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Abstract

In a recent research project regarding the layout, commodity distribution and performativity of department stores, one of the most important findings was the way in which commodity distribution did not follow the layman's retail theories of attractor goods and impulse buys, but rather quite directly resembled something else: namely a nuanced but clear description by staging of the social roles the commodities for sale have in society. Closest resemblance to the spatial configurative description of difference and belonging could be found in fashion- and lifestyle magazines, and closest resemblance to the arrangement of home goods could be found in likening the entire home floors to apartments. In both cases not as direct copies but by contextual reference via the social situations, roles, and descriptions performed in and by space. This was remarkably much done through comfigurative positioning in space, in relation to some of the performative effects we have come to know are in part dependent on spatial configuration. This has later been expanded, if in rudimentary research, to examining retailer positioning in the urban fabric. Some of these patterns are very similar, suggesting there to be social logics of retail and consumption that respond to spatial situations in a more intricate way than simply providing more customers by more passers-by. Many of these responses or strategies are configurative in their nature both spatially and socially, and linked to the effects of spatial configuration on presence, movement, and being. This paper present some of these results in the light of recent findings in marketing theory, and suggests that this has implications for how complex buildings of the kinds of museums, department stores and libraries should be studied.

1. Introduction

In 2005, Morris B. Holbrook published a paper in *Marketing Letters 16:2* on tastes in movie consumption examining the relation between 'expert judgement' and 'popular taste' (Holbrook 2005). The importance of this paper lies not in how it once again confirms the common perception of discrepancy between expert judgement (critics) and popular preference (ticket sales), but in the following investigation. Holbrook posed two questions to the populace: first, what movie they thought was a good movie, and second, what movie they would like to see. The replies to the first question were remarkably alike the expert judgements, whereas the replies to the second were remarkably like the sales figures in movie theatres. This shows that preference and quality judgements are quite different things even for something where the price for either choice is exactly the same. It cannot be explained by availability or advertising either: the 'good' movies were running at the same time and were receiving better press. This has important implications for how consumption and quality judgements are to be understood, as well as for the relation between taste, personal preference, and consumption choices. Reasonably, it also has implications for the role and analysis of consumption space, which is what this paper investigates.

The coming discussion will be based on material from a recent research project on department stores (Koch 2007), analysing the four major department stores in Stockholm City at that time (Åhlens City, Debenhams, P.U.B, NK). They constituted (Debenhams has later closed down) a collection of high-end department stores markedly different from others in their higher aspirations when it comes to fashion retail, and they are all located in the central shopping district of Stockholm.

In light of the findings of Holbrook, it is here investigated how inquiries of other kinds than commonly made in consumption studies may illuminate aspects of behavior, here specifically in relation to spatial configuration: this paper aims to broaden the understanding of what goes on in shopping architecture *complementary* to the process of selling and acquisition of goods. As Holbrook points out that one can question the use of sales figures for any analysis in as far as quality or status judgments are concerned, this paper treats consumption as a learning process where expert judgments made by store managers and retailers are mediated to consumers via architecture and space (Kawamura 2005). For this purpose, the department stores will be studied as places of communication, and where this communication is based on the performative situations that emerge in relation to configurative properties of space. That is, as a form of curative device for consumption commodities (compare to e.g. Tzorti 2007). The aim is to build a more nuanced understanding of what these performative situations have to say about that which is for sale. That is, we will study the department stores and the emergent patterns of presence, movement and browsing as if consumers would enter the different departments rather asking 'what is this?' or 'is this for me?' than asking 'where is that which I want?'. This may help us understand how 'expert taste' is communicated in department stores, parallel to consumption choices of personal preference.

Of importance for such an analysis of consumption space as communication process, is to note a peculiar character of these spaces, in that they are at the same time private and public. As shown by amongst others Sharon Zukin (1995), public spaces (spaces appropriated as public in everyday practice) serve as representations, producers and sites of negotiation for society and public culture, whereby they are endowed with credibility for expressing a public idea of social and cultural structures. This is a role of commercial space that has grown with the advent of shopping malls, shopping centres, gallerias (Wall 2005), and the general commercialisation of the public sphere (Fornäs et al 2007). Here, department stores are interesting from both historical and typological perspectives. On one hand, they are often discussed as the starting point for the commercialisation of public space (Sparke 1995; Nava 1996; Lancaster 1995), and on the other they are from a spatial point of view interesting in how they deal with the relations of space and commodity. As John McMorrough states:

"The formal diagrams of the space of shopping are generically reducible to an explication of shopping's formal manipulations and hybrids of point, line, and plane - were the shop (or boutique) represents the basic unit of shopping, or point; the mall (and its antecedents, the arcade or stoa) represents the linear accumulation of shopping points; and the department store or big box retailing, for example, represents the extrusion of the shop/point in all directions into a field, or a plane, of consumption." (McMorrough 2001, 198-199)

The configurations of department stores are both more spatially complex than the mall or shop, and leaves more power to the management over decisions of how to arrange commodities for sale. Furthermore, part from history and part from size, the larger department stores do with fashion what the MoMa does with art, "[...] attempting to make order out of modern art and the complex relationships of art movements" (Psarra et al 2007); they describe the internal relations of that which is for sale as identities and categories – e.g. as fashion. The study will start by recapping and in some cases elaborating on earlier presented results from the research project (Koch 2004; 2007; Markhede and Koch 2007), then going through a small set of interpretations of what different forms and degrees of co-presence communicates to the consumers, to conclude with tying this back to the internal compositions of departments and displays, raising the question of how this connects to Kawamura's (2005) claim that department stores works as fashion magazines; i.e. how they disseminate the fashion system as a set of identities and values.

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2. Category and Context:
Spatial Constructions of Belonging and Difference

One of the social processes going on in space, seen as a social logic, is that of bringing together and holding apart functions, objects, and people. One effect of this is a constant formation of categories. This is a process going on in space through processes where things that belong together are put together, and things that do not are held apart (Hillier and Hanson 1984; see also Penn 2005; Markhede and Koch 2007); an argument consistent with that of adjacencies in retail literature (Underhill 2000; 2004). From this perspective, which is less recognized within retail theory, space serves to formulate and define categories rather than house them (Markus 1993; Koch 2004; 2007), and on a basic level we can study how spatial arrangements of objects for sale serve to formulate categories, such as brands or types (e.g. 'fragrances'). A closer study is here of importance, as it reveals that often encountered arguments when dealing with the sorting of commodities in retail space is not entirely true; e.g. that it is 'all about brands' or 'attractors and impulse buys'. Through close attention towards categories as something emergent, structured in and by space – investigated as a spatial logic instead of as a set system – light is shed on how categories are formulated in retail practice. While the brand sorting did exist, there were other classifications that were more important and more prevalent, and the goods that did have assigned departments for their brands often reappeared in other places of the department stores as well, sometimes in several (Koch 2007).
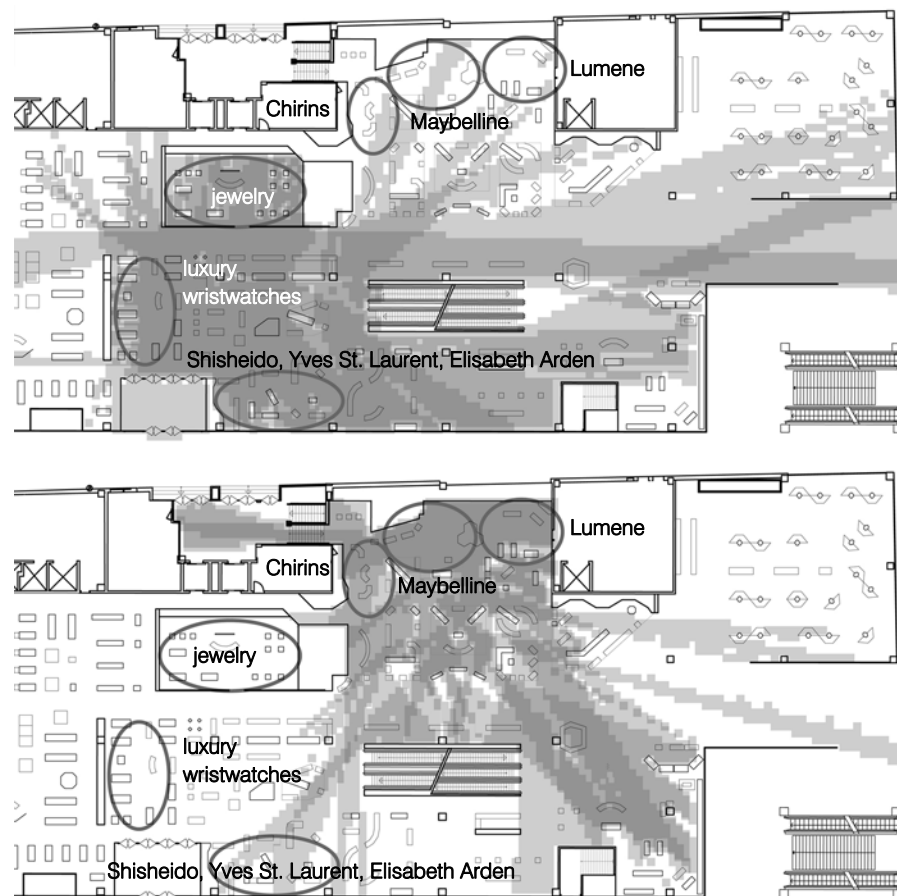

Figure 1

The formation of contexts that define categories in Åhlens City, Stockholm, 2005. Upper shows how luxury cosmetics, wristwatches and jewelry constitutes one category by intervisibility, and lower shows how the run-of-the-mill cosmetics form one, distinctly separate from the former.

This categorisation by means of spatial positioning of commodities relative one another follow processes similar to but not necessarily directly analysable through convex spaces since they tend to work more with overlaps of contextual belonging and sometimes finer means of subdivision, but in principle it is the same basic question of what is sharing space (Figure 1); even if complicated by on

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the one hand the fleeting and overlapping character of the contexts-to-formulate-categories, and on the other the appearance of "[...] multiple vistas to encourage the simultaneous perception and comparison of objects according to alternate classificatory frameworks" (Zamani and Peponis, 2007).

If the of the sharing of space suggest belonging then separation suggests difference (things far apart are presented as different, for different purposes, and different persona). This is a pattern found in most any kind of building, be it in functions or the way we order commodities in our homes (Markus 1993; Hanson 1998). Important factors and means in this differentiation has to do with narratives, sequences, and insulation (Hanson 1998) and how we perceive architecture: soon after we enter a building or a city, an idea of the topology of the building or city which we move in is formulated in our minds (Markus 1993), forming the basis for how we perceive what lies deep and what lies shallow, what is near and far, together or apart, and what routes to move. A configurative understanding largely independent of the order in which we experience space; that is, we extract configuration from sequence (Ricouer 1981). This is why sequence, as shown by Hanson (1998) and Urbach (2000), can be analyzed in space without proposing spatial sequence to be determinant of experienced sequence (Johansson 2003). What concerns us more is thus what is distant from what rather than what is seen after what, in part because the order in which things are seen, in general, is only weakly predictable at best. Distance describes the way in which things are related through how they are positioned in relation to another through one another and relative the whole. We can see, for instance, as shown in the earlier paper (Markhede and Koch 2007), how the 'street' and 'tailored' branches of men's fashion are kept strictly separate with increasing distance the higher up each branch's hierarchy one moves in Åhlens City (Figure 2).
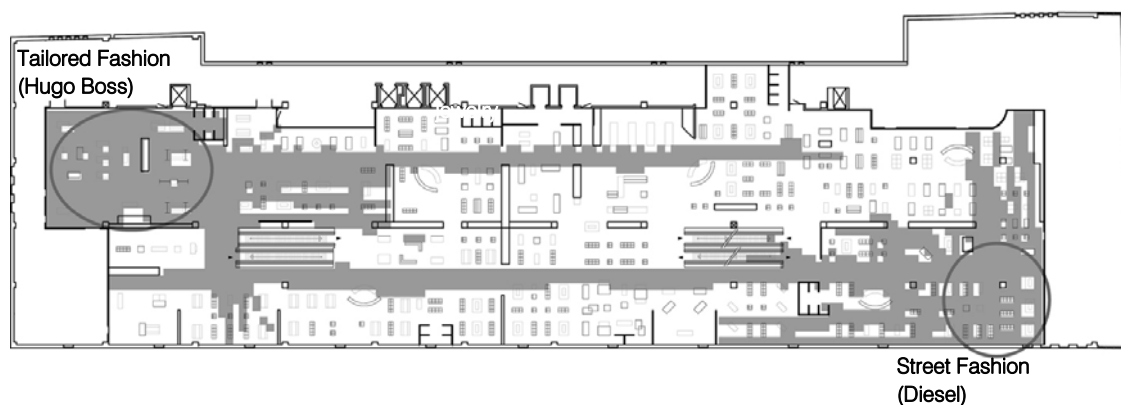

Figure 2
The figure shows the two endpoints of the 'tailored' and 'street' fashion branches of Åhlens City, Stockholm, 2005. Note how the isovists barely touch one another at all.

Through similar means it is common to describe men and women as different through sequencing and separation into different floors, children as different from adults, and kitchen appliances as different from bed linen. In as far as the spatial system describes a social or cultural system, a structure of relative positions is formulated in and by space that describe how the component parts relate to one another. The fact that similar topological properties of architectural space has impact on degrees of presence (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1996; Koch 2005) makes it even more an important issue.

It is in place to comment on what emerges from such an analysis of spatial formulation of categories: It does not provide simple taxonomies of similarly defined categories (e.g. brands, type, target group) but a fair number of overlapping categories not only in their definition but in what specific goods they hold, just as libraries proved to do in an earlier study (Koch 2004).[1] The reason for the contradictory and complex set of categories emerging in space can, speculatively, be assigned to the fact that space and commodities are in many ways imprecise in their 'language' (Lefebvre 1991;

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Tschumi 1996), and that what is emerging rather is an organising practice than an ordered totality (de Certeau 1984). If we follow Foucault's reasoning in *The Order of Things* (2003 [1966]), that categorization is driven by the elements that differentiate rather than categories themselves, such an analysis extracts a small set of factors at work that become comprehensible and explanatory – Gender, Status, Social Role, Privacy, Brand, Type, and Fashion Branch – instead of an incoherent group of categories.[2] There is, however, not a directly consistent order in which these are applied; decision of which to give priority seem to be made on a case-by-case basis, even if gender and status tend to be the most important.

3. Spatial Configuration as Structuring Modes of Co-Presence

In the analysis of department stores in Stockholm a correlation was found between global integration and degrees of movement of between 66% and 73% in Åhlens City and Debenhams respectively. This is somewhat concistant with findings from similar studied elsewhere, where for instance Penn (2005) reports of about 58% correlation to mean depth in 'a large London department store.' The correlation between VGA and movement was found to be at best for global integration, with a large exterior, and where changes of floors were modelled after basic space syntax principles: stairs into a number of configurative steps that correspond to convex spaces in section; closed doors as one step; and elevators as spaces with closed doors and one step between each floor (Figure 3).[3] This modelling is close to the one by Brösamle, Hölscher and Vrachliotis (2007) and comparable to the axial modelling of public libraries in Koch (2004; 2005), which showed about the same levels of correlation modelled after the same basic principles.[4]
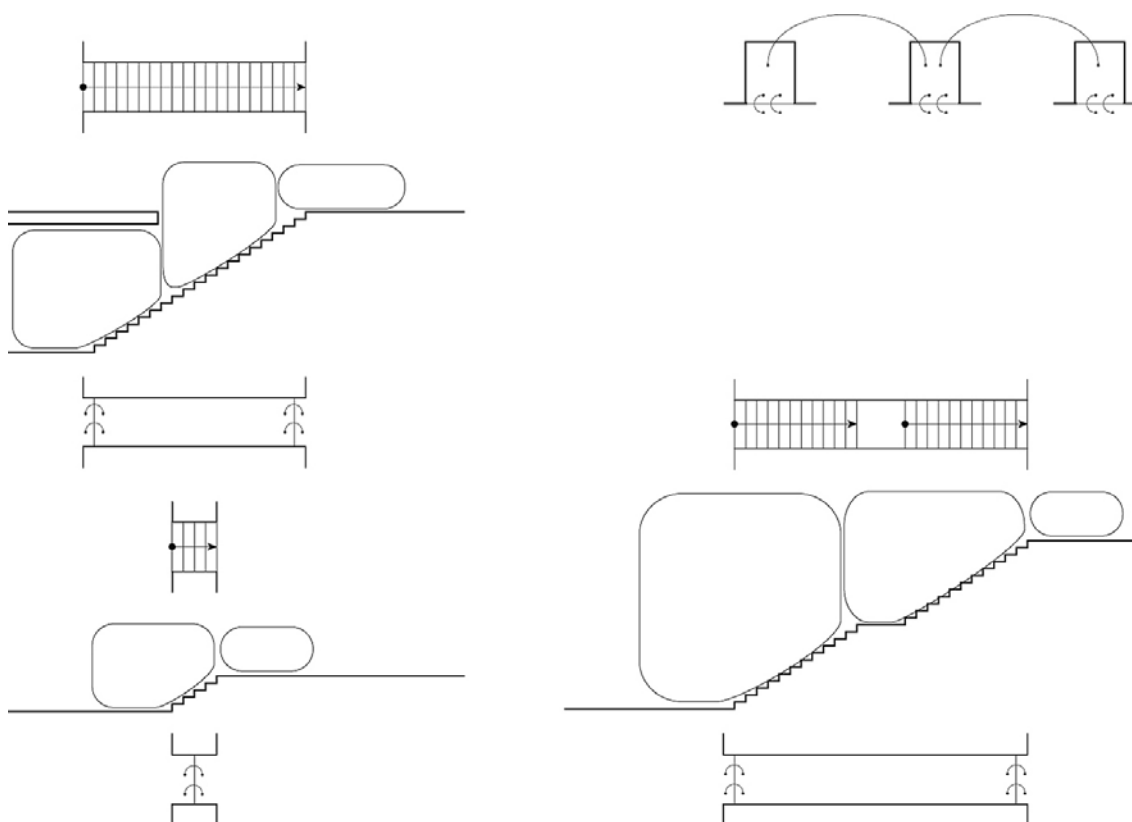

Figure 3.
The figure shows the principles of vertical modeling used for the VGA analysis bringing the high correlation. Basically, it translates the section into convex spaces which is then translated to barriers with a link over in Depthmap. The top left shows a one floor straight stair, the lower left a low stair (half a floor), the lower right a longer stair with a resting plane halfway, and the top right shows the principle for elevator connections. These principles are then combined for more complex stair setups, and plan properties are included when needed (turning stairs).

There seems to be a class or type of buildings which in this respect perform closer to urban space than to other kinds of buildings more dependent on the social or functional organization they house. As we have come to realise, this suggests that there are stable relationships between space and relative degrees of presence of people. As the relative degrees of presence remain stable after certain spatial patterns, one can look closer on possible links between presence, and how degree and mode of presence communicates character in fashion retail.

3.1. Degree of Presence as descriptor of private and public

These situations, the crowded space and the empty or secluded space, are powerful figures and provide character both to space and to qualify actions in space (Giddens 1984; Lefebvre 1991). We can start with a simple proposition: that the relative degree of presence of people suggests a relative degree of publicness of that which goes on or is located in a space. This is neither a new nor a strange proposition, but casts some light on the commodity arrangement in department stores that is of importance for the current discussion. Somewhat more precise, we can say that a public situation is constituted by exposure to the Other,[5] or as Beatriz Colomina (1996) argues, the possibility or plausibility of exposure. Such exposure could be said to be inherent in a crowded situation (although anonymousness could be said to come with it as well), and the reason why the crowded situation is a public one. For now we will remain within the simpler analysis of presence of people and what this says studied as social logics of private and public.

The most crowded place would be by the entrance among the many makeup stalls, and the least crowded those in the depths – most regularly men's suits and underwear. Neither of these are easily, or even plausibly, explained by the retail ideas of attractor and impulse. As Underhill (2000) notes, the location of stores and commodities are in retail practice often contradictory to which goods are suited as either of these in practice. The positions, however, do correspond quite well into their roles as related to the character of the spaces they occupy. We can turn to cosmetics and fragrances, which are most commonly placed by the entrance, something that is given a number of random reasons of historical character: from that it would be to remove the stench of horses directly by the entrance (Underhill 2004) to that it would entice all senses as soon as possible to the personnel-intensive character providing both the possibility of greeting and of surveillance without the use of guards or extra clerks. It can, however, also be understood from the point of view of characterisation of cosmetics and fragrances. From a performative perspective they are not as Underhill (2004) and others claim (by reasoning of the act of putting them on being an intimate act often done in the seclusion of a bathroom) private, but for all intents and purposes are the commodities for sale of the most public, representative character. Their purpose is to create or enhance a presentation to the Other, communicating identity and character of the wearer, a role that fits well in the most public of retail spaces, just as do accessories, jewelry, sunglasses, and a number of other commodities which in the current day and age serve more and more as objects of communication of identity rather than utility. Cosmetics are correspondingly consistently found in the most crowded spaces in the department stores; or better said: the spaces most exposed to the crowded spaces, part of them or not.

On the other end of the spectra one can find (as mentioned above) men's underwear, certain selections of women's underwear, and in the home departments bathroom utilities and bed linen; there is correspondence to presentation in fashion magazines and advertising also in the gendered character of underwear and the degree to which it is private for men and women (Blomley 1996; Chung 2001). Both in sequence, exposure, and in how many they are exposed to counted both in browsers and passers-by, there is a description made of how public or private something is via how publicly or privately situated the shopping of it is. Something that is 'private' is indeed something sold 'in private' (Chua 1992). Both department stores and others go to great lengths to secure such privacy, even if shallower kinds of retail theory try to claim the opposite.

3.2. The Intentional Route and Communication of Subjectivity

Another effect of depth from the entrance, tied to the emergent degree of presence, is who ends up somewhere. The further one has to move into a building, the more effort it takes, and the less likely one is to end up there 'by chance' (Hillier and Iida 2005). Aside from being a partial explanation for the stable relative degrees of presence and absence, this has another important

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implication in that the further into a store, especially the larger ones like department stores, the more the customer can be expected to be there intentionally, specifically to find that which is located there. This implicates purpose, intent, and decisiveness of those who reach that far. And knowledge. Often, it also implies taste, as they are prepared to make the effort to reach that far. This can be compared to how the more high-brow fashion brands are seldom found on the most populated streets or squares in the urban fabric, but make sure to differentiate themselves by use of distance (Smas 2008); even by means such as locked doors requiring permission to enter or appointments to be made. On the other side, the public and easily reachable, becomes descriptions of that which is to be bought on impulse, or of the seducible consumer (Miller 1998; Underhill 2000; Chung 2001; Koch 2007).

Figure 4
 The shopper at Lancôme is turned with her or his back to the main entrance, from which the photograph is taken, becoming unable to see if anyone of all the people entering the department stores is watching. Åhlens City, Stockholm, 2005.

This interplays with other effects of presence: in the transition from being co-present, or seen by one another, to acknowledging one another. In looking at one another, acknowledging one another's existence by mere eye contact, the meeting turns into a kind of dialogue (Calefato 2004), and the Self is invoked; something that follows Judith Butler's argument in *Giving an Account of Oneself* (2005) in that it comes in the recognition of the Other. We can see how by early questions, nods, smiles and greetings, one is early on requested to provide reason for one's visit. 'I' am, in short, forced to formulate a cause for my being there, a narrative that defines 'me' as Agent with intent and reason. In a situation such as the men's suits department, with few people present, there is little chance that I will not meet the gaze of everyone else present during my visit. I will acknowledge them and they will acknowledge me, in the briefest of dialogues. Hence everyone is a subject in his or her own eyes and in the eyes of the Other. The Self and the narratives and causes that need to be invoked pertaining to why I am there are actualised. Compare this to the situation of the main

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entrances where the subject's anonymity is ensured by mass. In this case, it is often not even a question of sharing space, or being co-present, but of one (the woman shopping for cosmetics) being the object in the view of the Other (Figure 4).

3.3. Presence and absence one step further: Exclusivity

Added to this emergent description of privacy and publicness is, in the situating practice of space performed by the department stores, a series of staging effects. Not only are people situated relative to one another and relative degrees of privacy and publicness produced through crowding or seclusion, it is further dictated who is on stage for whom. This includes the way in which relations are formed and framed in and by space and people. In some places, there are few shoppers who are still well exposed to others, and who are also quite deliberately approached early on by personnel. These situations have some characteristics we will scrutinize in the coming by dissecting a pair of simple examples.

Let us return to the suit department of one of the department stores, less explicitly referred to above. The staff there was proud to proclaim that their customers were very satisfied with the degree of personal service they received, and the calm pace of the department. This is, it is worth to note, dependent on lack of flow. To be able to spend the time and attention on each customer needed to provide such good service, it is needed that there are few enough customers for this to be done without long waiting lines or crowded isles leading to people being bumped by one another (what Underhill calls the 'butt-brush effect'(Underhill 2000, 18)).

What are the peculiarities at work here? If we return to the men's suit department mentioned above, and how the spatial situation supported early questions and attention to the consumers entering it, such questions bring the possibility of making a fool of oneself (being awkwardly exposed as clumsy or unknowing) or to excel in social and cultural rituals of the daily encounter (Giddens 1984). Thus taste or knowledge is put under the scrutiny of presumed experts (employees or other customers). Following, there is a requirement put on consumers to be comfortable with the kind of scrutiny he or she is put under; something growing even stronger if this is happening where the shopper and employee are exposed to other customers in a stage-like manner (where the crowd is in another space to which the stage is exposed). The likelihood that the ones less secure in their right to be there, or in the codes or practices proper, would exclude themselves from such situations is high (Bourdieu 1984).[6]

It is along similar lines of analysis of visual control Tony Bennet (1995) argues that the open-plan structures of modern museums discipline the working class by putting them in the visual surveillance of the cultural *elité* and the *bourgeoisie*, constantly reminding them they are out of place, and thereby transferring the behavioural patterns – clothing, body gesture, language, and so forth – of the dominant classes to the less versed who adjust best they can (also: Bourdieu and Darbel 1991). Without doubt such a development would be supported by spatially situating exposure of people's behaviour: by open-plan museums (Huang 2001), by strategies of spatial distribution in libraries (Koch 2004), and by the halls of the department stores.

Thus exclusivity, or status, seems to be spatially situated as exposure of the shopper, together with the subjectivity emerging from on the one hand lack of flow and on the other depth into the store, which further leads to lack of people passing through or shopping in the same space, which further makes the less knowing more inclined to exclude themselves. Exposure does, hence, not generate exclusivity per se; it generates a demand on the browser to be sure of one's own taste and knowledge and being comfortable with exposing it. The trendier, more high fashion, discerned, expensive, culturally encoded the commodities placed in such positions, the more the situation demands of the consumer; further enhanced by configuring these spaces as stages for others to see and somewhat inversely proportional to direct presence as crowding allows for anonymity. Such strategies are often used by high profile retailers, brands, or other actors to underpin their status by effectively excluding the less knowing without ever having to explicitly do so; and this is done remarkably much through spatial form. If we return to the earlier example of cosmetics, the common way to organize them was to place the most high-status cosmetics on

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one hand in locations exposed to the street, which on the other hand were comparatively deep into the store in terms of accessibility.

4. What is communicated?

Figure 5
(a - above) the Filippa K men's department, and below (b - below) Åhlens own brand, women's floor. Both are from the same department store but the degree of order and spaciousness are remarkably different. Åhlens City, Stockholm, 2005.

To summarize, we have studied how department stores suggest, produce, and negotiate social situations in response to spatial configuration. As such, they are both supportive of navigation and understanding of identity systems such as fashion or art housed in them, and (re)productive of the

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same – as Lars Marcus puts it: "The 'social order', in this way, is given physical expression in the 'spatial order', while the spatial order supports the social order. We can say that the spatial order is one of the more important means by which the social order reproduces itself" (Marcus 2000, 25). This is done by spatial means in how things are forming categories, how categories are linked together, and how categories and commodities are character by their positioning relative people and spatial configuration. This does not mean that the different positions possible to take have inherent connotations or meanings; such connotations are the result of cultural negotiations and conventions.

Under these premises, one can raise the question of how fashion is communicated as social identity positioning through spatial form, if fashion is regarded as a relative system of signs as in Barthes' *The System of Fashion* (1990), comparable to the general system of objects as discussed by Baudrillard (1996). In this sense fashion forms a system that follows logics of belonging and difference, establishing categories of clothing, identities and ideals as a form of emergent formative representation (that is, representation that in itself serves to form what it represents). From this point of view it seems to be a social logic that would play itself out well in a spatial logic, as discussed by Hillier and Hanson (1984). To some extent, such architectural configurative prop-erties as investigated herein also have close correspondence to the commodities' positions in the fashion hierarchies as read in fashion magazines and fashion theory. Especially if we to the discussion add the statements of the character and identity of the individual categories via expressions of aesthetic disposition (Bourdieu 1984; Rendell 2000), such as through the parallel between emphasis on form of representation versus content, and of formal and aesthetic ambitions of the store versus efficiency and utility of retail space. We find similarities to the findings of for instance Daniel Miller (Miller et al 1998) in how identity of the store is expressed through degrees of order and disorder, spaciousness and pretend uniqueness (also Koch 2007, 165-184). Something often studied as differences between stores but apparent also internally within the studied department stores (Figure 5).

Figure 6
Fashion photographs illustrating different dispositions; (a – left) an ad for a dress in Cosmopolitan 2005 (Photograph: Marcus Ohlsson); (b – right) an ad for a men's shirt in Litkes 2006 (Photograph: Peter Gehrke). The interest to at all display the clothing is vastly different.

These internal dispositions turn out to be enhancing and complementing what is said through the configurative positioning, and it can all be understood as building up situations describing aesthetic disposition: the high-profile flagship stores share as common aesthetic denominator disinterest in their function as retail spaces similar to how highbrow aesthetic is formed as disinterest in utility (Rendell 2000; Bourdieu 1984), which can be compared to fashion photography's way to move from

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in one end of the spectra clothing as the material object to be worn and on the other a disembodied subject or art form (Figure 6), and either something presenting the self as an object for the gaze of the other, or as a thinking and knowing subject (Williamson 1995).

However, since it has been well established that commodities change their identities based on context (Kwon 2000; Buskirk 2005; Kaye 2000), and that this is a continuously ongoing process leading to any purchase being able to assume new roles (Gregson, Brooks and Crewe 2000), it is further clear how any choice of clothing, as transformation from fashion system to identity, is dependent on context through situated bodily practice (Entwistle 2000).[7] That is, even if the idea of making the preferred customer buy the brands or pieces in question is important, it is of interest to raise the question of what of that which is communicated has bearings outside of the particular shopping situation as such.

5. Conclusion

What has been discussed in this paper is how a sort of system communication is performed by description of fashion in terms of who it is for, how it is to be considered, what situation it is to be worn in, for whom it is to be worn, and by whom it is to be judged, which finds similarities in magazine coverage, use, and advertising photographs. The point is that just as one can argue that museums tell as much of the organisation and sequence of history or art (Markus 1993; Psarra et al 2007; Zamani and Peponis 2007) as of individual epochs or styles, department stores are as much about communication of the fashion system as it is of individual identities and their supposed preferences of clothing. It can be argued that the system communication, that is, the structure of identities and roles communicated not about specific commodities but about the system of commodities as a whole, is likely to have a more lasting impact than where a specific commodity was found in the particular case, since what is done with the individual pieces of clothing after purchase can drastically change their identity.

It is in place to say that this investigation rather than challenging retail practice acknowledges the tacit knowledge of retail managers as they *think with* space, rather than how they *speak of* space (see Hillier 1996), which seems to present them as having a more complex and nuanced knowledge than otherwise might seem. It furthermore puts researcher in the position to both support retail management and criticise its structures and proposals relative social structures, by study of consumption and objects similar to how space syntax studies space: as a system where the individual elements gain their meaning extrinsically by their place in a network. In this, studies of spatial configuration, and how social logics and spatial configuration inform one another, can be powerful mediators between fields which have difficulties communicating, and a focus on how things are formulated in space can uncover not only the ideas we think of, such as what retail theory says, but ideas we think with, such as what, by unselfconscious decisions, need to be differentiated or grouped, hidden or exposed, or easy to grab or only for those who make the effort.

Notes

1 In the sense that a taxonomy would present a map of a continuous space, where every class or object has its proper place, predestined by the table that is the taxonomy as in the classical mode of knowledge (Foucault 2003, 73-84).
2 Here 'type' stands for function-based ordering principles (Markus 1993) as 'outdoor' or 'underwear', and 'Fashion Branch' stand for e.g. 'street fashion' and 'tailored fashion.'
3 It is of interest to note that an often encountered practice when it comes to elevators, that all floors should be equally connected to one another, significantly lowers the correlation. That is, there seems to be a cognitive effect of elevators providing configurative steps first to enter or exit, and then for each floor. Whether that is best modelled as one or part-of a step is here less interesting than the principle itself.
4 Here the axial modelling followed these principles, whereas the VGA-model did not, which might be a reason for the then reported better correlation of the axial line analysis. The findings in the department stores suggest correlations will be (a) similar and (b) rather high if these principles are followed.

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5   *The Other* is here used in the sense e.g. Butler (1999, 2005) uses it. It stands for, primarily, other people who may or may not be present, but to which we relate in order to understand ourselves and our actions in a social and cultural context, and through which we understand our role. Thus it can be direct presence of other people, but it can also be in the implication, reference (more or less direct), or description of others, or situations in which there would be others. The important part is the psychological effect of relating "me" to other people and how they would perceive "me".

6   Underhill makes a quite strong point in this case, when he gives the example of the placement of Wonder bras in an exposed position just by a seating arrangement where a gathering of men ended up sitting, judging, and commenting every potential customer's need for or potential with wearing a Wonder bra (2000, 89).

7   It also allows for the same objects to appear in different categories: Silk stockings can be either underwear or embellishment of women's legs; placed next to jewellery and exclusive makeup they are the latter, placed in a secluded niche deep inside the store together with bathrobes and various low-profile underwear they are the former.

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