THE AMERICANISATION OF CULTURE, PERFECTED

A study of shopping malls in rural Norway

BENJAMIN RICHARDS
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ABSTRACT

How do we experience the mall? By putting myself at the centre of this enquiry, I attempt to document my observed and sensed experiences of the mall and then to examine those experiences against the views of other people, local history and relevant philosophies and literature. What unveiled was a peculiar place that sits within a complex lineage of human thought, around what is meaningful and valuable in our relations – what I call the economy. While the insights the mall offers are varied, my ultimate concern and conclusion is – while the mall generates constantly renewed experiences that can be pleasurable, on a subtler level I found a place that suppresses the development of capacities and reinforces its own logic, something that I suggest may have grave consequences for the development of sustainable cultures.

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In Ibsen’s play ‘An Enemy of the People’ the protagonist, Dr Stockmann, finds himself on the wrong side of the “compact majority” and the “liberal press” in a small Norwegian town - the swing of popular opinion. After he discovers the local medicinal baths are poisoned, by a bacteria that is invisible to the eye, he expects to be greeted as a hero and initially is supported in taking action. But when it comes to light that the considerable costs of repairing the baths will fall on the tax payer, rather than the wealthy board members and that the damage to the reputation of the town could lead to economic ruin for many local businesses, the tide of popular opinion turns against him – led by his estranged brother the Major.

Since the play was written in 1882 it has been adapted and readapted, including the famous example of Steven Spielberg’s film Jaws, where – after the remains of a bather are found it is determined that a large shark has staked a feeding ground near to a popular summer beach town. At first the discovery, made by the local police chief, triggers action, supported by the medical officer – to close the beaches and reach out to a shark expert. But the Major, again, is aware of the implications and he puts pressure on the medical
officer to change his statement, creating doubt about the cause of death. As summer looms nearer and it is announced that the beach may have to remain closed, the local officials and business owners of the "compact majority" turn against him.

In both of these stories, it is the economics that represents the bottom-line, the bathhouse and beach are the source of economic wealth for those communities, whose people are dependent on the money visitors bring for their livelihoods. Such a powerful thing that it leads people to believe “it is probably just a barracuda” - the truth, is decidedly inconvenient.

The metaphors these stories bring are as relevant today as when Ibsen wrote the play and long before that. As was the case of invisible bacteria to those in the 19th Century and the unseen monster lurking beneath the waves - the threats we face today are equally as opaque, requiring a shift in how we perceive the world around us - so that we may see them for what they are.

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The lure of a Danish fisherman jacket draws me in once more – its subtle faded yellow colour, hanging on a mannequin, if I had money I would consume.

The smell of this mall is especially strong, newly perfumed fabric in sterile motionless air. Here with its plastic plants and conditioned air, you are completely detached from any sense of the natural world, a breeding ground for biophobia, transposed into an idea of the future.

This is a new mall built in the centre of the town, it reminds me of the experience of a new train. The sound of the doors more spaceship like than those of a spaceship, the slow rise lighting, everything works seamlessly, more silent and steady than any train you have been on before. It is not only the mechanical workings that are so improved but the service as well – the uniforms of the workers are sleeker and neater than before, their smiles more
authentic, the commodities available for consumption more varied. The functioning of the cup holders, the information screens – thinner and clearer and more ‘satisfying,’ a frictionless gliding – through the placeless landscape. Gone are the sparks off the track, the gust of wind from the doorway, the slamming sound of a window that won’t close. Long gone is the smell of burning coal and chug of the wheels, all notions of the power and affect of such mobility dissipated, disguised beneath a veil of modernity. Slowly the way you experience these places or those new products fades, it becomes less ‘new’ each time you enter and with time it becomes worn, but familiar and, as with your face in the mirror, you barely notice the aging from day to day until you experience, once again, that sense of newness.

In the old shopping mall on the edge of town, you find many of the same shops, with a few variations – the big brands are keeping their foot in both old and new for now. The empty lots are beginning to appear though, one has been transformed into a makeshift kids zone, with a few plastic toys and a sofa, a colouring in table, some blunt pencils and samples of Lego in plastic display cases – for the children to look at but not touch. The ventilation systems are more visible in these older malls, more of a warehouse feel, the door rattles as it opens, the air is heavier and the smells are faded, all signs of age, a relic of the past for the discerning shopper, on its last legs. At the entrance is a plastic luminous blue merry-go-round that accepts credit card; a child is on it – refusing to get off. (CC Stadion & Maxi Storsenter in Hamar – July 2015)
I will use this introduction to outline my methodology and present a broader conception of the mall. What will then follow is a number of short essays around themes that ‘spring’ from the mall with regards to how they relate to the wider locality. I will draw on the findings of my research and literature review as they become relevant in the text, ending with some concerns and preliminary recommendations.

The anchor point for this enquiry is the shopping mall in rural Norway, seen here as an expression of specific economic conditions. The mall has become a dominant feature of consumer life in Norway, particularly over the last thirty years where today there is the highest ratio of mall square meters - per capita in Europe. To be clear from the outset, my concern here is with creating sustainable places and while there are differences in clarifying what a sustainable place may be, as well as a systemic resistance toward the implementation of the sustainable development process, I proceed with the understanding that living sustainably is in the interest of and desired by most people, even if they have not reflected on it directly – that is to live in a way that allows for the continuation of life, “that life shall be”. There is a growing movement of community led initiatives aimed at bringing about more sustainable lifestyles, but the consumer society (that characterises non-sustainable attitudes and behaviour) encapsulated by the mall is a powerful component in
contemporary society, forming a broader conception of this may be important for understanding why community led initiatives fail to inspire engagement from a wider demographic, beyond the myth market of sustainable capitalism – “Nordic cool.”

METHODOLOGY

This enquiry stems from a number of in depth interviews exploring a period of transition toward a new local identity for the town of Notodden in the Southern district of Telemark, Norway. The interviews were conducted with a number of people in the community including high school students, local shop owners, civil servants and others, both new arrivals and those with family roots there. In each interview the out of town shopping mall at Tuven emerged as a significant factor for people, many linked it to the struggle Notodden has in moving forward and the decline of the main street and square as a hub for social activities and local commerce. Notodden-Tuven sensor has been my primary research area, particularly with regards to the development of a historical arch. Other secondary areas include Voss-Amf and Bø-Bsenter in rural areas, the larger towns of Hamar-CC stadion & Maxi Storsenter and Skien-Herkules, I have also spent time in a number of the malls in Oslo including the main ‘Oslo City’ mall and the first two malls built in Norway Eiksmarka senter and Lamberseter senter. I have spent over sixty hours in malls, immersing myself for periods of 6-8 hours at a time. I will name the malls when drawing on specific findings, but also talk generally about my overall experience when appropriate.

What I plan to investigate here is the effects of these new social centres on community relationships, the behaviours and attitudes of individuals and what it might mean for the future of place.
My research will follow four stages of understanding that derive from Owen Barfield’s processes of participation, adapted by Tom Butterworth (Natural England) for understanding landscapes.¹ 

1) First impressions – note the contextual, subjective presumptions you bring as an observer, 2) Exact sensorial perception, a quantitative analyses - seeing the detail of a place, 3) Exact sensorial imagination - A timeline of that place (historical arc), 4) Experience yourself in a place as a part of it - empathic understanding. At each stage I will use three spheres of the commons as a value framework to critically examine the shopping mall against that which is of importance to both the individual and society.  

1) The natural commons - landscape, air, water, the source of all our material and spiritual wealth. 2) The cultural commons - including public spaces and knowledge (public considered as a hybrid commons-market). 3) Our attentional commons - our ability to direct our attention and subsequent impact on our capacity for self-regulation. Commons theory offers an approach I find to be broader and of more intrinsic value than the traditional left-right, public-private discourse around ownership and values.

Using the shopping mall as an anchor, I will explore and discuss the history, design and cultural impacts of these new consumer landscapes. I hope to identify key attractors and detractors of this expression of the economy, as a place where the limits of rational economic thought meet the requirements of those deeper human needs that may only be provided by authentic cultures, conviviality, commoning behaviour and a local politics of solidarity, empathy and dialogue.

**Stage one** consists mostly of first person - subjective experience, considering relevant literature during reflection. I will draw on ideas from psychogeography and the Flaneur or urban wanderer of French and British literature that opposed the transformation of urban life, walking as a way of knowing.⁷ Walking from the towns to the malls, exploring the area around the
malls and wandering in the malls, recording my impressions with journal, photography and audio. I will examine the various senses and how they experience the mall.

Stage two includes quantitative data collection regarding the exact distances between the mall and other areas of social life – the surroundings both natural & constructed, the types of shops in the malls, ratio between independent and chain stores and financial ownership structures. Here I also include the realm of the senses as an intentional design feature.

In Stage three I will consult local people and experts to create a timeline, a history of place, in order to visualise the evolution of relationships between nature, culture and place up until the development of the mall landscape.

Stage four examines the felt impacts of those businesses in the town and the changes within social life. I will also observe patterns of behaviour and interview people who spend time in malls.

In addition I draw on reflections from extensive travel throughout the United States, including four trips to Las Vegas over a ten-year period, as well as impressions from a recent trip to Northern Russia and the world's largest shopping mall inside the Arctic Circle.

Although the research has been carried out systematically, I will draw on different perspectives as they become relevant, I will attempt to create a flowing dialogue between the different approaches in order that they may support, clarify and challenge one another more naturally. In Economics as Relation, I will attempt to clarify my position that economics needs to be consider far more broadly than it currently is, that it is rather a complex mesh of relations we are a part of that has deep implications as to what sort of societies and cultures form. The Three Commons will look the mall and our place in it within three spheres of the commons; the regional natural landscape, a historical arch of the heritage that came before and our psychological self. The next section will offer a brief history of shopping malls in Norway as well as comparing it to the development of the mall
landscape in America and the United Kingdom, highlighting the process of creative destruction at the heart of the capitalist system. In Architecture of the senses, I will take a sensory tour of the mall reflecting on the writing of Juhani Pallasmaa and David Abram, considering the aspects of the mall that are intentionally designed, both physically and behaviourally. I will then attempt to clarify what I mean by the term Americanisation of culture, as something made distinct by the globalisation of Anglo-American economic models, but also as an idea with far deeper roots in the history of Western thought. I conclude with my primary concern, how these environments impact our ability to make cultures collectively, something I find the logic of the mall opposes, an ability that may be essential if we are to make places that are environmentally and culturally sustainable.

Ultimately my hope is that my view of malls will be changed, that I will form a new perspective - from a fuller understanding of the various relationships involved in the community, the culture and its surrounding landscape.

AMERICANISATION

Americanisation is in some ways a provocative term with a variety of historical meanings, it is also linked to other terms such as Westernisation, Capitalism and Globalisation. For some it may bring with it ideas of democracy, freedom, utopianism and exceptionalism, for others corporatism, oppression and aggression. Rather than referring to a simple homogenising of culture generally – Americanisation here refers to a change in the social, cultural and ecological relations throughout the world encapsulated in an idea of America. I follow Glissant’s notion that the "West is not in the West. It is a project, not a place." America may no longer retain the golden image it did during the 1950’s and 60’s, but with the power it exerts through mass media,
technological developments and global institutions, I argue that America maintains as the centre of this placeless project.

I will look specifically at the adoption of Anglo-American economic models throughout the world after the turn of the 20th century, where a convergence process occurred between the traditional cultures and the economic conditions introduced. Despite having converged differently in unique cultural contexts, the alignment of economic conditions (those conditions being a rationalisation of production and consumption followed by market liberalisation) paved the way for globalisation through a standardisation of economic policy, where economics was seen as a science, subject to a constructed internal logic – rather than an aspect of moral philosophy with cultural and environmental implications.

I emphasise that America is many things, a political and military super power, an immense diversity of cultures and lifestyles and an ideal that is perceived from the outside. When I speak of Americanisation it is this ideal that I most refer to, the mall is seen here as a product of this ideal – realised through an economic logic that is separated from the totality of relations that make up the lived reality of the world, the question then, is what kind of culture does this environment create?
ECONOMICS AS RELATION

“The relational is not between one thing and another – between one organism ‘here’ and the environment ‘there’. It is rather a trail along which life is lived”

Tim Ingold

First I would like to spend some time reframing the word economics as a way of clarifying my position and distinguishing it from the ways in which it is now so commonly applied – in referring to some abstract model or theory, a perfect science outside of the realm of every day people in every day life – something that should be left to the economists to whom it all makes sense.

That is not to discredit or debunk mainstream economic theories as useful tools within certain contexts, rather that they should not hold a monopoly over the term. Economics is seen here not as a science, but as the art of understanding and managing the whole. An art, as due to the complexity of the whole, it cannot be fully understood as a single entity to be studied objectively, instead it should be approached as a network, or perhaps better a meshwork – (as Ingold suggests) of relations we are all embedded in – that we must all engage with actively in order to draw meaningful experience from it.

Anthropologists find that the earliest form of economy existed in tribal societies throughout the world, known as gift economies. Geographically separated, the appearance and details of these economies varied greatly, but
many of the fundamental principles were consistent. The giving of gifts was
conducted in ritualistic ceremonies that were open and transparent, it was
clear to the entire community who was giving and who was receiving. There
was no money or direct barter involved (except on the rare occasion of an
exchange between hostile or unknown groups) and there was no expectation
of direct replacement or reciprocity from the receiver back to the giver –
rather something more akin to a circulation occurred, to where there was a
need. For the Tiv People, in what is now rural Nigeria, to return a gift with
the same item or something of equal value would be a closed transaction,
signalling the end of a relationship and was considered highly taboo, the custom
was rather to offer something of a lower or greater value, an open transaction
– so that the gift relationship continued. Security was found in the trust and
dependency of the relations, as a proverb of the Piraha tribe in Brazil
illustrates “I store meat in the belly of my brother”. Status was acquired
through how much you gave, the competition found in potlatch ceremonies,
for example, was a competition in how much a person could give away. In
such a system, individuals who accumulated a great deal for themselves or
free riders who contributed nothing were highly visible, such behaviour was
incompatible with the cosmologies of most indigenous cultures – where the
collective was understood to be more important than the individual, the “I”
was seen merely as a part of the wider interrelated self.
The gift economy was the product of a particular epoch in human history,
today, I argue, we instead celebrate those who accumulate wealth; the movie
star, the entrepreneur or business leader, our Royal families – and vilify those
who are stripped of the capacity to contribute in meaningful ways. Our
culture of idolatry maintains the myth that rich and famous people – the
powerful have convinced themselves of, that they deserve their privilege due
to exceptional character or ability. The elite codifiers then propagate this
message through their disproportionate access to channels of influence.
then for the rest of us to compete with each other for the few places made available at the top.10

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This is a study of relationships, it is a study of shopping malls and of towns and of people and of place. To undertake a study of shopping malls that critiques economic ideology might not be taken seriously by the financial stakeholders, passed over as cultural anthropology and for good reason. The problem, for the people on the ground, in the day to day running of a mall mainstream economic thinking is a reality and it is useful. Studies of social behaviour, psychology and anthropology may make an interesting critique, but for those running malls it is also useful knowledge that helps them better understand their target audience, thus enabling the further reinforcement of this economic paradigm into daily life.11

Iain McGilchrist, in his study of the functioning of the left and right hemispheres of the brain, outlines two concepts of ascertaining truth. The left being dependent on an internal coherence to a system you have already developed, looking inward to that which has already been proven to you – what Gregory Bateson called nodal or keystone thoughts.12 Whereas the right looks outward, at what is going on around us. A world dominated by the rational left hemisphere, McGilchrist says, would result in a loss of meaning; equally a world without it would lack definition. Both parts of the brain, he says, "pay a different type of attention on the world" but both are essential and fundamental to one another, they are not separate.13 Since the industrial revolution, McGilchrist says, "we have constructed a world around us externally that is the image of the world the left hemisphere has made internally” cutting off
the deeper cultural roots required for making meaning, telling us "the quest for meaning is meaningless".14
This split can be seen in political discourse as a battle to control the "nodal point" from which the discussions gain their value and meaning.15 A process Manfred Steger calls decontestation, where the opposing ideologies are presented as truths thereby appearing to remove the contention over the meaning of the language used, to `lock in´ the meaning of their core concepts.16

The two dominant political discourses in rural Norway, outlined by Cruickshank et al, are that of 1) economic growth, where the rural is legitimised by its ability to be profitable and competitive with other regions (rational – left hemisphere). 2) The more marginal discourse is that of intrinsic values, where rural life is perceived as having value in itself, regardless of its industrial base, with a strong connection between humans and nature (Intuitive – right hemisphere).17 These two competing narratives each adhere to a different way of knowing the world; the growth narrative is bound to the rational economic realities found in the internal logic of the mall and regional competition. The intrinsic value is less defined; it considers the locality within a broader set of relations, looking beyond the mall.

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French-Caribbean philosopher Edouard Glissant explores the nature of relation from the experience of the Antilles islands. He distinguishes between what he calls totalitarian, an externalised universal truth of a singular root that is presumed a priori to relation – and totality, an internal cultural coherence to a particular root. Relation refers to both that which is internal to a culture and its surroundings and the external cultures that effect it, the occurrence of all things at once. The totalitarian relation comes about when one cultural idea undermines that of another culture, such as religious reformation or
expansive civilisations, often through violence, such relation becomes rootless and abstracted. Relation in totality is rooted to place, locally coherent but closed – static, as with the original gift economies where coming in contact with others saw the exchange externalise from relation – in to barter, the mechanisms of trust and security no longer held. 18 What Glissant calls for today is relation in open totality, where each culture is extended through their relationship with the ´other´ without loosing themselves, a “poetics of Relation”. 19 Open and outward looking, so that cultures do not remain static, but still retaining their internal place based coherence, an understanding of the self-through-place as a way of meeting the world.

Glissant distinguishes relation from relationship, relation cannot be known or proved, as with complexity, you can form an understanding of the relationships within a complex system but you cannot know complexity in its fullness, as it is always constructing itself anew from its relations. 20 “What best emerges from Relation is what one senses”, it cannot be separated or reduced into prime elements, it is not mechanical but it can be imagined. 21 This “imaginary is all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving the world, every human culture will have its own particular imaginary”. 22 In open totality, the world would be enriched by a diversity of ways of knowing, locally rooted but globally extended. The complexity involved in such an understanding suggests, as Socrates claimed it the “responsibility of everyone to be a philosopher”, 23 that it is the responsibility of every person to be an economist, to form a broader understanding of their place locally and in the network of relations that they are a part of forming globally. The economy is seen here as the totality of relations, an economist then refers to someone devoted to the imagining of those relations as well as the practical workings of relationships, a job requiring both the left and right hemispheres. From this position, the intuitive wisdom and rational praxis required to develop sustainable places, will not be found in the established norms of the political divide or the educated elite but rather through a collective understanding of ´the other´ within each place. To be a part of the
economy, is to be a member of social life – involved in the continuous formation of culture and a part of nature, where every decision you make, every small interaction you have, effects the totality of relations that develop there.
I shall introduce the idea of the commons then outline the mall within three spheres; landscape, culture and our attention, each offering a unique way of seeing the mall and our place in it.

The commons refers to spheres that are not governed or owned by private or public institutions, rather through common agreement among those who inhabit those spheres – vernacular laws. The commons most often refers to land and the history of the enclosure of the commons in Britain during the early stages of the industrial revolution. The function of this enclosure was to accumulate the capital wealth of land and to drive the cotters (husmann) and those who, until that time lived from the land as commoners, in to the towns and factories as wage labour for the capital class. David Bollier finds four important strengths within the commons narrative that make it relevant today: 1) A worldview and sensibility that is locally rooted and non-totalising. 2) A venerable local history that legitimises the commons as a tenet of true freedom – from res-communes in Roman times, to Justinian’s Law, the Magna Carta and the subsequent Charter of the Forest. 3) An intellectual framework that exists outside of the current socio-economic systems. 4) A growing number of successful examples from across the world within a variety of contexts.

In his famous article, “the tragedy of the commons”, Garrett Hardin made the case for the enforced management of common land based on the theory of
economic man - the self-interested, utility maximising individual who, because of his nature is unable to cooperate for the common good. The commons must therefore be managed either by a public body – *Hobbes Leviathan*, or through division into *private property*. Elinor Ostrom describes Hardin’s framing of the problem as an *either or*, private or public, which led proponents on both sides to present their political ideas as "the only way." This disqualified the possibility of other diverse and context specific ways of managing common resources, it paid no heed to local inherent knowledge and the debate has since been framed within this narrow political divide.⁴

In Norway there is a strongly held right-of-access within the natural commons that is different to the UK and other countries, throughout Norway you are free to roam, camp, access waterways and pick berries, mushrooms and flowers. Private property that restricts these rights is limited to 150 meters around a house or cabin.⁵

An essential aspect of the commons, though, is the commoner, "*there is no commons with commoning,*" ⁶ but the ability to common requires an understanding of those vernacular laws contained in culture – gained through our lineage of inherent knowledge, and the capacity to maintain those systems is held in lived experience, once this chain is broken the ability to common becomes lost.

**LANDSCAPE**

What you see when you observe the mall within the wider natural landscape is a constructed area, inside this area is a large parking facility roughly equal in size to the buildings, loading areas, large refuse bins and signposts visible to the road advertising the marquee stores and brands. The building itself is usually (in rural Norway) a warehouse style box, unless it was built in the last
few years – when the aesthetics have come under greater scrutiny. All the time there is an inflow and outflow, of cars arriving and leaving, people coming and going, goods arriving in trucks and exiting in shopping bags or bins.

At Tuven, the landscape behind is mostly woodland – pine with some birch and ash here and there – climbing a steep slope, there are occasional openings of rock covered in moss and lichen. Immediately around it is an extended commercial zone, with car show rooms, large electronic store, furniture stores, a small airport and a technology park where they develop technologies for deep-sea submersibles used in the oil sector, the main road follows the lake around some way before you get to the centre of Notodden. Tuven mall is 3.3km from the town, which is approximately a 6 min drive or 34 min walk and a 50 min walk from the primary residential area.7

In front and to the right is a large area of agricultural land divided by a river, before heading up toward the mountain on the other side where the edge of the agricultural land meets woodland again, over this peak the landscape passes through the boreal, up into the sub alpine zone where the trees start to thin and shorten, low lying shrubs begin to dominate along with an array of wild flowers and grasses, as you move higher into the mountainous area of Lifjell you reach alpine areas with permafrost behind shaded ledges, there is silence amongst the gusts of cool wind that flow over the ridges. You can walk over to other towns in the region or continue up joining the Hardangervidda plateau, which stretches all the way to the Western coastline of Norway.

The term cultural landscape is important in Norway, Michael Jones says that this term has come to focus on the agricultural land areas, which account for around 3% of the country, 90% of which is in the south, to the detriment of the wider mental landscapes of cultural knowledge particularly in the highlands with reindeer herding, hunting and fishing.8 This knowledge, he says, is an "ecological folk-knowledge" where "social norms about access and management" are acquired through "informal socialisation and participation in practical work." 9 These
commoning practices found in the wider landscape are barely present in the agricultural landscape of the south today – due to the rationalisation of agriculture that occurred after World War two.¹⁰

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As you move around in the woodland behind the mall, you are confronted with its dazzling diversity and complexity, the colours you see when you observe it from afar are made up of millions of individual parts – connected and dependent on one another. The leaves, each subtly different in tone and texture, shape and size are linked together by the branches, becoming thicker as they reach toward their trunk. The trunk in turn reaches down deep into the earth with its roots, nestling into a soil that is teeming with life, insects and animals, bacteria and fungi, the roots of the fungi form a mycelium network within the forest connecting each tree through the soil, sharing nutrients to where it is needed, from the larger trees who reach the sun to those small shrubs and developing trees below in the shade.¹¹ The surface of the wood is covered in blueberries and cranberries, with the occasional flurry of mushrooms and nettles, fallen trees rot slowly feeding the multiple species dependent on this cyclical process.¹²

As autumn progresses the leaves change shade in a dramatic orchestra of colour, yellows and oranges and browns and reds reach a crescendo before falling down to the ground. First just a few, the odd leaf here and there, but slowly the numbers build and before long with every gust of wind the sky is filled with leaves floating gently down into the soil, feeding all of the life below and the trees above in an endless rhythm.

One day the humid air and mist of autumn give way to a crisp clean frost, the leaves crunch under foot as you move amongst the trees, ice forms around the lichen, the streams and waterfalls form beautiful sculptures around their
banks, on branches or encasing leaves that dangle in from the edges. And soon it is all gone, covered in a layer of snow, the crystals clinging to every branch which sparkle in the low winter sun, the rivers stand still revealing a new deeper silence. With the arrival of the snow, so to the footprints of all the animals appear before you – the deer, the fox, a lost mouse, some birds who have stayed behind for winter fly down to feed from the dried thistle buds poking out above the white.

Through all of this, the flows of the mall remain constant, in and out, the materials, the stone and wood, plastic and the precious metals – but the surrounding landscape remains intact, slowly cycling through the seasons. The sun, rain, the wind and snow, through it all – the inflows and outflows of the mall go on, those materials, they come from another landscape – far away, a landscape that is being transformed greatly.

CULTURE

The cultural commons, as I mean it, refers to our lineage of stories, the knowledge that allows us to live in a particular place, this knowledge is our common inheritance from all those who have lived in that place before. Humans are a part of nature, but also different from it with regards to culture. We exist within a variety of geographical and natural conditions, by engaging with these surrounding environments we develop collective meaning systems, that we call culture, we adapt to live in particular places. So culture is embedded in and driven by geographic environments, as time and mobility progress, cultures evolve and change, we reflect and store these changes in stories – history, as a key driver, then comes to dominate our self understanding.
Notodden town centre is drenched with rain today. It is mid August and the newly appointed post-industrial world heritage site is quiet. I am sitting under a large paraply outside a café in a pleasant square; rain is dripping around the edges. I am waiting to begin my wandering, one advantage of the shopping mall is clear already, always dry and warm, but to get there is to leave the town, a half an hour walk along a busy road. Occasionally the build up of rain pools on top of the umbrella, the weight eventually becomes too much and it falls suddenly – the water hits the ground heavily and splashes up on to my shoes, then runs down the street. The building opposite is a worn yellow colour, but it has a real grandeur to it, like so many buildings in the town they were built at a time when things were meant to last, a time of great confidence in the permanence of the industrial project, but now the brick is crumbling away.

The town of Notodden built up around a powerful river in an area that had been inhabited by human beings since the Viking period. Up until the beginning of the 20th Century the area was mostly agricultural, farmers and cotters tending every available area in what is often a harsh climate. Around this time Norwegian entrepreneur Sam Eyde and physicist Kristian Birkeland began developing the technology for harnessing hydro-electric power, with the ability to draw on huge amounts of energy almost continuously the area was ripe for industrialisation. One of the primary industries they developed was peat fertilizer for agriculture, essential at the time for avoiding wide spread food shortage. Prior to this Norway had experienced a mass migration to America, particularly from rural areas, due to low crop yields. During the early 1900’s there was a huge influx of people to the town, a large industrial area was constructed near to the lake, rows of identical housing for the workers and grander more distinct houses for the wealthy managers and owners, a number of hotels and a long high street running parallel with the river, it became an area of great importance in Northern Europe at the time.
The land workers and farmers migrated from all over Norway and abroad, seeking the labour positions in the factories. Trond, a local historian, grew up here, his family had moved to the town in 1907 and his father worked for the energy company Norsk Hydro for forty years. He says, “At the beginning there was huge optimism” but by the 1920’s you saw the start of the decline, as the energy became transportable the main industries began moving to the costal cities of Skien & Porsgrunn, it was a tough period that again saw a migration to North America and to the new industries opening up on the coast. After the war, the standard of living began to rise, the period between the 20’s and 30’s had been “tough on peoples bodies” but things improved, “secure jobs, motorcycles, telephone, fridge” people still had to do things for themselves but life got better. People felt strongly connected as a company town, after work the streets would fill, “walking, cycling through the centre, buying what they needed, the centre was a very active place.” Notodden was special in that it had two main industries, Hydro with their focus on nitrogen-based fertilizers and Tinfos ironworks. The two companies were, in a way, competitors for labour but they also cooperated. Hydro had a high status, as they paid their workers more, but they did less for the community and moved their head quarters away quite early on. Tinfos showed more social responsibility toward the town, they renovated the Stavkirke in Heddal, built a new church in Notodden, they built the football stadium and kept their headquarters in the town, they have been more connected to the community. By the end of the 1960’s the decline of Industry began in earnest and with it the population. Now he says “Shopping centres have taken the business, there are very few strong businesses left in the town... it is the same in Porsgrunn” (A city near Skien on the coast). He describes the conditions today as a “Western culture of exclusion” excluding people from society if they don’t have higher education for new specialized, computerized work.
Harold has lived in Notodden all of his life, he owns and runs a toyshop in the centre of town. His grandparents moved here at the turn of the last century; they sold their farm near Kongsberg and came here to build a business of their own. This was rare, according to Harold, as most of the people came for the more secure labour jobs. Harold’s family came as small scale entrepreneurs they bought a building just off the main street and started a company called ‘Telemarks Minelvann,’ (soft drinks) the company ran until 1995 but the large scale producers along with new rules and regulations meant there was “no future for small factories” anymore. Business is slow, there are “less and less people in town nowadays, people go to Kongsberg, Skien and the shopping centre in Tuven, people want the town, but they must support it, those stupid places outside of town have no connection with natural ways of living, they are owned by these big heads, these people are running all of Norway but they are greeted as hero’s.” Harold says the rent for space at the mall is too expensive for independent shop owners, it goes up in accordance with income, “the more you earn, the more you pay”.

Helene works in Herkules mall just outside of Skien, she is the manager of a chain franchise ‘Name it’ selling a brand of children’s clothing. Her boss owns five such shops and there are about four other owners of these stores in Norway. ‘Name it’ is one of around twenty popular retail brands owned by Danish company ‘Bestseller,’ who handle the production of the clothes and distribution to the franchise owners. Helene has experience of managing stores both inside and outside of malls and she is far happier in the mall, “I feel very safe in the mall, they do everything, taking out the garbage... clearing snow,” she feels free from responsibility, if she has any problems or something goes wrong she can go to the mall leaders and they can help. “If I have a store in the city I would be more on my own... But we are paying for it in the rent, of course”.15
When the rain eventually eases, I wander about the town, the streets are quiet, there are many empty shop fronts, a girl sits alone in the square selling strawberries.

Down to the docks and the newly built culture house and blues museum with cinema, library and café. I notice the cheapness of the toilet door that does not meet flush with the lock and the plastic edges are already coming away from the wall, I do not imagine this being here in a hundred years. New builds rise up while the old solid buildings slowly fade in the background. I see from the libraries upstairs window what must be Tuvensenter and before it the new Technology Park – it is hard to make out from this distance.

The walking path to Tuven is clearly the back-way in, piles of leftovers and rubbish hidden behind a façade from the parking area. This is not the way intended for the normal consumer, the target group – who come by car. The mall as a covered place of consumption creates an entirely new condition – regulated temperatures, weather sealed, a season-less sphere that stands in marked separation from the surrounding landscape that bore the original culture and place. The culture that then forms in the mall, is no longer driven or limited by the local geography, it no longer needs to consider the landscape as a part of satisfying needs. Connection to nature depends on other motivations than simply being a person who lives in that place, nature becomes something more akin to a platform for leisure, the sense of being embedded in a natural environment is, in the mall, severed entirely.
ATTENTION

“In the main currents of psychological research, attention is treated as a resource – a person only has so much of it. Yet it does not occur to us to make a claim for our attentional resources on our own behalf. Nor do we yet have a political economy corresponding to this resource, one that would take into account the peculiar violations of the modern cognitive environment.” Further to this our attention is strongly correlated with another limited resource, our ability to self-regulate and make choices for ourselves. He sees a public space increasingly penetrated by “attention-getting technologies... directing us away from one another and toward a manufactured reality,” determined by private interests elsewhere. Herkules mall, for example, is owned by Finish company Citycon group who run 34 different malls, they also own sektor media, a marketing company renting a variety of advertising space options in those malls, as they put it: “Our shopping centres attract approximately 75 million visits each year. Would you let so many customers visit your shop without trying to sell them something? Neither would we. That’s why we developed Sektor Media. Sektor Media’s multimedia channels allow you to reach all these people with your message and your products. Our channels are the shortest path from advertising to purchasing.” Crawford gives the example of social divisions in airports, where in the main lounge your attention is subject to enormous amounts of stimulation, advertising can be found on every wall, screen and bin – every empty space becomes a potential commodity. What this all equates to is noise, just as clean air is to breathing, silence, “is what makes it possible to think.” Silence under these
conditions then becomes a commodity itself, to be sold back to us in the form of the business class lounge. It is in the silence of these lounges, he argues, that the innovative ideas for accumulating wealth are developed. Similar to the enclosure of the common lands in Britain, this enclosure of our attentional commons is "best understood as a transfer of wealth."  

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It is a strange thing to study a shopping mall, as I discover I am both the studier of the object and the object at the same time. At no point during my time in malls was I fully in control of my actions, of my attention – even though I was conscious of the effects, my capacities for self control were constantly being tested.

I went in one time looking for a simple hat and an ice tray, while I came back to think about the hat periodically I completely forgot about the ice tray, instead I was drawn toward any number of objects and lost why I was there, I became engrossed by these things – imagining them in my home or as a part of my life. Headphones, a coffee grinder, frozen yogurt, a salvanian family, toy cash machine, the vivid aqua blue on a poster for holidays in Crete, jeans, an external hard drive, convector fans, a camera, iPod case, jeans again – this time I found myself trying them on. Coffee grinder again, mini speakers, a sofa (which I order and then cancelled a week later incurring a 300 kroner fee), mini shelves, browsing DVDs, frozen yogurt again. Walking around in circles, the same items came up again and again, in different stores or the same stores, each time the item became harder to resist. I needed none of these things. (Herkulestenter - 6 hours)
Psychologist Tim Kasser developed a circumplex model, drawing on the research of a number of psychologists, for identifying how intrinsic and extrinsic goals and values impact our behaviour. He has studied and contrasted the behaviour of individuals after they were oriented toward intrinsic values (such as messages promoting cooperation, community centred values, self-affirmation) with those exposed to extrinsic triggers found in most commercial advertising (concerns with popularity, financial success and image). He found that those exposed to a high level of extrinsic messaging were more materialistic and self-interested, which in turn predicts lower levels of wellbeing and less concern for the environment, those oriented by money, for example, exhibited less pro-social behaviour. Those exposed to intrinsic messaging showed greater levels of empathy toward others, were less materialistic, experienced higher levels of wellbeing and expressed greater ecological attitudes. In contemporary society, he says, most people are exposed to between 500 and 1000 extrinsic messages a day compared with only a handful of intrinsic messages. In environments where people believe it is a social norm to be self-interested they are less likely to act against it – further reinforcing it as a norm, equally if people are referred to as consumers rather than citizens this will effect their self-identity and behaviour toward extrinsic attitudes. The use of the term consumer began to gain traction at the beginning of the 20th century with the appearance of the department store; by 1970 it surpassed the use of the word citizen in referencing of the population. The use of this language is highly evident in the mall industry, the consumer, consumer rights, consumer demand, consumer–retailer win win are habitually used. Kasser says that we all have both extrinsic and intrinsic tendencies, the extent to which they are triggered is an effect of our surroundings, not only messaging but also peer groups or what we believe peer groups care about. In this sense how we are motivated to behave is a product of our environment.
Interestingly Kasser found that there was no difference of attitude between those *thinking about being American and those thinking about being an extrinsic American*, the American dream is oriented around extrinsic values and attitudes.\(^3\)

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Looking down over the centre of Voss from the cable car house high up in the mountain you can observe how the town links together, the main public high street and square are still a vibrant hub of activity compared with many towns, there is however a growing anxiety about the future. The shopping mall, an Amfi owned by Olav Thon, that sits about one kilometre from the main street has recently expanded and introduced an H&M clothing store (seen as a key *magnet*) much to the delight of many shoppers.\(^2\) Not too far from the mall is a new development of near identical houses that stands in stark contrast to the older parts of town. Under what was then a strong social democracy the rest of Voss came about much more organically, the houses were built by those who were to live in them, there was a community of families sharing tips and knowledge, this unique character of the houses is one of the most attractive features of the town. These new developments represent an *endless similarity*, a process of efficiency seen in the workers housing in Notodden and similar to that of the mall landscape, aesthetically the same in every town. The homogenous efficiency of the landscapes of consumption now infiltrates the home, bringing about the conformity that capitalism was meant to liberate us from.

Across the valley at the far end of the lake, the word BULA (a sports clothing brand) has been mown into a field, visible from the main road into town – turning the mountain landscape itself into an attention-capturing commodity.\(^2\)
Successful examples of the commons, as illustrated by Ostrom, point to small groups of people with a long term interested in a resource and as Smaje suggests, the commons should not be seen as the solution to resource problems in a complex globalised world. The aspect of the commons I would like to highlight is that of participation – the act of commoning itself. It is through our collective interaction with the natural environment that we have developed internally coherent cultures, and through those cultures that we form our psychological self-understanding (meaning). If we cease to engage in this process, succumbing instead to the social norms of self-interested consumption, what I suggest is a totalising idea, our ability to cooperate begins to fade and with it our ability to create cultures rooted to place.
A BRIEF HISTORY OF SHOPPING MALLS IN NORWAY

The first mall to open in Norway was the Eiksmarkasenter in Bærum – Oslo, built in 1953 and situated in the Western suburbs of the city, close to the Metro line, it was a strip mall similar to those popular in the US at that time, with a row of shops facing a parking area and a glassed over walkway. It had recently closed down, a number of local newspaper articles from the year before outlined a community dispute between those wishing for it to remain and a company who wanted to redevelop the site into a modern shopping mall with apartments above, the latter had won the day. Looking through the glass, the shops are stripped bare, the old stickers and signs remain – weathered and worn, the glass front of the main sign is pulled out exposing the neon bulbs beneath, faded shields from the 50 year celebration of the centre in 2005, a large model trout hangs outside what was a fish shop. What is clear is that most if not all of these shops were independent – a window back to the time of the local business, it has since been demolished. The second mall to be built in Norway was the Lambertsetersenter in the East of Oslo (1958), also next to a Metro station, it offered a variety of services and was part of, what was by then perceived to be, the ‘latest thing’ in the modern cultural landscape. In 2005 an extension opened across the road, a new multi-story mall with a large variety of brand stores, cinema, library and integrated parking garage – one of the main passageways out of the Metro station leads into the mall, at around
three in the afternoon the school children returning home are funnelled through. The older mall still exists – there is a gym, a large discount store and dry cleaners along with some other amenities. In 1962 the Byåsensenter opened in Trondheim and 1968 CC Drammen opened to crowds of people waiting outside, (the original building is currently being upgraded by its owners Citycon).\(^1\)

From then on the shopping mall revolution began to pick up pace, today the mall represents a significant part of the consumer economy and a new social arena – with the highest square meter per capita in Europe,\(^2\) around one third of all retail sales in Norway go through malls and this is predicted to continue growing.\(^3\) Despite stricter planning regulation in some areas, expansion and development continues in accordance with local development plans, in the small town of Kirkenes, for example, near to the Northern Russian border, a new shopping mall opened outside of the town last year despite there being a mall in the town centre itself and an active high street, the large supermarket that had been in town has now moved to this new location, supermarkets are key "magnets" that draw customers to the location.\(^4\)

There has been an increasing concentration of retail ownership in Norway over the years, today a few key players own a majority of malls, Olav Thon Gruppen, Steen & Strøm and Sektor – (now CityCon) are three significant owners.\(^5\) It is not the point of this study to undertake a financial analysis of mall structures, rather to focus on the behaviour of malls and the people related to them – I will however give some examples of the financial relationships involved. Tuven mall was owned by Salto Eiendom, who ran 19 malls and numerous other real-estate ventures; the mall is officially listed under a sub company Salto Tuven Senter AS. CEO Arne Vannebø is listed as Manger for 21 such sub companies, Board leader of 52 and board member of 15. During the course of my research the structure of these sub companies has changed once and more recently Salto Eiendom has been purchased by Schage Eiendom.\(^6\) Inside the mall, Meny (a popular supermarket chain) is
owned by Norgesgruppen a company who list numerous retail and food providers that count for 39% of Norwegian grocery sales (2014) and are linked to 85% of products on supermarket shelves in Norway. For example Vita cosmetics, is owned by Cosmetic Group AS, Cosmetic Group As is owned by FSN Capital As (60%) and Norgesgruppen ASA (40%). Norgesgruppen itself is 74% owned by the Johannson family, one of the wealthiest families in Norway with a fortune listed at over two billion kroner (in 2015). There is also increasingly a thread of ownership to foreign investment firms, for example Steen & Strøm own a number of shopping malls in Scandinavia, they are owned by French based investment firm Klepierre who own numerous mall operators around Europe, in 2014 they posted an 808.1 million Euro net income and a net current cash flow of 520.4 million Euro. Klepierre’s main investors are American realtor Simon Property (20.3%), and Dutch Pension firm APG (13.6%). Companies like Klepierre and global investment firms like Simon Property or Partners group (who hold significant shares in Sektor now Citycon), see the opportunities in what they call the “consumer spending power” of markets like Scandinavia.

The service sector is a significant part of the modern Norwegian economy, as Helene points out many people work in retail today – Herkules mall employs 850 people, offering employment in a safe and organised environment. The feel of this structure reminds me of the production companies during the 50’s and 60’s that Trond described in Notodden before the decline; there was at that time also the notion of life long secure jobs. Norway has not been impacted in the same way as many other countries by the 2008 financial crisis, due in part to the countries immense oil wealth and a strong welfare structure, but is currently in a far greater crisis as a result of the recent decline in oil prices. It is worth noting that in the UK during this time a number of well-established chain stores and brands went out of business as a result of the crisis leaving many people in sudden unemployment and uncertainty. At the same time
local independent shops proved more resilient, they did more to stay open and maintained higher levels of customer loyalty through personal relationships. In addition research into the multiplication effect of money in the UK (LM3) found that money spent with an independent locally owned business stays in and circulates the community for longer effectively multiplying its value, conversely when money is spent with a chain store it is subject to a higher level of extraction at the point of purchase.10

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The patterns of development described so far are similar to the United States and Britain; the first fully covered mall in the US was Southdale mall, Minneapolis, opening in 1956. The period between 1960 and 1980 was the Golden age of the malling of America, during this time over 30,000 malls were built in the US, the "mall paradigm was perfected and systematically replicated, developers methodically surveyed, divided and appropriated suburban cornfields and orange groves to create a new landscape of consumption." 11 In the UK strict planning regulations prevented this until the early 1980’s, during Margaret Thatcher’s first term deregulation saw a flurry of development of out of town malls and superstores – leading to the subsequent demise of the high street in many towns and cities.12 The entrepreneurs developing these malls portrayed them as a "phoenix rising from the ashes of industrial decline", and they were, as Harold (the toyshop owner in Notodden) pointed to in Norway, "greeted as Heroes", shepherding in the era of consumer liberation where the "good life promised in the magazine ads and television commercials can be found." 13 In all of these contexts the development occurred in conjunction with the decline of industrial work, a shift from production to consumption, labour to service. The level of investment in shopping mall development and marketing strategies today suggests a commitment to a long-term consumer culture by
the public and private sectors, as the buildings of Notodden’s industrial era stand empty testament to the labour movement and industrial entrepreneurs equal commitment to production. This transformation into a service society (from producer to consumer) is reflected in the national development strategy, as outlined by Norway’s (now) Prime Minister Erna Solberg, “I am talking about the change from being a society dominated by primary industry, through becoming a society based on service industry. This change into a knowledge and service society has been the primary challenge for the rural parts of Norway... It is therefore about time that we changed our regional and rural policy into one that realises the actual development traits and changes in our society.”

If consumption drives production, which in turn drives growth, this would then seem to be an indicator of needs being met and thus a growth in wellbeing (if wellbeing is understood as needs being met). However growth seen as a goal rather than a tool only requires its own continuation, a truth of modern economic and political ideology. Growth then requires not only that needs be met but also the generation of new needs or new ways of meeting needs that have already been met adequately, an iPhone 7 or new graphics quality on a video game. As Guy Debord put it, “economic necessity is replaced by the necessity for boundless economic development, the satisfaction of primary needs is replaced by an uninterrupted fabrication of pseudo-needs.” These are actual changes, yes, the phone is lighter the camera slightly better, the graphics of the game more realistic, however the real change is in our perception, we become accustomed to the experience of a sense of improvement occurring, the smoother edges of the phone, the details on the footballers jersey in the game. We expect this experience and experience that expectation as a need, a symbol of progress, a sense that society is moving
forward. Up until that point we had been satisfied with the function and realism of our former devices, it is only once we experience these cosmetic improvements that we ‘need’ the next model. While there are great developments and improvements brought on by new technologies, the development of new marginally improved experiences every year or less is, I sense, something else. Once the way we perceive is tied to these kinds of superficial needs (the change of sameness) the mechanisms of growth need not cease, cannot cease. The mall is no different, only the cycles of change are far longer, in the US and UK the redevelopment of the town centres has become a political priority, leading to the privatisation of public streets or the development of new private streets just off the original high street, new waterfront areas or in town malls. These new arenas operate under the same logic as the mall; they bring with them the magnet chain stores and the same rules of private property. While it brings back the commercial atmosphere to the town centres and some independent stores may survive on the fringes, the general landscape becomes one of “endless similarity” with a loss of uniqueness and character – and a commercialisation of what was previously a public space. This is what Edward Relph referred to as placeless landscapes, "particularly associated with mass culture – the adoption of fashions and ideas about landscapes and places that are coined by a few ‘experts’ and disseminated to the people through the mass media,” a consequence of an "overriding concern with efficiency as an ends to itself.” The characteristics of placelessness he outlines are: places directed toward other people – tourist entertainment, a uniformity and standardisation in design, formless and lacking in human-scale, causing the destruction of an existing place and an impermanence – constantly subject to redevelopment. They are places in tune with the values of mass media and the dominant economic narrative; these places, he found, also result in inauthentic attitudes and a behavioural technique that I will expand on in the next section.
In response to a growing consumer awareness of this sense of *placelessness*, modern malls and chains have had to adopt new strategies for creating a sense of distinctiveness. The emphasis within modern mall marketing today, in view of the financial crisis and the disruption of the Internet, has been to maintain flows through the mall (what is called *footfall*), by the introduction of more public amenities (including cases of state welfare offices), entertainment and the constant redevelopment of distinct experiences. It is not uncommon in Norway for the annual lighting of the community Christmas tree (traditionally held in the public square) to now take place in the mall. Shoppers are incentivised to pick up online purchases "in store", as it is found that consumers who pick up in store make additional *spontaneous* purchases, a part of a move toward a "total retail integration" between online and *bricks and mortar stores*.  

Grunerlokka, Oslo, is a popular neighbourhood known for its unique atmosphere of artists and independent stores. Restaurateur Jan Vardøen helped open a Mexican restaurant there in the mid nineties and has since opened a number of new restaurants as well as bars, a micro brewery and bakery, each business has its own unique theme and character and while the area maintains its image stylistically, at a deeper aesthetic level it reflects a change of *relation*, with the concentration of ownership and influx of service workers that is a part of a broader gentrification of the area. Rent and property prices have gone up, the students and artists moved on and young professionals move in along with investors buying for Airbnb hotels.  

Similarly Starbucks has begun opening "stealth" stores, these are coffee shops that look like independent stores and give no obvious reference to the Starbucks brand, *capturing people who try to avoid chains*.  

The processes of development, destruction and renewal of place is characteristic of Joseph Schumpeter’s *perennial gales of creative destruction* where disruptive innovations change patterns of behaviour by altering
previously established structures and norms. For Schumpeter the key to this constant renewal is the entrepreneur class, a group of what he saw as particularly creative individuals, not normal businessman. The time frame for these changes vary, from small – fast changes (like new features on a phone) slower changes such as the relocation of the mall, what David Harvey calls the spatial switching of capital in the built environment, and epochal disruptions such as the invention of the steam engine or Internet. Wrigley, drawing on a number of thinkers who have developed Schumpeter’s work in relation to the consumer landscape, describes this process in detail. He says “the retail landscape provides one of the clearest examples of Schumpeter’s ‘perennial gale’ of recurrent capitalist innovation, with retail investment continually on the move, creating, then abandoning, then rediscovering, spaces of profit extraction – in the process relocating downtowns, shifting retail investment to the suburban frontier, devalorizing and polarizing retail environments of the inner city, then revisiting, rehabilitating and revitalizing (gentrifying) some of the most degraded of these areas, perennially reversing the pre-existing logic and location of profit extraction and the sources and flows of creativity in the retail landscape.”

A conference in 2013, held by the design and architecture centre in Oslo, discussed the idea of revitalising Norwegian towns by relocating the development of malls back into the town centres. By way of introduction they say, “we are a shopping mall people... for many Norwegian towns and cities the choice is between dead centres or mall development. Therefore we feel it is time that communities, politicians, developers and others discuss the opportunities for the transformation of existing shopping malls and development of new ones. The question today is no longer always yes or no to the mall, but also what kind of shopping we should have and how they can best serve the needs of people and communities around the country.” They presented Liverpool One as an example, a project aimed at revitalising the commercial centre of Liverpool’s historic dockyard. The 170,000 square metre site was purchased by global property group Grosvenor on a 250-year lease from Liverpool city council (who retained
5% profit), Grosvenor is owned by the Duke of Westminster the UK’s third wealthiest person. They were tasked with creating an aesthetically sensitive development, considering the character and history of the area. Liverpool One is made up of private streets interwoven with enclosed malls and hosts a number of key magnet stores including John Lewis, Harvey Nichols and a Hilton Hotel. It has been credited as a commercial success and although it is made up predominantly of chain stores, a by-product of the increased footfall to the city has benefited local traders in the peripheral streets. Ray Coleman from the University of Liverpool, is one of many to express concerns about the encroachment into public space of developments like Liverpool One, as visions that silence other aspects of city life, “the modernising agenda appears here to mean a fabrication of urban ‘bustle’ that is rooted in enclaves that speak to a middle-class desire for inoculation from the signs of decay, disorder and inequality,” where the non-consumer is stigmatised and excluded. A report by the Royal institute of Chartered Surveyors says we are seeing a return to the privatisation of public areas not seen since the Victorian era, resulting in hot spots of affluence and cold spots of exclusion. To this, David Harvey reminds us that we should never take for granted the need to constantly reclaim the public in what he calls the dialectic of utopia, between a utopia of spatial form that materialises in these closed zones of exclusion (where the consumer is shielded from any social disorder) and the utopia of social process, democratic inclusion in the forming of public spaces. This I find well illustrated in an article aimed at debunking such fears, which to me only amplifies a subtler concern, where reactions to social exclusion and inequality are no longer felt by those spaces that profit from it. "When London's street violence spread across England last August, Liverpool One had every shop window cleared of high-value goods, all potential missiles removed and a shutdown at 4pm so that Merseyside police could ring the area to deter looters."
It has been two years since I last spoke to Harold, he had just moved in to an empty shop front on the main street, business has not picked up though. He still maintains the same group of loyal customers; he has added a new section with household products, baskets, pictures and a selection of quality kitchen products. He has placed some old tables from his grand parents house and a carpet to complement the style of this new section. He spoke of the difficulty people have at initiating things in the town, people still by-pass the town to go to Tuven.

In the local newspaper, the voice of those who wish to develop Tuven further is given favour over those of the town; they present those who oppose the development as preventing the creation of jobs. Those who wish to expand the site use language such as growth, development and innovation; they speak of the need to constantly create new exciting experiences in order to become a strong competitive centre for regional commerce.37

Most of the shops at Tuven are chains or brand franchises,38 however there are some independent success stories. Jurunn had owned a health food shop in the High Street for fourteen years, but as with Harold things became increasingly hard, she had not wanted to leave the town, but made the move into Tuven in 2004 and she says it has saved her store and that she is happy there.39

For toy shops Harold says the ownership structure of the large importers such as Mattel and Brio "are merging with the wholesalers who increasingly own the outlets, Toy ’s r us and VN leker”. Smaller wholesalers close down or merge with them, making it harder for owners like Harold to know where to buy things. “I don’t know where we will get Barbie and other key products next year, they only want to sell through their own stores".
He goes to Tuven mall for certain special items it is hard to find in town now, mens clothing, sportswear, the supermarket but tries to use the town as much as possible. The shop is quiet on weekdays, one or two customers *maybe*, “around three it picks up sometimes.” A boy comes in, “he is the son from the café owners across the street, he comes in every day nearly.”
ARCHITECTURE OF THE SENSES

“(The) interplay of the different senses is what enables the chiasm between the body and the earth, the reciprocal participation – between one’s own flesh and the encompassing flesh of the world – that we commonly call perception.”

David Abram

Abram introduces the concept of our perceptual horizon, everything we can see, smell, touch, taste and hear together making up our present. This present is extended to include our open future and our closed past by our connection to it through the ground, through this conception we can imagine space and time not as separate realms, but rather a space-time we are immersed in.

Observing the entrance, people approach from all directions, as they come in sight of the main door they straighten up their line. Outside there are two men who look like drug addicts, they loiter for a while asking for spare change before one of them wanders off toward the other entrance, the traffic into the mall is constant and fast paced. A security guard escorts a woman out of the building, she leans over the bin and vomits, he stands behind her with his arms folded. Entering the circular automatic doors, the sound of the street vanishes instantly, sealed in by the rubber edges around each of the panels, replaced with a calm murmur of voices gently echoing around and the faint beat of a pop song, the smell is warm and perfumed. (Oslo City Mall)
In modern architecture Pallasmaa identifies a priority of sight, what he sees as a “growing hegemony of the eye... parallel with the development of Western ego-consciousness and the gradually increasing separation of the self and the world, vision separate us from the world whereas the other senses unite us with it.” So what of our other senses in the mall – and our perception of cyclical time in a spectacular place.

SOUND

“We are not normally aware of the significance of hearing in spatial experience, although sound often provides the temporal continuum in which visual impressions are embedded... The programmed recorded music of shopping malls and public spaces eliminates the possibility of grasping the acoustic volume of space. Our ears have been blinded.”

The sound is continuous and repeating, echoing around like a broken record. The music is set at an ambient level, the songs become indistinguishable from one another – just pop beat formula. The voices close-by are clear, but the background voices merge into one. Occasionally a sound interrupts, the clattering of a plate, a phone ringing or a chair scrapping against the floor, these new sounds echo around the space – climbing upwards before reflecting back off the ceiling as they attempt to make their escape, swirling back down and mixing with all of the new sounds. It all translates into a murmuring that settles like a thick fog on your mind, just above the eyes.

SMELL

“What delight to move from one realm of odour to the next, through the narrow streets of an old town.”
The smell that hits you when you walk in from the street is a warm sanitised air – scented with the perfumed fabrics of new clothes, books and hair products. Walking around – the smell, like the sound, takes the form of a singular constant – however it is always changing in reality, around the food stands and hair salons for example, but overall the ambient smell you remember is new clothes. Bookstores and record shops have a subtly different yet similar smell – as if a spray entitled ‘new scent’ has been lacquered over everything.

Peter Reason says that you are drawn to a subject of research because of some deep psychological distress. I remember my experiences from department stores as a child, shopping for new school clothes. After a time it would begin to overwhelm me – I would stamp my feet, when I was young I would stamp freely and openly, but as I grew older I became more covert, just one stamp here and there, I would grit my teeth and I learned to control the compulsion.

I realise now, having spent an unusual amount of time in malls, that this feeling has not gone away, it has returned to my leg and what I suspected before I feel more certain of, it is the smell of new clothes, I find it intoxicating. "The most persistent memory of any space is often its smell."

TOUCH

“It is pleasurable to press a door handle shining from the thousands of hands that have entered the door before us; the clean shimmer of ageless wear has turned into an image of welcome and hospitality... The tactile sense connects us with time and tradition: through impressions of touch we shake the hands of countless generations.”

The handle, Pallasmaa says, “is the handshake of the building”. But in modern malls the handle no longer exists, you enter via a vacuum-sealed cylinder divided into three sections that begins turning on sensing your approach. You
come out on the other side in a controlled space, temperature, smell and access are regulated, you touch only what you are attracted to visually, things to try on and even then many items are sealed in packaging or are handled for you – someone else puts the shoes on your feet. The ceremony of touch is saved for when you get home.

At the sandwich shop, the girl making my lunch does not touch the food; she uses prongs in one hand and a plastic disposable glove in the other. She changes the glove between the dressing section and the salad section – throwing it away, the bin next to the counter is overflowing with them. The sandwich is served with wrapping half way down, prepared so that I can eat it without coming in contact with the bread. There are points of contact in the mall, silver buttons – for the elevator door and the touch screen for the toilet coupons. Sensors flush the toilet for you, deliver the soap, open the faucet and initiate the hand dryer, the security gate opens when you scan your coupon.

TASTE

"Vision becomes transferred to taste as well; certain colours and delicate details evoke oral sensations. A delicately coloured polished stone surface is subliminally sensed by the tongue."

The taste, if anything, is naturally much like the smell and although unpleasantly neutral it leaves you craving some constant input, of which there is plenty of choice. Frozen yoghurt, coffees, pastries, sandwiches, hot foods, a supermarket in the basement, Starbucks, McDonalds, ice-cream etc... There is nothing in the architecture itself that calls out to be tasted in the way Pallasmaa describes apart from promotional images, images of food, of shapes and of human flesh.
SIGHT

Sight is the most affected of the senses; the mall is a feast for you attention. Pallasmaa says it is through all our senses that we experience architecture, where “buildings and cities are instruments and museums of time. They enable us to see and understand the passing of history, and to participate in time cycles that surpass individual life.” With the constant renewal of the modern mall it denies such history, it removes us from this sense of time. Our perceptual horizon is vacuum-sealed – the feel, taste, sound and smell ultimately coalesce into one homogenous hum. I found the inability to distinguish between them, after a time, lead to a disorientation and drowsiness. The experience of such modern structures then becomes visual, a narrow aesthetic perception, caught up in a perennial gale of progress, of what is visually pleasing. Those senses that give us an embodied connection to a place are blinded, leaving us handicapped, with only our over stimulated sense of sight through which to navigate. Here is where the advertisers and pathway architects of malls capitalise, “it is all about catching the attention of as many visitors, as many times as possible – simply because people buy what they can see,” these “spatial planners” use customer profiling, observation and mobile signals to track the movements of shoppers, helping them design advertising strategies and create flows through the mall that will increase profitability or “improve the consumer experience.”

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John Berger says that the purpose of advertising is to “make the spectator marginally dissatisfied with his present way of life. Not with the way of life of society, but with his own within it. It suggests that if he buys what it is offering, his life will become better. It offers him an improved alternative to what he is.” While
the oil painting gave an enhanced view of a person as they already were, the advert replicates this flattery, in order to show them as they could be. There is a mirroring here, as Pallasmaa puts it, "when experiencing a work of art, a curious exchange takes place; the work projects its aura, and we project our own emotions and percepts on the work." These visual ideas to be consumed then trigger sensory memories, transposing us out of where we are to where we could be. I experienced this with that vivid ‘aqua park’ blue, it triggers the smell of sun cream and the plastic of a cheaply produced beach ball, the feel of the sun in a warm breeze, pommes-frites, ketchup, coca cola – ice cold and a Marlboro red. All these stimulate the ideas I have of some past experience; I am outside of the present and envy my potential future self. I exclude the daily realities in the memories, the red blistered back, sand – coarse against the skin – in every crevice, burning hot, queues and crowds, airports, the daily rhythm of waking and sleeping, waiting, eating and drinking, the sharp plastic edges of inflatable beach accessories.

Crawford discusses the problem of “free will” in contemporary culture, where Kant’s metaphysics, so central to “our modern understanding of how we relate to the world,” separates the moral freedom of will (which is considered rational) from the causation of nature. "Kant tries to put the freedom of the will on a footing that secures it against outside influence... a law unto itself-but he can do this only by removing the will to a separate realm, from which it can have no causal effect on this world." This makes us vulnerable to environments that adhere to this self understanding, when "nature is understood to be threatening to our freedom as rational beings, it becomes attractive to construct a virtual reality that will be less so.”

For my beach holiday, which is both a selective memory and a dream of my future self, to become a reality the tourist industry must construct resorts that do not challenge the validity of my will, private enclosed beaches, guarded from external threats with eager service minded locals. In order for us to
experience this particular sense of freedom as a reality, in an ever-shrinking world, our environments need to be constructed.\textsuperscript{14}

In her study of machine gambling, \textit{addiction by design}, Natasha Shull finds this enactment of the will at its most rudimentary, where the point for compulsive gamblers is not to win, but to gain the experience of control, \textit{your action of pressing the button produces an effect that aligns perfectly with your will, because your will has been channelled into the "logic of the machine."}\textsuperscript{15} The addict seeks this smooth, insulated zone outside of the "prevailing cultural expectations that individuals be flexible, adaptable, and poised to adjust themselves to these ever changing circumstances."\textsuperscript{16} She describes the gambling industry as an addiction at all levels, from the \textit{zone-seeking} individual to the regional governments \textit{addiction to the revenue}.\textsuperscript{17}

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"What exactly a flaneur is has never been satisfactorily defined, but among all the versions of the flaneur as everything from the primeval slacker to a silent poet one thing remains constant: the image of an observant and solitary man strolling about Paris."\textsuperscript{18}

Rebecca Solnit

I want to explore the idea of the flaneur as someone who \textit{walks against} the designed intent of the mall. The daytime \textit{flaneur} of the mall seems to be elderly gentlemen, the mall offers flat wide pathways available all year round, there is little chance of potholes and any slippery patches are quickly cleaned up and there are regular rest stops. Security is visible and the drug addicts who congregate outside of the old arcade in town are nowhere to be seen. These men, five I have noticed so far, walk slowly around the circular
promenade, stopping after a lap or so on one of the soft leather seats, they are comfortable but have no backs, meant perhaps as a rest stop rather than a place to relax for too long. Then they stand up again and walk back around, they seem to have little interest in buying anything although I saw one later on leaving with a supermarket bag. There is a traditional Norwegian café, selling meat cakes with boiled potatoes, open sandwiches and black ‘no fuss’ coffee. A group of these men have gathered there to chat over lunch. On one wall there are pictures of the local football team, on the other side pictures of the town centre as it was in the 1950’s and 60’s. The atmosphere here is different to the rest of the mall, there is no music or advertising it is in a way an attentional free zone. The older generation have been incorporated into the mall, they may not be the highest spenders but they are loyal and regular. Another group identified as a flaneur are teenagers, in all the malls I have spent time, after school there is a rush of young people. In Rob Shields study of West Edmonton Mall in Canada and Matthews et al study of Grosvenor Centre in the UK, they find a conflict between the mall and teenagers. Shield observed that young people must adopt "bourgeois forms and norms of social docility" in order to avoid the attentions of security, acts of rebellion such as sitting on the floor will result in being moved on in a few minutes, "one must always look as if one has just bought something or is about to." Mathews found that teenager’s generally valued security guards, that the mall offers an environment where they can practice exerting their hybrid identity, between family child and adulthood, they are able to test the authority of the mall security while also being protected by it.

I have not experience a strong sense of securitisation in Norway, as described by Shield, even testing this by sitting on the floor for over an hour – I was not moved on. However I did not witness groups loitering either or teenagers disturbing the atmosphere, they tended to blend in with the movement of the mall. Helene spoke of another mall in the town itself that "was a very nice mall when it opened", but they had trouble with school children in the afternoons,
running around and making a noise, this annoyed the customers. "That is not allowed here," she says, then on reflecting continues, "allowed - allowed, it is allowed but they are talked to if they make too much disturbance."

The older flaneur is not a disturbance to anyone, they require only a place to meet-up that adheres to their taste, the teenager is not the target consumer group either, they represent a potential future customer but must learn the culture of acceptable behaviour to be admitted. Matthews says the mall is a contradiction for young people, who are forming their identities in places that are defined by the values and images of consumerism yet they have limited resources with which to participate, underlining their marginality in society. There is a great deal of research carried out in support of those who aim to improve the profitability of malls, this research is often revealing in the rationality of its recommendations, the following example I find relevant to quote at length. "Shopping mall managers should make a concerted effort to design their shopping malls and create marketing programs that lead shoppers to perceive that shopping malls are highly functional, convenient, safe, entertaining, aesthetically pleasing, and attracting other people that shoppers can identify with. Mall managers should make security guards obvious in roaming the mall and to deal with potential safety problems as they arise. Mall managers can enhance mall leisure by recruiting retailers offering entertainment and scheduling entertainment events at large gathering places within the mall. Mall managers can also count on good mall décor and ambiance to contribute to the wellbeing of their shoppers — the kinds of décor and ambiance that match the tastes and preferences of shoppers. Finally, to enhance shoppers’ self-identification, mall managers can, for example, use promotional materials showing an image of a typical shopper consistent with how shoppers see themselves, ultimately to attract shoppers who may share a similar demographic or psychographic profile."
I notice that Herkules mall has become familiar to me, I know a few people here, I have a favourite spot to sit and I enjoy one of the sandwiches in the food court, today I brought in my glasses, which needed fixing, I took them to the optician and they fixed them and cleaned them free of charge. At each point of contact the service is consistently polite and friendly, never pushy, people working there stop and chat to each other as they wonder about and take their breaks. Helene says this is down to the mall leadership who organise social events for the staff and managers, this creates a "cohesion" between those working there, this positive environment between the workers, she thinks, is felt by the customers. They also have a customer service school run by an outside consultancy – Ukjent Kunde (mystery shopper), here "you learn how to handle customers, the different types of people, whether to touch someone or not," she has taken the course and so have all her employees, Helene feels it builds pride, "it is important to be proud of what you do." There has also been an initiative by the state welfare office (NAV) for people who have struggled to get back to work, where they can take this course and then have a job placement at the mall after.

While I was waiting to meet another person I had arranged to interview (who will remain anonymous) I stood and observed them working, as there was a rush of customers they had to deal with first. They helped a woman find what she was looking for answering all of her questions with genuine enthusiasm; throughout they were friendly and polite, very helpful – appearing how I had experienced most people working in malls. They then handled the payment and served a number of other customers waiting in line. Once things calmed down, they were reminded by their colleague that I was waiting and came over to me greet me. As they shook my hand and began to process who I was,
not a customer but a researcher, their face dropped – their smile dissolved and I could immediately recognise that they were under some sort of intense strain. They asked me how long it would take, that it was a busy time, a difficult time, they were visibly irritated, then they revealed how their mother had recently been taken in to hospital and that they had just come from seeing her. I immediately expressed that I was sorry to hear this and of course the interview was not so important, I thanked them for offering and wished them well. I completely understood their situation and their very human reaction, the stress and worry they must be experiencing. What was interesting, however, was the shift in behaviour I witnessed, from the very authentic and positive seeming way they were dealing with the customers to then revealing what they were truly feeling underneath. I recognised this as similar to what Edward Relph calls “technique,” something that is taught by the customer service school and maintained through the method of the mystery shopper. With the term technique Relph refers to both the planning of what he calls placeless landscapes, seen as replicable and experientially similar, as well as behaviour – in a “masquerading,” where someone may “do his job well and with considerable flair and ability, but the job is of no real importance to him,” which is for Relph a level of inauthenticity he sees as prevalent in modern society. The ultimate Placeless landscape for Relph is Disney World and interestingly, for people working at Disney on duty and off duty is referred to as “on stage” and “off stage,” you should check yourself at the door and take on the role of employee. It might be argued that this person was merely being professional, an expectation within modern society – to perform for the customer and this is of course not limited to the service sector, but where does it end, in an increasingly consumer-service driven society, how do we know when we are engaged in authentic relations, when are we “on stage” and “off stage.”
Of all my experiences in malls, the most distinct was during a recent visit to Murmansk in Northern Russia. I was there visiting the University and instantly sensed what Pallasmaa described, of shaking the hands of all the generations that had walked the halls before, the concrete steps were worn, in places down to the metal frame inside, the red colour of the parquet flooring was only visible around the edges where people rarely walked, the contrast between this and the new statement buildings of Norwegian institutions was striking. All of Murmansk had this same feel about, a worn grey aesthetic – but at the same time real, lived. I went to visit the new 65,000 m² Murmansk Mall¹⁵ that had opened in the city last year. As the doors closed behind me the familiarity of the ambience came flooding back, all of the sounds and smells were the same, all of the same Western brands and stores and with this familiarity I realised I was feeling a subtle sense of relief and comfort, I became distinctly aware that I was no longer in Murmansk.

As a wealthy country Norway has modernised rapidly over the last fifty years and so the transition between the mall and the rest of society is not so striking, the experience of modern historyless buildings is not unfamiliar there, but the effect is the same, it is not that your perceptual horizon has simply been narrowed, rather that you are no longer where you were, you enter a fantasy.²⁶
THE AMERICANISATION OF CULTURE

"If the pleasure of change be too often repeated, it ceases to be delightful, for the change itself becomes monotonous, and we are driven to seek delight in extreme and fantastic degrees of it."¹

John Ruskin

In this section I will first try to draw together some of the key insights I have had, that together clarify what I mean with the term ‘logic of the mall’, then propose how this logic is manifest in what I call the American Ideal.

- Privately owned, by companies who are profit seeking and growth oriented, with fiduciary duties to their shareholders. These private spheres operate under a different set of rules to public areas, with private security, controlled access and codes of behaviour aimed at maintaining an atmosphere conducive to the primary consumer demographic.

- A constant reinvention of ‘newness’ as illustrated in Schumpeterian cycles of creative destruction, from the mall landscape down to our clothes and the feel of our phones, a continual renewal that denies our collective history.

- Kant’s paradox of free will leaves us pliable to the choice architects in modern consumer environments, where “choosing replaces doing.” The mall presents choice in a way that adheres to a sense of freedom
without consequence, "when the choosing will is hermetically sealed off from the fuzzy, hard-to-master contingencies of the empirical world, it becomes more free."

- The technique of behaviour and design that results in Relph’s idea of placelessness. Every aspect of the mall is designed, from the behaviour and relationships between the service worker and consumer, the pathways and flows, to those allowed in and the engagement of our senses – all are carefully orchestrated. The designing of malls is a constantly evolving industry, always seeking to improve its understanding of the consumer and redeveloping how best to capture our attention.

- The dominant economic paradigm where, what Richard Norgaard calls, “economomism” is maintained by a "complex of myths we have developed that sustains our trust in the economy and makes it possible to keep it functioning—possible to keep people, capital, and land working together.”

The development of the mall landscape has come about across the world since the 1950’s in nations of all political persuasion, in Norway most of the development has occurred under a strong period of social democracy, the principles of liberal economics – a rational, growth oriented market economy has much deeper roots.

- The mall is sealed off from the world, it is not only placeless - but timeless and season-less, it narrows our perceptual horizon through which we are able to sense the past and future as something we are embedded in, we are taken somewhere else.
“Confined on the ship, from which there is no escape, the madman is delivered to the river with its thousand arms, the sea with its thousand roads, to that great uncertainty external to everything. He is a prisoner in the midst of what is the freest, the openest of routes: bound fast at the infinite crossroads.”

Michel Foucault

Øyvind Gulliksen, in an essay about the historical influence of American culture in Norway, finds the term Americanisation was first used in reference to the assimilation of immigrants arriving in the United States. Later it has more commonly been used for describing American influence outside of its borders, often as a critique of the “enticement of materialism” which many felt would be “perilous for Norwegian society in the future” what Jens Bjarneboe saw as a superficial private happiness and notions of the self-made man. Norway has been influenced by the United States since its struggle for independence in 1814 and the American Constitution served as a model for the Norwegian Constitution still in effect today. Between 1825 and 1930 Norwegian emigrants to the United States were forced to write about their experiences in letters back to Norway, which were mostly supporting of the shared national myths of agrarian harmony. These far more optimistic reports were believed, by those back in Norway, over the less favourable reports particularly by clergy and other officials, these letters were an “important aspect of the history of American influence in Norway,” encouraging more people to emigrate and expanding interest in American culture. The Marshall plan, where America helped fund the redevelopment of Europe after WW2, was also influential, providing a larger market for American products aided by an envy, in Norway, of the consumer liberation brought about by the Ford production system. While the rationalisation of production and agriculture as per the American model had
been introduced earlier in places like Notodden, Susanne Hilger says we should see the Americanisation of Europe as a complex transfer process, where countries chose which elements to introduce from the American Model. Despite this, after WW2 America exerted considerable influence in Europe, introducing a competitive economic culture. This represented a shift from techniques of rationalisation to economic liberalisation, where the Marshall plan required what it saw as not only political but also economic “good practice,” and “as a result the central tenets of modern Western capitalism were transferred to Europe.”

Roosevelt’s ‘new deal’ in the United States was hailed as a victory for the labour movement and it ushered in a period of low inequality and economic growth, but as Matthew Huber finds, from a broader perspective this can be seen as a restoration of the capitalist system rather than a challenge to its core principles. He argues that the process over-saw a state sponsored development of the suburban landscape, requiring enormous amounts of public infrastructure such as roads, bridges and housing. The state supported (under the Keynesian idea) the strengthening of labour unions resulting in higher wages and a boom in consumer spending power, but this also led to a worker dependency on jobs that predominantly served that system – production, management, sales and advertising. This, Huber says, produced the imaginary of the self-made man who must earn his way, in the entrepreneurial landscape of privatised social reproduction, single-family housing and auto-mobility and it was here that the mall first appeared. This entrepreneurial self-image ultimately led to what he calls the "neoliberal backlash" where those who had benefitted from the original ‘new deal’ began to resent the high taxes and redistribution to the "undeserving poor." This backlash saw a political consensus form around the ideological principles of market liberalism, what Steger calls a market globalism that underpins a new global imaginary, he identifies five such principles; "1) globalisation is about the liberalization and global integration of markets; 2) globalisation is inevitable and
irreversible; 3) nobody is in charge of globalisation; 4) globalisation benefits everyone; 5) globalisation furthers the spread of democracy in the world.”

A number of commentators suggest we have now moved into a new phase of capitalism that is particularly visible with the Internet of things and sharing economy. This new phase builds on the Schumpeterian cycles of disruption described earlier and particularly his idea of the self-made entrepreneur, changing the consumer landscape once more. On the one hand you have the Silicon Valley innovators developing platforms for connecting needs and assets, what they provide is an online platform in return for a percentage of the profits from each transaction. This means that anyone with a spare room or any other resource can easily find someone willing to pay to use it. The platform is not responsible for any of the material goods being shared or traded; the responsibility lies with the individual, who then becomes an asset-managing entrepreneur themselves. Keally McBride uses the examples of Airbnb and Uber cars where we are seeing a sort of hyper capitalism emerge. A few years ago Uber was valued at around 19 billion dollars and had less than 100 employees, in comparison Ford Motors, with a similar valuation, had over 500,000 employees. This constitutes an extreme concentration of wealth, deregulation of services and an offsetting of risk to the individual. While she acknowledges benefits such as social connectivity and in some areas a marginal reduction in consumption, the dominant trend of the sharing economy does not challenge the underlying logic of the capitalist system. Instead, the wider trend is that many aspects of the non-monetised economy, those things we do for each other for free out of solidarity or neighbourliness, are drawn into it as assets, we begin to look at our things and our relationships as commodities of potential profit, exacerbated under conditions of austerity. Instead of collecting your elderly neighbours prescription for them as part of an informal gift relation or act of kindness, you can now find an app where you can offer this service for a small charge, if there is no such app, then you
should create it, raising the question again – when are we on stage and off stage in our lives.

Another aspect of the sharing economy is the shift from ownership to access, where the new status is found in what you are smart enough not to own. This principle has a strong connection with thinking around sustainable consumption and there are many positive examples within, for example, circular economics, but the sharing economy, McBride says, is not principally about sustainability. This shift also results in a further separation between the production and consumption of objects, the consumer is freed from the burden of ownership of objects that require maintenance and so the materiality that underpins our existence becomes hidden.

The paradox of Schumpeter’s system is that the profit maker (the innovator) is not necessarily the profit receiver as they are still dependent on the capitalist investor – who, free from the risk of ownership, can quickly shift their investments to profitable markets, the onus falls on the individual to adapt to this new flexible asset driven economy, or try to innovate the next disturbance.

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“People know what they do, they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don’t know is what they do does.”

Michel Foucault

It is in the mall that we see an environment that adheres to the logic I outlined, where what is essentially a constructed idea – can be experienced as a real place without consequence. Foreign investment firms see the profit making potential of the Nordic consumer market now, but in order to survive
the malls must continually evolve and innovate ways of retaining footfall, to
dazzle, entertain and serve the will of the consumer. The finality of this logic,
taken to its extreme, can perhaps be found in the Nevada desert, where the
parched rugged landscape reveals a utopian vision, shaped in accordance to
the will of the Western mind. This is the American dream, an illusion for
certain but still the ultimate seducer. The American idea was born from the
destruction of the indigenous cultures and the exploitation of the abundant
new world, a place without history. This idea, under its own conditions, will
therefore never cease – until it destroys itself, in America the impulses of
enlightenment thinking were freed from history and nature to realise the
imaginary. The then spreading into the desert wasteland becomes the
ultimate metaphor for the simultaneous creation of a physical, cultural and
metaphysical wasteland. The first process comes from leaving the ‘old’ with
the consequential projection of ideas of the new onto the actual new, the
import of European agricultural practice for example – a constant and un-
winnable battle between ideas and physical realities. Then comes the
reflection back to the ‘old’, which although itself is a mixture of the two (ideas
& reality), is met by the minds of those living in the ‘old’ with their absolute
view of the new. These views are above all romantic and intrepid, views of
total progress. The old then predominantly associates with those parts of the
stories sent back that affirms their preconceived ideas and rejects the rest, as
was the case of letters back to Norway during the migrations (how Norway
perceived America). It is that America creates the world, but the world in turn
creates the idea of America, a reciprocal mirroring, it is not that one simply
reflects the other. Like the painting or advert as Berger described, America
reflects the notion of the observer back on to themselves, what you wish to
see. America does not actually exist says Baudrillard, America is whatever you
want it to be, not dream nor reality a “hyperreality.”
The American dream itself is a total illusion, a projected idea, seen through
the elite codifiers, those celebrated few who appear to have achieved it, luring
the rest of the world toward it.” This mirage, created in the minds of those who gaze upon it, draws you on an endless thirsty wandering, which of course leads only to the American reality, that desert wasteland – in this respect Vegas illustrates a world we could create. The beauty of Las Vegas, is its complete lack of the idea of pretence, in its overt and unapologetic grotesqueness, it is honest. Vegas is the ultimate ends of the neoliberal revolution a gorgeously hollow spectacle designed to entice and exploit all of the uprooted human desires. We experience it simultaneously as the wondrous illusion we have had constructed in our minds - and the static hum of the faded casino carpets and like children we play along. As even in its emptiness it is so much fun, a place where, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin, we can “experience our own annihilation as a supreme aesthetic pleasure.” In this constructed and controlled world, we perhaps have the ultimate panacea in the quest to rid ourselves of any madness that challenges our rational will, (as Foucault set out)” instead now we lock our-selves in – safely isolated from the madness of having to engage with the unpredictable natural world.

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As I have pointed to America is many things, American culture and technological developments have enriched the world in many ways. Cross-cultural fertilization, as Gulliksen calls it, when it voluntarily and openly occurs is something we would surely not want to be without, it helps extend our view of the human experience and our own experience in it – as has been the case in how much of American culture has permeated into Norwegian society." This cultural convergence is not my critique with the term Americanisation, rather the alignment of global economic conditions that operate under a peculiar logic that is separated from the causal world of nature. The mall is an environment that grows within this logic, not as some sinister scheme, but as
the natural habitat for the will of the rational chooser – where life is more convenient, safe and comfortable. The mall does not encapsulate the state of modern Norway by any means, but it does account for a significant and growing proportion of our relations, in what is a controlled and extrinsically affective environment that runs counter to the core values of Norwegian society.
CONCLUSION

"Rational cognition and sensible cognition provide an idea of truth, however - which is useful for being in the world – which is a sensory condition?" ¹
Christoph Menke

In Ibsen’s play, Dr Stockmann’s character is driven into isolation by the rest of the community, reduced to a frenzied figure – the man who stands alone.² He was not a pragmatic sort, he seemed incapable of empathising with the anxieties of the compact majority standing firm to his belief in the absolute truth of his findings. There was no dialogue, but rather a fierce battle of wills, a battle to control the nodal ground from which the discussion gained its authority. If I surmise that the mall is the bathhouse in this tale, then it is not with the building itself I take issue with and certainly not with the communities of people who work and spend their time there, to whom it is a valuable place both socially and materially, but rather with the logic the mall embodies, a logic that undermines our ability to form locally rooted cultures and communities.

As way of concluding, in this final section I will draw together a brief summary of my experiences and contemplation of the mall in rural Norway. Then considering the implications of this logic, I will address the primary concern I have, regarding how communities might retain authentic identities
as they develop into resilient\textsuperscript{3} and sustainable places, beyond the myth of sustainable capitalism.\textsuperscript{4}

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I have proposed that the economy should be viewed far more broadly, as a complex mesh of relations we are both embedded in and a part of forming. That it is through collective interaction with our natural environment that we develop internally coherent cultures, and through culture that we develop our psychological self-understanding. The changes to the economy brought about by the introduction of the Anglo-American model, slowly transformed the ground from which culture and expressions of culture are grown - the mall can then be seen as a product of this. The relocation of the mall marks a shift from the public high street with local trade and an embodied historical aesthetic – to a private arena in prearranged partnership with large chain stores, every mall becomes essentially the same. Within these new arenas, there exists a new logic, that of growth-based consumption and continual renewal, the excitement of a perceived progression toward an ideal (which for some may be notions of America) is contained in every item. These private spheres are controlled spaces, loaded with extrinsic triggers, messages about your “inadequacy without this product”, vastly outweigh the notice boards promoting local activities and initiatives, reinforcing a new self-understanding – as consumer. The man from the Salvation Army has a chair in the mall to sit on while he collects money, the canvassers from energy companies have their stands, but those selling the street magazine, or the homeless themselves, the rebellious teen must stand outside (hidden from view).
My concern is with how we create culture, which I propose is fundamental to how we will create sustainable places. As I outlined in my discussion of the commons and earlier gift societies, we have historically created cultures collectively as a way of satisfying needs, surviving in specific geographic environments and forming coherent systems of meaning and cooperation, and that this process has evolved and survived through lived participation.

Richard Sennett has written extensively of the changes to character and social behaviour in wake of the modern flexible economy, the geographic separation of design and production and our fading abilities of cooperation. Rather than what he calls the formal dialectic (those two opposing truths we see in political discourse), for us to cooperate, Sennett highlights the importance of empathy, a collective understanding of each other and a deepened understanding of ourselves that comes about through open dialogue. Cooperation is a capacity that Sennett says is usually developed in childhood and then unlearned as we come into adulthood, replaced by a competitive dialectical attitude required by the modern economy, which leads to the question of how we develop capacities.

Menke proposes that concepts and ideas such as the moral good or what a purposeful act is, are ultimately tied to our capacities, primarily that of reason, and as I have discussed, reason, when insulated from that which may challenge it can lead us toward an alienating logic, this is Foucault’s critique of reason, by judging it without communication, the monologue of reason silences madness.

As with the quest of the rational scientist, who tries to detach them self from the object they study – if successful, Michael Polanyi says, would eliminate knowledge, as knowledge is acquired through the experience of practicing a craft of learned judgements. It is not a set of doctrines you have swallowed, “rather that the
judgements of the discipline have become your own," you have developed a way of seeing and understanding the world, but as Menke says, our capacity for reason is just that, a learned capacity. By placing our capacity of reason before what is good or true or meaningful or as a way of judging if we should act, we block out the potential for developing new conceptions of those things, of what is meaningful or good. Menke points to the artist, who is good at not knowing, bravely stopping at shapes and tone, the force (Kräfte) of the artist is their heightened state of play, and it is through play that they do that which they cannot do, without knowing why they do it, they go beyond their capacities and experience something new. Through this process they form a new conception of ‘good’ beyond the good act of reason (social purpose), they experience this state of play itself to be good, a good as living self. The rift Menke sees, which I find to be at the heart of our challenge, is bringing these two conceptions of good together in a world obsessed with rational certainty.

The mall means many things to many people and I found that the smaller local malls, particularly, had a positive social atmosphere and sense of community. But while malls offer new experiences for you to have, you do not create experiences in the mall – it is like playing with a friend who decides all of the rules. Fully formed humans create and produce things together, this is culture, in the mall you only consume.

Ultimately if we are to create sustainable places, by which I first mean coherent cultures that arise from the interaction and cooperation of those who live there, we need to come together in environments that can be changed, where we can collectively create experiences for ourselves, opening up the possibility of new conceptions of what is good, meaningful and valuable to us in the jobs we do, the ways we consume and the cultures we create. It may then be possible to move the direction of an environment – in collaboration with the other people who make up that place – toward a future
different to that any one person would have imagined by them selves. That place, that unknown place, is perhaps a sustainable place.

This study has taken me through many thoughts and ideas I had not anticipated. I do not propose a rebellion against the mall, I will continue to use the mall from time to time and enjoy the experience for what it is. But the cycles of creative destruction do not stand still and the mall I am sure is only a phase, if we want to retain any say in the kinds of cultures and communities we inhabit in the future, then we should start making them.
I was drawn back to my earlier metaphor travelling home from the mall on a rather old train. Perhaps it is just me, but I enjoy finding myself on one of the trains that has evaded decommission beyond its time, the crashing of the window and shriek of air around the worn seal of the door, the rattle of the metal baggage racks its edges shaped by all of the suitcases it has bore before, the rigid fabric of the seats and the shudder of the tracks – a heightened sense of the danger embodied in such motion. I feel connected in these moments, with the ground beneath me and the air around me as I pass through my suddenly accelerating horizon, I am aware of my mobility, affected by its coarseness. Like running my hand over a lichen-covered rock atop the mountains, rough against my skin, worn and shaped by the glacial ice and the tongues of countless generations of grazing reindeer. These two things are not the same, but they hint at each other, I experience something beyond myself – and sense that I have not yet been fully sealed off from the world.
PHOTOGRAPHY

(All photos taken & owned by author)
PREAMBLE

1 Ibsen (1999): 59

2 A line from the film Jaws (1975) attempting to dismiss fears of a shark, which has not yet been seen.

3 Orr (2004):131, describes biophobia as a "culturally acquired urge to affiliate with technology, human artefacts, and solely with human interests regarding the natural world."

4 Personal reflection: I can remember the feeling from the last time, it was an iPod, first the smooth shiny white card box fitted inside another open ended box, designed so precisely that as you push on one end the inner box slid out on its own, as if it were automated. Inside a hard plastic box, see through with rounded edges and simple black text set against clean off white paper. There was an easy-peel clear tape on one end and then I lifted up the lid revealing the product inside. The iPod is a beautiful piece of engineering, shiny black metallic casing – smooth edges, every join meticulous, light but solid. I studied it for some time – holding it gently, then simply pressed the perfectly central button and the screen lit up, that familiar homepage of icons, a window into a world where every answer can be found for me, where every will of my finger is obeyed without question. With time the feeling faded, a rush like any drug and soon the product was left around the house, and here I am again, convincing myself to buy something new, this eternal inner dialogue.

INTRODUCTION

4 In North America the term mall is more commonly used, in Europe the term shopping centre is more commonly used and also in Norway with Kjøpesenter. The Mall is often also used in
reference to a larger shopping centre. As I am talking about both shopping centres and town centres I have chosen to use the term Mall to avoid confusion.

1 Gisholt (2010): 1

Notions of sustainability challenges many of the systemic structures that underpin our way of life. Huber (2011) Chapter 2: discusses this with regards to what he calls the *fetishisation of oil.*

4 Taken from Weber (2015) article proposing a "policy of life."

5 Østergaard (2014: 253 & Mont et al. (2013)

6 Barfield (1988)
From Lecture on processes of understanding place by Tom Butterworth, at Schumacher College 2014.

Psychogeography is defined as "The study of the specific effects of the geographic environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour, walking as a movement against the banality of urban progress." Cloverley (2010): 93. The history of the movement passes through literature and social theory with prominent figures including, Daniel Defoe, William Blake, Thomas de Quincey, Walter Benjamin, Guy Debord and more recently J.G. Ballard and Will Self. At its essence it is about walking as an act of protest against the banalisation of everyday life and as a way of maintaining the *genius loci* - sense of place. Cloverley (2010): 13-17

8 Glissant (1999): 2. and Tarnas (2010) traces Western thought back to the pre-Socratic philosophers. He identifies key moments in the history of philosophy such as: the preference of Aristotelian ideas in the forming of Roman civilization that pitted a singular truth against the barbarian outsider, over, for example, Stoic ideas of the *cosmopolitan* interconnected human:86-8. See also Viggo Rossvær in Elenius (2006):17-30.

Tarnas also details the Copernican revolution, culminating in Descartes body – mind split:248-81

ECONOMICS AS RELATION

1 Ingold, T (2011): 69

3 Heilbroner (2000): 314
Manfred Steger (2009): 20 uses the term *codifiers*, Eduard Glissant (2010): 176 uses *flash agents*, both refer to those elite individuals who have a disproportionate influence over the messages portrayed in the mass media, *sidelining the views* of those who do not.

For Schumpeter it is the exceptional entrepreneur who should reach the top, an *aristocracy of talent*. (Helibroner (2000): 309) Veblen saw inherited wealth as something seen to be *intrinsically valuable in itself*, something to aspire toward. (Veblen (1994): 15-22) Either way, through hard work or a lottery, places at the top of society are limited.


Bateson (2000): 509-10

McGilchrist (2012): 17-23

Plus the following talks:
Dr. Iain McGilchrist on The Divided Brain (2012) Retrieved 15.01.16: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4fpyDD6cIQ
The Divided Brain. (2011) TED Retrieved 15.01.16: http://www.ted.com/talks/iain_mcgilchrist_the_divided_brain

14 McGilchrist (2012): 47

15 Cruickshank (2011): 78

16 Steger (2009): 12

17 Cruickshank (2011): 78-81

18 Glissant (2010): 169-79


20 I find the meaning of Glissant’s term relation similar to Complexity thinking, as applied to economic, ecological and social systems in: Holling (2001) & Arthur (2013)

21 Glissant (2010): 159-70

22 Glissant (2010): xxii

23 The sentiment ascertained by Alain de Botton, from Socrates street philosophy. Socrates on Self-Confidence – Philosophy a guide to happiness (2012) Retrieved 02.01.16: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2FxzfOko

THE THREE COMMONS


8 Bollier (2014): 42-9

9 Bollier (2014): 172-3
Ostrom (1990): 2-14

From Visit Norway website Retrieved 20.03.16: http://www.visitnorway.com/plan-your-trip/travel-tips/right-of-access/

Peter Linebaugh in Bollier (2014): 19. Bollier expands on this notion that a commons cannot be simply viewed as a resource, rather a resource + a community + a set of social protocols (vernacular laws): 15

Information from Google maps Retrieved 12.03.16: https://www.google.no/maps/d/edit?mid=1UvZ8z8YR2oMmz7iiQjR7ZoFVvQ&mid2=1UvZ8z8YR2oMmz7iiQjR7ZoFVvQ&ll=59.561649,9.224438&z=14


From WWF Norway lecture about Norwegian Forests. The point was made about the importance of fallen trees in the life cycle of the forest. 08.02.16. University College of Telemark

Ian Morris in discussing a total theory of history identifies three key areas, 1) biological evolution, as animals interacting with their environment. 2) What distinguishes Humans is culture, we evolve cultures in order to adapt to our environment more rapidly. 3) The ways human cultures develop are similar, but vary with regards to geography.


The historical arch was developed through in-depth interviews with a number of local people, including local historian Trond Aastand, Notodden. 22.11.13, Bjørn Frode Moen, Notodden. 20.11.13,
Harold Hillestad, Notodden. 21.11.13, Anne Mette Gangsøy, Notodden. 22.11.13 (see transcripts – audio recordings can be provide on request) & the local history organisation website: Retrieved 20.02.16: http://www.notoddenhistorielag.no/

15 From company website Retrieved 25.03.16: http://about.bestseller.com/Brands/

16 All quotations are based on in depth interviews from: Helene Antonsen Herkules. Skien. 10.2.16 & Harold Hillestad, Notodden. 21.11.13 (see transcripts – audio recordings can be provide on request).

17 Daly (2004): 143-4

18 Crawford (2015): 10-16

19 From company website Retrieved 25.03.16: http://www.citycon.no/sg_eng/Citycon-Media

20 Crawford (2015): 11-13


22 Good example can be found here, videos from International Council of Shopping Centres - Retrieved 12.01.16:
(2015) RECon live . Michael Kercheval Retrieved 22.02.16: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGBKqEa5DS0 : 05.00
(2015) ICSC CREminute Retrieved 22.02.16 :https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XlYKPRLHgBA
(2015) James Cook, Director of Americas Retail Research, JLL Retrieved 22.02.16: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDHTQofj_uM

23 Kasser’s work is well explained in the following papers and talks: Kasser (2014), Dittmar et al. (2014) &
Tim Kasser. (2011) Human Identity & Environmental Challenges Retrieved 29.01.16: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oa6DGGeQus
These are personal reflections, my wife is from Voss and I have spent much of the last 12 years there, her parents and their friends built houses together in the way I described.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SHOPPING MALLS IN NORWAY

1 Relevant news articles: Retrieved 17.01.16:
Company website Retrieved 17.01.16: http://www.lambertsetersenter.no/historie

2 Gisholt (2010): 1
4 Gisholt (2010): 3 & visit to Kirkenes, impression given in conversation with local resident Thor Kufass.
5 Gisholt (2010): 8
Company information & websites Retrieved 27.01.16:
http://tuvensenteret.no/om-senteret/
http://saltoeiendom.no/kjopesentre_eiendommer/
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81 Wrigley (2002): 219
25.03.16: http://www.neweconomics.org/publications/entry/ghost-town-britain
83 Wrigley (2002): 228-9 (Langman in)
84 Cruikshank (2009): 79
85 Schumacher (1999): 41
86 Cruz et al. (2009): Abstract
87 Debord (2010): 51
88 Baudrillard (1999): 25-7. Drawing on the work of Veblen, speaks of a fantastic conspicuousness today, 
where we live by object time, by the rhythm of their ceaseless succession. As opposed to the timeless 
objects of earlier civilizations that would out live generations.
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91 Relph (1976): 143
92 Relph (1976): 118-21

86
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Minton (2006)
ARCHITECTURE OF THE SENSES


3 For Debor (2010): ch VI, cyclical time refers to preindustrial society where people lived by natural rhythms, he calls the early industrial period a commodity time that alienated people from these rhythms, followed by pseudo-cyclical time a sort of readjustment back to cyclical rhythms within the system of production. The term spectacular time refers to the time of consumption of images, where we are no longer connected to time in a meaningful way.

4 From a lecture on research methodology at Schumacher College, January 2015.

6 Pallasmaa (2012): 62
7 Pallasmaa (2012): 63

8 Pallasmaa (2012): 56

9 From company website Retrieved 22.02.16: http://conversion.no/about-conversion/
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10 Example videos from International Council of Shopping Centres.
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11 Berger (1977): 130-142

12 Pallasmaa (2012): 74

13 Berger (1977): 134

14 Crawford (2015): 73-8


16 Schull (2012): 307

17 Schull (2012): 296-7

18 In Coverley (2010): 57

19 Shields in Wrigley (2002): 230

20 Matthews et al. (2000)

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   Also see Interview with Helene Antonsen Herkules. Skien. 10.2.16 (see transcripts – audio
   recordings can be provide on request).

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33 Relph (1976): 90-99

34 Pine (1999): 115

Company website Retrieved 24.03.16: http://www.murmall.ru/

36 From Seregina (2014): 23-30. “Fantasy and reality are not exclusive domains, but individuals continue to make subjective, yet very clear distinctions of the two on a social and personal level.Positing fantasy as indistinguishable from reality would make both concepts lose their sense. Fantasy in the contemporary context may have become equal to and overlapping with reality, but the two are not equivalent. The difference between fantasy and reality remains, but has become extremely vague and contextual. Fantasy experience emerges as performance taking place between reality and imagination. Fantasy in itself is a part of neither, yet it is unable to exist independently of the two. It can be found in the gap between reality and imagination, which is created and extended by their interaction. Fantasy goes toward that which is unknown and does not exist, and connects it to what we know and believe to be present in our reality.”

THE AMERICANISATION OF CULTURE

1 Ruskin (2004): 35

3 Crawford (2015): 76

1 Norgaard (2011)

4 Foucault (1988): 11

7 Gulliksen (1998): 108

8 In Gulliksen (1998): 119
7 Gulliksen (1998): 105-9

8 Hilger (2002)

9 Gulliksen (1998): 116


This is also captured in Alex de Tocqueville’s quote regarding equality under democracy: “As social conditions become more equal, the number of persons increases who owe nothing to any man, except nothing from any man, and they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they are apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands. In Crawford (2015): 164

11 Steger (2009): 20


13 Company website Retrieved 25.03.16: http://www.ellenmacarthurfoundation.org/circular-economy


15 In Dreyfus (2013): 187


17 Stiegler (2011):7-29 finds a continual innovation and adaptation central to American society, that leads to a herdish anxiety and a vicious cycle of capitalist consumption doomed to collapse. For Baudrillard (1988): 75-105 it is a radical modernity freed from history where reality is constructed from ideas.

Glissant (2010): 176 *generators of the spectacle* control the vision.


Foucault (1988), plots the history of madness, I particularly refer to the post-enlightenment period he refers to as the *great confinement*: 38–65, where those perceived to be mad where locked away due both to a growing anxiety of lifestyles that challenged notions reason and social purpose, but also as part of a forming economic rationality, once locked away they could be put to work without pay.

Gulliksen (1998): 124, gives the example of jazz that has formed its owned distinct path from its American origin.

It is difficult to assess values, Norway as a member of the modern Global economy is perhaps undergoing a shift in values, as Cruickshank et al (2009) allude to as the rift between ideas of intrinsic values and growth values and the growing existential fears associate with recent immigration, (Norways tough asylum plans face resistance (2016) The Local Retrieved 28.03.16: http://www.thelocal.no/20160217/norways-hardline-asylum-plans-face-resistance).

What I mean by core Norwegian Values is a subjective valuation of my twelve years living here and the people I have spoken to, I find these values to be, a basic presumption of trust, solidarity, openness and a strong pride of natural and cultural heritage.

CONCLUSION

Menke (2013): 16

Ibsen (1999): 82

Walker (2006): 1-14 see resilience as key to sustainability, it is a *systems ability to absorb shocks* from the outside without loosing it fundamental *function and structure*.

Mont et al (2013)

Sennett (1999) through qualitative case studies he documents the generational changes of character brought about by what he calls the increasingly flexible work place. Sennett (2009): 45
6 Sennett (2012): 18-20

7 Foucault (1988): x-xi

8 In Crawford (2015): 136

9 Menke (2013): 81-98 & Menke (Documenta 2013)

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