

Territorial Complexity in Public Places

– a Study of Territorial Production at Three Squares in Lund

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The object of this paper is to develop a discussion of territoriality in the built environment as a way of dealing with issues of accessibility and the public nature of urban space.¹ A discussion of territoriality makes it possible to deal with issues of spatial control and access in detail, as well as to maintain some of the complexity in the discussion by refraining from solely analysing these issues within the frame of one given dichotomy such as the public/private distinction. My discussion takes the form of an empirical study of territorial production at three squares in Lund, Sweden.² I focus on the relationship between materiality and territoriality, and how different material actants (Latour 1998) support territorial production. Finally, I present a model regarding public space as the product of territorial complexity.

Territoriality can be defined as a spatially delimited control. A territory is a bounded area characterised by a certain set of rules or some kind of regular behaviour. This is a very broad definition, and could account for a wide scope of different phenomena such as a nation, an urban district, a car park or someone's favourite bench.

Within territorial research, we can roughly distinguish between two general approaches. The first of these approaches, sometimes referred to as human territoriality – indicating an analogy with the ethological phenomenon of animal territoriality – has mostly been used in the social and behavioural sciences. It focuses on territoriality as the behaviour of groups or individuals to mark, defend or in any way personalise a territory (Altman 1975). The second approach, mostly used in human and political geography, focuses on territoriality as an intentional strategy of power and a way of exerting administrative and spatial influence in society (Sack 1985).

This paper deals with territorial structures in the built environment that to some extent affect the everyday use of urban space. My discussions focus on micro-scale territories from urban squares down to bus stops and parking spaces. Owing to the ambiguity of the concept of territoriality, I have previously suggested a classification in order to account for different kinds of spatial claims one could consider in a discussion of territoriality (Kärrholm 2002, 2004). This classification of different forms of territorial productions is used in this paper.³

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

Forms of territorial production

Territorial strategies and *tactics* are intentional attempts to mark or delimit a territory. In other words, territorial control is directed explicitly towards the ordering of a certain area. Territorial strategies represent impersonal, planned and to some extent mediated control, and often involve the delegation of control to things, rules, etc. Territorial strategies are always planned at a distance in time and/or space from the territory produced, whereas territorial tactics involve claims made in the context of a situation and as a part of an ongoing sequence in daily life. Territorial tactics refers to a more personal relationship between the territory and the person or group that marks it as theirs.

Territorial associations and *appropriations* represent productions that are not planned or intentionally established, but are *consequences* of established and regular practices. These practices may be the effects of rational and planned decision; but not with the explicit intention of producing a territory. Territorial appropriation produces territories through repetitive and consistent use of an area by a certain person or group who to some extent perceive this area as their own. The object of territorial appropriation could, for example, be one's home, one's street or one's regular table at a restaurant. The object of territorial association represents an identifiable area, characterised by a certain usage and those specific conventions and regularities that underpin this usage. These areas do not necessarily have to be considered by any person or groups as 'their own' – but are nevertheless associated by others as pertaining to a certain function or category of users – examples could include bathing places, climbing trees or a gravel path in the park where people always play boule.

The distinction made here between strategies and tactics is similar to the one made by Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow: "Strategy is the science of military movement outside the enemy's field of vision, tactics within it" (in Certeau 1988: 212). This distinction is, however, not the same as the one made by Michel de Certeau. For Certeau the relationship between strategy and tactics is the one between discipline



Lund, city centre and north east parts

1. Märtenstorget
2. Clemenstorget
3. Fäladstorget

and anti-discipline, between the production of those in power and the production of consumption. The relationship between strategy and tactics is thus fixed as two different sides of a power relation. The different forms of territorial production presented here are not based on who is in charge or who dominates the place. Instead, they represent a way of describing the occurrence of different territorial productions operating at the same place, but at different times (or different aspects of that place at the same time). The focus is on active and operative aspects of territorial control, and different forms of territorial production can be operating at the same place, mobilising different sets of artefacts, rules, etc. A bench could be associated as the territory of sandwich eating students at lunchtime, while a group of youths could

appropriate it at night. The same group could mark the bench by way of territorial tactics. The bench is also a piece of street furniture and is maintained and regulated by way of territorial strategy, thus making the bench an object of four different forms of territorial production. It is a place consisting of several different territorial layers.

Three squares in Lund

I now turn to a comparison of three squares in Lund: *Mårtenstorget*, *Clemenstorget* and *Fäladstorget*.⁴ *Mårtenstorget* is a large marketplace, dating back to the 1840s, located in the very centre of Lund. *Clemenstorget* was planned outside the old city wall in the 1880s and 90s, and is today a central square just by the railway station. *Fäladstorget* is one of the larger suburban centres in Lund located in the district of *Norra Fäladen* and was built in 1971. These three squares are the only ones in Lund to have market trade and all three of them were remodelled in the 1990s. The reason for choosing these places was the possibility to illuminate differences in territorial production (*Mårtenstorget*/*Fäladstorget*), and to study how designs are used in order to support similar territorial productions (*Mårtenstorget*/*Clemenstorget*).

Mårtenstorget

In the year 1800, Lund had a population of just over 3,000 inhabitants. At the turn of the nineteenth century, that population had grown to almost 17,000 (Blomqvist 1978:307). As the town became more densely populated, the town square – *Stortorget* – became too crowded for the market trade. *Mårtenstorget* or *Oxtorget* as it was sometimes called, was laid out in 1842, two block east of *Stortorget*,⁵ and it soon became the place for the livestock and meat market. *Mårtenstorget* achieved its present dimensions in the 1950s, as the new Art Gallery (*Lunds Konsthall*) was built in 1957, the clock tower and the wall around *Frostens tomt* was torn down and the medieval building *Krognoshuset* became a solitaire.

Territories for cars and traffic gradually became more and more extensive during the twentieth century, but finally decreased in the 1990s. *Kiliansgatan* on the east side of the square, and *Västra Mårtensgatan* just south of the market hall, were turned into pedestrian streets during the 1990s. The latest remodelling of *Mårtenstorget* was done in 1997. *Östra Mårtensgatan* was narrowed, allowing one-way traffic



Mårtenstorget, plan.



Mårtenstorget.

only. The marketplace got new benches, trees, and space for open-air cafés. It also got place for kiosks, a lot of new places for cycle parking, a cycle path and a fountain.

Market days are on weekdays and Saturdays from 6:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. After 2 p.m., the market place is open for parking. At *Mårtenstorget*, we find many activities such as restaurants, cafés, shops, kiosks, a pharmacy, a large food store, a market hall and *Lunds Konsthall*. Close by is also the city bus terminal and *Filmstaden*, the largest multiplex cinema in Lund. The *territorial strategies* of the square are distinctive (Castensson 1977). The largest part consists of an open space, used successively for market and parking. The territorial production of the market trade involves the

mobilisation of actants (Latour 1998) such as stalls, signs, vegetables, vans etc. The car park occupies the same space but at different times and mobilises another set of actants, such as parking meters, white lines, traffic wardens, traffic regulations, etc. There are also other strategic productions at Märtenstorget. In summer there are open-air cafés and restaurants, there is one area for mobile kiosks, hot dog stands etc. There is one large space for cycle parking and several smaller ones, two bicycle paths, two streets with pavements and crossings. There are many smaller territories such as benches, telephone booths and mailboxes. At times, there are also occasional territorial strategies such as demonstrations and fun fairs.

Apart from formal territorial production, we can also note some more informal territories. The long “liars bench” outside Konsthallen, close to *Systembolaget*, has become well known as a territory appropriated by the local alcoholics. Another well-known *territorial appropriation* is Märtenstorget as the route destination of *raggare* (gang of youths riding about in old American cars). On evenings and weekends, Märtenstorget was once their most important meeting places in Lund (Malmberg 1978). This changed with the introduction of one-way traffic on Östra Märtensgatan, and today somewhat younger persons, gathering outside McDonalds, produce the most regular territorial appropriations during these hours. Mats Lieberg’s study on how young people use public space seems to confirm this change. Lieberg notes that McDonalds seems to be the only indoor place in Lund that is accessible to young people late at night. Lieberg also notes that Märtenstorget together with Stortorget seems to be the most popular place in town for young people to meet and be seen (Lieberg 1992: 194 ff, 204).

Occasional territorial appropriations and tactics increase during the summer and at market hours. Musicians, politicians, performers, the Salvation Army, etc. seem to create small circular spaces in the flow of movements (Malmberg 1978). More explicit tactics can be observed during political protest actions for a car-free city centre, when people or groups occupy parking places.⁶ People marking their territory at an open-air café, or engaging in illegal parking are two other common forms of territorial tactics.

Märtenstorget has been an important political place for the citizens of Lund. The square has a permanent Speaker’s

Corner, and it is an important place for demonstrations (such as May Day demonstrations) and political protests. One could say that there is a *territorial association* of Märtenstorget as a place for people to express their political opinions, a kind of civic centre (although not in a formal sense). More notably, it is the most important and most strongly associated market place in Lund. The renewal of the square in the 1990’s was to a large extent an effort to support the market trade, as large areas were then prohibited for cars and parking, and thus became more accessible to pedestrians and bicycles. We can also note some territorial associations for different parts of the square. The fountain is a very popular place for children on a warm day – and it is (the only) place more exclusively associated with, and used by, children on the square. Students and others eating baguettes bought at the market-hall often use the ‘liars bench’. During the summer, one could perhaps argue that it becomes a bench associated with ‘lunches in the sun’. Sometimes the group of addicts who usually consider the bench as their territory leave during these hours. Quite often, however, different groups share the bench at “rush hours”.

Territorial changes are often rhythmic, following different cycles of day and night, weekdays and weekends, different seasons, etc. Benches and open-air cafés disappear in the winter. The merchants are allowed to have their vans on the square during market hours in winter months, etc. Territories and territorial rules can however also be the object of more gradual and permanent changes. Märtenstorget seem to be a very flexible place, and territorialized functions allow for territorial co-operation and sharing. A distinctive feature of everyday life on the square seems to be a rather complex interplay between different uses and people. However, seen from a distance and informed by the daily press, some *territorial conflicts* become evident. The ‘liars bench’ has attracted some attention in the press. The bench was removed by local politicians who wanted to get rid of the addicts using it, but was later reinstalled at the initiative of architect Klas Anshelm, who was the one to put the bench on the square in the first place (Karlsson 2002:120). The conflicts between territories of the marketplace and territories of cars are more explicit. The domination of the cars has decreased over the last couple of decades. Streets have been set aside for walking and cycling, and parking spaces have been removed. Although cars have been losing

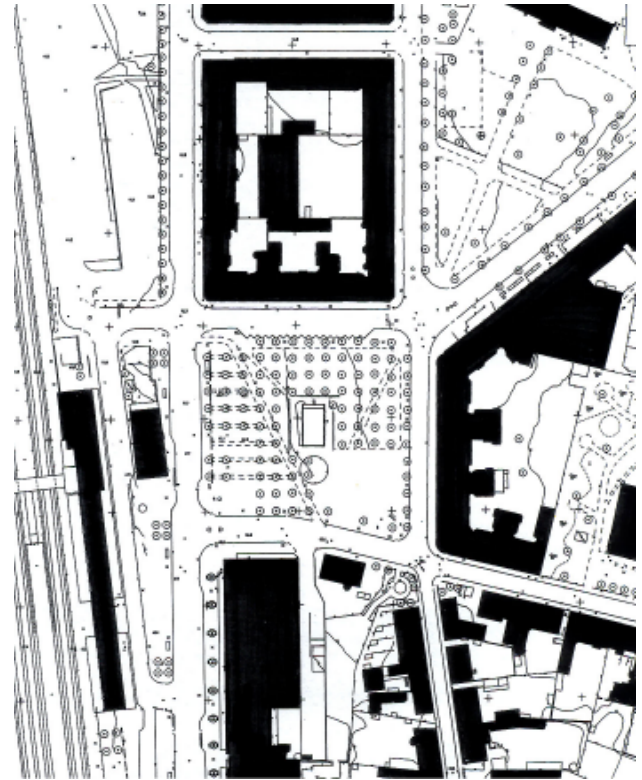
space, they have not been completely excluded. In fact most of the area is still accessible to cars but with territorial restrictions - not for through traffic, only during certain hours, etc.

Another territorial conflict is the one between pedestrians and cyclists. Bicycle territories became larger after the renewal in 1997 and the area for pedestrians was to some extent reduced. The territorialization of bicycle activities through new cycle paths and cycle parking spaces were, however, also means of safe guarding pedestrian areas, and the pedestrian influence of the square has actually seemed to increase. This is a small but important example, since it suggests that less space does not necessarily equal less influence. Territoriality is a means and not an end in itself (Sack 1986:29). There is no cause and effect relationship between the size and the influence of a territory (as Markus 1993, and Hammad 2002, seem to suggest).

Clemenstorget

In the nineteenth century, there was a place just outside the old city wall called Isaks torg. This was a place for corporal punishment and Isak was supposedly the last person to be beaten to death at this place before the abolition of flogging in 1855. The place was also a well-known horse market. In 1874, the place was planned as a 'Salutorg' and Clemenstorget was established in the 1890s. The main reason for the new marketplace was to relieve the pressure on the already very crowded Mårtenstorget. In the beginning, only one side of Clemenstorget (the south side) was lined with buildings. In 1894, a customs house was added on the west side and at the turn of the century the north and east sides of the square were built. Clemenstorget was paved in 1913 and the first trees were then planted.⁷

Before the Second World War, Clemenstorget was a large cobbled square. During the 1940's the square was more or less transformed into a park, leaving just a small part of the southeast corner for market trade. The rest of the square contains about 70 plane trees on grass and a fountain. The latest renovation of Clemenstorget was in 1998. The parking lot on the west side was removed, leaving space for a large cycle park and a diagonal cycle path. A new bus stop was built, some trees were replaced, and a large number of hedges and stone walls were introduced on the west half of the square and around the fountain.



Clemenstorget, plan.



Clemenstorget.

Clemenstorget was an important marketplace in the early twentieth century, mainly for horses and livestock. During the interwar period, the horse trade moved outside the city. Clemenstorget reopened as a marketplace in 1941, and ever since there has been a small but continuous market trade. At Clemenstorget, we find apartment houses, a lot of small shops, a large food store and a parking garage. The old customs house is now used as auction rooms. The west side is dominated by busses and areas connected to the railway station. Commercially, Clemenstorget ranks as a C-location, indicating areas that are appropriate for services and workshops requiring access by car. Märtenstorget ranks as an A-location, that is one of the best commercial locations in town.⁸

One notable *territorial strategy* is of course the market trade located at the southeast corner of the square. There are also streets, car parking, and a large triangular cycle park, a pool with a fountain, a public toilet, a bus stop and a large irregularly shaped grass area with trees. A marketplace is often associated with a square more or less full of market stands, vegetables, the selling and buying of food, etc. The market trade at Clemenstorget occupies a quite small part of the square and is often dominated by a flea market and flowers. Most passers-by are on their way to the busses, the train or the food store. A large part of the square is actually used by people on their way to the bus or the train. The benches facing Bangatan are almost exclusively used by people waiting for busses. Clemenstorget is thus part of a larger territory associated with activities that have to do with the bus and railway stations. In the early twentieth century, Clemenstorget was an important meeting place associated with both market days and demonstrations. When the square was remodelled in the 1940s, these possibilities were lost. As the territorial subdivision of the square became even more concrete and fixed in the 1990s, no areas remained to serve as a meeting place for larger crowds. Today, it seems possible to make strong territorial associations in connection with larger territories outside Clemenstorget (the station area), as well as smaller territories within it, but not with the square as whole.

The benches around the fountain offer good possibilities for *territorial appropriations*. The area is located in the middle of the square, yet surrounded by low granite walls and therefore appropriate for people who do not want to be disturbed by people passing by. Some observations seem to indicate that elderly people, families with children and addicts

are the people who tend to use the place more regularly. People from the last of these groups tend to use the place more extensively as well as during a larger part of the day and the year than others. As far as I know these appropriations have however not been commented upon in the daily press and perhaps they do not actually account for any well-known territorial association (compared with, for example, *Bytaregängen* close by, a small park connecting Clemenstorget to *Knut den stores torg*).

The interplay between different territorial productions does not seem to be as complex at Clemenstorget as at Märtenstorget. People circulating or staying on the square are few even on Saturdays, whereas there are plenty of people passing by at all times of the day and year. A large project concerning the station area of Lund was started in 1990. Places all around the railway station were mobilised to support the activities of the station, and the project resulted in an extensive transformation and extension of the area. The remodelling of Clemenstorget is part of this larger project, also involving *Knut den stores torg* and *Västra Stationstorget*. The cycle parking area at the railway station was removed and a new larger one was built at Clemenstorget. It actually seems as if the strongest and most influential territorial productions have their centres outside the square. New territorial strategies supporting bus and train travel have been produced as well. The territory associated with these activities has expanded and strengthened its hold. The enforcement of this territorial association has also been made by material means. Different places and squares surrounding the station area have, for example, been incorporated into it through a uniform design, involving themes such as granite walls and paving with granite slabs and paving stones.

Fäladstorget

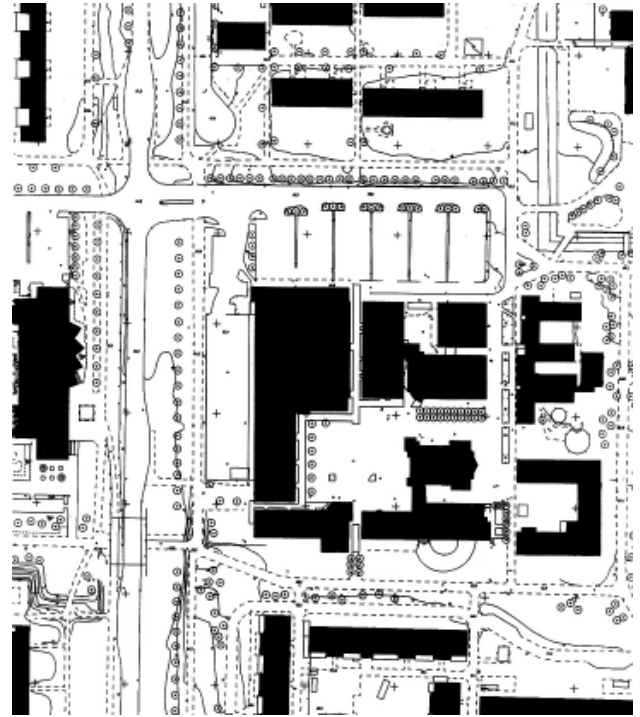
Norra Fäladen, planned by Fred Forbat and Stefan Romare in the early 1960s, is a district and a residential area north of the city centre, with a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants. The centre of the area, drawn by Yngve Lundqvist and Hans Rendahl, was completed in 1971. It consists of a square enclosed by one-storey buildings and a church. The square is located on the east side of Svenshögvägen (the street that links Norra Fäladen to the city centre). On the west side, there is a school, a library and a youth recreation centre (Tägil 1997, Åström 1985).

Fäladstorget has gone through some changes over the years: around 1990 some buildings were extended adding up to 600 square meters to the building stock, thus reducing the area of the square. During the mid-1990s, LKF built two new apartment houses for the elderly east of the church. The parish house was extended and connected to the church so that the square became more enclosed. The square was also refurbished with benches, a statue with a fountain, and new trees.

Fäladstorget is one of the largest suburban centres in Lund, and was also the first square outside the city centre to have regular market trade.⁹ Nevertheless, it is considerably less frequented than Clemenstorget and Mårtenstorget, and bustling life can only be felt at certain times (such as Saturdays and lunch hours) and in the passage with shops leading from the parking lot to the square. At Fäladstorget, one can find shops, a health care centre, dentists, a pharmacy, a day care centre, a church and a pizzeria. The shops are mostly located in the passage. Some activities have disappeared such as the bank, and others have been introduced, such as the health care centre and a local police station. Since 1987 there is a small daily market, with some market stalls (often selling flowers and food) and a hot-dog stand or the like.

There are a few examples of territorial strategies on the square. One could regard the whole of the square as the object of a territorial strategy regulating marketplace activities and prohibiting cars and bicycles. There are of course also territorial strategies of a somewhat smaller nature, such as the open-air pizzeria, benches, small cycle parking areas and a fountain. Reading the daily press we can at time note some occasional territorial strategies as well, mostly activities for the locals such as a summer café, a carnival for children, an outdoor discotheque, etc.

Fäladstorget is an important place for *territorial appropriations*. One good example of this is the story of Tusse the cat. Tusse was 'the cat of Fäladen' during the 1980s. He had his resting-place in a basket in the flower-shop and the locals fed him. On the 13th of January 1989, Tusse was run over by a car. The accident got a great deal of attention among the locals and in the local press. Some locals founded *Föreningen Tusses minne* (The Tusse Memorial Foundation), an association with annual meetings, and raised money for a fund called *Tusefonden*. The idea was to erect a monument of Tusse, and this idea was actually realised in connection with



Fäladstorget, plan.



Fäladstorget.

the remodelling of Fäladstorget in 1996. The statue incarnates local history and use, and perhaps it is fair to claim that the statue helped the locals to appropriate Fäladstorget as 'their own' square. "Tusse Square" became a contrasting picture in the daily press, where Norra Fäladen during the 1980s had been described as a problem area.

The local inhabitants of Fäladen are not a homogenous group, and if they have appropriated the square as 'their territory' they have only done so as individuals or in smaller groups. The importance of the story of Tusse and the renovation of the square was the will to change the *territorial association* of Fäladstorget from that of a dead suburban centre, establishing a more positive association of the square as an active local marketplace, and thus in a more indirect manner encouraging the locals to appropriate the square and to make it their own. The image of the square as belonging to the locals was supported by the fact that the locals actually seem to have had some influence concerning the remodelling of the square. In the early 1990s there was a questionnaire where the locals were able to make their own suggestions regarding the transformation of the square. Many of these suggestions were used in the renovation in 1996.

There are other and more specific territorial appropriations going on at Fäladstorget. Elderly people from the new apartment houses seem to have appropriated some of the benches during the daytime. In Lieberg's dissertation, we can read about his study of young people and how they use Fäladstorget. Lieberg shows that the square is a favourite haunt for many kids. Sometimes the territorial appropriation could be just a bench. On summer evenings, 30 to 40 kids (Lieberg 1992:182) could appropriate the whole of the square.

The moveable furniture plays an important role in the way people appropriate territories. These artefacts can be controlled by the users, and are thus used in order to communicate different meanings. William Whyte has observed that people often tend to move a chair before sitting down. Whyte argues that these very small moves often have a lot to do with appropriation (Whyte 1980:36 f.). Lieberg, in a way, confirms this in his study. The formerly moveable benches, flower boxes and litterbins were all important resources for the young people. In the evenings, they could put them together, to form places suitable for groups of different sizes. In the daytime, they could be properties of dif-

ferent plays performed *front stage* by groups of young people (Goffman in Lieberg 1992:179). They could also be used in the active territorial markings of territorial tactics (today the furniture is fixed).

While the passage with shops seems to be a natural place for youths and others to meet and watch people passing by, the square seems to be more used for different kinds of territorial production. Other researchers have noted that territorial appropriations (especially when it comes to marginalized groups with a lot of spare time) seem to be common next to more busy routes (that is in playgrounds and parks rather than on town squares or main streets). Fäladstorget, unlike Märtenstorget and Clemenstorget, is not a through route, and therefore it might be reasonable to assume that it would be more likely for some specific territorial appropriations to dominate the place at certain times. Fäladstorget has few activities; the users seem to be a more homogenous group (the locals dominate). The daily rhythm of the square is quite strong. After closing hours the square is hardly used at all and it is not even used as a through route to other places. The change is thus quite dramatic, and there also seem to be a tendency for certain territorial productions to set the tone and to some extent exclude others.

Territorial stabilisation through architectural design

Märtenstorget is the oldest and in some respects the most widely used of the three squares. A number of different interests, users and regulations have influenced the square during the last century. There are numerous territorial strategies superimposed as different territorial layers. The number of territorial strategies at Clemenstorget also increased during the last century, but here the territorial strategies are more fixed. At Fäladstorget, we noticed some territorial densification owing to new territorial strategies and stronger territorial associations.

The transformations of the three squares had different territorial implications. At Fäladstorget, the transformations were used to enhance a territorial appropriation of locals and a territorial association of the place as a local square. At Clemenstorget and Märtenstorget, the issue was to territorialize more functions in order to make things flow more smoothly. At Clemenstorget, this also included a stronger territorial association of the place as part of the station area, whereas earlier associations with the place as a market or a

park became somewhat weaker. The marketplace association grew stronger at Märtenstorget as the square became more integrated in the pedestrian precinct and the influence of traffic decreased.

Below, I focus on architectural design as a way of stabilising different territorial productions, by means of (a) position and (b) furnishing.

a. position

One important difference between the three squares is their position in the urban fabric. Märtenstorget is located in the very centre of Lund, Clemenstorget in the north part of the city and Fäladstorget on the outskirts of Lund (although at the centre of the Norra Fäladen district). All of these squares were at first located alongside more central places or routes. As market trade increased during the nineteenth century, the central squares were no longer sufficient for this trade. New marketplaces, such as Märtenstorget, often located next to the old square (in this case Stortorget) had to be planned. The reason for the establishment of Clemenstorget was that Märtenstorget was too crowded. Fäladstorget was planned much later and has a different history – it was an important part in the plans for a new neighbourhood. Nevertheless, it was (and remains) located just alongside important routes rather than on these routes.

Topologically speaking Märtenstorget is an important node in the urban fabric, located at the intersection of long and important routes. It is an important part of a larger system of circulation and consequently much used for passing by. The square is visually integrated with the surrounding streets and places. An isovist analysis (Hillier 1996) shows that the public places in the city centre in Lund are visually well connected. Märtenstorget is an important topological as well as optical node of the city, and it is fair to say that the importance and popularity of the square is to some extent a result of material and spatial properties and designs. Clemenstorget is a part of the same visual net as Märtenstorget although not as well integrated in the street pattern. As it is less regulated with regard to traffic, the square is however more accessible to cars than Märtenstorget. The railway station makes it a part of a larger regional, national (and international) railway system. This connection became stronger in the 1990s when a new platform and a footbridge allowed people to reach the tracks from the old goods shed just west

of the square. This new entry generates pedestrians at Clemenstorget at all hours. Fäladstorget is not as well connected to surrounding streets as Clemenstorget or Märtenstorget, and there are only a few passers-by. The entrances of the square are only connected to important longer routes by short and perpendicular access roads. The possibility of surveillance is good from inside the square, but the visual contact between the square and its surroundings is rather limited and the square cannot be seen from the important routes passing just next to it. Instead, two landmarks – a church campanile and a large sign on poles – are there to announce the presence of the square.

The material and spatial conditions for movement are very different at the three squares. How then do different movement patterns affect territorial production? Tim Cresswell notes in *InPlace/Out of Place* that:

[Mobility] appears to be a kind of superdeviance. It is not just "out of place", but disturbs the whole notion that the world can be segmented into clearly defined places.

Cresswell 1986:87

I would, instead, claim that mobility or movement can be a part of both de- and reterritorialization. Territorial movement could be one of the activities defining the territory, for example in terms of circulation within the territory (as in a shopping mall) or as an oscillating movement from the periphery to the centre and back again (as in the neighbourhood unit).

Fäladstorget is a well-defined and uniformly designed destination without a lot of people passing by. According to Lundqvist, one of its architects, the intention at an early stage in the planning was to design the square as an interior place. These plans were never realised for financial reasons, but they still seem to suit the spatial structure of the complex very well. At first, it might seem as if Fäladstorget were a good example of a more territorialized movement pattern – a kind of territorial circulation moving back and forth in the pedestrian zone. Observations on the spot, however, indicate that the passage between the parking lot and the square is the one most frequently used by visitors. The market stalls standing at the end of the passage underline this fact, and a common trajectory seems to be to move from the parking lot into the territory, do a couple of errands, and then go back again, while more time consuming circu-

lation within the place seems unusual. One could compare this with Märtenstorget, where the market trade is large enough to establish a circulation system among the stalls. One can observe market life from the benches next to the market place and people tend to sit on these benches in large numbers on sunny days. What might seem paradoxical is that although Fäladstorget does not have any through traffic, the movement pattern still seems deterritorializing in the way it keeps crossing the border between the territory of the parking lot and the square. Märtenstorget has many passers-by using the square as part of a street that passes through it, but we can still find strong territorial circulation within (respecting and to some extent constituting) the borders of the square.

b. furnishing

The remaking of public places during the 1990s is an interesting phenomenon coinciding with a kind of renaissance of urban life not just in Sweden, but all over Europe (followed by an increasing number of out door cafés, pedestrian precincts, new street furniture, etc). The history of these renovations remains to be written. In Sweden as well as in other countries, they have often been synonymous with the concrete fixation of territorial indicators, themed places, and new regulations for uniform street furniture, paving, lights, etc.¹⁰ These changes are perhaps a way of enabling a better and more intense use of public places, but they could also be described as a kind of *horror vacui* trend in urban design.

At Märtenstorget, new and more explicit territorializations were made in order to separate different functions and avoid conflicts (for example between bicycles and pedestrians). Most of these new territorial strategies allowed certain flexibility and crossing of borders. One could, for example, take different routes through the cycle parking area, one could take short cuts with a bike through pedestrian areas and one could park illegally on the square during market hours, etc. The territorial productions are accomplished without the constraints of material designs, and without a forceful linking of every place to just one exclusive set of regulations that tend to render any kind of deviation impossible.

The possibility of spatial co-operation is partly achieved through the delegation of territorial control not just to fixed, but also to non-fixed and semi-fixed actants (stalls,

containers, signs), as well as to artefacts that have the competence of being useful in different contexts (such as pattered paving). We could, in this respect, compare Märtenstorget and Clemenstorget. Clemenstorget is full of territorial markers such as walls and different textures. The remodelling of the square involved several elements used at Märtenstorget as well – trees, water, new benches, bicycle stands and walkways – but the designs of the two squares are still quite dissimilar. The territorial strategies at Clemenstorget have been stabilised by means of concrete form: the bicycle stands have been grouped together, forming a huge cycle parking area surrounded by fences and walls. The fountain has the shape of a large rectangular pool that stands empty and unused half of the year, whereas the fountains at Märtenstorget are jets of water integrated with the paving, thus not taking any space at all when turned off. At Clemenstorget, some plane trees have been placed on a pedestal, effectively forcing people to go around it. The cycle path across Clemenstorget is bordered with fences and walls, reducing all possible directions to one. It is also paved in red concrete brick, supporting an unambiguous territorial association which discourages co-operation with other functions.

The territorial strategies at Clemenstorget are fixed by means of concrete form, giving the place a predictability that could be useful in places crowded with traffic. However, these incarnations of certain territorial strategies make it hard for new territorial productions to evolve. There is risk of reducing possibilities of improvisation and even vital urban functions: the territorial corpus of Clemenstorget circumscribes the possibilities of demonstrations, markets, and festivals or even just of passing by.

The furnishing of Fäladstorget is modest compared with the others. Like Märtenstorget it has patterned pavement, but whereas the pavement of Märtenstorget is full of territorial actants implying territories for cars, market stalls, walkways, etc. the pattern at Fäladstorget is 'just' for decoration. The paving is exclusively made for pedestrians, and the irregularities of the paving have even led to complaints since it makes it harder for wheelchairs, perambulators etc. to use the square. Instead of elaborating on territorial subdivisions, the remodelling of Fäladstorget involved a restyling into a more traditional urban public place with attributes such as market trade, benches, trees and water. It also involved the strengthening of local identity. The means of

transformation was furnishing rather than structural large-scale changes which would have changed conditions for the use of the square more profoundly.

Public space as territorial complexity

One important point in discussing public space in terms of different forms of territorial production is the possibility of changing focus from singular territorial dominations to territorial co-operation and intertwining. My aim in this section is to develop the concept of territorial complexity as a way of dealing with public space (a way that also acknowledges the role of architectural design in these matters).

There are many definitions and ways of dealing with public space (Weintraub 1997, Madanipour 2003). One common approach has been to see public space as space characterised by the co-presence of strangers. Lyn Lofland thus describes public space as:

areas of urban settlements in which individuals in co-presence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another. Lofland 1998:9

This view of public space as a sphere of sociability, a space shared by a community (opposed to the privacy of the household or family) has been attributed to such thinkers as Ariés, Goffman, Sennett, Lofland and Scruton, and can be distinguished from public space as an arena of political community and political activities (Weintraub 1997).

The concept of public space is quite complex and is not dealt with at length in this article. I use the term public space to indicate an interpersonal space focusing mainly on the aspect of access. Seeing public space as an interpersonal sphere of sociability, one often tends to focus on a space accessible to different kinds of people or groups. In order for a place to become accessible to a lot of different people it should, however, also be a place of varied activities. A place in principal open to all kinds of strangers but nevertheless only accessible to a certain category of users, such as cars, bikes or shoppers would, of course, also imply restrictions on which people that are allowed to be at that place. We should thus add to the quote of Lofland that public space is a space accessible to a lot of different uses and practices and hence also to different groups and persons.

In my empirical study it became obvious that 'making accessible' (and in this respect 'making public') could by no

means be equated with the erasing of boundaries. Märtenstorget had more territorial markings and boundaries than Fäladstorget, but one could hardly regard it as less public. In fact the opposite seems more likely: the access of space has to be subdivided (in time or space) to accommodate different uses, and to make room for as many different categories of users as possible. A certain degree of territorial sorting and superpositioning could very well bring about a much greater degree of accessibility. Spatial rules and conventions are necessary if we are to be able to act (and co-act) at all. One can recall Foucault and his point that power and discipline also have productive sides. My assumption would then be that the publicness of a place could be seen in terms of territorial complexity. Several territorial orders also indicate several possibilities. The danger of an exclusive, one-sided use does not just lie in territorial homogenisation (of one territory becoming more and more exclusive), but in a one-layered territorial order and a place lacking superimposed territorial layers. Public space could be regarded as the *result* of all territorial productions of a certain place, and a territorial description could to some extent be regarded as the anatomy of public space. Märtenstorget is more frequented and spatially more integrated in the urban grid than the other two squares. I would think that not just a central location, but also a more elaborate territorial production has a part to play in this. The territorial complexity supports accessibility and multi-use, and the co-presence of strangers could have other explanations than spatial integration. Bill Hillier's statement that: "Places do not make cities. It is cities that make places" (Hillier 1996:151) could thus be deceptive, and would perhaps better be rephrased as *cities make places, places make cities*. Märtenstorget and Clemenstorget are quite similar in terms of spatial integration but far apart when it comes to territorial production.

Märtenstorget has more territorial layers than the other squares. There is also great variety within each form of territorial production. There are a variety of different *territorial strategies*, including open-air cafes, cycle parking places, cycle paths, places for market stalls, kiosks, benches, a speaker's corner, parking spaces and also more occasional demonstrations and fairs. There are also many *territorial associations* to the square (as a market place, a kind of civic forum, a traffic site as well as a place for games). In addition, Märtenstorget has a wide variety of different territorial

appropriations and tactics associated with different groups, situations and parts of the square. It would thus be fair to argue that Märtenstorget has more territorial production than the other squares, both in terms of total numbers, the number of representatives of each form, and in terms of superimposing territorial layers. At Clemenstorget, certain uses were secured through territorial subdivision, and then supported by an architectural design that seems sure to exclude at least some of the undesired usages. The accessibility of the square is predetermined and the territorial corpus is so convincingly designed that, to some extent, it reduces the possibilities of new superimposing territorial layers. This could imply a readable territorial association, but possibly at the cost of potential new associations.

Märtenstorget works very well owing to its territorial structure, which allows for a wide range of different interests to co-operate. Territorial division and production could thus also support such co-operation; this goes for the subtle territorial division between pedestrians and bicycles, where the possibility of crossing the borders remains, making it possible to adjust one's movements according to the present traffic situation. It also goes for the sequential territorial production of marketplace, parking lot, etc., a multi-utility that gives the square a stronger identity and accessibility to a wide range of different groups. The example of Märtenstorget (as compared with the other squares) shows that a territorial discussion is just as useful when dealing with processes of publicisation as with processes of privatisation; it is just as good at dealing with aspects of how new territorial productions are established and how they open up the place to a wide range of uses as it is at dealing with homogenisation and exclusion. Public space always embodies the co-presence of different territorial productions. Publicisation does not have to be about the removal of boundaries, leaving nothing to cling to. It can also be about creating territorial complexity and opening the door to new possibilities.

In this article I have used territorial concepts to indicate more subtle differences between public places (the difference between Märtenstorget and Clemenstorget). In a discussion on territorial complexity, a more obvious comparison would be between a town square and a shopping mall. The shopping mall is territorially regulated and is largely lacking in territorial complexity. There is one dominant territorial

strategy regulating the whole of the mall, maintaining policies of uniform design, opening hours, advertising and even behavior (Dovey 1999). In territorial terms, the mall is quite a simple one-layered place, less complex than most outdoor marketplaces.

Territorial complexity in three points

Territorial complexity is not a norm. Every city needs places with different degrees of territorial complexity. Some groups might need calm places to appropriate and even dominate, just as the territorial subdivision or homogenisation of one place might be necessary in order to support another. The aim of this paper was not to rank the squares in terms of publicness, but to draw attention to issues of territorial complexity. How can we describe territorial complexity more formally? In the introductory essay to *Complexities* (2002), Annemarie Mol and John Law describe complexity in three points (Mol & Law 2002):

- When things could be related to each other, but do not add up; there are not one, but several different orders (as in apples and pears).
- When events cannot be described in linear time. When absent orders or phenomena remain as traces, or keep shifting between being absent and present.
- When phenomena cannot be categorised or registered as a set of co-ordinates within a field, either as different classes or as boxes in a coherent system of classification.

Mol and Law conclude their essay by noting that these three points do not suffice to describe complexity, since complexity also encompasses the other side of the statements so that:

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

Complexities can include rigid orders, but these orders come and go, and can always be seen within a more complex context of different orders. On the basis of these remarks from Mol and Law, I would like to put forward three related points in the description of territorial complexity on public places.

First of all, territorial complexity is about the number of territories. How many territorial orders can we find altogether, and how many within each form of production? At the

shopping mall there is often one dominating territorial strategy. The dominating production need, however, not be a territorial strategy. Bytaregängen was a park dominated by the territorial appropriation and association of a group of addicts, thus somehow tending to exclude the possibility of other productions. As these places become scenes of new territorial production, complexity increases:

The trope of the single order that reduces complexity (or that is bound to fail in its attempt to do so) starts to lose power when *order* is multiplied, when *order* turns in to *orders*.

Mol & Law 2002: 7

One could conclude this first point by saying that *territorial complexity is characterised by a large number of territorial productions – within each form of production as well as taken together*.

Secondly, territorial complexity is about multi-layered territorial production. How many territorial layers can we find in one place? These different territorial productions have different rhythms, shifting between absence and presence in a regular manner during the day, the week the year, or with less regular phenomena such as the weather (rain vs. sunshine). A second point is thus that *territorial complexity is characterised by a large number of territorial layers. These multi-layered territorial productions follow different rhythms*.

Thirdly, territorial complexity is about how different territorial productions interrelate. Are there tendencies towards spatial homogenisation or the domination of a single territorial production? Within territorial complexity one could expect that different territorial productions are not reduced to units within a larger scheme (such as parking spaces in a parking lot, or shops in a mall). At Märtenstorget the marketplace and the parking lot were two equally important territorial layers. Märtenstorget could thus be described as a place of territorial *heteronyms*. I have borrowed the concept of heteronyms from the Portuguese author Fernando Pessoa (Pessoa 2002). The concept describes Pessoa's efforts to go beyond the pseudonym concept, and a view of pseudonyms as substitutes for the author's 'real' name and identity. In the works of Pessoa, Fernando Pessoa is just one of many heteronyms (of equal rights) such as Bernardo Soares, Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis and Álvaro de Campos. A heteronymic territorial relationship represents a plenitude of different territorial layers, existing in the

same place and without the preconception that one is dominant, or in any profound way outranks the others. Territorial heteronyms are different in scope and strength, but they do not have any predetermined relationship or hierarchy of one being more correct than the others. It has been common to begin an analysis with concepts that classify phenomena into an axial relationship such as power vs. resistance or production vs. consumption (or as strategy vs. tactics in the writings of Certeau). In discussions on space, it is important to acknowledge that the territorial regulation of a place might not be at one but several levels, even when it comes to planned and administrated territories. The regulation of a place could thus involve several different, co-operating or competitive territorial strategies. In urban planning there seems to be a need for concepts that do not start out by postulating that there should be just one territorial strategy for each place (and running the risk of leading to a one-dimensional functional zoning). A third point would thus be that *territorial complexity is characterised by heteronymic relationships among different territorial productions*.

One more brief comment: territorial complexity should not be read as indicating complicated territoriality that is difficult to read or comprehend. Territorial complexity is often a simple and logical part of everyday life. It is the result of economical and effective utilisation of places. Activities that do not seem to fit but rather to complicate space in the eyes of theorists or planners – such as a private picnic on the main square – might seem natural to the daily user: a student prank during the first week of the semester. The places that seem complicated in everyday life are actually often characterised by a *lack* of territorial complexity. They could be places where territorial productions are few and weak, such as different kinds of residual spaces, where there seem to be no indications of how to behave, thus giving an effect of 'placelessness'. They could also be the result of an individual lack of competence. Places of great territorial complexity can be perceived as difficult to understand and use if one lacks proper tools or former experiences of such places.

Architectural design and territorial complexity

Subtle material transformations might sometimes result in unexpected changes in terms of territorial production. The role of architectural design in making space public is largely an undeveloped question and needs further study. A more

material side to discussions of public space could, however, be developed by studying how different material artefacts, aspects and structures (by way of architectural design) undermine or support the territorial productions and their role in the formation of public space. Territorial complexity could, of course, put pressure on architectural design – in complex places the same designs might need to be able to play different roles in different territorial productions. But what about the other way around: how does architectural design affect territorial complexity? An interesting counterpart to the furnished squares of the 1990s full of litter boxes, letterboxes, benches, kiosks, bus shelters, advertising pillars and the like, were the open paved squares of the early twentieth century. Such a territorially unsettled or ‘neutral’ square, lacking the inscriptions of territorial orders, would potentially be accessible to pedestrians, bicycles, cars and buses at random. Would this then be a place of great territorial complexity? A neutral space open to the public might seem to be a good recipe for publicness and accessibility. However, this would not be revealed until some kind of territorial complexity had, in fact, evolved. Multi-layered territorial productions involve accessibility for different groups and uses, and thus constitute a certain neutrality of space. Neutrality must be seen in this sense as the result, and not as a point of departure. Bruno Latour has argued that we need to delegate tasks and assignments to artefacts in order to make them durable (Latour 1988). Artefacts play an important role in social relations – they make a difference. What difference that various designs of these artefacts make is harder to say. It can, however, be noted that neither the heavily subdivided and furnished squares full of artefacts, nor the open paved squares with no marked borders at all, represent a guarantee for territorial complexity (actually, they both seem to imply the opposite).

The open institutions – towards a critique of thinking in terms of exclusion

I have argued above that publicness increases to some extent with the degree of territorial complexity, and that this complexity has a great deal to do with architectural design. I have focused on how issues dealing with public space can benefit from analysis in terms of territoriality. To conclude, I turn this focus around and examine how territorial research can benefit from studies of public space. One point is that

the sheer richness of different territorial productions in public places makes them a very good object for discussions of territorial phenomena. This point might seem obvious, but it actually belies much research on territoriality conducted to this date. In previous research, the centre of attention has been the relationship between a person or a group and a specific territorial order, more or less irrespective of a specific place (Kärrholm 2003). Studies of territoriality, from Altman¹¹ to Hammad, have dealt with homogenisations and privatisations, taking their examples from allotments, prisons, homes and private spaces such as tables, chairs or cells. Regardless of focus (territorial behaviour or administration), these studies have dealt with matters of exclusionary space and places of just one actant or one dominant control (one-layered places). This goes for the biologically related studies of the 1960s, through the political and sociological studies of the 1980s and 90s, all of which considered territoriality to be a social construction. Although studies of territoriality to some extent underwent a paradigmatic shift during the 1980s and 90s, exchanging territoriality as an instinct for an interest in spatial techniques of power, the focus on defense, exclusion and homogenisation remained the same. Although paradigms changed from biological to social, the paradigm of doing research in terms of exclusion has remained the same. Privatisation and exclusion are, however, only two aspects of territoriality. Territorial production does not necessarily involve thinking in black and white; most territorializations do not aim at creating clear-cut divisions. Instead of closed or secluded institutions, we need to look at the mechanisms of open institutions – detailed studies of territorial co-operation and procedures of making space more accessible and inclusive still remain to be made.

Others have observed a central focus on exclusion within territorial research (Brown 1987, Bonnes & Secchiarolli 1995). In a critique of the proxemics of Edward Hall in “Figures, Doors and Passages”, Robin Evans argues that Hall turns a human phenomenon, which is only a couple of centuries old, into common law. The privatisation of body and space is largely a historical and social construct and cannot be used as a universalistic paradigm in research (Evans 1995:86). Although acknowledged by some, this kind of critique has seldom gone further than being just a short critique or comment. It has never been developed into any strategies

or suggestions about how territorial research might otherwise be done. How do we deal with the territoriality of urban places beyond singular dichotomizations such as inclusion-exclusion, public-private or formal-informal? In this article, I have tried to develop such a discussion through dealing with territoriality in terms of territorial production, thus making it possible to compare different forms of territorial control at a given place. I have also argued that the publicness of a place could be described as the product of several territorial layers intermingling at a place, hence providing it with some kind of territorial complexity.



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Notes

1. This article is primarily based on Kärrholm 2004, chapter 10 in particular.
2. There are approximately 100,000 inhabitants in Lunds kommun (2002). The town was founded in medieval times. Today the town is dominated by a large university and a large hospital.
3. The concept of territorial production is to some extent influenced by Lefebvre 1991, see discussion in Kärrholm 2004, pp. 81 f.
4. The study is based on observation of use and the built environment, as well as a historical study of literature and the daily press. The observations were made in May and from September to December during 2003.
5. On the history of Mårtensstorget, see: *Lunds Stadsskärna, Bevaringsprogram, Kraftsrote*, 1983, Karlsson 2002, Malmberg 1978, Castensson 1978.
6. There is a distinction between the demonstration as a territorial strategy – that is the demonstration as something planned

requiring some kind of permit and assigned to a certain place – and the territorial tactics established in a situation by a certain demonstrators, for example by marking a parking space by blankets or clothes (although also this may, at least theoretically, be meticulously planned and arranged before executed and in that case also a kind of territorial strategy).

7. Jmf. t.ex. *Lunds stadsskärna* 1983a, *Lunds Stadsskärna* 1983 b.
8. *Detaljhandelsutredning, Lunds kommun*, Handelsn Planinstitut 1996, s. 29 ff.
9. In *Detaljhandelsutredning, Lunds kommun* 1996, pp. 13–19, we can read that Fäladstorget and Mobilia (a large shopping mall from the 1980s) are the only places outside the city centre where actual sales are larger than the expected consumption of the inhabitants in the area.
10. In Lund we have *Värna och vinna staden, Fördjupning av översiktsplanen för staden Lund, Samrådshandling* 2001, Stadsarkitektkontoret i Lund, Lund 2001, which includes a program for appropriate colours, lights, furnitures etc. to be used within the city centre.
11. The concept of *privacy* is central to the studies of Irwin Altman and underpins his discussions on other phenomena such as *personal space, territorial behaviour* and *crowding* (Altman 1975, p. 3).

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