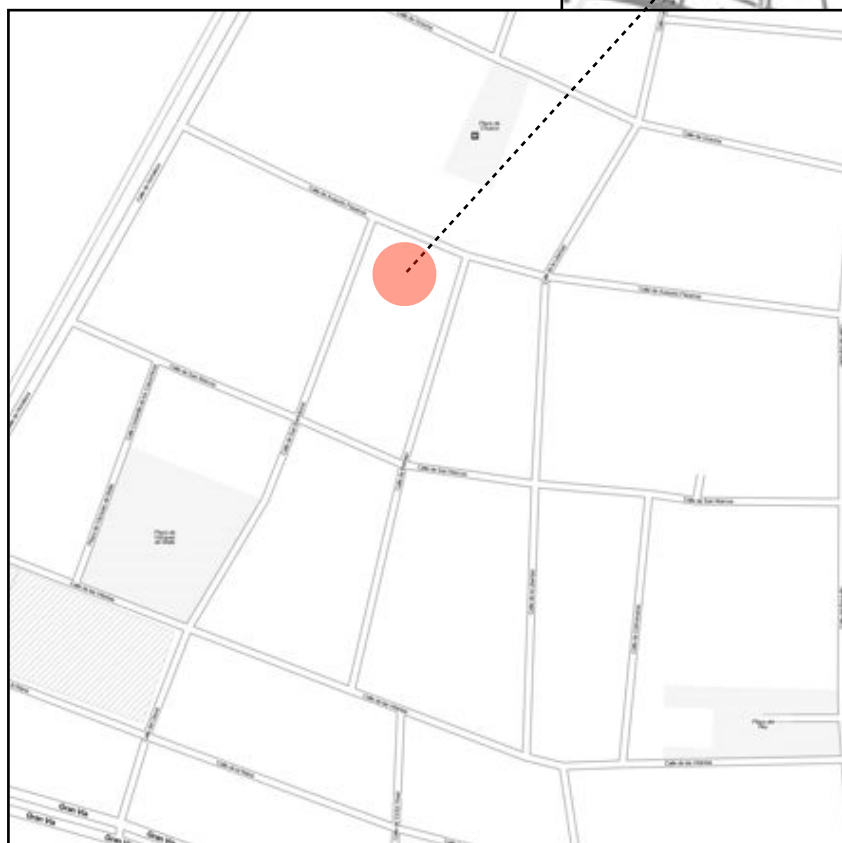


Map 4: Schematic Map City Level

Map 5: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level



Map 6: Schematic Map Neighborhood Level



Log of Observations

March 21; 12 to 5 pm; Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark	Weather: Sunny, 14 °C
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12.15 pm - lunch time, lines for lunch stands and people enjoying sun and coffee

1.30 pm - less crowded inside the halls, many people sitting outside, newspaper selling at entrance of hall 2, drug exchange at back of hall 1, many tourists, stands are not so crowded but regularly customers

4.15 pm - many people are out on the square enjoying the sun, seated with their back againsts halls 2, the sun covers half of the square, some people seem to be waiting for friends, square is a meeting place, people enjoying the bought coffee and snacks, mostly older people are doing 'groceries' at this time, all of the benches that were constructed in the morning have been taken, people cross the square to go through but do so holding the bike, only few people cycle to cross the square, a few poorer people have crossed the square and checked the bins, a guy who's playing his guitar receives only little attention, people use square as a terrace for their purchases, also people bring food and drinks from other places, empty beer cans laying and supermarket bags, two girls stop in the middle in the square and start talking, people walk mostly on the tile access between the halls, a man from Jeudan is walking around the square all-day, there are ad plates standing on the square for the businesses in the halls

5 pm - sun is behind the buildings so the square is fully covered in shadow, people coming from work and evening strollers cross the square, in 30 minutes about three poorer people have checked the bins

6 pm - interview with resident from neighborhood

His wife has had a store with picked wild herbs from countryside from September to October. As far as he remembered the rent was relatively high but they can be rented in different sizes. From what he knows there are requirements for renting a stand but once in, there are no further restrictions. In the beginning they review whether your products fit the market halls.

A difficulty for smaller stands are the opening hours, to comply with the regulations you are almost forced to employ people. Yet for that you also need sufficient revenues.

On the theming, the person says it is like you are going to a circus; if you buy duck you speak to your French vendor. Still, in the end what is important is what they sell rather than how they sell it.

His impression is that in the beginning it was just for tourist but now the market has also been discovered by the locals. They come mostly for the local and ecological products. With the nordic food movement there is a pride in Danish food. In this market you can find cheeses that you can only find in specialty stores. Also beer from local microbreweries is uniquely being sold here.

The butcher and fish store are for more regular groceries, then there is a fruit and vegetable stand but it is a bit pricey. Also, there is a nice spices stand but it's a question whether something like that can stay in business.

In the same place there used to be a market about 20 to 30 years ago. Then it became a parking lot and now there are the Torvehallerne. There is no real market culture in Copenhagen or Denmark, not like a market in Paris in winter. The winter is a difficult season for the market to start, in fact some of the outdoor stands have decided not to come in the cold months. Still it's nice to have something like a local market, you can talk to the vendor, they tell you what is new and you can taste. It's all a bit more personal than in the grocery store.

The architecture is nothing special but it is nice, it feels cozy. The drawings on the sides look a bit cheap. It all functions but it needs more places to sit down and some parts could be taken care off a bit better. For example the empty market stalls.

He believes that the market is yet to experience it's best time and that will be in spring and summer. Opening in september is a difficult time for such a thing.

Overall, the market is in need for some wear and tear. Now it's all too sleek still and only fits the more upscale. At the same time, people will have to get used to a market so a market culture needs to come. In that way it can become a place where people go and meet even if there's no sun.

The media works as advertisement with the opening of new stores in the papers and cooking shows in stands

The question is whether the market can really pull the people from the city center to this peripheral site. If it can it will be interesting how the site is going to develop itself, will it focus on tourists or is there room for more local products and daily purchases.

The person asked was meeting and waiting for his son to go for dinner and in mean time enjoyed a beer from a Danish microbrewery.

March 22; 10 to 3 pm; Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark	Weather: Sunny, 16 °C
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11.00 am - in the morning the sun is on the inner side of hall 1, about 15 people are sitting on and around the square, hall 2 has opened one gate creating a new important link between the two halls, relatively few people are crossing the square, most are just sitting in the sun and enjoying the place or shopping, vendors are still arranging their stand and deal with their administration, six soldiers have bought their early lunch at Palao, two police men are patrolling around and speak to the vendors

11.30 am - a French camera crew of two people has arrived and went into hall 2 for shooting, in hall 2 a group of old people is admiring the overall play of the stands and trying out some just bought snacks, in general it seems that hall 1 is more busy than hall 2 at this time, some vendors in hall 2 are still receiving their deliveries and, are arranging and managing their stalls, stand that built benches yesterday has bought Ikea blankets and lights for the terrace, quite a few people are peeking inside and checking out what's happening 'inside' the square, for information they also have a look at the information poster placed outside, two ladies just bought their lunch that consists of a kebab, freshly pressed fruit juice and a coffee from the Coffee Collective, apparently people shop at different stands and so put together a lunch

12.00 pm - interview with girl selling drinks

Although most of the selling is between 12 and 4, she is open from 10 to around 8. She's only there when the weather is good. The stand and space she rents from Jeudan. Still more of these stands are

possible as the red frames on the other side of the square indicate. It is the only stand like this selling drinks without offering anything else, there is neither a specific space to enjoy it. Some people take their drinks elsewhere but mostly they consume them right away on the square.

12.20 pm - interview man ice cream stand

He's very satisfied with the selling and working environment. With his ice cream store he opened on the 2nd of September, in the months up to now he has had some sales but he's still waiting for the real sales to take off. The weather of the last few days were indicative of the demand with good weather. As a retail environment, it's interesting to be close to other vendors, it brings diversity. For the vendor it was difficult to say but it seems that people both consume on the square as well as take away.

1.00 pm - interview with man from Jeudan

He describes himself as the guy for taking care of maintenance and the recycling, his job is to avoid the market of 'becoming an anarchy' by making sure that the vendors obey the regulations. These regulations concern that the space used is not more than the space rented, signs are not allowed to be bigger than 60x60 and some other rules. In the mornings and during the rest of the day, he is also the one who opens the gates of the hall. He describes the opening of the walls parts as making a dialogue between the two halls. Before he opens them he asks for the consent of the vendors and only if the sun and wind are comfortable.

An important rule on the market is related to recycling, it is a big topic at the market but more from legal and economic perspectives. The recycling of rest waste and ecological waste is behind hall 1. Underground, under hall 1, is the recycling of paper, plastic bags, metals and different plastics as well as vegetable oils. In the basement of hall 1 are also storage cabins and modules for cooling and freezing. The changing rooms for the personnel is also down here in the basement.

A goal is to make the area cozy but preferably not too cozy because that will attract maybe people during the night to come and 'trash' the place. During the day there is a Jeudan crew surveying and maintaining the area. Still there are no tough rules for who and what is allowed at the square. Even performances are permitted on the terrain as long as it is not amplified or distract too much in any other way. There are no security cameras installed in the halls and in case of theft, the Jeudan people will follow the regulations by catching the thief, bringing him into the office and handing him over to the police. For a place so much frequented the place is fairly quiet and without many issues. Data is collected using small detectors at the entrances of the halls and also by looking at the sales of the individual stands.

The vendors can decide themselves how they decorate the stands. The occupancy is good and stable, this will only come with time. currently there's even a waiting list for vendors to get a stand in the halls. generally, in a normal shopping center about 40% of the stores will have changed after a 4 years period. To rent a stand inside the hall the price is around 12.000DKK per month for the ones best located. To rent a whole block it comes to 48.000DKK per month. This rent includes electricity, recycling and cleaning. The recycling is done up to the degree of separating different kinds of plastics, this leads to a cost reduction relative to simply burning. The cleaning is done after closing time, it takes about 4 hours for two people to clean the whole place. The square in-between the halls is cleaned in the mornings.

Currently they are experimenting with different formations for the space between the halls. This is done with the red frames standing on the side of Frederiksbrogade. The idea is to create sight lines to the other side and also to create paths along the halls. The space of the square is to be filled up with stands and seating areas. In all, there is a problem of logistics (in the last week about 100.000 visitors)

in how to deal with the capacity of visitors walking through the halls and over the square. The issue calls for a new way of planning the lay-out of the site. Seating places are very much in demand but it seems that so many would like to sit down that it will not make the logistics easier.

The two different halls differ in products sold, hall 1 is 'heavy food' with strong smells and where you find fish and cheese whereas hall 2 is more 'light food' where you find cakes and chocolate. Also how the products fit together is taken into consideration.

There is lighting in the halls although this is not very visible because it is indirect. Heating is also present but has not been turned on yet (last winter), the warmth produced by the fridges provides already for sufficient warmth. The aim is to keep the temperature at about 15 degrees, the measured temperature in the top is about 17 and on the sides of the windows about 21 degrees. To avoid the halls getting too warm, sunscreens will be installed in the upper parts of the glass wall. It was said that this has been done in glass market halls in Spain so if it works there it will work in Copenhagen too.

In principle, once a stand is rented out there are no further requirements. Vendors can decorate their place as they want and sale figures are no basis for throwing people out. It can be that some help will be given to the vendor to optimize sales. Finally it is interesting that it was mentioned that it seems that the merchants are more making agreements rather than competing on prices.

2 pm - interview with resident from Amager

He used to visit the market as a small kid, back then the place was full of stands from one side to the other side. The stands were held by small vendors that were selling their own products and having a little business. That market disappeared by the mid-80s when the square turned into a parking lot. The few stands that remained were not really worth it.

In some way the Torvehallerne is trying to recreate what was lost back then. However, it is doing this in a manner that is too conservative, too controlled and too commercial. The prices are high and the feel of the place is not the same as the market back then. Of course, Copenhagen is a rich city but now with the crisis the 'little man' is coming back in the picture again. To give these people a chance you should allow them to make their own little business here on the market. Now, the regulations are too strict to let that happen.

It is reminding him of a project that was undertaken in the city center called "the Chef's Hall". Also here the supply was mostly gourmet products aimed at the more wealthy. It turned out that this one could not be successful.

3.30 pm - interview with Ass. Professor A. K. Munk

The person was here with his class for the DTU course "Strategy, Design and Market". He organized a class exercise on the market.

According to his information, the idea of the architect was to connect the market with the two parks also located on the former ramparts. Therefore, the architect proposes to use one of the passages in the building in between the market and the park.

What is very important for this market is the lifestyle element, you see it coming back in the products that are sold as well as in the decoration of the stands. It is a decision that has been made but that needs to be continuously made: What's the market going to be? Clearly now it's not a local market with small producers who bring in their stuff. The way it is now it is civilized and in that way not a traditional market.

The plans that are known to him are creating a more inward looking market. The idea is to create a regional market on the square where every region from Denmark is represented with its produce. Here the question is whether the arrangement will lead to free price formation or will continue to be the more gourmet Nordic food type of retail. In the latter type of market people arrive and mention the specialty they would like to have. This requires a lot of knowledge on the side of the consumer.

The DTU course is combining fields in social sciences such as economics, sociology and anthropology. The exercises are very much looking at store design and the market hall architecture. It doesn't look so much at how the place functions within the urban space.

March 23; 10 to 12 pm; Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark	Weather: Cloudy, 13 °C
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10 am - interview barista Coffee Collective

The store opens at 7 am, in the first hour it is very quiet but then there is a steady flow of people. The clients in the morning are mostly commuters heading for the Nørreport station.

For now the business is going quite well but it is difficult to say more with the renovation works at the Nørreport station. In addition, since September they are still waiting for the real summer to come.

First they did not have benches but soon they put some outside, they are of the Oktoberfest type. These are overcrowded when it is sunny out but since they only rent this space they cannot put more outside.

10.30 am - Israel Plads is crowded with playing kids, break from school, two trucks are parked at the back of the halls with deliveries, most of the shops opened at 10 am, already a few shoppers have arrived, out on the square there are a few people enjoying their coffee/ breakfast/ snacks

March 24; 10 to 12 pm; Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark	Weather: Cloudy, 13 °C
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HERE NOTES

March 25; 10 to 12 pm; Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark	Weather: Sunny, 14 °C
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11 am - three black woman are handing out flyers but were soon told that they had to do that elsewhere, at the same time shop assistants heading out chocolates to those on the square and the terraces are allowed, one of the wall parts of hall 2 is lifted and consequently the door is hardly used

12.30 pm - interview with two Portugese tourists

The market is different from the markets they know in Portugal. This one is way more organized and specialized. A market in Portugal is dirty and stinks. Though the feeling is very modern they still see the Torvehallerne as a market. Although the products are very specialized there are also the products that are typical of a traditional market.

The tourists admit that they ended up at the market by accident while finding their way to the Tivoli. They stopped because they thought it looked like a nice place and decided to have some lunch here.

While having their lunch they looked up where they were in their tourist guide. But this information was not yet included.

They find the structures nice since it seems to be very light and flexible. The movable wall parts are a good fit for the Nordic weather. In their own country market structures do not like this, for them what comes closest to their experience is the Mercado de San Miguel in Madrid, Spain.

1.00 pm - interview with lady from spices store

She says that of course it is not a market like in Barcelona but as soon as it will lose its newness a bit there might be a chance this will change. The markets in Barcelona are less organized. The Torvehallerne seems fancy now but with wear and tear might come a place of the people of Copenhagen.

The best days for business are the Friday afternoons and the Saturdays. Most of the customers are inhabitants from Copenhagen and the suburbs. For a starting company as theirs the Torvehallerne offers a good environment. Yet, with the opening hours independent stores will need staff.

Especially for the spices store it is good to have so many people moving through and passing by. After all, the spices are only sold in small amounts so you need many buyers. On sunny days, the number of people indoors is smaller and that is not good for business.

The owner is English and spoke to the manager of the Torvehallerne about inviting street artists to create more of a street feeling. Though, the manager is stubborn and very good at selling his own ideas.

The business is doing alright, of course there is some competition from the other stores and another spices store. Overall there is not so much a competition, it is mostly between the two fishmongers.

Running a business in the Torvehallerne is working in a pleasant atmosphere with a great diversity of customers and vendors.

1.30 pm - interview with lady from cheese shop

When asked whether is a covered shopping area or a market the lady answered that it is definitely a market. The market feeling is especially there on the busiest days, the Friday and Saturday. For working it is a nice environment, the people are friendly and the atmosphere between the vendors is good.

She is surrounded by two other cheese stores yet said that there is not so much competition. It is more that the stores are complementing each other. One sells all kinds of cheese, another one is specialized in French cheeses and the third one only sells Danish cheeses.

2.00 pm - interview man from local produce shop

He sells a range from juices, cheeses, dry products and sometimes fresh produce mostly from near Copenhagen. In his view, it would be nice to create more a local produce market. Yet, he thinks that restaurants are more interesting for the developer.

In fact he sees the Torvehallerne as the developer's prestige project receiving a lot of attention. Still, it is only after a year that you will be able to know what it is.

The place is very dynamic with many people passing by. His observation is that those selling more market products are dependent on people from Copenhagen. Tourists are more interested in restaurants, take-away and snacks.

He does not do any individual marketing but there is a collective fund for the PR of the whole market.

2.30 pm - interview with man from outdoors fruits stand

The fruit stand is part of a larger company.

According to the seller, his stand is on the location and the type that the market used to be. They, the company behind the fruit stand, applied for a stall indoors but there were already three different fruit and vegetable stands.

Compared to the stalls inside, here outdoors they sell a whole diversity of products that is not only biological. In fact, the products are cheaper too. The diversity of products attracts many Asians that come for the good selection of vegetables.

A disadvantage from being outdoors is carrying the products down into the the cooling rooms in the basement of hall 1. With time there will be more fruit and vegetable stands outdoors, the focus of these stalls will probably be more on ecological products.

2.30 pm - two guys from Jeudan working on the site, visible logos on heavy-duty clothing, carrying walkie talkie and other tools for their function.

Transcripts Interviews

Interviews for Torvehallerne, Copenhagen

Interview with: Bo Grønlund (BG)		Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
Contact: Bo.Gronlund@kadm.dk	Function: chief architect Arkitekturværkstedet	March 23; 1 pm; Samsøes Allé 30, Copenhagen, Denmark; 100 min.

MM - I would like to speak to you for my Master thesis on spaces of consumption and possibilities for public life. In my research I am comparing the Torvehallerne here in Copenhagen and the Mercado San Anton in Madrid. My first question would be your view on these themed consumption spaces and their relation to the urban.

BG - There are two things I would like to say. First, although we are quite far to the North we have had a living tradition of having open air markets at least once a week in Danish towns. In this place where the Torvehallerne is now, you used to have an open air market everyday in the weekdays. That is a tradition that goes a hundred years back or so. You already had a lot of stalls selling vegetables and flowers et cetera. So, there was a tradition for that. Yet we also have a climate in Scandinavia or the Northern countries that means that open air markets can be quite difficult in the winter. There has survived a tradition in Sweden and in Finland, where you have these kind of market halls. For example the Saluhallen in Östermalm. It is in a kind of upper class part in the inner city of Stockholm to the north east of the old town. They have a lot of different stalls with different types of food and then

there is also different kinds of restaurants and cafes. They have both indoors and outdoors stalls. In the downtown area they have an underground market hall. In the 1980s they build another one in the south of the city center. This is also a combination of an outdoor and indoor market. In Helsinki they have two markets, one is placed in the old harbor. This has been very much gentrified for tourism so there is very little of the original sales activity. It was actually focused on the people living there. There is another one, this is still working for the local population and it works very well. They are both called Saluhallen. In the United States there was a concept developed by real estate developers starting in the late 70s and early 80s called festival markets. You find them in Baltimore, Boston and many other places. Then there is another concept that is called farmer's market which you have in Seattle and New York for example. The one in Seattle is called Pike Market, it works well since it is close to the downtown area. Especially since the downtown is now being upgraded after shops moved out to the suburbs. The farmers market is located just next to a park and then there is a terrible highway that is up in the air. Still it is located in a very good position. So yes, the farmers market is not a new thing. What I can say about the Torvehallerne in Copenhagen is that it is actually build upon this tradition that has been there.

MM - Yet it is not the same market that used to be there a couple of decades ago.

BG - No no, it is a much more specialized and upscale market of course. That is also the case in Stockholm for example. The other thing I want to say is that I have worked a little bit with the concept called space syntax analysis. I have done one of Copenhagen. Here you see the Torvehallerne and the red lines are for high accessibility in the system. In the old days when the city was not that big you had relatively speaking a better accessibility to the inner parts of the old town. When walls came down from the 1860s to the 1890s, the city opened up and you can say that the accessibility moved out of the medieval part of the city. You can see here that the concentration of red lines is out of the inner city. The Torvehallerne is located at the right spot if today you would locate them in the best position in the city. Part of the reason is the bicycle accessibility and also the Nørreport station which is the one train and metro station that has most passengers per day. Build into this idea of space syntax, in the Western world there is a high correlation between high accessibility and the pre-modern city, where the roads and built structure is from before the 1920. We can say that modern systems are actually sick if you look at them from this perspective. Modern spatial and built up structures are not working very well because they are mono-functional, they are traffic separating, they are fractal in their structure instead of having a grid pattern and there is a lot of no man's land in between. There is a lot of things that modern cities are sick. In this kind of cities in the Western world there is a strong correlation between the accessibility of the street network and the distribution of pedestrians. YOU can explain up to 70 to 80 percent of the total amount of pedestrians is dependent on the network. There is a very high probability that the red lines are also the lines with a lot of pedestrians. From this on Bill (name) has developed these studies in Barton School of Architecture and has come up with the theory that says that you can explain the development of cities functions and densities from the basic pattern of streets in the city. Basically you have the street network not dictating but giving a higher probability of pedestrians on the red lines. When you have a lot of pedestrians it is more interesting to have trade there because you will have more customers. So the trade will establish itself along the red lines. Then if you have a market economy that is not too much stiffened by law or monopolies, in a market economy if you have developed trade along the red lines the price of land along this line will go up. When the price of land will go up and you do not have strong building regulations, in the long run the number of stories of the buildings will also go up. You will have a more efficient land use on the lines along which there is economic activity. You can explain from the street network to the pedestrian intensity the raising of land values, the increased build density along the red lines, you can start to explain the development of the city structure. Then you have along other lines some pockets in the system that are more useful for residential purposes and there you will not have such high land values

and you can keep the density lower along this line. You can say that from a spatial analysis you can develop a whole theory of the densification of cities, the distribution of functions within the city and some differentiation in the intensity of economic activity. All dependent on the level of accessibility. I think this is also important and is related to consumption in urban space. We are lucky that this Torvehallerne is in the right position.

MM - But is there not also the other direction in which the trade is actually determining the lines. For example the Fields' shopping center in Ørestad is an indoor space for public life that might have created lines of accessibility.

BG - I know what you are saying. Even in a pattern that is sick you can of course situation where many people will come. Field's is this kind of creating space. There is almost no activity outside as you mentioned. People are walking from the metro and getting in or they are parking underneath and coming up with the escalators. You will get very little of a kind of spin off from Field's to the rest of Ørestad. That is something which I have written on my website. I made a comment on Ørestad twelve years ago when they were discussing the local plan for the area. I made a comment to the town hall and said that this is not the right project and sell it off in several units. Also the parking space should be broken up so you have people walking between different places. Now you have a system where one company is in charge of running the shopping mall. It might have been much better to have four different shopping malls with four different organizations running them and competing with each other creating more complexity and diversity. My advise was to break it up and to change the parking. I got a very long answer and they said that my analysis was right in many ways but they are sorry that they had to stick to the original plan. There were several reasons for that, one reason was that the company that was going to build Field's did not want to have it in any other way. So it was either or. The other reason was that it was politically very difficult because we had a town planning law at the time that the neo-conservative government that we had for the last ten years. Only recently the new government liberated the planning law. Before that, you were not allowed to have any shop that was larger than 3000 square meters unless there was a special regional plan that accepted that. It was very complicated to build large shops in Denmark before 2001. They succeeded from the legal point of view, making Field's in Ørestad a part of Copenhagen city. It was a part of Copenhagen city not placed in Copenhagen city. There was a big department store called Dales department store, that was converted to a hotel and they took the number of square meters of that department store and said that that number of square meters still belonged to the city of Copenhagen and we put them out in Ørestad. That was the way they came around the legal limit of the size of the shops. The Field's from an economic point of view from the investors, a legal point of view and the planning system it was one big deal and you could not break up a little bit or the whole thing would go to pieces. There was also a lot of protest from 'green' organizations trying to preserve all natural lands. They were also protesting through the legal system and stop the development. There was a lot of struggle going on and it ended up in Field's even though it is not a good solution. And, they knew it.

MM - How do you see the Field's shopping center in comparison, if it is even possible to compare, to the Torvehallerne?

BG - Have you seen Jan Gehl's analysis of spaces of Copenhagen? It his latest book and it is has also been published in English. He did a study of many public squares and he used an evaluation system with 12 criteria and so analyzed different places. The categories might be helpful for your research too.

[searches in the library website]

The title of the book is "Public spaces

MM - What do you think personally, is the relation between retailing and public life? Jan Gehl talks about public activities but does not touch upon the economic dimension.

BG - No he is not talking about retail. You can say that part of Jan Gehl's critique of Danish public spaces in the 60s, 70s and 80s was about the commercialization of public space. It was about ugly advertising of shops in the streets, shops destroying the old historical buildings by making shop windows and all these things. There was a kind of anti-shopping tendency build into his public space studies, at least in the beginning. He has, as far as I know, never had any close cooperation with retail experts. The first ten years I worked here in Copenhagen, I am actually Swedish and I came here in 1967. The first ten years I worked with a consultancy firm called the Institute for Central Planning. We had a lot of retail experts so I am used to look at it from many sides. Of course the whole shopping part of it is very important it attracts an enormous amount of people. A place like Field's, I don't have the exact numbers but shopping malls in Denmark of that size generate something like 20.000 visitors a day. That's tremendous numbers. This of course is important but then most activities take place indoors. So with very little spill over to the areas surrounding it. That is also in part a result from the design, if the design does not make these connections than it will not happen. Here you have an analysis of many places in Copenhagen and at that time the Torvehallerne was not there so they have not used it. There is an example from Ørestad.

MM - Like you just mentioned, shopping centers are actually a bad design for spill overs. Do you think that the Torvehallerne is better designed for create that type of public life?

BG - They also of course focus on the interior spaces but a very important thing is the size of the thing. If it turns the back to the surroundings and it is very big than it is bad. If it is inward oriented but it is very small than it does not matter because there will be a lot of people going in and out because it is so small. So what's happening outside also becomes important and you will get an interplay between one Torvehallerne there and another one there. Size is important here. I also think that programming on these things is important. If you take the traditional large shopping mall like Field's or Fisketorvet you will find out that about 2/3 to 3/4 of the shops are the same. That is because they are chain stores or franchises. There is no reason to go to one instead of the other because they would be the same to a large extent. If you could build shopping malls where a larger proportion of individual shops that you have in one location and nowhere else then things start to change. On the other hand, you will need some of the big magnets like the chain stores to attract people. It is a question of finding the right balance.

MM - On your website you mention the concepts of urbanity and 'city-ness'. How does the Torvehallerne fit in these concepts?

BG - I have not studied them very well. Let's see at on my website. So I think with my concept of urbanity I look at two kinds of relations, humans to humans relation, but I think it is also important to have a relation between humans and artifacts. Because that is also human but just displaced in time. If you look at things that have been done by rather individual people and with some creative or artistic ambition. I look at both these relationships and I think that to me, as a result of many years of work, there are two aspects of urbanity. One is richness in information. There is many different things that you can experience, information richness is in the complex and the unique. If you are seeing the same chain stores in many places they are not so unique and not so interesting to have a look in their shopwindow because if you come to the next city they will have the same exhibition in the shopwindow. Even the posters they put on the advertising stands in the city or the H&M they use the same posters all over Europe with the same models. Anyhow, that is part of the information richness

and uniqueness of what you are seeing. The other thing is if it is new unexpected, unplanned and open to initiative. You can also whether it is change-able. Then I have these four fields with empirical things you can look for. Shops are not in my table but they are there in the background somewhere because they are generating people in public space.

MM - Yes all of what you mention is part of the reason why I have chosen to use ANT.

BG - You can say that when I have human-artifact relation I have some network theory here. I have read Bruno Latour a year ago and I still think it is theoretically interesting but it is very difficult to apply in practice. There is a lot of critique of what others are doing wrong but actually very little about what you should do in the analysis according to his theory. I still haven't found out a way of doing it.

MM - I believe it is maybe more an ideology for research.

BG - Jan Gehl and I we worked for fifteen years here teaching urban design. He did research into the city center so I thought I had to do research in the suburbs. He did not have any theory, he was a practical man with a lot of statistics. He does not have any theory, he wrote a lot of good things about it but it was not based on theories of others. I did theory and the suburbs because he did the city center and did not do the theory. We tried to complement each other there. I looked at four that were planned around the 1980s along kind of new urbanism ideologies. They were not called like that but they were based on Leon Krier and guys like that. I did this space syntax analysis of them so I mapped where the pedestrians were, I mapped where the shops were and their size, I mapped the number of architects so I did these kinds of studies. I had a route 70 kilometers long in each of these four areas and I walked them 45 times. Then I counted what people were doing and how many people I was meeting. The basic conclusion afterwards was that there was nobody there. It is so thin and I started finding out why it is so thin. I compared the Vesterbro, the working class area from around 1890 and Albertslund, 15 to 20 kilometers to the west of Copenhagen. I tried to understand why there were so few people out there. This is what we had a hundred years ago and this is what we have in the suburbs. At that time you maybe had 8 square meters per person in the dwelling but now you have at least 50. So it is about seven times less dense let's say. Then we had a built density of 2.0 floor area ratio and now it is 0.3. So it is seven times less built density. In total that makes about a factor of 50. In the area over there lived 50 times more people per square kilometer a hundred years ago as they do out here. This is a very big difference. Then you find out that in the old area you have 20 kilometers of street and in the new one you have 60 kilometers of street. So for less people per square kilometer you have three times as much street network. People are dispersed into many lines where they cannot see each other. Many of the lines are shorter than 100 meters which is the maximum sensual visual distance. If they get shorter, people disappear around the corner. That is one of the reasons why it looks empty all the time. You have a situation where you meet very few people. So I had to think about that urbanity is not just one thing but has different intensities and with different qualities. I said that you and I we are just two people and according to Zygmunt Bauman who is a post-modern sociologist that is a moral relation between two but as soon as you are three people it becomes a situation where you need ethics. You need to have some kind of rule of behavior. Three people is the smallest complex social group that you can have. If Jan Gehl is right that a 100 meters is the largest distance you can see something social, then if you have less than 3 people on 100 meters visual field it is not an urban experience anymore. It is an urban desert. If you go to the Danish Bureau for Statistics and you find out what is their definition of an urban area. According to them, you have to have at least two hundred people living at a maximum distance of two hundred meters from each other. Most of the urban areas according to this definition are not urban according to my definition. This is the experiential lowest level of urbanity. That is one level, the other level is of having the experience of being in a central place. Jan Gehl has never defined that letter, only one of the traditional urban design writers who has addressed

this is William H. Whyte. He is founder of the consultancy Project for Public Spaces, they actually programmed the farmers market in Seattle. He has written the book called the rediscovery of the center in 1988. There is one place in the book where he states that if you go to a small American town and go to their main street, they often do not work as an urban place if there are less than a 1000 persons per hour measured around lunch time. That is the only place where I have found something on that. Then, there are a lot of studies of pedestrian streets and Jan Gehl has studied them intensively. All of these fulfill Whyte's criteria, if not it is not useful to have a pedestrianized street. I found another argument and this has to do with the new and unexpected. This is when you are being continuously stimulated you need continuously new sensory impulses. The duration of an impulse in the brain is less than 4 seconds. You can relate this with the number of people that you pass when walking in an urban street. To keep the stimulus up you need sensory impulse than it should be no more than 4 seconds on average. It means that you need to be continuously stimulated by that what is happening around you. If you are under that, you will arrive somewhere else maybe some sort of contemplation mode. Here you're going with the flow. Then you also have the question of crowding which starts at about 2 square meters per person. That is another important level because under crowding your normal behavior is allowed to be a bit stranger. You are a bit more open to strangers and you are allowed to speak to someone you do not know. I think for architects it is very important to consider these criteria so they know where they are. Very few architects do this, there are a lot of architects telling the people that they will have a paradise on earth with crowded public spaces but afterwards it will not happen. We have to adapt so that the urban quality is realistic and as good as they can be under that circumstance. We cannot do magic.

MM - Is space syntax also part of this analysis of what is possible?

BG - Yes, for example for a recent competition I have used space syntax in developing a project. It allows you to see the places are well and poorly connected and this allows you to activate places. Unfortunately we did not win the first prize.

MM - And space syntax shows you the degree of accessibility?

BG - It is called integration values in space syntax. In this version of space syntax you draw straight lines where you can move and you draw them as far as you can see. If there is a building blocking the view, the line stops and you have to draw a new one. So they are movement lines that are also visibility lines. They are connected on the map by overlapping. It takes every line and investigates how you can get from one line to all the other lines in the system by choosing as long lines as possible. The task is to minimize the number of line changing. You do that for all lines to all lines. In the program you can also specify where to place a kiosk and specify the number of line changing.

MM - So according to this method the Torvehallerne is very well located.

BG - Yes. Space syntax allows you both to find the best connected places and to improve the network and activate certain areas.

MM - One final question maybe, I read a report from a retail investor where they mention that they want to make favorite meeting places out of shopping centers. Can that challenge also be approached with space syntax?

BG - If you want to look at that you can compare Field's to City 2. City 2 works as a meeting place, Field's does not work so well as a meeting place. That is a spatial issue. In the Field's you just walk around and you are being pulled up to the food court. If you go to City 2, you have three levels from

which you can always look at what's happening at the other levels. In the middle there is a big square where events take place. You can see what is going on in the main square from all levels. You actually have a social space that is something else than shopping. That works quite well. We did a study in the late 1990s and found out that people were coming from afar because they liked the shopping center as a social space.

MM - This idea of creating favorite meeting places out of consumption spaces, how do you view that?

BG - It is probably an attempt to generate more customers and have them stay longer. In a way, if they succeed they will work better. There is no alternative. In a place like Fisketorvet it would be very interesting to break it open. It is a bit too late to break Field's open.

MM - Then finally can you maybe say something about the future of the Torvehallerne? You mentioned the market halls in Sweden and Finland so there is some sort of market culture. What seems to miss in the Torvehallerne are the small producers. Is that just the Nordic way or is it possible.

BG - I think we shall have more of that in the future. I see a return to local food. In Italy you have the slow food movement. In Turin you have the organization 'Eatily', it assembles both restaurants and markets. I think it is something that will come. In the Torvehallerne they have focused on some more specialized products with higher profit. To make it work economically they have upscaled it to a more expensive level of consumption. Still I think you need the other one also and in the long run you need a mixture. The most dangerous of it is that if this upscale or focus on high income groups and offer high specialized goods, if that turns out to be a non-viable economic strategy then you have to find new shopkeepers. There is a big risk of the Torvehallerne becoming a tourist magnet. Tourists do not buy so much, in the long run it cannot survive from that. It is better to have a mixture of high-profit, refined products together with the local farmers. And finally, make it crowded. You should have no more than 4 meters between the stalls. It has to be crowded to attract people. That is also culturally. Lastly, it is also important how the Torvehallerne is located into the bicycle network. It is very easy to run errands by bike and not by car.

MM - Thank you very much for this interview.

BG - Now you can go out and do some research. Maybe take some photographs and make some movies. It is very important when you study public life. That is part of the problem of traditional architectural work, architects have been trained to do watercolors. They sit on the square and do a watercolor. Now they take the photographs, they are also stills. Frozen in time. What you actually get is that you get into the contemplation mode. You are not in the flow of things happening around you. As soon as you start using film you get a time dimension incorporated and you start to see how life is actually going on.

Interview with: Niels Lønborg Brandt (NLB)		Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
Contact: NLB@jeudan.dk	Function: Manager Torvehallerne	March 26; 4 pm; Frederiksborggade 21, Copenhagen, Denmark; 45 min.

MM - What is your role as the manager of the Torvehallerne?

NLB - The place is a very new kind of business in Denmark, we have never had these kind of market halls before even though they are very known in Sweden for example and in the rest of Europe. We don't have it. My job is to be the daily representative of the people who own the halls and rent out the stalls. It's like a market manager as you know them from the UK, Spain and from everywhere else. Mostly in the UK and Spain they are employed from the municipality because the market halls are mostly owned by the municipality. Mostly they are governmental people and not private employed people as I am. Jeudan, the company that I work for, has rented the square for 50 years and have costed the building of the halls. So the projected is costed by them and that is why they are for the next 50 years managing the place. I am like the managing director of the market. I have all the people underneath me in the organization which is needed for running this market. Then you can say that in this case we try to go a bit further. If you look into the European situation markets normally are very established organizations so everybody knows what a market is. In Denmark we have had the challenge of course to find the identity of a market. And, to get the right products in. That's why my responsibility is a little bit more food-wise that you would see it in Madrid where everybody knows what they are going for when they go to a market. So I am more like a retail person running a market than I am actually a building administrator.

MM - So does that also mean that you have an influence over the composition of what kind of products.

NLB - Exactly, what if one goes out, what do we need, who should we get in, how many butchers is right and how many fishmongers. do we need.

MM - Does that mean that you also look at the sales of the different stands? Do you have any control over these?

NLB - Yes, we get the sales from all the stalls and we also count the figures of the people going in and out the halls. And, we also get the amount of sales, not only the figures of the money but also the amount of sales going through the stalls. So, we have very good material to use to find out when somebody goes out is it the same who should come in or is it a new product.

MM - Does this also mean that you have some power over substituting businesses that are not doing well?

NLB - No, we can't do that. When they are in a business relation as they are with us, they can only be sent for the door if they don't keep to the rules. It is only if they don't pay their rent or if they do something they are not allowed to do towards the contract. But, you can say that if the business is not running well they will be out very fast. It is still the public deciding who is in here. If you don't buy at the stall they will disappear.

MM - Do you have say in the decoration and image of the the shop?

NLB - We have frames, indicating how far the people can go and how much they can do. Inside the frame they are allowed to do what they want.

MM - Are the figures of the sales indicating something about the future of the market?

NLB - The market is very young and that's why I can say that even though we have some figures now they are not very good for saying how is the market really moving. We can also see a very big difference compared to time of the season. We can see that now the sun is coming in there is a boom

in some part of the goods and not in the others which might be doing better in the winter. We can definitely see that we have of course also from the start we have a lot of success in the take-away products because it is a lot of a hang out place. We will have to have a year before we can say whether that is really going down or increasing. If it is maybe increasing over summer, going down again over the winter, it's too early to say. We can still say that the fresh products are a lot more asked than normal supply goods. Things that you could buy in a can or in a bottle, you can buy that everywhere. The fish, the meat and the vegetables, that is what people are going for because that is the fresh products.

MM - You mentioned it is much of a hang out place, was that one of the intentions when the market.

NLB - It has become a more important part than we actually thought. It has already now become an institution in the city and when it is an institution in the city, it is a place where you want to be seen and where you want to hang out. We have actually not provided the place with so many seating possibilities as we should. We are going to put some more in the summer. We can feel it is more of a hang out place than before. I must say that if we must see this over the next 50 years, that's a part which will go down. It is more the newness, and those type of people that come they move. It is always the same if something new opens up, they move around to all the new places in the city. When a new place is opening up they will move over there.

MM - Do you see this as a threat to your business?

NLB - No, I think that's one of the important parts by our stalls is that what we are talking a lot with them about is that they should be able to stand on two legs. That they should be able not only to live on people who are consuming here, they should all have products to sell for the home use as well. As long as they do that then they will survive here, also in a different situation. Of course when you go shopping here with the family on the weekend, you will always buy a sandwich or you will always buy a coffee. It will always be there. It will go down a little bit and be taken over by more common sale.

MM - You mentioned you did not put as many seating opportunities as you should, is that a choice?

NLB - It is more that everybody is overwhelmed by how many people use this place. Now there is so many and it's fantastic. We should give them some possibilities to sit down.

MM - Do you see it as a threat that they might just sit down and not shop?

NLB - No because we got the room now. It is definitely in the outdoor room as soon as we can rent out for outdoor stalls then the seats will disappear. Yet, as long as we haven't rented out everything why not give the people the possibility to sit down.

MM - When are the outdoor stalls opening exactly?

NLB - The first of them are opening here for Easter and most of it is around the first of May.

MM - They will be open six days a week like the stalls in the market halls?

NLB - No some of them are only Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Most of them are.

MM - I am not very familiar with the portfolio of the company but are there shopping centers in it?

NLB - This is totally new for Jeudan to do something like this. Jeudan is a building administration company and their main business is to buy and to run buildings, not to sell them. They mostly buy old buildings like the ones up on the other side of the road here. Then they rent out apartments, office buildings and then they service it. They got about 400 employees and about 350 of them are in the service business. So they are builders, cleaners, guards, electricians and so on.

MM - So retail is something new.

NLB - Yes.

MM - What made Jeudan take the step to enter this new business? Did you see it as a risk or where you convinced about the project?

NLB - It is more of taking responsibility in a town where they exist and the life of the town is so important for Jeudan. Jeudan is a company only investing in Copenhagen not anywhere else in Denmark, except from some small buildings but more because they came with buildings bought in Copenhagen. Their main business is in Copenhagen. That means that their main working partners is the municipality. So when the municipality had a problem that this place with the former builder went bankrupt, the municipality went to Jeudan and asked them. They actually went to them and said "you know we have a problem here but we think you are the only one in Copenhagen who can lift this" and we found an agreement. This is a totally different situation of business for Jeudan, it is not a core business and it is building and new building like Jeudan did here they have never done before. They have only been restoring old buildings. So it is new but is in a part of the Copenhagen where they own a lot of buildings. So of course, it has a big value for the people renting a place somewhere else around it. It is being a part of Copenhagen and taking a responsibility.

MM - Does that mean that you see the people living around here as your clients or other people as well?

NLB - Everybody I would say. Main people are definitely are the Copenhagen people, those living here or working here.

MM - There is a parking lot underneath Israel Plads right?

NLB - Yes, it is not ours though but the owners are happy that we opened up. Yet I don't know how big of an increase they have had in their rent.

MM - How do you think in the larger context of the city, is there any thought of how this place is in relation to the city center for example?

NLB - What you hear the people saying is that it has given them a feeling that the city is moving. That you talk about this as a part of the main city center where mostly people would have said that the city center is stopping at Nørreport. This kind of urban development definitely helps that the city moves bigger. I don't think you can make an urban bigger just from building more apartments you have to add some activities. I think it has made the city bigger.

MM - What is your view on Nørreport station, is it an interesting redevelopment for you?

NLB - I think from this point of view, it is definitely positive. It is the biggest destination of people in Denmark so when they are developing that it is positive. We haven't had any loss in visitors because

when you are living in the city you are so used to having building sites everywhere. Having a building site down there doesn't have anything to do with this. You could actually escape from the building site.

MM - Concerning programming, are you considering more programming than the market stalls in between the halls? In a way that it would become more of a public place with events and performers.

NLB - In the local plan from the municipality it has some goals and aims for this square and that is that this should be a market place. The more stalls we can get to fit in the marketplace that is our fulfilling our demands. We will definitely use the square as long as we got the room for activities and we have somebody asking for the square for using the square for gospel etc. We give it away for free for that as long as we got the room. Seen in the longer term, the demand from the municipality to us is that this should be a full power market square.

MM - How does it work with the outside stalls, are they also being rented out?

NLB - There is a big increase in it right now. Of course it is a situation which will take a lot longer to develop than the inside stalls. If you go to for example to this very long market in Amsterdam, it is two hundred stalls, it crosses different streets and they are so used to doing that kind of business that they are there for the whole year. For the Danish people it is very new to be on an outside market. When it gets cold and rainy they stop the business and come back when it is nice again. That's why I think it takes a long time before we get that continuity that they say "okay it is a good to be here the whole year, we can do business the whole year".

MM - What products are the stalls that are opening?

NLB - It is mostly fruit, vegetables and flowers.

MM - Are these owners companies or independent sellers.

NLB - It is a bit of a combination some of them are even local producers which come only for two or three months in the time that they got their products. Then, we got even some that are a new company like a joint venture between importers and people who have had vegetable shops earlier somewhere in Copenhagen. They join together to make a business. So, it is a lot of different constellations you could say. The market is open for that. You can rent for down to a week a time. So it is very open for small private businesses and also for bigger businesses. Our philosophy is that there should be room for everything because we like to have bio-dynamic products, we like to have ecological products but it is also important that we can provide the daily needs of the people. So the cheap products are very important as well.

MM - Can you tell something about the process of choosing upon the type of outdoor stalls?

When they write for us for getting in here, they have to write what do you want to do, what is it you want to sell, what are your aims. Then we can compare them and say okay they are a good part that we should get in here. They do something different from the others.

MM - Do you in this process also consider those inside the halls and the potential competition?

NLB - Actually we have done that from the beginning that's why there is only two vegetable stores inside. You'll say that from a market perspective that is not a lot, normally you would have 7 or 8. That

is because we knew we will have to put a lot of them outside. If we would have put more inside the competition would be on.

MM - How do you see competition?

NLB - At the moment there is not so high competition. They need some more definitely. We have from the beginning told them that from a market perspective they should expect competition. Nobody in here get the right for the whole sale of a product category. It is very important that it is the consumer who decides who should stay here. So maybe someone will have to close down because the other is better but that is the movement of the market.

MM - So you don't see 'discount' sellers as to be avoided because they will bring too strong competition.

NLB - No, definitely not. As long as he can pay his rent, he can pay his taxes and if he doesn't do that he will get thrown out naturally. If you can do that then he is doing fair business. If the guy is better to import apples than the guy next door then he should survive because it is good for you as a consumer.

MM - You have two/ three people walking around the market, what are their tasks?

NLB - They are mostly for garbage. The garbage situation is very important when it's a food market. There is the garbage from the consumers and the garbage from the stall holders. Those parts are crucial for if this market is working. That is their most important task. Most of it you can't see, most of it is running underground. Then, of course it is also as a service to the stall holders if they have a technical problem they are always nearby and they have a direct phone number they can call 24 hours a day. So, they are service people for the people that have rented a stall.

MM - Do they have a security function as well?

NLB - Only on called demand. If a stall holder feels insecure they can call them. Of course, if a person is not acting right then we move them away from the market. They don't have a security and guarding function as their main function.

MM - Do you have no security then?

NLB - We have security from 8 o'clock in the evening until 12. From 12 in the night to 5 in the morning the cleaning people are here. So it is only from 5 to 7 that we don't have any staff here but then the bakers are already here.

MM - Does that mean that you don't want to have people using the square at night and drinking beer?

NLB - If they are sitting on the square and don't destroy anything then peace with us. It should be a place where you feel well, it is a public square and we should not forget this has been a public square for generations. We cannot forget this function. If we start throwing people out then this place starts being an exclusive place. Nothing valuable will come from that.

MM - Yet, with the stores that are in the halls now it is a rather exclusive place?

NLB - It will always seem like it because you compare it with something you don't get in a lot of places in Copenhagen. Yet, if you look at the fish it is the cheapest fish in Copenhagen. I think if you get the

outside dimension of the real market atmosphere then it will lower in value. You can see that, it is the same everywhere in Europe. When you have the indoor market in Madrid, they will always be on a higher level than the outdoor markets and I think it is very natural. If you see a ham hanging in Madrid then you think it is part of the Spanish food and if you see it hanging here it is exclusive. I don't think we are exclusive but 99% of the public don't need the products in here. You can't say that as a figure because they get their needs and demands covered elsewhere, like the supermarkets Netto and Fakta. They will come here once every third month or something like that.

MM - When they come they are free to hang out on the square?

NLB - Exactly, maybe the next generation of the shopkeepers. We all move through that sequence of life that at one point we are students who don't have so much money. If we feel welcome in a place then we will come back when get older.

MM - Maybe the hall losing its glance might also be a factor no?

NLB - Yes, if it gets a bit more rough.

MM - What do you think about the exits facing the streets? The feeling now is really as if it is the backside.

NLB - The outside is not so much of an entrance. That is good looking at the state of it now, it is a building site. Both streets are getting polished up now and I hope that they will be nicer at some point. Everything that gets so many people through a day needs to have a backside. This is the best place to choose of.

MM - Then how do you view Israel Plads? How do you view the surroundings with the Botanical Garden and the Ørestedsparken?

NLB - It is out of our hands to make connections with these surroundings, that is a municipality thing. As long as there has been a project for this square there has also been a project for the other square. That is developing. The connection between these things will be natural. We should keep our focus on doing the things right that we are doing and also because we are not aiming for tourists. We are aiming very much for the people who want to buy something and go home. That is our main business. It is probably the same people who at some point will use it as a destination for going to the garden but it is not our main focus. It is the shopper. From that point of view the other things are less important. There is other people handling that.

MM - Can you say something about the little square here in front, are they part of some strategy?

No, they are part of a development when they closed down the street here in autumn. That was when we had the world championship of cycling. Actually, they will be moved away and we will create permanent seating areas here and there will be more bicycle parking. Up in the front that will become a seating areas. So we will press the bicycles out so we create more seating areas.

MM - And what is going to happen with this street?

NLB - No one really knows, there are some plans of turning it into a pedestrian street all the way up but there is nothing on it yet. Most of our customers are coming by bicycle or they are coming by train. For them it doesn't matter, it is just more practical with more parking places.

MM - So that is not a strategy but do you have another means of branding or identity building?

NLB - Most of the branding and identity was made from before we opened up. It had been given to a community of the stall holders, just like any shopping centers you have. All the stall holders have to be in and they pay for it. Then they have the facebook, the internet homepage and the PR and everything that is part of the identity.

MM - What is that identity and what do you think of it?

NLB - There is a very beautiful identity of the human touch of shopping. Which has not been needed to be sent to too many signals about. Definitely the identity of this place where the story has been told up to the opening and just before is very much the identity of a place where people and good food meet. One of them can't stand alone. You can't have only good products here, you also need to have the people behind the counter. That is the most important part about the identity. That does have nothing to say that it got to be Danish food, we are serving the public. It is actually only the combination of good food and people.

MM - Advertisement is also arranged by this community?

NLB - There is not a lot of advertisement. You don't see a lot of markets doing advertising, it is not in the market culture. Yet, there is a lot of PR. We have a television show like a cooking program. We give them the goods or products, we meaning the stall holders. That gives a lot of mentioning in the program and the filming has been done down here. That's all very valuable.

MM - And you can relate the market to this cooking show?

NLB - Yes definitely. In Denmark they are good cooks who are referees in the program, the chefs are well known and have a good angle. After all, the Nordic food culture is strong. 'Masterchef' is a brand that is very different in the countries where it is used. The first part last autumn was not running very well. They see here they have a very good identity on it.

MM - In developing that identity or brand are you also looking at other markets like those in Sweden or Finland?

NLB - When we were developing from the beginning yes. We visited the Saluhallen but Borough Market in London was probably the most important in finding the identity and understanding what is important for the atmosphere and the spirit of a market.

MM - How do you see that atmosphere? Is it something that can be created or emerges?

We do some schooling of new staff coming down here, we have a book for them. Where we school them in how they should act to be down here. Of course, it is in the hand of the stall holder. You can give them some instruments but it is them who has to use it. Every stall has to do it, to give the whole symphony.

MM - And what is that symphony?

NLB - It is the conversation between you and the people selling to you. That is when you have the market atmosphere, when you come into a market after your hard working day instead of a

supermarket. That is the people and the food again, that is what makes the difference. There is no distance to goods and no distance to people. If you go into a supermarket you got a distance to the products through a lot of plastic. And, you got a distance to the people because they only sit behind the counter. So, it is a big difference

MM - Why is your interest so strong in this all?

NLB - I have been in the food business my whole life nearly. I am a retail man, I have never been in rental business before. Jeudan does not have a direct interest in this all and that is why they wanted me because I have a knowledge and experience on how can you develop retail products and what do people act on when it is food. That makes this different than any other shopping center. Borough Market in London was the best reference. It got a fantastic atmosphere.

MM - It is a bit of a theming, which is also done by the stores themselves.

NLB - Yes that's in their hands, to choose the themes and to choose the season.

MM - Are you happy with how everything is running or are you still waiting?

NLB - Definitely. I would say that the outside market is just something that we have to build on now to make it perfect. It is coming, it is developing. And I mean, for Christ sake, it has been going on for half a year and we have had more than half a million visitors per month. So we have more people running through this place than Tivoli. I mean there can be no doubt about it being a success. Yet of course, to fulfill my goals of that is really a food destination then it still has to have the outdoor market on top of it. It is coming, Jesus Christ, there is so much interest.

MM - Yes I have heard there is a waiting list. How is it actually with the turnover rate of the shops?

NLB - We have only had one stall closing down. Then in the beginning we have had some short rentals. We only rented it out for four months until we rented it out to somebody else. They have been planned. We only have had one who closed down.

MM - What are you expecting for the future?

NLB - It is hard to say. Now I am very positive about it. Actually, before opening up we told everybody that if you look at the English markets in the first 5 to 6 years they have 50% of changing. Coming from the retail business, I would say if you open up a new supermarket then you change 30% of the things on the shelves in the first three years. So, it would not be unusual to change 30% in here. Looking at it now I don't think it is going to happen. Most of them are doing well.

MM - Can you say something about the "Info Stand"?

NLB - It was an info stand in the beginning. What it is, it is contracted to be an ATM. They have taken a long time. Also there you find flyers that are created by the stall holders community. Every week they got a new recipe and every month a new theme. In March it was chocolate, in February it was fish eggs so there is always a new theme for every month and a new recipe every week. That is on the flyers. Earlier we had an info stall and people writing us a lot of comments on the walls. We have taken photos of that every week but it was mostly in the beginning a info stall but now it is more a left over. It is waiting for the ATM.

MM - Are there any other things that you had to change or adapt?

NLB - Yes a lot, a lot of small things and practical things. With the outside square there has definitely been a change. The way they were put in the beginning was like blocks between the buildings. Yet it gave that people did not move in between the areas, they just went in and went out. It didn't work very well and the stall holders outside were not so happy about it. So what we made now here for spring is that people can walk all the way through the middle of the square and all the way down here. So the stall holders are selling into middle and out to the side. That have changed. What else, there is not a lot to change. It is all in a local plan and the architect can tell you a lot about that because he made the plan in 1997. And this got written into the local plan in 2002. Those things allow only for a minimum of changes, if we want to change something it will take a long time to change. Concerning the halls, the architect can probably tell you a lot more about it.

MM - I will speak to the architect the day after tomorrow so I will ask him about it. Thank you very much for this interview.

NLB - If there is any thing else send me an email, I will send you the statistics. I can now give you some documentation that we have on the market.

Interview with: Julie Holck (JH)		Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
Contact: holckjulie@gmail.com	Function: consultant 'Beyond Shopping'	March 27; 2 pm; Israel Plads Torvehallerne, Copenhagen, Denmark; 110 min.

MM - You have written your PhD on the Shops and the Living City, I read that it was an industrial PhD, what does this mean?

JH - I wrote the thesis at the University of Copenhagen but also in cooperation with the Danish Chamber of Commerce.

MM - The dissertation is in Danish so I could only read the abstract, what I understood is that you looked at different forms of retailing. In doing this you use the concept of relational complexity, could you elaborate on this?

JH - The main question was how do shops contribute to the creation of living cities. In doing so I first had to define what is a living city. Here I came up with this new notion of relational complexity which became kind of a definition of the living city. It underlines the urban essence of the living city that is multi-functional, multi-sensuous and is also multi-relational. That is in short what defines relational complexity.

MM - Did you apply this concept to the different types of shopping environments?

JH - Yes. After the definition I looked at four different typologies of shopping environments. That was the market, the shopping street, the department store and the shopping mall. Then I tried to see how these different typologies contribute to a vibrant urban environment.

MM - These were international case studies?

JH - Yes. I had one case of each typology in Copenhagen. I had this market, then the Værnedamsvej and also Jægerborggade, which kind of reinvented itself over the last ten years. Then as the department store I had Magasin du Nord and the Field's shopping center. Then I had international examples on top of that.

MM - With the shopping center for example, do you look at it from the outside or also from the inside?

JH - Both, I looked at what it gives to the surroundings and how does it work indoors. I tried to look at it from an experiential perspective, how do you experience it? How does it cater to your senses? How much social interaction does it create?

MM - Did you manage to answer some of these questions?

JH - Yeah, I tried to answer them at least. My conclusion was that the market is maybe the biggest contributor to urban life, especially those that you set up in the morning and put down in the evening. It transforms the urban squares and the city, it gives all the variations and flexibility. It brings stimulation to the different senses and the creates social interactions. I gave it maximum points on all the different categories. The shopping center, like Field's, it is the classic mistake. They are making a big box and turn everything inwards, turning its back to the city and the surroundings. It sucks in everybody and does not care about the rest.

MM - A great deal of literature has been developed on the critique of shopping as essentially an activity in the economy and expressing the belonging to a consumer society. Is consumption more economic life than public life?

JH - I would not think so. I think it is an essential part of urban life, the contact between the vendor and the customer. Or, it can be at least. It has the potential of giving so much to the street. It can make us talk to each other, both customers and vendors but also between customers. Like here, going around listening to the others, talking about the goods and maybe you have a comment or a recommendation. I think it has a big potential of creating social contact. We find examples of that in a lot of literature. My favorite example is that of Jane Jacobs, where she has the example of a kiosk owner and just during the morning she writes down all the things he does. He sells but he also takes a key he has to pass on, he has like many community function. That kind of social interaction is very important and very giving to the whole community.

MM - Such a place as the Torvehallerne, do you think it is capable of fulfilling the same functions? I mean in its current form.

JH - As it is now I do not think so, at least not very much. It is because it is not a local place and it is still a destination. It is an experience destination, it is not an everyday market where ordinary people come to get their dinner. It is more that you go here because it smells good, you can taste something and you can meet your friends for coffee and you pass by the shops. Of course they do have customers. They have I think, 60.000 visitors a week and I do not know how many of them are actually customers.

MM - That is also a question I am interested in, is it the products or more the place that is being consumed? Even if it is place, it has a public function.

JH - Yes it is, it has become a meeting place. People come here, maybe they do not shop a lot but they go to cafes at least and sit and watch the people and products. It is more like an exhibition, the shops.

MM - What do you see as the consequences of the Jeudan ownership and management?

JH - It is not a public place, it is a semi-public place. It is clean, safe and you have guards walking around homeless people. You experience it as a public place but really it is not. Nobody really notices it. That is problematic.

MM - In your research did you also deal with the public-private debate?

JH - A little bit but not very much. I am into that discussion. In any case it is much much better than before. I do not know if they would tolerate a demonstration but probably not. Also, I do not think that those vendors from Unicef or WWF they are allowed here. I am happy they are so annoying.

MM - What do you think of the theming of the place? Like Zukin talks about the fake authenticity, did you deal with that as well?

JH - No authenticity not. I just began reading her book *The Naked City*.

MM - How do you see the Torvehallerne in the context of the larger city? You mentioned it is much more a destination.

JH - No it is not a place where the locals go to to get their vegetables and meat for tonight. It is a place where you go if you have special guests for dinner, if you want to buy a present. I think that is how it is, maybe it will change when summer comes and the outside vendors will arrive. If they arrive.

MM - I think they will on May 1. That might bring some competition for the fruits and vegetables.

JH - Yes, because now I think they only have one or so inside and one outside. That will hopefully give another atmosphere, another program.

MM - Could you say a bit more about your conclusion that the market is the best for urban life? What qualities did you look at?

JH - I think what I really wanted to get out of it was how much do these places get you to feel alive, that is also a living city. A living city is a vibrant city filled with people and activities but also, it has to be living on an existential level as well. It has to make you feel alive, it makes you curious, it makes you wonder. It has to wake you up. Then it also has to be living on a sustainability level. Those three levels I discussed and I focused on the first two. I tried to look at the social interaction and the senses, it is so important to the way you experience a place. I tried to look at that, the level of variation, flexibility and transformative power.

MM - You mentioned that this was one of your case studies but I guess that was before the Torvehallerne.

JH - Yes that was before. I read the description of how they wanted it to be, the ideals and I was a bit afraid of it becoming a bit too designed. They talked about these flat screens for marketing. I was afraid of a place to be too designed and not animated. I want a place to be animated, that is when it starts to be alive. The people and the products should really be the fundamentals not the whole design. It is the spectacular, everybody wants them to be spectacular but you go there and you go away. It does not affect you and the visit does not stay long with you. There has to be the human touch to it. I tried to define place making as incorporating humanity into space.

MM - Do you think they managed to incorporate humanity here at the Torvehallerne? It also relates to the question is this a shopping center or a market place?

JH - It is very difficult to say. I think we have to wait two or three years until it has found its form. Right now it is more the spectacle of it.

MM - Did you have any cases in your study that are similar to the Torvehallerne?

JH - No, I kind of compared it to a market in Italy. There is a market in the Northern town of Chiavari. It is a very nice city and has this market six days a week with vegetables, fruits and meat.

MM - That is without permanent structures?

JH - Yes. I came there first at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It was clean and sunny, a beautiful public square. The next morning I came there it was filled with customers and screaming vendors. It was really another place. That was very fascinating. This town only has 30.000 inhabitants. It has 300 individual stores and on Friday a really big market. It is always filled with people. Then they have all these different markets coming to the city. It does the city so much good. You get the variation and the surprises.

MM - Of course, here they have created a place. How would you advice a city if they were thinking of building retail?

JH - That is a good question. I am working with that now, how should I advice cities? I am working on a concept now called micro-planning. We need that as a supplement to master planning, where we really go down on a street level. Then ask, what is possible here? how can we make this local and global connect, meet and balance it. That is really lacking in the way cities develop their retail. It is always the secure package, you take the chain stores and you know what the result is. That creates so boring and homogenous cities. That happens all over, even though cities want to be unique and attractive they to as any other city. How can we give a package to the mayor that is just as simple for him to accept as the big chain stores. That would be extremely useful.

MM - Do you also think you have to educate the people in the city for that?

JH - I think so yes. The big question is how do you do that. Is it actually possible? I read something about collaborative consumption, it defines a new kind of consumption. Here people do not buy as many new products but they buy used products and they share, exchange and give away. It is a new economic system. The whole environmental and economic situation makes it possible. It is through the social media that you do this. They are sort of re-inventing old forms of trading via the new technologies. The people who do this, do not do it because it is sustainable. They do it because it is fun, cheaper and easier. Can we change the way we consume by doing it more economic, environmental and enjoyable. Not by educating but by just showing it to them, that would be much easier. It is so difficult to re-educate people. This is probably more realistic. I think it is interesting that the most innovative retail structures in Copenhagen they come from below, from people. Not from the municipality, big corporations like Jeudan. Jægersborggade for example, has developed itself and has lead to a reinvention. It was the local residents who did it. What they did is they started renting out the ground floors of the buildings and rented them to designers, cafes, restaurants and organic bakeries etc. The whole street changed. That is an interesting example of a bottom-up planning process.

MM - Are they also more inclusive?

JH - That is the problem maybe, it caters the creative class people. It is maybe gentrification. How to really avoid that when doing something. It is too bad if it comes too much. For example, Værnedamsvej is an old butcher streets with 45 different shops. The number of butchers has decreased in the last decades and six months ago the last butcher closed and the designer shop moved in. That is really a shame. Everything becomes so designer-like. The essence is going away.

MM - Do you think, with these discussions of gentrification and 'neoliberalization', consumption is more important than it used to be in creating public life?

JH - I think we are just more conscious about it. Before there were so many individual shops, in all the streets. You had everything in one street. It did create a lot of life. Yet people did not talk about. Then the shops went away as the supermarkets came, that was when the whole discussion started. People started saying: Oh, there is no life here. We are much more conscious about it today.

MM - But how do you see leisure in this whole discussion? For example, Jan Gehl he talks about public life but not public activity, maybe cafes but no shops.

JH - You know, architects they talk about buildings and architecture maybe cafes. Retail, they do not want to touch that. it is too earth-like, too economic. There has never been this great interaction between architects and retailers.

MM - How do you see the combination of consumption of leisure? This place for example is not where you come to buy necessities but you enjoy yourself.

JH - It is very much intertwined. Also if you go to Netto, they have these 'spot goods' or the goods that are on sale in that week. Everyone has to go there then and see what they have on sale and if it is any good. Even if in a discount store there is an aspect of experience or leisure in it. Of course it is balanced in different ways in different retail environments but it is always there. Even on the internet. We are not buying to survive, at least most of all, we buy to experience and to underline who we are.

MM - Do you see internet stores as a threat to physical stores?

JH - People still need to sense the goods, have a reason to go out.

MM - And maybe also the service and social aspect of shopping in a physical store might contribute.

JH - I think the stores have to really make an effort to attract and to give better service. To give you knowledge and personal assistance. For us as customers it is maybe a good thing that the internet is coming in as a competitor.

MM - With your discussion of experience through the senses, have you also considered the everyday life aspect in this experience?

JH - You mean the shops as a destination point in your everyday life?

MM - Yes. Do you think that is important to consider? How do shops interfere in the everyday life? Also, in order to be successful do they have to be part of everyday life?

JH - Yes I think so. Otherwise they stay destinations and will not be close to you. That is what this Italian city gives you. I experienced this in Barcelona where a shop with shutters would be an interesting place in the evening, from a wine seller to a tapas bar. That also had the ability to surprise. It all changes over the whole day. Some open in the mornings, other only open in the night and that gives it diversity.

MM - In the Harvard Design Guide to Shopping they mention that shopping is one of the last public activities.

JH - Yes that is what kicked me off in the beginning. I think that is interesting. But it is so absurd in the US, it is not the same in Europe. Not at all.

MM - Do you think, in order to not become like the US, we should be a bit cautious with inviting shopping into the city center?

JH - Yes we should be critical to what kind of shops, the municipality should have a more active role in choosing the shops. I talked to planner from the town hall, he told me that beyond zoning it is just the market that decides the kinds of shops. I think they should be more responsible and conscious about what they are doing.

MM - Much related to the discussion on urban regeneration through retail is gentrification, is that also something we should be careful about?

JH - The whole thought of a place where everybody goes, maybe it is not possible.

MM - And maybe not necessary for public life?

JH - No. I am trying to think of an example where it really happens.

MM - If you would have been asked by the municipality and you have an insight into the first plans. Would you give it a green light or express some doubts?

JH - I would have said I have some doubts. I think it is a bit of a shame that they spent so much money not on architecture. Due to that the rents are high, the products are expensive and it caters to a certain group of people. That is the problem. The big thing with market is that you can just set up a stand and the market is there. It keeps the costs so low, so that everybody can join. Have you heard of the Food Cooperative of Copenhagen, it is a members club of shops. That is also an interesting type of retail, where you push out the middle man and keep the prices low.

MM - If you have these doubts, how would you have imagined a market in Copenhagen? Is it not the Danish way of doing a market?

JH - Yeah, it is Danish design and architecture. You can see it!

MM - What alternatives of a Danish market could there be then?

JH - Good question. We have not had a market for 60 years so the habits and the culture of shopping at a market is dead. We have to re-educate. Temperature is not an excuse, they have markets in Finland, Sweden and Ireland. Something has happened to the Danish society. Maybe we were just too tempted

by the comfort of the supermarket. I find it hard to answer why it is so. I think Copenhagen was together with Oslo the only capital in the world that did not have a food market for years.

MM - Do you know anything of the Chef's Halls that were in the city center of Copenhagen?

JH - Yes it was in 1984 or 1985, it was financed by a rich man in town who sells furs. He set up this Kokkenes Torvehal. The prices were extremely high and the people selling the products did not own the shops, it was centrally owned. They had no incentives to sell. In 1986 we had an economic restructuring so it was very bad timing. The timing, the arrogance of the sellers and the non-ownership are all part of the answer to why it did not succeed. It is difficult to make comparisons. I believe it is very important that the people selling are also the owners. Here also not all people selling are the owner. If so, it gives a whole other motivation and contact with the customer.

MM - If you had to compare, is it more similar to the market in Italy or the Field's shopping center?

JH - It is in the middle. Do you know Borough Market in London? That has become a famous tourist destination, you can hardly walk there. It has gone over the top. It is killing itself because it is too popular. There is no space for ordinary customers, they cannot get through. I was very fascinated when I saw it for the first time. I am just having a look how many people are here. This place is really drawing crowds. You do not have to eat or drink from the stalls, you can sit where you want.

MM - The manager was saying that it is now more the newness that attracts the crowds. When that changes it might become more of a local market.

JH - It will definitely change. The atmosphere and attitude. Some day it will find a stable identity.

MM - Why do you think this place is so attractive now?

JH - People! People come where people are. Also the great selection. I adore going around and watch. It is one of the only places in Copenhagen where you can actually smell and see things that you do not see anywhere else. I have re-educate myself, I have to learn how to shop elsewhere than in the super market.

MM - I heard there were some plans to represent every region from Denmark with a stall.

JH - Is that happening? It might actually, you have Vejle, Bornholm, Funen and the northern part of Jutland. That is more of a dream, it is a goal. I do not think it is really important to the people from Copenhagen.

MM - Do you think the people are very pro locally produced food?

JH - I know that the supermarkets are actually promoting local and regional food. They are very much into these products, even the discount stores. Among a certain class it is very fancy.

MM - Do you think the regions of Denmark play a big role in this?

JH - I think it is more the place than the region. Being able to tell the story is very important. Both the story of buying and of the product itself. It does not feel like this place is gentrified, it is because the Danish society is so gentrified. It feels like it is all middle-class. You do not notice.

MM - Do you know something about how this place is being discussed in the media?

JH - In September there was a lot of talk about the Torvehallerne in the media. It was very varied. Some said it was a high end place while others like the BT called it a place for the people. All in all, it was pretty well welcomed. Always there is debate. It has been a very long process. In fact in the middle of it, in 2008, there was another developer: the CenterPlan. They went bankrupt in the middle of it and that is where I was concerned. There I was afraid that it was not going to be something that they wanted. They would put Irma and Emmerys bageri and that was all. So in some way it was very relieving to see Jeudan entering the project. Actually it is interesting that a conservative company like Jeudan goes into this. Still they own a lot of buildings around here and I think the place is much more attractive so prices must have gone up now.

MM - So if it was not for Jeudan then there would be a supermarket in the market hall?

JH - Yes. This is much more what they wanted, I mean the Torvelaug with Hans Peter Hagens. In 1998 he put an article in the newspaper describing his dream of a market in Copenhagen. That was really focused on the regional, high-quality, diversity and senses. When I read it, I called him to tell that I wanted to be part of it.

MM - You mentioned that you were planning on continuing working in this field of study?

JH - Yes I would like to do a post-doc answering the question of how can we secure a sustainable urban integration of future consumption patterns? That is my problem statement. I want to map the contemporary and future consumption patterns and try to see how we can secure an urban integration that is sustainable. So basically, how can we keep shops in the city and create a living city. The power we have in the way we consume is so fascinating. You have the plans for tomorrow depending on what you buy, where you buy it. You create the culture and the landscape of the city. Retailing so affects, it is in the middle of the world.

MM - Why do you think there has been a market earlier in Copenhagen?

JH - The regulations are very restrictive. You need to do a lot of paper work and apply for licenses to actually start a business. There is only one farmer's market in summer with maybe 4 or 5 stalls. It is very gentrifying, it is ecological products with high margins because they have to buy the license. This all keeps people from not opening a business. We need to change that.

MM - Hopefully this place can be the change maker.

JH - Yes but you need to deregulate the rules. You have to change them and make them invite people rather than the opposite. Maybe Jeudan can make the difference but they are national rules.

MM - Thank you very much for your time.

JH - It would be nice to see your work.

Interview with: Hans Peter Hagens (HPH)	Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
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Contact: hph@arkitekturvaerkstedet.dk	Function: chief architect Arkitekturværkstedet	March 28; 10 am; Strandgade 30, Copenhagen, Denmark; 100 min.
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MM - Could you tell something about the history of the project and the debate of a covered market for the city of Copenhagen?

HPH : We invented the project ourselves, we made something like Københavns Torvelaug and it is a small organization where people could support the idea of this market. We were five people in the early beginning in 1997 and all of us had this feeling that it was kind of embarrassing that Copenhagen didn't have a covered market. In the beginning the municipality was a bit concerned because they didn't have the possibility to pay for a covered market. In France, Sweden and Finland it is normal that it is the municipality that is the client and they are also running the marketplaces. In Copenhagen they said from the early beginning we don't have the possibility to run a market but we will support the idea of having a market. It has to be paid of a private money. That was the situation.

MM - The market that used to be there, from when to when was it?

HPH : The former market was only an outdoor market and it was running between 1889 and 1958.

MM - Was this one on Israel Plads?

HPH : Yeah it was the whole plaza. At that time it was not called Israel Plads but known as 'the Witch Tables' market. Even today if you ask people around the neighborhood they still call it the witch table plaza. So there are some proud traditions. In the beginning we started to spend a lot of time finding old historical photographs to show the municipality that there are some interesting traditions. So we can kind of continue them.

All the cobble stones are from the historical plaza, the municipality allowed us to reuse them. In each corner of the market halls we have placed one of these stones. You can see there are also some numbers. Here you have the stock exchange today but before all the ships were coming in here and they were selling goods. It was a kind of market. Here you have the famous fish market near Gammel Strand. It was all fishermen coming and their wives were selling their fish. This was near Nikolai Kirke, it is in the center. Between 1858 and 1913 there was a meat market there. This photo is also from Israel Plads and there were small private families cultivating carrots, a lot of different stuff and selling it in a very simple manner.

MM - Were they from Copenhagen or outside Copenhagen?

HPH : These people were from Amager. Amager was famous for cultivating the vegetables for Copenhagen. She is called Amager woman. This is the whole Saluhallen, it is a quite famous tradition and in Stockholm you have three. Quite big. In Göteborg you have two and one in Lund, Malmö and Uppsala. All the bigger cities. It is actually the municipality which is running all of them.

MM - I am familiar with the Saluhallen in Helsinki in the old harbor.

HPH : Yes a beautiful hall, it is exactly same.

MM - With the same retailing and audience?

HPH : Yes it is almost the same. This one is from 1888 and that one in Helsinki is from the same time. It is a bit smaller. This is the most famous one in Stockholm called Østermalmstorg. Here you have in Stockholm an outdoor market. So it is quite a tradition and it is actually the municipality in each city taking care of these places and also the expenses and everything. You know they make money on them, it is good business. In the beginning when we started off in 1997 there was a lot of people telling us that we have no traditions for markets here in the Northern Europe so you will never have a chance to carry out this. There was a lot of business people making reports on the project and the economy. It was all the time telling us to close down the project. That is also why it took 14 years. It has been quite a fight. It is kind of crazy. It is a very simple structure and a very simple project but people didn't believe in it in the beginning. That's why it took us so long.

MM - I heard it started off with a column you wrote in the Politiken?

HPH : Yes this column referred to the tradition of market that is present. It was called 'On the historical green belt'. This is Helsinki, there are more than one. You can see here the stalls are very small units, it is the same in Copenhagen, Sweden and France even in Roman times. When we started to deal with the municipality of Copenhagen we asked them to make some zoning plan, in that plan we made some very exact definitions of how the stalls were going to look like. To be sure that it will be small units. Many of these investors they were always asking for one big unit.

MM - I heard the previous developer wanted to put in a supermarket.

HPH : Yes it is true. Here you can see for example that you can buy local fish and normally you can't buy this pike. You can buy such things in a market and normal fish shops don't sell it. This is in Norway, Bergen where they have a very famous fish market. This is also an outdoor market. Then you have these sort of aquariums where you can look at fish and crabs. Actually we have also made an aquarium in the fish stall. That is an inspiration from Bergen but also from Roman times. It is not a new thing to build a market, we have been doing that for some thousands years. They are kind of attracting people. This is La Rochelle, here you have the covered market and the outdoor market. That is what I am trying to tell Niels all the time, don't forget the outdoor market. Here you have in the spring time asparagus and in the summer strawberries. In Copenhagen there is maybe space for a hundred stalls outdoors. That is part of the project.

MM - Could you specify why outdoor is so important for the market? Do you mean that people can just come and sell?

HPH : No, you pay some to rent a small space but of course it is cheaper to be outside than inside. You will have the more small producers. Typically, they are cheaper than the indoor stalls. when you pass by and you see all the asparagus they are selling it attracts people. When you go to buy asparagus you also go inside to buy fish so that is how it is a dialogue. It is a little like the bazar where you have the whole street where they sell copper or jewelry. In Denmark, people have believed that one fishmonger is enough but I try to tell them if you have ten fishmongers in there it is much better. It is like the bazar principle. It is also the same in France, Italy. This is Mercat de La Boqueria in Barcelona. It is maybe the best managed market in the whole world. We love that place, you can see how many people. It is amazing. You have maybe 25 fishmongers and you can get whatever you want. This is really fantastic. I tried to convince Niels about visiting this place but he hasn't been there yet. He has to. If you have seen this place you know how to do. In Barcelona in this market you have 255 stall keepers so it is quite big. In Copenhagen we have maybe 120. In Barcelona you have around 30 markets so compared to Copenhagen you can have one in the center, one in Nørrebro, Vesterbro, Østerbro. They have different kinds of markets selling different things.

MM - Actually I heard that an idea from the municipality to have different markets.

HPH : That is new because we have tried to convince the municipality about that from the early beginning. Today the municipality is very happy about the market here and satisfied also. You know, in the beginning they were very sceptic. We had a huge luck because the former minister of food and food production her name was Ritt Bjerregaard, when she was a minister she was supporting this project. In the municipality they didn't like Ritt at all. They were angry about the fact that she was supporting the project. Then, suddenly after 10 years Ritt became the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen. It was an unexpected change in her political career. Then the first thing she did was to bring up this covered market again and say that now we have to carry it out. So we had this huge luck. The former mayor in Copenhagen, he didn't like the project at all. He did a lot of things to prevent it and stop it. It is a long history, it is like a crime investigation.

MM - In Barcelona I have also visited the Mercado San Catarina and it is interesting to see there the influence of the market on the neighborhood.

HPH : Yes it is a more modern concept. That market is not running in the same way as this one. Here you have thousands of people. I don't know why. This is more dense and the streets are more narrow. Somehow it attracts people. This is Venice, you have the fish market here and the outdoor market here. This is Beijing, indoor and outdoor market. They are selling shrimps on bicycles. That is also what we try convince Niels about, the stallholders can sell from bicycles, they can sell from cars and other kinds of wagons. It has to be like the photo. This is Havana, Cuatro Caminos, from the outside it looks silent but it is a very busy place. This is in Athens, here you can see the meat they are selling, two streets with only meat. It smells strong because of the heat but it is an amazing place. This is in Mali, we are working on two market projects down there. Right now there are some difficulties. We don't know what is going to happen. This is more outdoor traditions. This is the fish market in Dakar. This is the model of the Torvehallerne. One thing which is very important on a market place is that especially here in the north that is to kind of create a cozy ambiance during the long winter. So we have been working lot with light, in the market hall we use up lights as indirect light. I prefer that because it is more cozy. Then we have all the small lights in between the cobble stones showing were to put up the stalls. The metro, we wanted the metro to be a direct part of the covered market but Jeudan they unfortunately cut that part out. It was for economic reasons but I think it is a bad investment because it is important that you can walk directly up from the metro. Maybe they can make it in ten years.

MM - I saw in the model that you have some seating areas, over here no?

HPH : Yes. Then there is one architectonic important thing and that is that we have placed all the plane trees in the same module lines as the steel columns. It is to make outside and inside equal and that is very important. Especially in summer time when you can open up the facades, then you have the feeling that outside and inside are continuous. The outdoor market has the same authority or importance relative to the outdoors. These are some 3D renderings of the plaza in between the market halls, actually we want there to be plane trees too. Niels removed them and that is something we are arguing about because when you make it a green plaza it gets more cozy and attracts people. In my opinion, the plaza between the covered market is too big and windy right now. I'm trying to convince Niels about this, it's very difficult but we continue. We are struggling. A very important thing is the botanical garden here and the Ørestedsparken here, there is a lot of people walking in this area here. We want to make a direct connection between the two parks and you can pass the covered market. When you have the parks here, that is also a reason to make it a green plaza. Right now the plane trees

are very small but they will get bigger. They are coming up and it's getting more green. What you then do is you combine that section of the plaza with the southern end.

MM - I actually had a look if people go to the parks and the markets, I don't think there is a visual connection.

HPH : No no, not at all. In former times, before 1856 all of Copenhagen was inside the ramparts. Then after 1857 the military moved out and then they started carrying out the boroughs. At that time you had the whole rampart like in Vienna. It is very sad that they didn't keep that historical, like what in Vienna is now the Ringstrasse. We are trying to convince the municipality and also Jeudan that we can maybe not do something like the Ringstrasse but maybe we can create something in between. Then we are talking about like in Paris where you have many arcades. So maybe we could maybe make a small arcade here through this building block. Because then you get the direct walking connection between the parks. There is a small museum here so they will get upgraded. So that's a future dream, to make the Jorgspassage.

MM - How do you envision the Israel Plads, I heard there are some developments there too?

HPH : The southern part of the plaza is coming up. It is fantastic that it is coming up but it is not made in collaboration with us. It is kind of separated. I find that a bit sad. Of course you get this revitalization. Here in this drawing you can see the connection between the steel beams and the plane trees. They are in the same module lines, that's a very important part of the architecture. You feel that more when the trees are getting bigger. We have been looking at La Mezquita in Cordoba, it is a crazy building. This is the building site of La Mezquita. First there was an old Roman temple and after that there was a mosque, then when the Spaniards were throwing out the Muslims they made three cathedrals in that building complex. There is space for 30.000 people and here you have 800 columns. They are placed in the same module lines as the orange trees in the courtyard outside. In Muslim times it was in the courtyard where they were washing their hands before they would go to pray. Here you have this very strong feeling of inside speaking to the outside. The covered market is a very humble inspiration of that place. We had an archeologist working here for some months so we have been looking at Antique market buildings and bazar buildings. Just out of curiosity but also because I find it fascinating to be part of a tradition so you don't have to invent the market tradition. It is not a new tradition, it is 2000 years. This is an old Roman market in France that they are still using today. Actually the Romans type houses they made the same houses and all over in the Mediterranean sea also with market halls. These always in combination with a theater. That combination is for the reason that you have many people coming to theater and thus also many people coming and buying goods. We were especially looking at the market in Ostia, the harbor city of Rome. This is the antique Ostia and there is the market, theater and the main entrance to the city. It has to be close to the entrance of the city. It is the same today, a market has to be close to a metro or train station. Traffic is important when you have a market. Also for bringing in goods. You see here it is the same as in the Saluhallen, the people had small plots. Same principle. Here you have the floor of the stall selling African goods, here is the fishmonger. You get a bit crazy for so long time, I love and get so happy when I see this. Then you have kind of a connection to former times and that is fascinating somehow.

[door bangs because of wind]

HPH : Actually we have been working a lot with outdoor markets so we have made drawings, all details. If you have here the market, this is to show how you can put up the outdoor market. We wanted to make tents with photos from all the places in Denmark. Like Samsø and Jutland and so forth.

MM - Similar to the tiles in Ostia?

HPH : Yes exactly. It is very important that all parts of Denmark are represented in the market. In France you have products from the region. Denmark is so small that we need to get products from all over Denmark. That is also something we are discussing or arguing with Niels because he doesn't believe in that. It is not so difficult, it is very simple because it is old traditions. Also, it is a good way to show that this is not only a Copenhagen project but part of whole Denmark. It is very important.

MM - Already now, in the indoor stall there are quite a couple that make references to different parts of Denmark.

HPH : Yes. It is true. It is in its beginning. You can make that much stronger. This is a small island in the south of Denmark called Vejle where they cultivate wine. This is Læsø where they have a lot of fish, salt and honey. We want to show that. When people come in to Israel Plads and then see this photo they know that now the people from Jutland are here and have to go shopping there. They are not in Copenhagen not everyday, maybe just two days and then other days other regions. It depends.

MM - Can you say something about these long tiles in between the halls, they have been put there?

HPH : Yes they are the connection between the halls. Then Niels removed some of the entrance doors. There are some that have been closed and that was not the plan. Of course it is so that you can walk with your stroller or a carrier for goods. Here you see the metro entrance, we wanted to put up these historical photos so that when you arrive by train you get this feeling of former historical times. This is the existing building and the basement. We collect the garbage and recycle up to 70%. In Denmark the state has not been very good to reuse garbage but it is coming up. The Torvehallerne forms a very important part and actually you can save a lot of money. It is a good investment, both economically and environmentally. Also there is a light sculpture with water in it but Jeudan doesn't want to pay for it. Now there are some foundations that have donated money. It is in collaboration with a Swedish and Norwegian artist. We also made stall tables and benches but they didn't carry them out either. This is Kobenhavns Torvehallerne. It is a diagram of where to put outdoor stall keepers, even on the back side. This is what we are trying to convince Niels about. It is part of the game and we have to be patient and persistent.

MM - You also planned what products should be sold where?

HPH : Yes, that is very important. I love the place of course but when you have been working with it for so many years, you somehow cannot stop. Right now I think it is a little bit too exclusive and a bit too many expensive shops. Also with stores selling fridges and so on. A little too many selling take-away. It is very important to make the balance between daily food and more exclusive and expensive food.

MM - What is the inspiration for the arrangement here in the plan?

HPH : This is actually a classical way of doing it, the best functioning market has a wide range of goods. Right now it is a bit too expensive. Niels has to be careful about this because if it becomes one big restaurant then in one year people will disappear. He has to have an eye for the normal citizens in Copenhagen, they need to have the possibility to buy potatoes, carrots and other basic foods. Probably the outside stalls will create this more, it will be both competing and complementing the inside stalls. I was told in the beginning that the two fishmongers were a bit afraid of the competition

but now they say it is all fantastic. It is like the bazar principle. We have been traveling quite a lot to show the skeptics there are some very exciting markets all over the world.

MM - I heard Niels' inspiration was the Borough market in London...

HPH : But you know Niels came in this project very late, so I like Borough Market too but it has not been part of the early inspiration. It has nothing to do with the background, it is more Niels who likes the London tradition. I respect that. We have been looking at other places. In Spain, Italy and France they have very strong market traditions. It is part of DNA almost. That is why we focused on these countries. We brought in Sweden and Finland because of the climate, it is more alike to Copenhagen.

MM - Some shopkeepers told me that they had to change the mentality of the Copenhagen people that there are other way of doing groceries than the supermarket. Do you also think this change in mentality is necessary?

HPH : I think it is very important that you have the delicatessen and the normal basic food. It is extremely important. That is what we are missing right now. We have the fishmongers and a vegetable stall with competitive prices but we need more of these.

MM - On your website I saw that retail structures is part of your portfolio. Can you same something about these other projects?

HPH : This is the biggest project. We have made drawings and sketches for other cities in Denmark but they were not carried out. Then we have these two markets in Africa.

MM - My research will not be only architecture but also urban studies. So ...

HPH : Yes, in my opinion you cannot separate these things: architecture, landscaping and urban structures. It is for me part of the same. That is very important in this project also.

MM - Have you incorporated the idea of creating a meeting-place or is it through shopping that people meet?

HPH : It is both. A market is also a meeting place, that is what is so fascinating. When I go traveling I always look up market places just to sit and make observations. That's what I loved so much and found sad before in Copenhagen. On Israel Plads there was a gas station, then the municipality was planning to build a bus terminal. Then I started writing in the papers and argued for a covered market. Now we need to revitalize this area in Copenhagen.

MM - Where there other possible places for this market?

HPH : Of course but here you have this historical tradition. It was obvious it should be here.

MM - Do you know anything about the Nørreport station development and what is going to happen with the surrounding streets?

HPH : I don't think it will change that much close to the market.

MM - In my interview with Bo Grønlund he told me that the location of the Torvehallerne is a very well connected place.

HPH : It is true. Then you have on the other side this historical Copenhagen. Which has been an important part of this project, to show the historical traditions of Copenhagen.

MM - What is your view on the current theming of the place?

HPH : Somehow I find it important what that the stallholders can do anything they want. Yet I want more basic food. That is my main complaint. I want to have all parts of Denmark represented.

MM - For me, from an urban studies point of view, it is interesting that the market is run by a private company? It plays with the idea of public/ private space.

HPH : That is also why they [Jeudan] have to be very careful and will have to listen to the municipality because it is not a private area. It is a public place and then you have a responsibility. For example, Niels put up all these white symbols. I am so angry. When we planned this place, in my opinion, the architecture has to be simple. In the market, no matter where, it is the goods like the fruits, fish and vegetables that is the attraction. The architecture then in my opinion has to be a bit discrete. I really hate these symbols. The goods are enough. During daytime especially it is disturbing. If I shall make a comparison to Louisiana museum. I like it very much because in my opinion it is a very good way of showing art because the architecture is very discrete. It is the art that is the most important thing. If you compare it to the Bilbao museum of course it is very impressive but the building is fighting with the art inside. In my opinion it is the same with a market, the architecture has to be simple but you can still work in the detailing. In the detailing you can make it refined. That is what we tried to do. You can use good materials and that is also a way of giving it authority. We have been working a lot with the detailing. There are some architects asking us why is it not like the Guggenheim, it is a bit boring. That's on purpose. When the trees are getting bigger, the market will be even more discreet. Then when you walking under the trees and inside you get kind of a surprise feeling that it is a big space.

MM - If it was not Jeudan but the municipality taking care of the market, how would you have seen that?

HPH : Technically it has been another story because if it had been the state or the municipality they have to make a competition. So for us it was a luck that it turned to a private company. Especially since we spent so many years on the research. We have been working for 14 years, too long time.

MM - Part of my research is investigating the relation between public life and consumption. How do you think the market contributes to the integration of the city and its citizens?

HPH : One of the main reasons to create a market is that it is a good way of family life and city life that are melting together. That's what I like so much. Many bigger cities are dependent on the car and you go to a shopping mall, go the supermarket and you buy for the whole week. That's sad. You're not talking together and you're not meeting. Shopping is becoming boring. In the market you suddenly meet new people and when you go to this La Boqueria you maybe plan to buy fish but when you are there you see a thousands of things. In the end you'll come home with many unexpected things. That makes it live-full. Maybe you meet your wife their, kids play; it is lively. That is the main reason to make this market in Copenhagen.

MM - Currently, from the road sides it is not very easy to look into the market, how should it be seen from the outside? Should be open so that you got drawn in or should it be something closed off that is a destination?

HPH : I like it to be as open as possible. So when you pass by you don't have to walk in through a small entrance but you can pass by from all sides. It has to be open. We're discussing that with Niels too because often he makes it too closed. In a market it has to be a little rough and it does not matter if it is a bit windy. It has to be open and because of all the take-away he closed down and turned up the heat. That's wrong if you talk city life. Also commercial because they need people to get in. A detail, but we convinced Jeudan about having Sunday open. In France and Spain, Sunday is one of the most important market days. It is the day that you go shopping with the family and you teach the children what is good food, the mom feeling the tomatoes. That is also part of city life, teaching your children. Of course it is also part of Niels his job, to invent arrangements so he can make special events having cows and goats. All to show the possibilities of food.

MM - One of the stall keepers said that one of the challenges was to teach the people from Copenhagen that there are other ways to shop. Do you think so too?

HPH : Yes but it is more than that. They need more cheap and basic food. If you can go and buy ten bananas for ten kroner than people will also buy a piece of a more expensive meat or cheese. That combination is very important. I hope that Niels will open his eyes for that point of view because it is not my invention, you can look at Spain, France and Italy. They are also very good there at letting you taste. That way of dealing with people it is also making a way of making city life. It is extremely important.

MM - It is interesting that you mention there is not just teaching but there is also a need for a bigger diversity of prices and products.

HPH : You need that combination, especially in Sweden there are maybe 50% of ethnic stores. A market is a fantastic place for integration, instead of telling people how to do it is just coming because people have to deal and respect each other. In Copenhagen there is one Chinese stall but we tell Niels also to take in the Turkish with vegetables and fruits. Then you get also that audience to your market. You have to attract them too. It is good for the whole market if you do so. That's also part of the history of city life, you have to respect different cultures and learn about them.

MM - So we could say that there is a big task for Niels in managing the place?

HPH : Yes right now he has to open up his eyes and look a bit more at the traditions you see in other countries. At the same time he will make more money in this way. Right now there are also some chain shops, that is not part of the market tradition. That is more for shopping malls. In a market you have more personal stalls and that is what he needs to be careful about.

MM - In designing the two halls did you pay attention to design that could give incentives to people to shop?

HPH : We made the architecture very classical. At the same time it is modern technique. I find that important, we should not start making cast iron. Now it's 2012. The techniques are modern. Also the way of having this main access is also very classical. Then you have secondary paths that are more narrow. That's all very classical. We have two market halls, one more meant for meat, fish and cheese that smell and the other one more for coffee, cake and vegetables. That is important to make a good combination of stalls.

MM - How do you see the roads parallel to the market? They currently remind me of the busy roads on the sides of the Naschmarkt.

HPH : Actually, this can be compared to Naschmarkt. What we tried to do is that the main access is to the outdoor stalls in the middle and then you go from all the colors and smells into the market halls. Niels did not understand that, he wants people to enter the halls first. That will change. He wants to invent the wheel again, yet it is very simple and not our invention. Some of the tents are closing the direct access, it is like putting up tents in the middle of the Naschmarkt. Right now he is planning to put bicycle parking on the far end but I told him you cannot do that. It is the main entrance to the market. Still it is fair enough that now that the market is there for half a year, we got the chance to improve. Niels is very stubborn and in my opinion he is more thinking in shopping mall terms than in market terms. I think after visiting the market in London he is hopefully opening up his eyes more and more. In many cities in Denmark it is much worse. Because you place the shopping malls outside the city center, you take away city life. That is opposite to common sense. It may be one of the main reasons to focus on more basic food markets in the city centers.

MM - What do you think the market is today? Can it be a return to more social shopping?

Absolutely, there is no doubt about that. That is what you see in Southern Europe. For example, I lived in France to do some work down there and even in the smallest city this live-full market is where people go to shop and to talk. The everyday life is extremely important. Still you need some interesting pulls. In France you might have some good goat cheese that attract people. The Copenhagen market we need a bit more of that. Goods that you can buy in the supermarket are normally not meant for the classical market place. There has to be a difference.

MM - Do you think that in a way you have to educate the shoppers, to shop elsewhere and in other ways?

HPH : But you know if you still have the basic food in the classical market and they are cheap than you can compete with Netto. Yet, if you only have the more expensive goods then you have a problem.

MM - So you are saying that the market culture is there but you need to provide the market?

HPH : Yes I think so. There are some stalls in the Copenhagen market, like the butcher that is selling to all the supermarkets in Denmark. That is also one thing that I try to tell Niels that if you can buy it in all the supermarkets then find another butcher for the market. I also think they are not selling as much as the two fishmongers. The fishmongers make a better fit for the classical market. Also the olive guy. He knows what a good market is. It has to be a little simple. Some of the takeaways have a lot of technical installations, it makes it so expensive. I prefer the way the fishmongers and the olive guy are approaching it.

MM - Two Portuguese tourists told me that the market could not be compared to what they know from back home, this one was much more civilized. You think that is the Danish way?

HPH : Well if you look at this picture from the former market that was also the Danish way. It was not always civilized, there were a lot of things happening.

MM - At least it used to be an empty space and now it is full of life.

HPH : Yes, now it is coming up. I also have to remember to be happy. We are on the right track. Niels has to be careful. He just took in a pizza and 'smørrebrød' stall but you got to watch out, there are so many of them. You don't need them. He has to be careful.

MM - Thank you very much for this interview.

HPH - Yes let's stay in touch and I would love to see the finished work.

MM - Do you maybe have any flyers or documentation that I could have a look at?

HPH : You know before we had a whole homepage with a lot of information but Jeudan was very angry about that. So in the end we made a compromise and closed it down. We kept it for a long time to show the public that our intentions in the project. That we wanted ordinary, basic and cheap food and so on. Unfortunately it is no longer open. But you can always send me an email.

Interviews for Mercado de San Antón, Madrid

Interview with: Carmen Espejel (CE)		Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
Contact: cespegel@gmail.com	Function: Chief architect espejel-fisac	June 23; 5 pm; Skype interview with NYC, USA; 100 min.

MM - Hello, the connection might not be perfect since I am sitting in the Matadero in Madrid.

CE - Yes, it is good. Both the sound and video.

MM - First of all, thank you very much for this interview.

CE - Thank you. I like very much to talk in general about our work but also the market projects is one of our fields. We did not only do the San Fernando, we worked on several marketplaces. So it is something we are very interested in.

MM - Can I first ask you on your view of the role of the market place in Madrid?

CE - The marketplace in Madrid and in Spain in general, is very specific place. Very traditional. That means in general fresh food and quality food. What happened is that in Madrid particularly in the last ten year there was a big crisis on markets. Our analysis is because of several questions. First of all is the management. The management of the market places is very obsolete, old. The owner is in general the town hall and the rules for the management are obsolete. The vendor pay a very small rent so it is kind of a social place. They pay a very small rent so they do not have any possibility to improve the building. Everything has to be done by the town halls and as you know the town halls have a limited budget. I think that is one of the problems. The other problem is also the new way of living, we developed a city in the surroundings and outskirts of the center. These new residential areas came with imported American style of living with enormous marketplaces, all the facilities, parking lots, leisure, cinemas and all these things. Our cathedrals moved to the marketplaces. The markets that were placed inside the traditional city became older structures, they did not improve their installations.

MM - The ones on the outskirts are shopping malls?

CE - Yes I was talking about shopping malls. That is the main idea of the Madrid marketplaces.

MM - Do you think the recent redevelopment is kind of competing with the shopping center and adapting their strategies. For example, Mercado de San Miguel and Mercado de San Antón are they the competitors of the shopping mall.

CE - These two are very particular cases. Maybe you saw some other ones. The main idea of the town hall was to transform the old markets into new structures, markets. Most of them, were done with a strategy of introducing a small or medium surface of markets. Like Eroski, , El Corte Inglés and so on. The town hall asked these big markets to introduce a medium surface inside the old market to pay for the complete redesign of the markets. In that way the town hall does not have to pay the renovation. That was the main solution and the most important solution for the most of the number of market places. San Miguel and San Antón are very particular. San Miguel because it was transferred to a Catalanian firm and they transformed the whole market, a very social place into a very high-level market. It is not a market, it is more of a big bar. It is a different place. The people who live in the surroundings criticize very much this type of transformation because they lost their daily market place. Instead of that I understand what the town hall did because it is placed in the very center of the city, it is placed where it is full of tourists. This is why it's different. San Antón, they wanted to renovate the neighborhood, which is also a neighborhood of high-class people, mainly the gay society with high ranks. So these are very particular places.

MM - You mentioned they wanted to put in small supermarkets, would that also change the markets?

CE - No that does not change very much. i mean they introduce this kind of medium-scale market, the old market still remains, the vendors still remain just with new installations. The market does not change very much in the traditional essence. Of course, they had this other competitor which is the medium-scale market but I think one can survive because of the other. The market place remains as the best quality food, the other is a kind of more basic food. It is a clever combination. I prefer when the markets are only a traditional market but I understand the solutions, this kind of intermediate solution. From the point of view of the town hall.

MM - Do you think it is only economic or also a way to bring something new?

CE - I think it is mainly economic. The format of the market remains the same.

MM - Could you say something about the San Fernando?

CE - I share my screen with you because I wanted to show you some of the slides of San Fernando. We just build this building, housing project just in front of the market. Well, we finished that building and the vendors association asked us to renovate the complete interior of the market. So, our client was the vendors association. This was a kind of logo for the market place we introduced. Our main idea was this old-fashioned market in the style of Franco had a very nice interior of concrete structure. It was built by Castro Fernando , a very well-known architect in 1943. It was a very rationalist architect, because of the time he had to cover that concrete structure with the style of Franco. The current situation when we did the project was small stalls, circulation and connection with the streets. The main connection was here with Embajadores and the other one a small one here. The connections were not very good and not accessible. All the stalls were in a really bad state. This was meat,

vegetables, fish and all the different uses they had when we started. We had to combine all those particular cases. Our idea was to mix a bit more all the uses and to incorporate new entrances with new accessibility, escalators, new elevators and all these. That changed a bit the existing grid. We started with this scheme, we changed mainly the dimension of the streets between the stalls, we incorporated also the refrigerator rooms and we wanted to recover this square, this main space inside the market. Then, we moved to this other scheme. Why? It is not because we wanted to be fashionable, it was because we needed an open structure which gives us more freedom to incorporate the different surfaces of the vendors and the new facilities. We needed a more flexible grid and that is why we introduced this movement. Also, we recovered this space with three different stalls for more common uses. This was our idea of more variety and more possibilities to incorporate all these facilities that they had. We transformed this area in a kind of bar because the bars were also traditional in the old markets. We incorporated three bars, three different ones in this main space. We combined the meat area with these refrigerator rooms and then we placed the vegetables on the surroundings. The inspiration for this design was coming from other markets, in Madrid, Spain or international? I do not remember if we had any specific inspiration, I am sure we had. We do not have any references in mind as far as I remember. What was important for us was to change from the old grid structure that was vertical and we transformed it to a horizontal grid because of these new entrances. Also the former grid we transformed into this more flexible grid because of the meat. That was the main idea. Of course we were looking at different markets like the Santa Caterina in Barcelona by Enric Miralles. That was one of the references. We went to Barcelona with our clients. The Mercat Boqueria, of course. It is a very traditional market, redesigned with new stalls but very old style and more close the Arabic market than to a mall. We invited our client to visit different markets, they wanted something modern but they did not know what they wanted. We visit La Boqueria, la Concepció and Santa Caterina. Santa Caterina we visited because of the different uses inside. It had this resident for old people, a museum and other different uses. We thought it was a nice example. There is another market, the flowers market, I do not remember the architect. We visited all those places.

MM - You already mentioned market that resemble shopping centers but do you think that is a new form traditional markets should adapt to?

CE - All markets had to change in the sense of to give more new facilities to the buyers. In that sense this is why we think that we have to introduce all the new facilities that a shopping mall has. Also, we did a project to the town hall of Madrid, for the Mostenses market. They asked to demolish the old market, it is close to Plaza de España, close to the Gran Via. They wanted to incorporate this place into the Gran Via as another square. in that case we wanted to recuperate the public space because it was a mess full of garbage, cars and trucks. This public space was completely dominated by the market. WE thought it was a good idea to combine the market with different uses as it was in the former times of the market. They used to have offices, restaurants, shops. The old traditional markets were more mixed-use, they used to have all those things. Shoe shops even hairdressers. It was a very livable and mixed use place. Even under the sustainability point of view, nowadays you cannot use a place only for three hours, it is much more sustainable if you can use it 24 hours. That is essential for the sustainability of these big buildings. What we decided in this case was to incorporate different uses and have a 24 hours place. Also, to increase the public space of this neighborhood that was very small. We used the different roofs, we incorporated also cinemas and all these things.

MM - That sounds like the mixed-use and leisure function of a shopping mall.

CE - Yes but it is in the center of the city and keeps the traditional market. The core of the project is still the traditional market. For us they have to find their sector, they cannot fight against big-surface

shopping malls. They have to fight their sector in the quality and the personal treatment. That is the only solution I think. If not they will die. This is my idea at least.

MM - And what should then happen to the management of this place?

CE - I do not know. The municipality is still the owner of this building. One solution could be to sell the places, they are in the center of the city, they are big surfaces so all these big firms of markets want to be there. In another sense, the idea of the traditional was a kind of social need for the people. That is why the town hall rented the stalls for a small quantity of money. Of course that needs to be updated. Still, keeping the idea of vendors that cannot become competitive with these enormous surfaces of shopping malls.

MM - Does that also change the function of the market, should it still be the social and public place or does that need to be updated as well?

CE - Of course they have to update with different uses, with nurseries for the children, with new functions. As I told you the old Arabic market had all these function. If you go to Turkey or Morocco, you see that the market is not only for selling food but is also for shopping, is a social space, it is full of cafe and even sometimes a school for children. It is a very social place, it is the covered square. We try to keep in the new markets. To go into that direction.

MM - Concerning covered, it is interesting that most of the markets in Madrid are covered and do not have an outdoor space. While in other countries you see the combination of outdoor and indoor.

CE - No not in Spain, maybe because of the climate. If you have taken a look at the old market they have a natural ventilation, natural light but always covered. Maybe to protect the goods from the sun. Maybe in the North. In our case it is because of the sun. This is the market of Mostenses. We did a lot of models to try to discover what an updated market has to have. We did it in a very automatic way, like the surrealist so we produced twenty models and most of them had this big cover of a roof. Other types we were talking about interior streets, or the interior square. Others were more topographic. I want to show you this film. The idea was to combine different uses in the same place. This was the market in the ground level, the connections, the medium surface. The traditional market in the first floor. Our idea was that the traditional market could be the lobby of the big surface. It has to pass through the traditional to help them to survive. We had a nursery, a library, different levels of offices. The actual market occupied the complete market. We included also restaurants, a swimming pool. The idea was to combine different uses in the same building and to incorporate new public and open space because the plaza was completely dominated by this old building.

MM - How do you think you can make sure that the market remains a place of the neighborhood so that it is a public space?

CE - We have to be very careful because these traditional markets are very weak. The power of the new markets, you can fight in prices, diversity and whatever you want. You cannot fight with them, they eat all the small shops in the surrounding. You have to find your own way, your sector or what they call in French your niche. If you find your niche, and I think the niche of the traditional market is the quality. We did another project in the best market of Madrid in the sense of food. It is Chamartin, we changed the façade. It is in a neighborhood with middle to high class residents. The quality is absolutely incredible. The structure of the whole building remained the same as in the beginning of the 20th century. They have to update. If they do it in a good way, as a holistic, as a complete market, it is much better than one by one. They found their niche, the quality, high-quality. In turn, the market works

perfectly. In the others, those that are placed in a medium/ low class neighborhoods maybe there the solution could be this combination of medium shopping markets and a traditional marketplace. If they follow that nice that is the way to survive. It is a very old manner of behavior. The citizens are rediscovering the center to live. In the last 20 years we were building new cities outside with modern facilities. They moved to the outskirts. Nowadays, they are returning because the use of the car is not possible, the cost of the movement is complicated in terms of money and time. So people are rediscovering the center of the city. I think it is the right moment for the markets to incorporate new technologies and facilities for the new citizens who are coming back into the center.

MM - That is very interesting. In particular since I already mentioned the Markethal in Rotterdam that is a very interesting project in that it is also mixed-use.

CE - I think so. It is combining offices, restaurants, residential and so. I think it is the solution. Also that market reminds me of our idea in Mostenses in the sense of a 24 hours building, we use the space 24 hours. It is really cheaper, also in terms of energy. It is very cheap. In the case of Mostenses our idea was to build the maximum amount of parking places because that basement would pay the rest of the building. Zero costs for the town hall, that was the idea and that is what we are trying to sell to them.

MM - Thank you very much.

CE - To incorporate all the installations that is a necessity nowadays. They were in a very old state and they have to incorporate new systems of escalators, circulation, air condition systems and all that.

MM - The challenge seems to be how to finance.

CE - Yes that is the problem.

MM - What do you think about the management should that be the municipality, a private developer or an association of vendors?

CE - I think, I am very social, the property has to remain in public hands. It is a need for society and not only an economic place. It is more than that. My idea is that the property has to stay in public domain. The regulation and all the normative is really from the late 19th and early 20th century so that needs to be updated. It needs to be more flexible and fast. It is an enormous bureaucracy to put one vendor off. If a vendor decides not to open the shop the town hall cannot do anything. That is really awful because when one vendor decides to close the shop and does not use the space the appearance at the market is really awful. All that regulation needs to be redone and transformed into more flexible and just rules. The problem is that the rules are of benefit for the old vendors. The problem of the idea of the renovation is that most of the old vendors decided to retire. So new vendors arrive with new ways of selling that is very important. The management has to change.

MM - How do you think the market can still fulfill a social role? Is that by putting furniture or other facilities?

I think a combination could be to reintroduce service uses for the neighborhood. One way could be to use the enormous amount of surface that are now empty and use it as a benefit for the neighborhood. Also to get the neighborhood inside. In Mostenses we discovered that they need a public space so we introduced this park in the roof. We discovered they need some sport places and a swimming pool because they do not have any place for that in the center of the city. In Gran Via there is a lack of space and a lack of services. Our idea was that could be incorporated into the market. The market is one of the things but not the only one.

MM - Is it to function on a neighborhood level, city level or maybe even on the level of the region?

CE - I think these markets in general work in a neighborhood level. The most important like Chamartin works in a city context because of the quality. But in general the rest of the markets works with the focus on the neighborhood and not on the region.

MM - The vendors are they also from the neighborhood?

CE - Yes they are all from the neighborhood. Our relation with the vendors association in San Fernando was very funny because you could see that all of them are from the neighborhood. Some of them had other shops outside where they pay enormous rents. You knew perfectly the different families of the vendors inside. They have one section that does not work very well with another section so it is a kind of a family. Even when we were there in our meetings they offered us food and drinks. So the meetings were always during the meal times so it was impossible to discuss anything. It was very funny. That is what I like most of these markets. The idea of a big community or big family with all the critics of a family of course.

MM - I am comparing a Madrid market with a market in Copenhagen. There they try to imitate Borough's market, do you know that one and what do you feel about it?

CE - Well, I think it is very traditional.

MM - But rather themed.

CE - Yes maybe. What I hate is that kind of markets, I saw a lot of those in Belgium, that is in an old-style and people are all dressed in a certain way. No I do not think that is the new solution. That is a kind of a photo of past time. I see the market in a contemporary way. As a live-able place. We need to introduce all the things to make it live-able.

MM - Thank you very much for all the insights.

CE - You are welcome, it was a pleasure to talk to you. Sometimes the connection was not so good. I think I told you all the things I had. Ah yes, one question is the new image of the market. The market has to show the people that it is a new place, with a new image and to do it not in an old fashioned way but in the future. It is a new place.

MM - That image should appeal to some or all?

CE - No to everyone. When I say a new image, not all architecture is new so the image is needs to be very strong. Most of the time people do not know they have a marketplace close in their surroundings. That is because they were covered by the time, you could not find the place. They look like an awful and old place. People do not want to go in. In the case of Chamartin we said this is the most popular and quality marketplace and we have to show that. We tried to cover it with this kind of cellophane or present paper to show the people that this is a diamond. That is the sense I tried to explain to you. We have to manifest and to express the idea of that place outside for the neighborhood.

MM - Thank you very much.

CE - Send me your thesis when you are finished.

Interview with: José Maria García del Monte (GM)		Interview by: Marko Marskamp (MM)
Contact: etsam@jmgdelmonte.com	Function: Chief architect QVE arquitectos	July 6; 12 pm; Calle San Gregorio 19, Madrid, Spain; 100 min.

MM - Hello. First of all thank you very much for being available for this interview. It is very much appreciated and will be of importance to my research. Then, could you maybe tell something about the history of the Mercado San Antón and how the project has been developed.

GM - Yes, it has a very curious history because here there was a market built in 1942.

[phone rings, interview paused]

GM - Well, there was a market since the end of the 19th century and the building that was standing before ours was built in 1942. In a very complicated moment for Spain, after a Civil War and during the Second World War. There was a great lack of materials like steels and concrete. Mainly steel. So it was a building with very few open spaces. There was a patio, in the center, that was covered and closed because of all the stalls. It was in a very bad state. We have our studio here since 14 years ago and my associate, Ana Maria Montiel Jiménez, lived here since 14 years. She used to buy there in the market. The chairman of the association was the best one in the market and she used to buy there. One day he told her, he noticed that she was an architect, and told her that he had been thinking for years about a new building. A new concept, not so much a new building but a new concept of market. So he had been working for years but he still had not arranged a real thing. Every project had been torn down because of financials and so on. He had decided to make some kind of refurbishment of the building. Just something like one million euros. Just to wash it all, to improve accessibility, the mechanics and the electrical.

MM - The idea was to keep the main structure and only minor adjustments.

GM - Yes. Just making an update we could say. He had several options but expected it was no good. He had one option and he asked for us as a favor to take a look at it and tell him whether it was a good option or not. And, it was really bad. We explained to him why it was very bad and he understood and decided to check between several clients who were architects. In this area there are many architects. He checked for some of us and finally decided to have confidence in us. So we started to work in the refurbishment of the whole market.

MM - And this was when?

GM - This was in 2003. No, 2004. We started working on that then. We started with a budget of finally 2 million euros and we made a complete project of that. We tried to improve the inner space of the building, to open up the inner court, to open the stories and the entrance of light. We asked for a license to build that. It was not a competition, well it was some sort of competition but it was private. A private investment. I mean, the town hall or the local authorities told the association: well, if you want to improve this but we won't give you any money. If you are able to start with it, we can support you with a part of the money and our support. You have to start.

MM - And you, is the association of vendors?

GM - Yes, they were our client. We made that whole project and presented it to the local authorities and they didn't accept one thing. According to the urban planning we had to reach 15 parking places. Yet it was not possible to offer these without taking them down. So we proposed to build or buy a garage lot underneath. They told us they would not accept that. We told them that if you want us to build a garage plot, we must make a new building. And they said, well it's your problem. So we started from a very complex round of interviews and finally we could manage to build up a financial structure which allowed to make a new building.

MM - Who was involved, other people than the association?

GM - Yes, there were involved mainly several companies who wanted to have their vending point, the ones who wanted to have a supermarket. We involved not only the local authorities that supported with subsidies but also the regional authorities. Finally we saw it was possible to make a new building and finally we have spent I think something like 16 million euros at all. And, we had no money at all at the beginning. That's why I say that it was a very controversial beginning because it was not a usual contract between the client. In this case the client knew what they wanted to do but they were not ambitious enough because they thought it was not possible. In this time we have not only made the building but have also managed to make the whole question around it. It is a very unusual client and he had a lot of confidence in us since the beginning. He saw it was working. We have been working with a great respect from the client, it was comfortable. Obviously it has been very hard. We have been able to work this way. Many people thought it was a public commission and there had not been a competition and there were a lot of rumors and gossips. In some way, it was a model that we could copy in some other place because it tells you that money is the least important. It is hard to understand and to believe but sometimes you can reach the money when you have the idea. This was the case, in this case our work has been the management of everything and making the design of the building. Yet, the real project of the content of the market was of the association, of the president of the association Octavio Rodriguez.

MM - Was that idea of content to recreate the market that was there or to come up with a new market?

GM - No it had to be absolutely new. Traditional markets in Madrid they have a great lack of ambition. Very little stalls, people who expect from the local authorities to support them and in general there is no hunger for growing. In this case, that model was done and that model had been dying for a long time. The town hall didn't know what to do with those markets. So the project of this person was to develop a new model. He said, on the one hand the market has to be true to its beginnings. Which is the beginning? It was a place for trading and after a lot of years when people are in the same place for trading, let's build some sort of cover for that. That's the beginning. So every genuine market was in the beginning a square, first open and then covered. It was important to get a place where it was easy to enter. We had not to feel a barrier on the entrance. On the other hand, a market is a market and not a commercial center because a market is a unity. If my business goes well and yours not, mine is not doing well. We must have one concept of the whole, as a global problem. This from both things from the concept. If you take a look at the city and this area. This is a very cosmopolitan area, very open, very different people and very progressive sometimes. There was no answer for that, in this area it was almost impossible to buy special things or to buy on a Saturday. He decided that the market had not to be a place to sell and buy, it had to be a place where you could stay well. Where you want to meet your friends and mainly to have a global feeling of unity of the market. He said it is not a question that you enter like you open a drawer and take one thing out and go out. You have to go there and take one thing here, one thing there, go to the other place, let's have a dinner here in the central space, let's

take a steak on the first floor and go up to the third floor and say please prepare this for me. On the opposite, if you go to the restaurant and you say hey this is really good where did you buy it and they will tell you well in the first floor stall number 15. This creates a great confidence in the market and waiting for everything to move well. Mainly, if you add all of these things you finally have one place that has an identity that is an open space, that is easy to enter, when you enter you find good places to stand, you feel well, you can meet your friends there, you can make a lot of other actions. They have not only had exhibitions but also music concerts, children workshops to learn to cook, introduction to art, presentation of books, a lot of things.

MM - So it is almost like a neighborhood center.

GM - Yes exactly, it has become that. In this area, besides there is no place like that. There are no common spaces, no public facilities in this sense. There is just only one open space which is the Chueca square but it is only an open space there is no community, no programming, no local facilities. It was his project and that was the most important thing. So, the architectonic project had to answer to that question. That's why the building is as it is now and not another way.

MM - Can you say something about how you translated that question into an architectural answer.

GM - First of all, it is a building where it is easy to enter. We made two main doors, both doors are very easy to find when you approach the building. The main entrance is on the corner where you find it when you come from the metro, from the square, from the main street. Then, you enter the building with your hands in your pocket. You don't have to push a door, you must not feel there is a line that separates public and private area. You must feel that the lobby of the building is an extension of the street. It's public. Even when you are out of the limits of the building you can see the whole market. I mean, if you want to improve the functioning of the whole building you must avoid to have hidden spaces. You must enter and be always conscious about what is happening on the other floors, both the lower and the upper. So with our project you can find that even when you are outside the building, from outside you see the central space, which has light from the up, you see the restaurant, you see a lot of people walking around, standing and eating. You even see the hams, the fruits and all. That was the main objective when we designed the building.

MM - Can you elaborate a bit on the materials you used, like the dark stones?

GM - Well in this area it is obligated to use typical materials, but not so much materials but typical colors. I mean, the main question is you must be able with a building this is a public building but you must try that in 50 years somebody will not realize that it was a building built in this time. Even now, you must not see that. Absolutely opposite to the architecture of the spectacle of today. It must be fixed in this place, the geometry of the outside corresponds to the outer lines of the street. And, in the upper part of the main façade there is a game of planes that helps us to fix the building with one direction of the street. The street turns just where our building is so our building is some kind of niche of active place for the street. The colors are the colors of Madrid. But, the materials are not the usual materials. For example, in the upper part we used brick. It looks as it is very tradition, a handmade brick. In fact, it is a wonderful in a factory which tries to reproduce the kind of treatment the clay has when you treat it by hand but with machines.

MM - Where do they come from?

GM - From Toledo. They were able to make 6 millions a month with eight people. Every stone is different, all have that smell of handmade thing, very genuine, it looks absolutely true. It does not look

like a false, new-old imitation. Really, it is made that way. And besides, they use the coal rests of an electrical power plant to improve the clay and make it better for resistance. The lower part we needed a material very hard. We were very afraid of the treatment of the people.

MM - Probably because it turns into a party area at night?

GM - Yes. We were afraid we would have a lot of posters and paintings. We are amazed because there has not been, or almost nothing. Only one time one door was painted and nothing else. We used a material that has absolutely compacity, it does not absorb any water at all. It is basalt, or a foundation of it. We used it inside, in the outside and in the floors. We tried to explain with the materials that inside is also an outside. That is why the use of the materials. We have a traditional part or the lower part of the building harder, it is some sort of podium for the building. We also, in order to make it work well, a pattern of steel profiles which help to build the building very safely. For not the façade to break or to move.

MM - Yes, because at one point, I believe it was in the staircase I saw that the walls are very thick, is that the case?

GM - They look very thick. In fact, there are two layers separated by 40 centimeters so it looks like a brick wall of 80 centimeters. It is not true. It is the way to make it work well from the thermal aspect and also for stability. And, sometimes you need to turn but looking at it as very massive. I mean, it is needed in this area because in this area traditional architecture built with traditional masonry three feet wide usually. If you build something without thickness it looks absolutely like a joke. Even more so if you use that kind of materials. We tried to make a building that is open, where from the outside you see everything, it is not hard for you to enter, you enter with your hands in your pocket, with dignity, with a big door, you enter with nobody to ask you where you go to and trying to reach that sensation that people who are not aware of architecture could think that it has been there for years. It is an idea absolutely opposite to the fashion but we are absolutely sure of that position.

MM - And next to the architecture, did you decide on the arrangement of the stalls?

GM - Yes we were involved in the whole design of the building. Even the stalls, only three stalls were not designed by us and also the restaurant not. But all the rest yes. We interviewed all the people that wanted to establish here.

MM - Were they new stallholders or the same people?

GM - Only 4 remained. Everyone wanted to go away, to take their money and run. They did not want to support all this trouble. It has been a long trouble. First commission was in November 2004, the old building was torn down in August 2007 and we started to work on January 2008. The building was opened in 2011, three years later. Overall, 7 years of work and we are still working on that. Administrative things, subsidies, papers and papers and, minor adjustments of somethings.

MM - Could you mention a few of those, the things that you found that needed to be adapted?

GM - I think it is not a question of what to change. We could improve the design if we did it again. I would like to have a plot a bit bigger. We have been thinking about that and thinking about the possibilities to make something like this market in another place and we think that the dimensions are very accurate. With this type of plot, the dimensions are just the minimum for it to work well. We would like to have some kind of breath, we would like to breath a bit easier with a plot slightly bigger.

That could provide the same model but more calm, it would fit better without those moments where we have no place for the air, electricity and so forth. We have always said, when you build a building you make a prototype. If you think what happens, in for example the automotive industry, when you buy a car everybody says to not buy a car in the first year of production. Because some mistakes are fixed in the beginning of the second year. Even if you buy the very first car that is sold, before that car they have made one prototype that was only static, then they put on an engine which is not the definitive, the frame they change, and then they make another prototype, another one and another one. After that they have 50 prototypes all over the world and after all they start producing the car. And you said do not buy the first one. We architects are making the very first prototype and everybody wants the prototype to work perfectly. So we say, as a joke that after finishing the building we should demolish it and start again. Right then, we know perfectly well how to do everything well from the very first time. That's a general problem of our profession. According to this building I think we have minor questions, not very important. We think it works well. We could change perhaps, we would like to make one more elevator, that could be a good thing. But I mean, the plot is very little and you really see you it when you are on the ground in the garage. It is very tight and you have to be a very experienced driver. It is legal, every road, every plot measures what it must measure but it is a little tight.

MM - How many parking spots are there actually?

GM - I think we have 82, in 2 and a half floors because one part is automatic. With elevators.

MM - What was your inspiration for this market? Did you look at any other market places?

GM - No. No, really not. At the moment we did some research to look at some markets and we did not find the one we liked. We usually found that they were very impressive buildings but when you enter you found the very same ancient structure of not modern at all, stalls. It was very upsetting. Because you could see, as if it were you had taken a very traditional market with all the problems of the traditional market and over it you have made a shell, very modern and very impressive. But that was not the problem. For us, the main thing is not the building, the size or the sake. The main problem is how to provide a cover for life. Life is the most important thing. Our work material is life. It is something exotic, it seems like something of a religion but not at all. I mean, we are building for providing an answer to a question. The question is how could we stay in one place together, a place where we can buy and eat, where we can meet with our friends and have a good time there. Buy even more, take it home, eat there and drink there. That's the question. And the answer is, make that possible with a shelter that of course must be in line of cultural interest. Of course we are interested in architecture and we think architecture must respond to a cultural question. We do not want to be formalist like, or to think oh wow what a great building I made. People don't like it, people don't use it, people don't like it oh I don't mind. People don't like good things in architecture. Even we had a lot of critiques before opening the building because it has no windows and everybody thought it was to be a very closed building and they did not understand. Once it was opened no one has told us again anything. While we were building we received some very funny emails saying somethings. Even some neighbor send us some pictures made by him saying here you could put a window, here a tv-plasma for seeing football on the street and so on. That does not matter. But, I mean, it is not a question of liking. We know people don't like modern architecture, never. Until you open it and they use it. If they use it and it fits to their desires they really accept it. But, we want people to find that there is an answer to the question, to the social question that was put.

MM - And that question was coming from people living in the neighborhood or working in the neighborhood?

GM - It was a feeling in the area. I also live here since many years ago and when I had to buy a dozen of eggs on a Saturday I had to go to the Chinese stores. There was no option. If I wanted to buy milk, I had no place here where I could take it home. I had no places for eating, slightly and in an informal way. Here, there are a lot of restaurants, a lot. Every kind of restaurant but they are not ordinary, daily restaurants. If you want to eat some kind of special meat, you have one place. For another special meat, special drink and everything special. I want one place for eating daily no, there are very little places like that. I do not want to sit eating at a table, no there were no places like that. That was curious. Since Ana have been living here for twelve years, I have been living here for 4 years and we have been here with our office for 12; we know the area quite well. In this case we knew it. In fact, I had never entered on that market before we got the commission. Ana yes, she used to buy there but only from two or three stalls. Finally, when we got the commission it was a feeling that well we have been thinking about that without being conscious about that. When you have to express something about the area and how to make that in the area, you realize that you have been thinking without noticing that yet for a lot of time.

MM - Do you think it is a common strategy or a trend in Madrid at least that markets are being redeveloped?

GM - Right now there is no money at all and since there is no money there are no ideas. It should be on the opposite, you have no money you have more ideas. Even when there's money it's worse because the problem is because, yes right now there's some kind of strategical lines. Yet, for many years in Madrid there has not been a clear idea about markets. For example, there was the ancient tradition where a stall in a market was some kind of price for some kind of people. In the beginning of the 20th century some stalls were given to a widow, a cripple or a veteran.

MM - More like a social project.

GM - Yes. Then it was some kind of stalls that were very local and that talked a lot about vicinity, daily business and so on. Yet they did not give a good service, they were not open on the right hours and things were not working well. At one moment the local authorities decided to sell the markets to the associations of vendors. But, the associations had no money for improving all that and so some supermarkets appeared. The supermarkets helped financing the market but only if they could get the very best place and put the minor vendors on the catacombe. That did not work, after a lot of minor vendors closed down after five years. Even in one moment they decided to sell it not only to let the chains of supermarkets enter but to sell it to them so they could take the market down and build a new one. That was a great failure. If you want to control it, you have to take the point of view of the minor vendor, not of the great supermarket. They changed it a lot of times so there was not a line. In fact this market does not correspond to a political line because the town hall has said that is ok go on and only in the end they have supported with money. About 30% of the budget has been put by the municipality but after the money had been paid. In every place, is made out of a different place. There is not a common line, in fact now they have decided to build some new markets and the new markets seem not to have learned anything about the past. There is not a great line or decision to make things this way. So now what happens? A lot of other markets have asked for help how was this made. They consider they need to have the same treatment because they thought it had been a lot of money from the city and that it was their enterprise. When they knew how it really was, they did not want to go on. They did not dare to do that, it is a question of daring to do that. Now with no money at all from the town hall there is even less motivation for making anything.

MM - I heard that the traditional market places are also dealing with some organizational and entrepreneurial problems.

GM - Yes, that's because of their spirit. They are not conscious of what they are or what they could be. For example I remember one day, I was talking to a person who had a bakery. He did not open on Saturday and Sunday and this was in a residential area but in an area where everybody works out. From Monday to Friday nobody eats at home. I asked him why don't you open on Saturday and Sunday and he said that he did not have enough money to hire a person for Saturday and Sunday. Well, if you hire people or just one person you could improve your income and you could pay the new person and earn more money. Or just, do not rest on Saturday and Sunday, rest on Monday and Tuesday. There was absolutely no idea of I want to improve, I want to change, I want to invest to get back some earnings. It was 'I cannot hire a person because with the money I earn now I cannot hire a person'. He did not see he would earn more money, enough for paying him. That's the spirit of this people. If they hear me they will hit me but it's true. It is very rare to find people so eager and courageous. It is very unusual to find courageous people as we have seen here in our market. It was just one person and he has organized everything.

MM - You mentioned the challenge is the money, did you have any problems with people that were to bring in the money? For example, did the supermarket put high demands on the building?

GM - It was a continuous struggle, of course. But yeah it worked well finally. The supermarket here I think they will never want to work with us again. Because we have been able to go on without any changes. It has been hard and funny sometimes and we have reached somethings that no one had before. For example, they wanted to put a sign on almost half of the façade with the name of the supermarket. We made one different logo on the side of the street, next to the door, with the same color as the background according to the line of the change of materials. They wanted to put in the middle of the brick their name. We got to do that and we were told no one has gotten that before. We were fighting a lot for that and finished really tired. But it worked.

MM - You said it should be a public place, what do you think such a place need?

GM - For being a public place, I think there is an absolute nuclear clue that when you are in a public place when no one asks you why are you there. If you are asked, that is a private place. Perhaps it is a private place that allows people to enter but that is not a public place.

MM - But still the place is programmed for the activity of consuming, it is not like a public square?

GM - No I do not think you are obliged to buy, you can go for looking. I think the clue of a public place is not to give reasons why you are there. You are there because you are there, just that. If you wanted to start playing the trumpet, well you cannot do it inside the building. Perhaps they would like but neither you can do that in the middle of the streets. So it is an old question. For example, the difference between a market and a commercial center is perhaps that in a commercial center everything is made for you to buy and go back to your home quickly. Here no. Here it is you are going to buy if you feel well here. Obviously we want to sell but we do not want to make a building where you are compelled to buy and which wants to throw you out as soon as possible. In a commercial center everything is artificial, you do not feel comfortable at all. Every stall there is one unit, if this one breaks down then all the others enjoy it. That's the clue of the public space I think. You know a Brazilian architect called Paolo Mendes da Rocha. I know him very well because I made my doctoral thesis on him and he has a text where he says that in Brazil there are a lot of private urbanizations and those are not cities. When you are in a street and a private guard asks you why you are there, that is not

public. In a private city you cannot stand for half an hour in the street. If you stand there for some time, someone will ask you what you're doing there. That's not a city, that is not a public space, that is not a street.

MM - What do you think, can there be some sort of revival of the market place where the public side of consumption is underlined?

GM - I hope so but I am not sure. Sometimes those kind of things are not just a revival or a tendency in the society but sometimes we say there is a tendency with really three or four but they are very important. So, everyone takes conscious of the importance of those place. A very different thing is whether that really makes it as a role. In modern developments of the city it is no longer usual to save a place for a market. Up to the 1980s it was usual and no more in Madrid at least. In fact there is one area in the north of Madrid, Sanchinarro where it is even worse. There are no shops in the streets because there is a very big commercial center and they told the municipality not to allow any stores. You have the main commercial center and a lot of streets with no life at all. On the other side of the national road, there is Las Tablas where there is not as much as it would be perfect but there are more stores, bars and cafés. In Sanchinarro no. So at three o'clock in the morning you can be raped without any problem, no one will come to see you. Well, actually at three o'clock in the morning and at noon, there's no city, there's no life. That's what is happening in Spain, the markets are disappearing in the new developments. Now they have decided to change that and make some markets. The problem is that we have changed to one way of thinking the city strategically where you do not think about the city but on the plots. I cannot make a partition and say this is for dwellings, dwellings, dwellings, market, dwellings, school. No it does not work. You need a competent space, an area that tells you that that is a public space, you need to create covers on the areas of the city. I think, in fact, we have been studying a new market that the municipality wants to build in the North of Madrid and since the municipality has thought in that way you have a ten stories of dwellings with a market in between. So, the market that produces smokes and smells needs to have a chimney up to the tenth story so it would be some sort of Titanic in the middle of the city. You say that to the municipality and they say we cannot spend that money on a chimney. Well you must spend that money because no one has thought the city in a logical way. So your question was, is there a tendency? I don't know. I know that people would like when that tendency recovers, I am sure about that.

MM - Something else then, an outside market is not very common in Spain. In other places you often see an indoor market combined with an outdoor space.

GM - It is not usual in the big cities. It is more usual in villages and little cities. That is because of the development of the market. As I told you at the beginning, the market was the place where people joined to trade. After years, they build a building. How? They covered the place where they traded, they covered the square and now no longer is a square because it has been covered. So, there is no square around it because that was the square. It is not common. As I told you, for example in Castilla it is very usual to have open air markets.

MM - If you would be given a bigger plot would you use some outdoor space to make a sort of transition between the public life outdoors and indoor?

GM - Yes that would be a good idea, if I could. In fact, we have made a competition two months ago for the Canary Islands and we made that. It was a very big market but the concepts were the same and we used that idea.

MM - Also, today it might be hard for the market now that people do not have so much to spend that they prefer the supermarket over the market.

GM - Not necessarily, it is not always more expensive. For example here, they have a supermarket and they have special stalls and they have an agreement. So the supermarket does not sell things that you can buy upstairs. Upstairs they sell at very good prices. For example, you can buy a very expensive cheese but you can also a usual cheese for a cheaper price. At the beginning people from the area, especially elder people, thought it was a very expensive market because they did not find the everyday ham. It was there and now they start to see that. Of course, you have special places for eating but at last when you sit down at the table of a usual restaurant you spend 15 euros. When you go there you can buy a little thing here, a little thing there and eat for 5 to 6 euros. Finally it can be cheaper.

MM - As a closing question, what do you think a market needs to have? Just fruit, vegetables, fish and meat or is it better to have a mixed-use place?

GM - I think it must have a mixture of common groceries and special places. One part allows you to buy your everyday meal but if you have special places those attract people from the whole city. You can have a double face, the everyday and the special face. So for example in this market people are coming from the whole of Madrid and even from the outside. It has become a place that is know from outside Spain, it has appeared even in the New York Times. All because of the speciality of some of the stalls. That mix is very good.

MM - In Barcelona for example the Mercado San Caterina even houses an elderly home, do you think even those uses can be combined with the market?

GM - Hardly. I see there are different things in San Caterina. It is one of those examples that is a very old-fashioned market, out-of-date market with a fantastic shell. It is a pity because when you enter you see that the architects were not allowed to control the design of the stalls. What's happening here? It is a very controversial place, it is not a whole building. It is not a market, it is a very beautiful building and they have made a market inside. But they did not let the architect design the whole market. It would have been much better, if you let Miralles do that it would be really great. They did not put confidence in him. Also, I think a market must have a mix of some other activities. Like here for example we have a gallery which allows to make a lot more activities which attracts people there. If you make the presentation of a review, it is perfect because a lot of people who do not know the place go there. Perhaps a lot of them are not coming back but many of them talk about it and tell their friends. That is really great. If you only have ham, cheese, milk, vegetables of everyday only those of the surroundings will go there. That is not desirable. For example, a restaurant is a good thing, places of drinking.

MM - It still requires a balance I assume because there is the risk that it turns into a tourist hotspot and that the locals are avoiding the place.

GM - Yes, that is a difficult balance but it is possible to get it.

MM - Do you know if some of the stalls changed since the opening?

GM - Yes, one has changed, another one has closed and another one is going to change. From the moment of opening we knew those three places were not accurate for the place. That was very easy to see.

MM - I believe there is a management who decides who enters?

GM - Yes the president of the association. Now they have seen the places that have not worked and they have learned the lessons why they did not work.

MM - Thank you very much. It was very interesting.

GM - That's good. Please send us the finished work, we would like to see it. Here is my card.

MM - Yes I will send it to you. Thank you.

Questionnaire

¡Gracias
Marko