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Shopping malls as ideological battlegrounds

Discipline and power in Riyadh's pseudo-public spaces

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Author's Declaration

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, it has been indicated.

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Abstract

Since the 1950s, Riyadh has witnessed unprecedented urban growth that has put pressure on the fabric of the city and irreversibly changed its urban environment. The accelerated processes of urban modernisation and the car-centric development of Riyadh have created an environment in which urban public life and the human scale were often neglected. The shopping mall typology offered a solution that seemed to provide the city with the public spaces that it needed. Unlike their counterparts in European and North American cities — whose malls have been competing with the city and its urbanity — malls in Middle Eastern and East Asian contexts have been an integral part of the urban process as well as the socio-cultural fabric of cities; Riyadh is no exception. However, the mall typology was introduced at a time when the ideological struggles between economic powers — incentivised to ‘modernise’ the urban environment — and religious powers — which perceive processes of urban modernisation as a threat to the ‘integrity’ of Saudi society — reached its peak. This tension created an urban environment characterised by spatial control, which was absorbed by the mall and resulted in the development of an iteration of the typology that is essentially Saudi in its characteristics.

This thesis aims to explore these characteristics and investigate the implications of the inherent tensions that are accentuated within the shopping mall. It aims to uncover the mechanisms that led to the emergence of the Saudi iteration of shopping malls and investigate how the typology has been re-adapted to respond to local requirements. The study of the mall in Riyadh offers a new understanding of the on-going evolution of the mall typology within a global context. More importantly, it is a vehicle through which the limitations that are imposed on urban spaces and public life in Riyadh are examined. The changing socioeconomic climate in Saudi Arabia today offers new opportunities for introducing sustainable and inclusive urban spaces. Understanding the limitations that have been imposed in public spaces in Riyadh — using the mall typology — is essential to efforts seeking to act on such opportunities.

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Chapter I
Introduction

1



Figure 1: King Abdullah Road, Riyadh (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2016a)

This research finds its origins in the observed disparity in the quality of urban spaces between my native Saudi Arabia and the European environment in which I grew up. Having spent the first twenty-five years of my life in Paris, I had the opportunity to experience first-hand the significant effects a city and the quality of its urban environment can have on the everyday life of its inhabitants.

The simple joys of being in the city's urban spaces and witnessing its urban life are amongst the experiences in Paris that remain vivid in my memory. In contrast, the annual trip to Saudi Arabia — a family tradition upheld by my parents to remain connected with our Saudi roots — was mostly spent moving from one enclosed space to the other. This is how I came to experience the Saudi urban environment: through the window shield of a fast-moving car, moving from one enclosed space to the other. Certainly, the impact of the country's hot summer climate should not be underestimated. However, cooler evening temperatures, as well as subsequent trips that my family organised during the winter season, proved that hot temperatures could not be the sole determining factor of the quality and nature of urban spaces in Saudi cities. With ever-growing urban development and the abundance of economic resources, why was so little attention given to open urban spaces in Saudi cities? These concerns eventually developed into this research project.

Riyadh — as the capital of the kingdom and the model upon which most Saudi cities are built — offers the most comprehensive case study and makes it possible to extrapolate to similar Saudi contexts. As such, Riyadh became the evident focus in conducting this research.

Accordingly, an initial effort to map existing public space typologies and to define the focus of the research was made. However, the shortage of conventional public space typologies restricted the scope of the study to public and neighbourhood parks. Bahammam (1995) has researched the interplay between parks and socio-cultural practices in Riyadh¹, and the investigatory fieldwork conducted in 2016 has revealed that his study remains relevant to Riyadh's parks today. Nevertheless, the issue of the lack of alternative public space typologies has yet to be explored.

Progressively, the definition of public space typologies was revised to include informal spaces that proved to be, in the case of Riyadh, spaces of important urban activity. Areas in the historic core of the city, namely in the *al-Batha* area and its surroundings, became of significant interest as they proved to be lively urban spaces that have been re-appropriated by their immigrant population and made available for everyday outdoor urban life.



Figure 2: Cairo Square, Riyadh (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2016b).

Fast-moving traffic and large roads overwhelm the urban landscape and deeply affect how the city is experienced.



Figure 3: Location of central Riyadh (source: Author).

Mobile street vendors, informal stalls, and most significantly the Friday market — during which vendors and customers overtake the streets, turning them into pedestrian zones — all attest to the dynamic and vibrant urban everyday life of Riyadh’s historic core. Nevertheless, a visit to Riyadh’s municipality revealed that Central Riyadh, including *al-Batha* and its surroundings, was to be entirely restructured. The Action Area Plan for Transit-Oriented Development project developed by Albert Speer & Partner in 2014 was commissioned and approved by the High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, in order to redesign the old city centre and reintegrate it into the broader car-centric urban strategy of contemporary Riyadh (fig. 7). If implemented, the almost tabula-rasa approach of the project will cause the urban fabric of *al-Batha* (fig. 6) to be fundamentally altered. As a result, all forms of informal spaces and activities (fig. 8) will be eliminated in favour of the conventional commercial typologies that currently dominate the Saudi urban landscape (fig. 9).

Hereafter, what became evident was the fact that the formulation of the actual urban environment is not coincidental, and that real efforts are consistently made to plan and control the city and its spaces. This realisation led to a redefinition of public spaces in Riyadh. Rather than focusing on conventional and informal public space typologies, it was necessary to consider the space in which public life in the city occurred, regardless of ownership status. Inevitably, the predominance of the shopping mall typology caused it to become the object of this study.

In Riyadh today, the overwhelming dominance of shopping malls and commercial centres is diminishing any alternative possibilities in terms of types of public spaces. In other words, the active suppression of informal urban spaces is being coupled with the accelerated development of enclosed spaces exemplified by the mall typology. In effect, the shopping mall typology — although a privately-owned entity — has become the space in which most of urban public life takes place in the city.



Figure 4: Informal fruit and vegetable market in al-Batha area (source: Author).



Figure 5: Mobile vendors overtaking a street junction in al-Batha (source: Author).

Most markets are improvised and operate illegally in al-Batha. The use of cart is a common technique utilised to facilitate escaping from law enforcement during police raids.

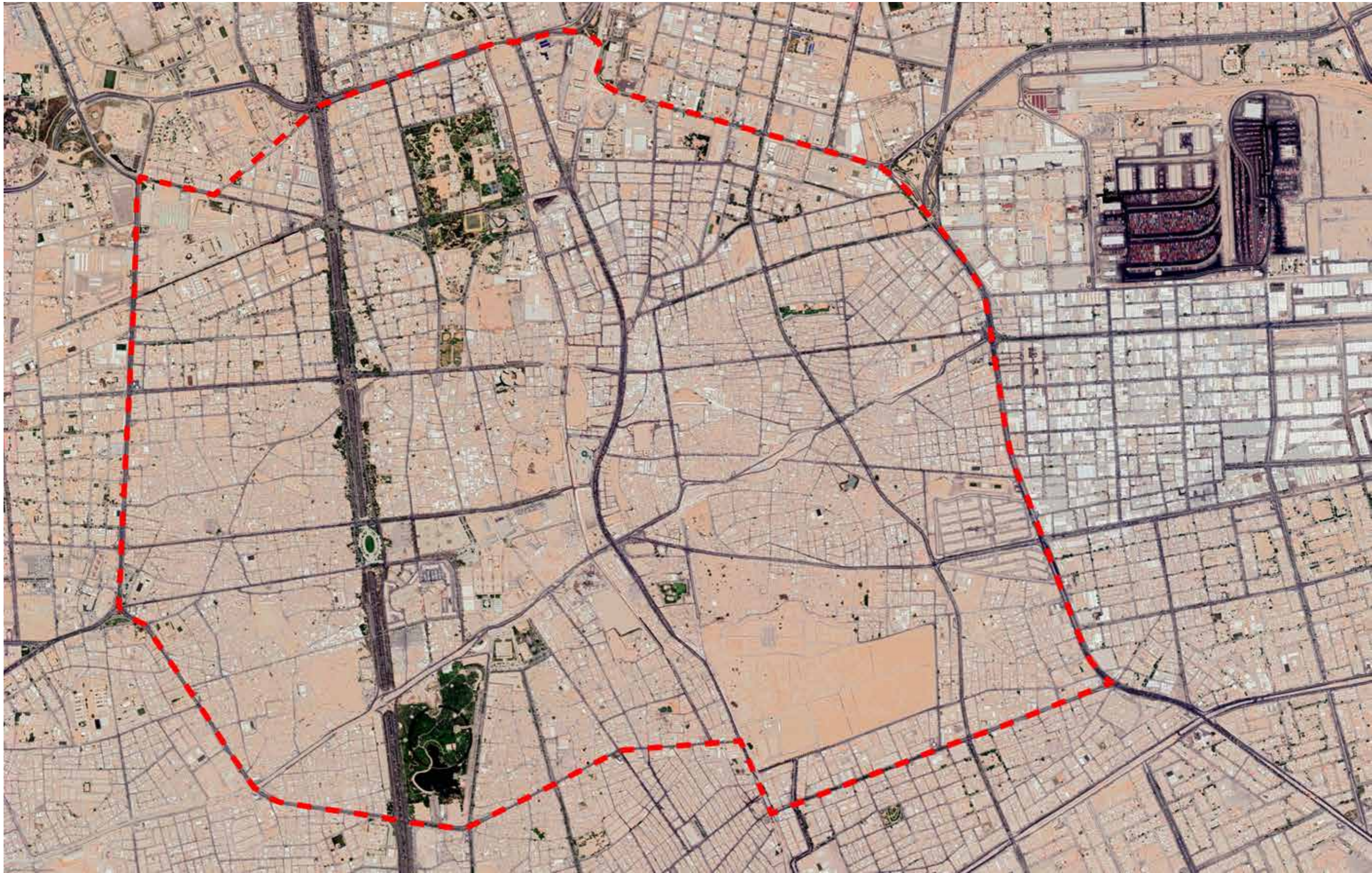


Figure 6: Current urban fabric of central Riyadh (source: Author).

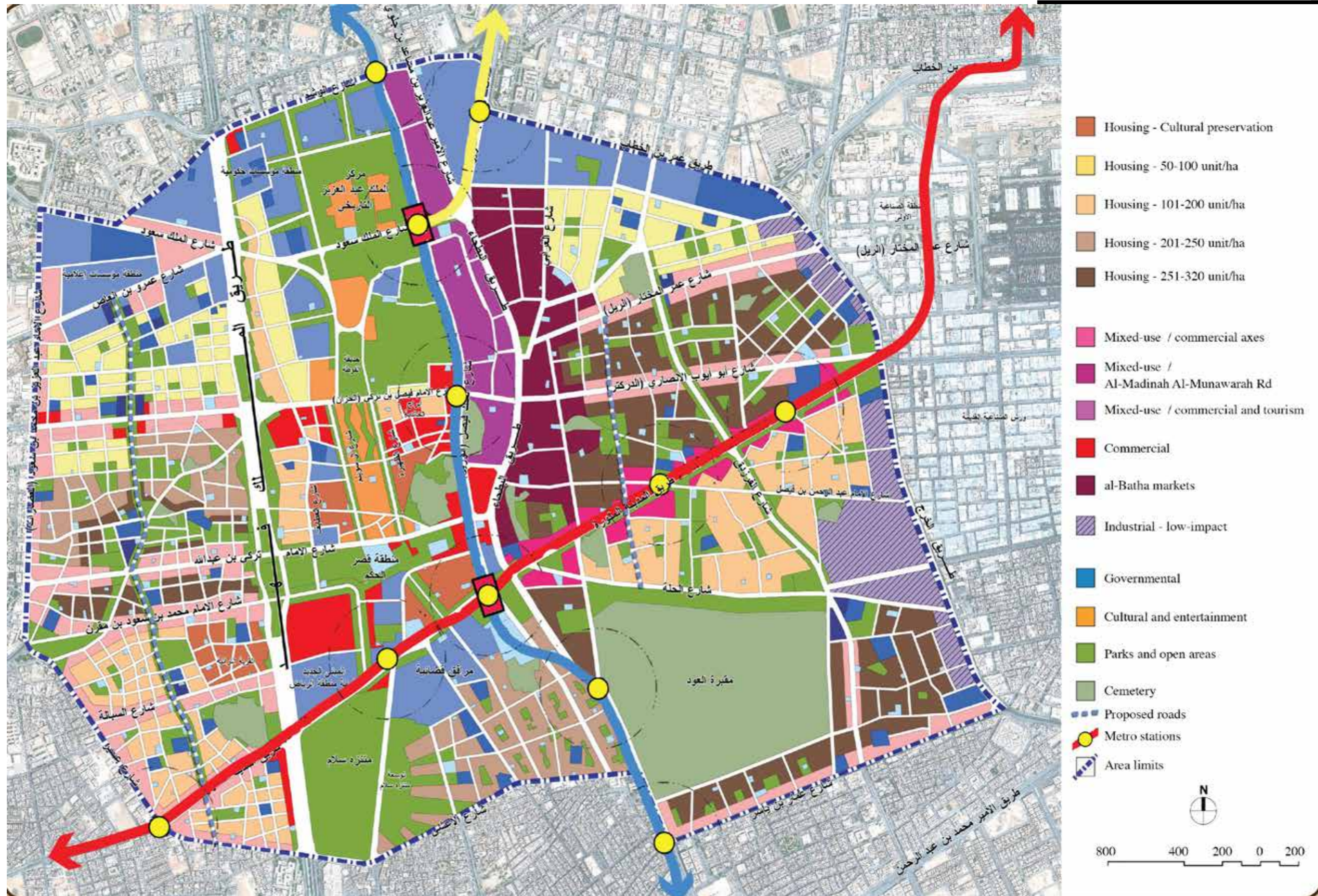


Figure 7: Plan of the strategy for the development of central Riyadh, by Albert Speer + Partner (source: ADA, 2012a. Translated by the author).

The project's objective is to redesign the public realm and introduce new circulation corridors to facilitate the reorganisation and reintegration of the historic core into the wider urban strategy of contemporary Riyadh. It envisions the central area as encircled by a circular highway (representing an urban enclosure) and accessible by identified major junctions (representing primary access points). Such a spatial layout causes the space of the central area to become delimited, facilitating its spatial codification through zoning and the distribution of functions. The process of codification is further reinforced by the organisation of public transports and the infusion of green spaces as they act as structuring elements and buffer areas that better mark delimitations between functional zones.



Figure 8: Crowded street in *al-Batha* (source: Harrigan, 2016).

This focus on the mall typology has revealed itself to be detrimental in understanding the socioeconomic constraints that are placed on Riyadh's population. Imported in the midst of a power struggle between modernising and conservative forces in the country, the shopping mall was introduced late in the history of the city, at a time when religious power had strengthened its grip on the city's social space. Thus, the introduction of the mall in the late 1990s and early 2000s coincided with the development of a social model based on the minute control and supervision of public life.

Accordingly, the shopping mall typology became the focus of this research as it is the primary manifestation of public space and the vehicle through which public life in the city is organised. Moreover, the contested *publicness* of the shopping mall should not deter from investigating publicly-used spaces through the mall typology. To the contrary, the objective conditions that regulate public life are concentrated explicitly in Riyadh's shopping malls; thus, it is precisely in the mall that Riyadh's public life should be examined.

Although the mall typology has been previously investigated and condemned for reproducing the same effects regardless of the urban and cultural context in which it is implemented, the particularities of Riyadh's context create an iteration of the typology that is quintessentially Saudi in its character. The inevitable tension between the effects of globalisation inherent to the shopping mall and the requirements of local socio-cultural practices results in variations that have a significant impact on the internal spatial organisation of the typology.

The reliance on the mall as the primary typology of public space also brings to the fore the contemporary urban discourse on the accessibility and privatisation of space, which in the case of Riyadh, centre around pronounced gender disparities and perceived class divisions. Nonetheless, Riyadh's shopping malls have not been the subject of architectural and urban analyses, despite the profound impact they have on the city and its population.

Moreover, this study supplements the current literature on the mall typology as more studies are required to provide a thorough understanding of the wider socioeconomic and urban impact that shopping malls have on our contemporary cities. Furthermore, this study challenges the conventional wisdom by which the 'death' of the typology is professed and proves that in its current global condition, in some contexts, the shopping mall has yet to reach its saturation point. To illustrate this point, Riyadh contained twenty-nine shopping malls at the time this study was initiated. Since then, the addition of more than thirty-five shopping malls, shopping mall extensions, and lifestyle centres² have been announced.

Riyadh: a city of malls

Shopping malls have long been criticised for their generic formulae (Jewell, 2001, p317–378), impersonal global architecture (Fraser and Golzari, 2013) and their disruptive effect on the urban fabric (Carmona et al., 2010). However, unlike their counterparts in European and North American cities — whose malls have been the antithesis of the city — malls in Middle Eastern and East Asian cities have been an integral part of the urban process (Jewell, 2015). For Riyadh, the accelerated urbanism, compressed spatiotemporal development and environmental challenges of the past three decades have increased the demand for urban spaces, for which the mall offered a solution. Progressively, malls have emerged as the dominant typology for public space, becoming a place of leisure, entertainment and consumption.

Since the early 1980s, the processes of accelerated urbanisation and modernisation in Saudi Arabia have been widely criticised by leading academics and critics (Abu-Ghazze, 1997, p229–253; Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Naim, 2008; 2008, p28–32; Fadan, 1983; Konash, 1980). The critical rejection of the resulting urban environment is based primarily on the denunciation of the failures of 'Western' modes of urbanisation that have been imported without adequate consideration by foreign professionals lacking proper knowledge about local cultural needs and requirements (Fadan, 1983; Konash, 1980). Arguably, the results have been culturally destructive (Abu-Ghazze, 1997, p229–253), have undermined local



Figure 9: Architectural renderings for the strategy for the development of central Riyadh, by Albert Speer + Partner (source: ADA, 2012a).

architectural identity and have led to the rise of a deep feeling of ‘not belonging’ (Al-Naim, 2008, p28–32) and ‘social resistance’ (Al-Naim, 2008) to the local built environment. Nevertheless, how is it that a typology that appears as ‘Western’ as the shopping mall is received with such enthusiasm and commercial success in Riyadh?

It should be noted that such concerns raised by critics and academics (Abu-Ghazze, 1997, p229–253; Al-Naim, 2008; 2008, p28–32; Fadan, 1983; Konash, 1980) have systematically presented the issue of the built environment in terms of the conflict between local traditionalism and global capitalism, of conservatism against modernisation; the demise of authentic cultural identity in the face of determined Western hegemony.

The predicaments of the Saudi urban condition and the difficulties in addressing issues related to the built environment have thus been formulated: ‘it is the evil Other that prevents us from the true expression of ourselves’. However, is this really the case? What would happen if, instead of systematically blaming an “evil Other”, a sincere re-evaluation and re-appropriation of the local dynamics that led to the formation of the actual built environment were undertaken?

Most critiques of the modernised built environment advocate a return to historical urban typologies and architectural forms to reintroduce visual identity and maintain social cohesion (Akbar, 2002, p41–59; Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Naim, 2008, p28–32; Eben Saleh, 1999, p43–62). What is presented in these arguments is an idealised image of a pre-modern Saudi society unaffected by external influences; what is repressed is the reality of the constant state of tribal wars, political tensions and rivalries, famines, lack of natural resources and often precarious living conditions. More importantly, the urban environment in traditional Riyadh was the result of the ruling class’s need to protect itself along with the local population from external threats. The Royal Palace — representing the dominating power of the Sovereign — dominated the central core of Riyadh. At the same time, the outer walls provided the fortifications to counter attacks from rival tribes and protect the population. It is only after the unification of the kingdom and the subsequent elimination

of external threats that the Royal Palace moved outside the fortifications of Riyadh. Once the kingdom was secured, the city expanded beyond its fortifications, which resulted in the progressive deterioration of the outer walls. This significant moment in the history of Riyadh and the progressive shift towards a civilised society marked the changes in the structures of power and consequently had a significant effect on the forms and structures of the built environment.

The discovery of oil in the 1930s and the gradual shift towards a market-driven society necessitated the reorganisation of everyday life. Progressively, modernisation processes became a means by which new apparatuses of power were introduced and implemented. As Foucault (1980) explained, an apparatus is:

a sort of — shall we say — formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. (Foucault, 1980: 195)

Faced with what Foucault (1980) termed the problem of the ‘accumulation of men’, new structures were urgently needed for the organisation of the new emerging Saudi metropolitan society. The state apparatus focused on developing matters of vital importance, such as the education system, healthcare, the military, communication, infrastructure and governmental super-projects. Amid urgency and accelerated development, matters of what seemed to be secondary in importance — amongst which, public spaces — were absent from the official discourse. This absence created a gap in the built environment that was gradually filled by a private sector that found in the shopping mall a typology that accorded with the sort of urban agenda pushed by the state and its apparatuses³. More importantly, the mall typology in Riyadh, as will be evident in this study, proved to correspond to the development of disciplinary powers necessitated by the societal development in Saudi Arabia since the 1950s.

Crucially, the effort of the business classes to import ‘Western’ products should not be considered — as some have argued (Abu-Ghazze, 1997, p229–253; Fadan, 1983) — as an expression of taste or as a desire for rupture with the recent past. Instead, it is the changing structures of power that have created tangible incentives for these classes to import and reproduce such products, regardless of their urban and social impact. To elaborate, commercial structures and regulations enacted by royal decrees in the 1960s and 1970s created an investment climate favouring Saudi involvement in imported business ventures (Taylor and Weissman, 1980, p331–359). By compelling international businesses to operate through local representatives, significant parts of the profits generated by the processes of globalisation and ‘Westernisation’ were made available for capture by the emerging Saudi business class. Subsequently, shopping malls became a favoured typology, as they facilitated the concentration and acceleration of the process of wealth accumulation amid the lack of proper public space alternatives.

As for the duality between global capitalism and local traditionalism, Zizek (2015) has noted that:

The fundamental lesson of globalization is precisely that capitalism can accommodate itself to all civilizations, from Christian to Hindu or Buddhist, from West to East. (Zizek, 2015: 8)

Berman (1982) has further added that:

... When Marx says that other values are ‘resolved into’ exchange value, his point is that bourgeois society does not efface old structures of value but subsumes them. (Berman, 1982: 111)

What is evident in these arguments is the fact that global capitalism cannot afford a direct conflict with local structures of value. In Saudi Arabia, it is the socio-religious system of values that has been made part of the working mechanisms of capital; it is — as argued in this research — intensified as long as it can be put to use to accelerate the process of accumulation. It should be noted that the accelerated — and socially destabilising — pace

by which the processes of modernisation unfolded in Saudi Arabia did not allow for society to properly adjust to its changing conditions. However, it would be erroneous to translate this structural lag (i.e. the hesitant social readjustment in the face of a rapidly-changing urban environment) into the disputed state of duality between global capitalism and local traditionalism; what should be scrutinised is the state of constant dialogue and exchange between the former and the latter.

A split in the literature

It is important to note that the following discussion is not a comprehensive review of the literature on the mall typology in its global context. It is a selective review accounting for a fundamental split in the literature that this research aims to overcome. Moreover, it is a selective reading that demonstrates how the dialogue between the mall and different socioeconomic and urban contexts results in variations that can only be accounted for by contextualising research on the mall typology.

In the literature on the shopping mall, the typology has mostly been presented in terms of duality and oppositions — between the typology and the urban environment, the over-determinism of the typology and the subjectivity of its users. In North America — the birthplace of the shopping mall — the typology was developed to compete directly with the city and its urbanity. The intention of Victor Gruen (Gruen and Smith, 1960), the father of the contemporary shopping mall, was to bridge the gap between the sprawling, car-dominated American suburban landscape and the need for a lively urban centre for its inhabitants. His ideas were based on the introduction of an urban entity inspired by the European model of the pedestrian city centre (Bader, 2016, p11–21). The result of his endeavour is illustrated in the development of Southdale Center (fig. 1), inaugurated in 1956. Southdale Center was the first fully enclosed shopping centre to be built in the United States, and set the tone for the future development of the typology. Based in Edina, Minnesota, where the weather allowed for only 126 outdoor shopping days (Jewell, 2001, p317–378), Gruen intended to create an environment free from climatic constraints. From its inception, the mall was designed to overcome two major concerns



Figure 10: The Southdale Center in Edina, Minnesota
(source: http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/72southdale.html).

inherent to conventional urban spaces, namely unfavourable natural weather conditions and the perceived ills of modern urbanity such as pollution and noise (Crawford, 1992, p3–30; Jewell, 2001, p317–378). However, instead of focusing on the primary intentions of Gruen’s project, the disconnection between the mall and its immediate environment allowed the mall to become an autonomous typology that can be opportunistically transferred to wherever profits are most likely to be generated (Jewell, 2015).

Thereafter, it can be argued that the technological advancement that enabled the shopping mall’s existence made it possible to subvert the intention to grow the volume of sales and consumption. The invention of air-conditioning allowed the mall to expand in size, and more importantly, rendered obsolete the fluctuations in sales volume caused by changes in weather conditions (Leong and Weiss, 2001, p93–127). Additionally, it permitted windowless mall designs that visually obstructed the unwanted distractions of the unpredictable urban exterior from the customer (Leong and Weiss, 2001, p93–127). Additionally, the mall offered a space that starkly contrasted with the sprawling urbanisation of its surroundings (Crawford, 1992, p3–30; Jewell, 2001, p317–378); pedestrianising and intensifying the space were enabled by the mall’s enclosure. By turning its back on its surroundings, the mall was able to commercialise urbanity and repackage it for suburbanite consumption, with all the security and comfort the mall could provide (Crawford, 1992, p3–30).

The opposition between the mall and the city contrasts significantly with the situation of the mall in other non-U.S. contexts. As an example hereof, Forsyth (2007, p297–308) has demonstrated the dialectical relation between the mall and its urban context in Sydney, Australia. The mall is no longer in ‘competition’ with the city, nor is it in the process of overtaking the urban space of the city. Rather, mall and city coexist; the mall is located in a dense urban context, and its design is compact and well-integrated within the urban fabric (fig. 11). Furthermore, parking is mostly underground, and access is within reach for pedestrians passing by (Forsyth, 2007, p297–308). The stereotype of the abandoned isolated-mall-box does not apply in the case of Sydney; due to its location and urban

integration, the structure of the mall can re-utilised, and its programme reinvented whenever a mall venture fails (Forsyth, 2007, p297–308). An even more striking example of an urban integration of the typology in a non-native context materialised in Hong Kong. Unlike the duality between mall and city in the U.S., the shopping mall typology has become one of Hong Kong’s fundamental units of urban development (Al, 2016). The result is a highly dense and compact mixed-use unit that accommodates most of the functions of the city (fig. 12). The Hong Kong model proves that the development of the typology in other contexts has resulted in the creation of a hybrid local/global typology. Old urban fabrics are destroyed, but the result is far more nuanced than the simple homogenisation of space or the materialisation of global capitalistic forces.

In Hong Kong, the result is embedded locally and is deeply guided by the city’s urban contexts. Many malls in Hong Kong accommodate traditional markets and small local tenants (Crawford, 1992, p3–30) and create a shopping experience that in some cases is rooted in local practices. Moreover, the static state of the mall’s spatial formula and the reproduction of Gruen’s dumbbell plan (Jewell, 2001, p317–378; 2015) are challenged by the variations of the typology witnessed in Hong Kong. Ultimately, different contexts respond to different needs and mechanisms, which result in the hybridity of the typology (Jewell, 2015), and as a result, create different scenarios that require exploration. It would be inaccurate to denounce the mall for its capitalistic determination without taking into consideration these alternative stories of the typology’s development. The Chinese experience is one of many, and is perhaps most significant as an illustration of the mall’s urban significance. Nevertheless, nuanced alternative examples are of interest as they supplement the understanding of malls as social as well as urban centres.

Significantly, these examples demonstrate the extent to which shopping malls have been able to assimilate — at a global level — changing urban and socio-political environments. More importantly, the different urban and social contexts in which the mall was imported resulted in diverging narratives and led to significant changes to the typology. What remains constant are the driving forces of the global market in which the mall operates.

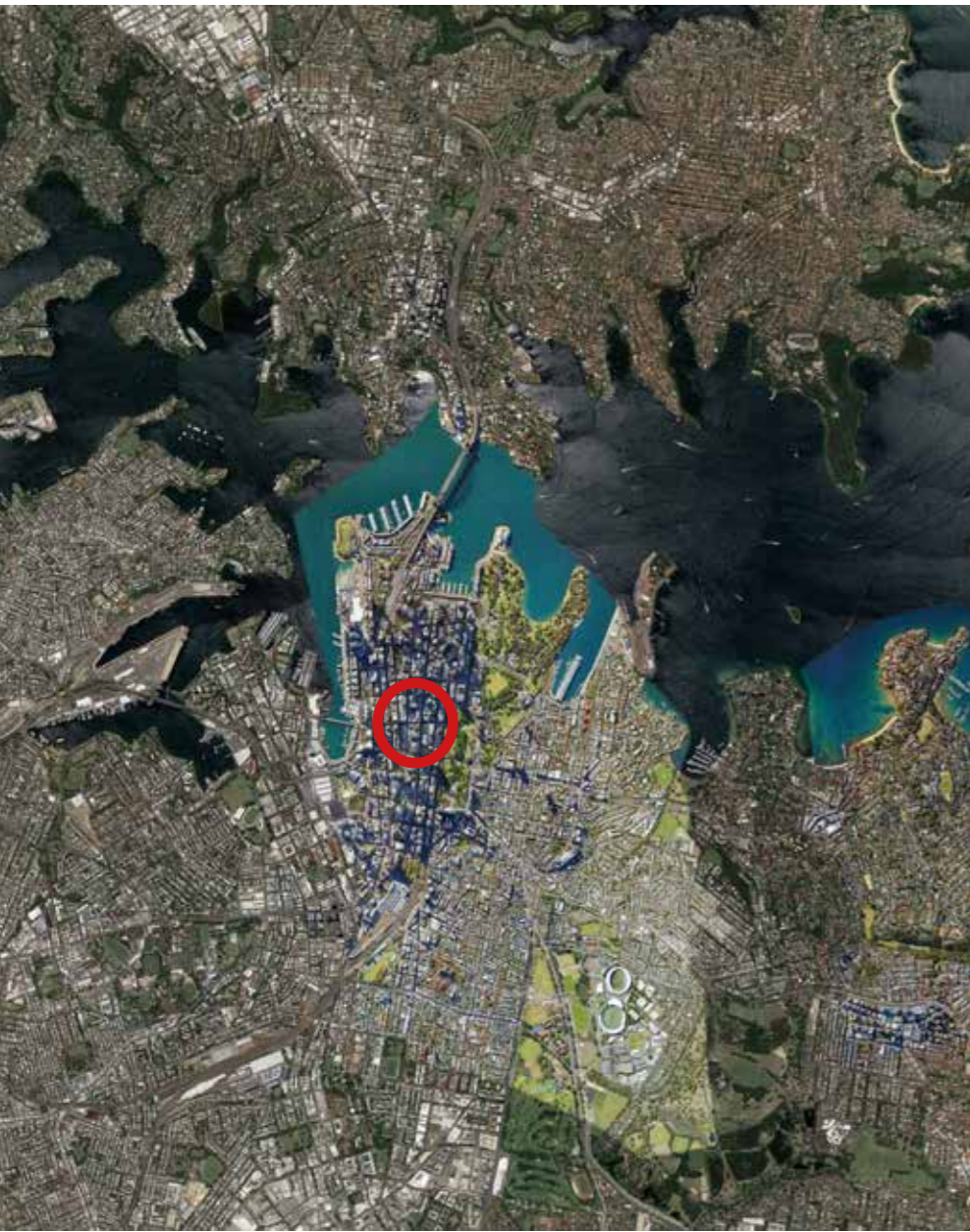



Figure 11: Figure-ground plan of the Sydney Central Business District. The plan demonstrates the high degree of integration of both contemporary and historic commercial typologies (source: Author).

 The Strand Arcade

 Westfield

 The Galleries

 Queen Victoria Building

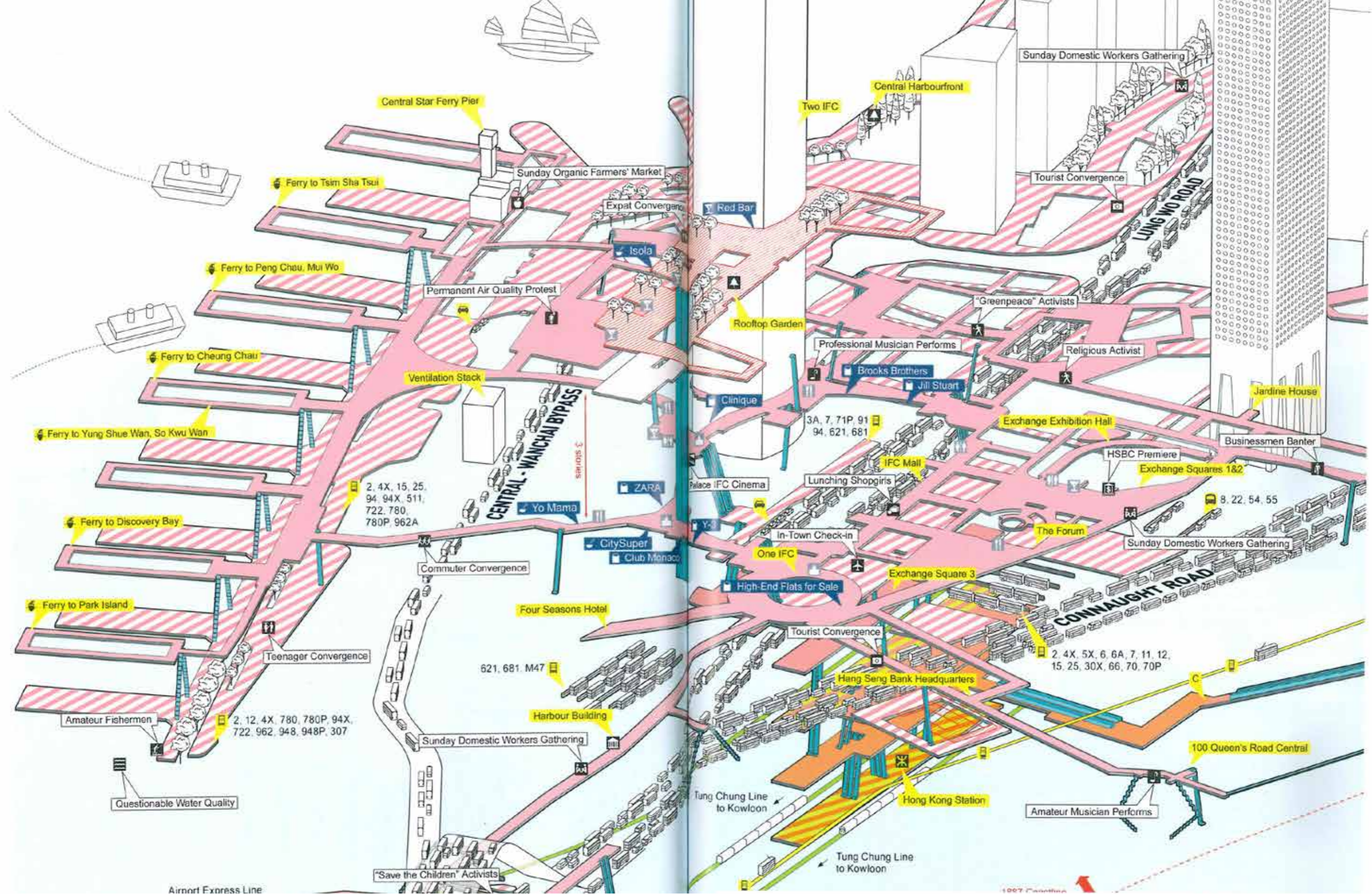


Figure 12: Illustration of how the IFC mall is connected with its surroundings via pedestrian walkways and footbridges. (source: Frampton et al., 2018 cited in AI, 2016).

'The IFC Mall complex is already both globally connected and well-integrated into a local context. IFC Mall has direct pedestrian connections to ferries, buses, minibuses, taxis, and two urban lines on the MTR, as well as the Airport Express Rail. Pedestrian footbridges lead to corporate lobbies, hotels, other shopping malls, and adjacent urban fabric. Two major bus terminals serve the complex and access to numerous taxi stands is available. IFC is also part of the network that connects several major ferry lines, including the famous Star Ferry to Kowloon, with the CDB.' (AI, 2016: 103).

Rather than dismissing the shopping mall as being inherently 'anti-urban' and 'antisocial', these examples prove that new types of urbanity and social experiences are being formed. In situating the mall in Riyadh, further research should bring about a clearer understanding of the mall typology and the type of new architectural and urban forms produced from the direct contact between global capital and the particular Saudi environment in which global capital operates.

At the architectural level, the literature on the mall typology is marked by the dominance of two polarising views: on the one hand, the mall is presented as an overdetermined institution (Augé, 2008; Crawford, 1992, p3–30; D'Eramo, 2007; Debord, 1994; Goss, 1993, p18–47; Herman, 2001, p403–407; Hopkins, 1990, p2–17; Turow, 2017); it manipulates behaviours, delimits correctness, imposes conformity and excludes eccentricities. Therefore, space is viewed as a tool that the mall manipulates in order to exploit mechanisms of power and total control. Access is controlled, movement is preconfigured, space is sequenced and simulated; the individual is conditioned to consume according to the dictates of the mechanisms of control. Profit maximisation is considered as a totalising power — it is the only game in town. The mall effectively becomes a panoptical institution to which customers are subjugated; individuals are presented as passive, helplessly caught in the mechanisms of power, unable to break free or to alter their condition.

As an example, D'Eramo (2007) has argued that everything is designed to tranquilise the customer inside the mall. For him, the design features of the mall exploit strategies that reinforce control measures and the customers' feeling of safety and comfort. Likewise, Crawford (1992, p3–30) has explained that escalators are often placed at the end of corridors to increase walking distances inside the mall, while Goss (1993, p18–47) has added that their movement is alternated to force customers to slow down their movement. By increasing, alternating and slowing customers' movement, the mall ensures maximum spatial coverage and goods exposure in an attempt to convert shoppers into impulsive consumers. Furthermore, by rendering the space windowless through the integration of

air-conditioning systems, the mall filters out the unnecessary visual and auditory noises of the city (Leong and Weiss, 2001, p93–127). This also allows the mall to introduce desired simulators in order to ensure an immersive and 'total' shopping experience (Hosoya and Schaefer, 2001, p165–171). Background white noise, known as 'muzak' (Crawford, 1992, p3–30), as well as manufactured incense, are incorporated to manipulate customers' sensory perceptions and 'continuously stimulate the desire to buy' (Jewell, 2001, p317–378: 359). Amusement facilities, restaurants and cafes are included in order to draw crowds and maximise foot traffic (Goss, 1993, p18–47; Hopkins, 1990, p2–17). Further alternative consumer activities are offered to incite crowds to spend more time in the mall, which translates into increased profits from sales and in-place consumption.

All of these spatial strategies are deployed in order to maximise the mall's profitability by increasing the number of 'Gruen transfers' that result from them.

The Gruen Transfer (named after architect Victor Gruen) designates the moment when a 'destination buyer,' with a specific purchase in mind, is transformed into an impulse shopper, a crucial point immediately visible in the shift from a determined stride to an erratic and meandering gait (Crawford, 1992, p3–30: 14).

Made possible by the multiplication of visual and sensorial stimulation, the Gruen transfer is the ultimate form of profit maximisation, in which the customer is rendered docile, unfocused and compulsive (Herman, 2001, p403–407); it makes the mall ever more profitable by indirectly manipulating the senses through programmatic and aesthetic determination.

In contrast, opposing views have presented the mall as an unconstrained social playground in which subjectivities are fully expressed (Abaza, 2001, p97–122; Degen et al., 2008, p1901–1920; Erkip, 2003, p1073–1093; Miller, 2014, p14–25). In these views, visiting the mall is no longer guided by the imperatives of consumption; the experience of the mall is a matter of subjective interpretation and experience. Malls become social

centres — places that fulfil a real need for leisure and entertainment, and which are in accord with the shift in consumers' behaviour and needs in our contemporary cities. For example, Abaza (2001, p97–122) has observed that malls fulfil different functions in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. In the face of extreme conditions in cities like Cairo, malls offer shelter from the excessive heat (Abaza, 2001, p97–122; Jewell, 2013) and the polluted traffic of the city (Abaza, 2001, p97–122). Moreover, the lack of quality parks and outdoor public spaces offer further justification for the mall — that, in such a context, possesses a more profound significance (Jewell, 2013), becoming a place of choice for people to meet and conduct businesses (Abaza, 2001, p97–122).

It can be argued that the process of re-adapting the mall to local cultures in Egypt and Southeast Asian cities is a marketing strategy; it allows malls to only differ in architectural styles while maintaining a homogenous interior spatial formula (Jewell, 2015). However, Abaza (2001, p97–122) has noted that the homogenisation process of shopping malls holds superficially, while the particularity of each country and the variations between socio-cultural and economic contexts provide different settings that produce divergent hybrid identities and differences in tastes and lifestyles.

Inevitably, these alternative narratives fail to bridge the gap between the subjectivity of the customer and the objectivity of the mechanisms inherent to the mall's structure. To present the lived experience of the individual as unconstrained and freed from all forms of determinism would be to indulge in the process of self-deception and denial, or as Zizek has noted:

Since, in our society, free choice is elevated into a supreme value, social control and domination can no longer appear as infringing on a subject's freedom — it has to appear as (and be sustained by) the very self-experience of individuals as free. (Zizek, 2015: 232)

Rather than arguing for the passivity and helplessness of the unknowing subject, or for the unfettered freedom which can be exercised at once, this research focuses on the intricate and multi-level exercise of power. In the context of Riyadh, the individual subject is in a dual position of force; they are subject to the rules and regulations that are imposed in the mall typology and have the possibility to act — either to perpetuate or to challenge such rules and regulations. Power relations — as it will be argued — are not just imposed, but rather co-constituted and co-exercised.

Another shortcoming of such sociological readings is that they offer an account that deals with the mall in its current static state (Jewell, 2015). As such, the typology of the 'dumbbell plan' is then perpetuated under the 'self-legitimizing banners of giving the public what they supposedly want and, of course, its unquestionable need for profitability' (Jewell, 2015: 39). As Augé (2008) has argued, homogenous spaces are duplicated and multiplied, resulting in a built environment that shatters local particularities.

Bridging the gap

In order to bridge the identified gap, the initial theoretical framework of this research was based on Bourdieu's theory of practice. Because 'space is a social and political product' (Elden, 2007, p101–116: 107), Bourdieu's work was believed to offer an adequate framework for investigating the dynamics and inherent tensions between global mechanisms inherent in the mall typology and local practices informed by the Saudi socio-cultural context. Utilising Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'capital' and 'habitus', the aim was to investigate how practices in the mall, and the formulation of its space in Riyadh, are co-constituted and affected by one another. Armed with Bourdieu's 'thinking tools', critical observations were made during the fieldwork. However, it later became evident that bridging the gap between the spatial and the social analysis through a Bourdieusian lens would be a difficult challenge to overcome. If the nuances (i.e. habitus) between Riyadh's shopping malls were to be analysed by situating malls (i.e. agents) equipped with contrasting 'capital' in a particular 'field' of competition (i.e. the economic field), then this exercise would neglect the analysis of individuals' practices and therefore be solely

focused on the 'spatial' component of the research. On the other hand, an analysis of individuals practices would inevitably render malls as a unified 'field' of social competition, and therefore prevent an adequate analysis of the spatial and non-spatial nuances that were observed between competing malls in Riyadh.

More importantly, the evidence collected during the fieldwork repeatedly pointed to mechanisms of control over space. For example, issues of regulated access and gender segregation were constantly observed in all study cases. As a result, the theoretical framework was re-evaluated, and Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' was extended to Foucault's 'analytics of power' which remains true to the aims and objectives of this research.

Significantly, the current literature on the shopping mall is characterised by the split between the argued determinism of the typology and the purported newfound forms of social liberties (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008). Contrastingly, this research utilises a Foucauldian framework to make evident the fluid and dual nature of the mall typology and demonstrate how its social and architectural spaces are co-constituted. While still maintaining the tension between subjectivism and objectivism, a Foucauldian framework makes it possible to bridge the gap between the spatial and the social analysis as it is 'temporally and spatially aware right from the beginning' (Elden, 2007, p101–116). Specifically, Foucault's work on disciplinary power and its spatial manifestation in the model of the panopticon developed in *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (Foucault, 1977) is the theoretical cornerstone upon which the analysis of the mall typology in Riyadh is founded. Contrastingly, this research considers the myriad of asymmetrical power relations in which both the shopping mall and the individual shopper are implicated. Based on Foucault's spatial and non-spatial model of the panopticon (1977), the panoptic configuration of the mall and the disciplinary power that operates within its space are explored.

It should be noted that a Foucauldian framework takes into account what can be termed 'individualisation techniques' within 'totalising procedures' (Rabinow, 1984: 14); in other words, micro-relations of power make it possible to account for the operation of power at the level of the individual. In contrast with the argued passivity of the customer/consumer, individuals' participation in the exercise of power is considered an essential constituent of this study. To elaborate, this research argues that individuals are not only subject to the regulations that are imposed by the mall's administration; they also have the possibility to perpetuate or challenge such regulations through everyday practices.

Finally, the mall typology — the embodiment of the hybrid identity of contemporary Saudi society — is a vehicle for enabling a spatial analysis of the workings of disciplinary power within the processes of capital accumulation; it is a microcosm in which the panoptic conditions of Saudi public life, the wider socio-political and urban implications of globalisation and the model of the carceral city are all thoroughly investigated.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into **nine chapters** that are organised to develop a contextualised understanding of the mall typology before exploring its internal space and investigating the implications the typology has had on Riyadh's social and urban environment.

In **chapter one**, the origins, intentions and journey that led to the accomplishment of this research have been presented. The shopping mall typology has also been evaluated in global contexts. This chapter has aimed to clarify the necessity of contextualising the study of the mall typology as it has been proved to have contrasting effects depending on the context in which it is implemented. Moreover, the split in the literature has been presented, and the intentions of this research to bridge the identified gap discussed. This chapter also proves that the typology is alive and well in places where the mall has become an integral part of the urbanisation process. Thus, this chapter lays the foundations for an investigation of the shopping mall in Riyadh, as it justifies exploring the typology in a new and understudied context in which the mall typology is currently thriving.

In **chapter two**, the methodology and work plan of this research are discussed. The chapter begins with a qualification of the terminology used in the methodology literature. Then, the different levels that structure the work plan for this research are presented in further detail. It begins with the system of inquiry which describes the theoretical underpinnings that guide the investigation. In addition to the Foucauldian framework, the theoretical foundations of typomorphological investigations are explored, as this research borrows significantly from typomorphology, readapting its tools to investigate the mall in its Saudi context. Thereafter, the multiple-case-study approach is developed and discussed as the strategy of inquiry — the second level of the work plan. Equally, the advantages and challenges of the chosen strategy — as well as the reasoning behind the selection of the cases — are presented. The third and final level of the inquiry covers the research methods; these are the specific tools developed for collecting the data during the fieldwork.

Because this research primarily relies on a Foucauldian framework, a thorough presentation of Foucault's 'analytics of power' becomes the subject of the **first part of chapter three**. Most importantly, the modality of disciplinary power and the model of the panopticon are discussed, as they deeply inform the development of this study. In the **second part of chapter three**, the 'analytic of power' is applied to the Saudi context in order to reveal the processes that led to the emergence of a disciplined society. Thus, the contextual investigation begins with a genealogical analysis of political and religious power in Riyadh and reveals the wider socio-urban implications of the ideological struggles over public life in the city.

The thesis then explores the history of Riyadh's urban form and its transformations. In **chapter four**, the traditional form of the city is examined, covering the period since the establishment of the fortified city up until the demolition of the fortifications and the deterioration of the old fabric in the 1950s.

Thereafter, the developments and urban processes that led to the ultimate fall of the old fabric as well as the emergence of Riyadh's modern fabric are discussed in **chapter**

five. In this chapter, the urban transformations of the period from the 1950s onwards are covered; these include the first *ad hoc* processes of modernisation, as well as the structured approach to planning through the initial masterplan and its subsequent revisions. A critical evaluation focused on the development of public spaces accompanies the historical investigation of both chapters.

The empirical study is presented in **chapter six**. The four selected cases are presented successively, starting from the urban level of resolution and moving to the analyses of their internal spaces. For each of the case studies the investigation begins with the mall's urban context to understand its characteristics and relate the mall to Riyadh's broader urban conditions presented in the previous chapter. Subsequently, thorough analyses of the mall's interior space are conducted. Systematically, the mechanisms of control, spatial and otherwise, are discussed in further detail, along with their implications and how individuals negotiate them. Utilising spatial analysis techniques and qualitative interviews, the internal space of each mall is analysed and presented in sections covering different themes as informed by the collected data.

Chapter seven covers the findings of the study. In this chapter, the similarities and variations between the cases are analytically presented. More importantly, the wider urban, economic and social implications of the propagation of the mall typology and its inherent mechanisms of control are discussed in further detail.

Finally, the processes that culminated in the writing of this thesis are summarised in **chapter eight**. In this chapter, the initial intentions of the research are reviewed, Riyadh's current urban condition is revisited, and the key findings are highlighted. The chapter then moves to discuss today's shifting urban and social landscape in Riyadh. The chapter finally ends with the desire to cultivate new possibilities, arguing that a Foucauldian approach is crucial to understanding how public and publicly-used spaces in Riyadh can be improved.

Notes

1 See: (Mandeli, 2011). A thesis on the contemporary public realm In Jeddah; the spatial quality is arguably similar to Riyadh's.

2 Lifestyle centres follow the same logic of the mall. However, by inverting the spatial logic of the mall, the lifestyle centre becomes an outward-facing, open-air shopping mall inspired by old town centres' designs (D'Eramo, 2007). Moreover, D'Eramo (2007) has argued that the model of the lifestyle centre evolves the model of the shopping mall, as it combines the qualities of the downtown centre with the control mechanism of the mall. The lifestyle centre places the emphasis on the pedestrianised and open-air venues designed in such a way to simulate traditional city centres (D'Eramo, 2007). The exploitation of local references in both malls and lifestyle centres is a marketing strategy which attempts to capitalise on local particularities. As an example, in describing Madinat Jumeirah lifestyle centre in Dubai, Jewell (2013) has noted that the centre's design contains locally-inspired features that are located around the centre's exterior, such as the traditional wind towers called *bastakiyah*. Harvey (1990) has criticised postmodern architecture for quoting historical and eclectic architectural forms superficially without a genuine understanding of their significance. At Madinat Jumeirah, the *bastakiyahs* are only used for decorative purposes and do not serve any objective function (Jewell, 2013). As such, the wind towers represent a superficial attempt to authenticity and the aesthetic reproduction of local architectural form devoid of function. Furthermore, the lifestyle centre primarily serves a commercial function, and the false image of locality is further disturbed by the subtle presence of international brands, carefully-located stalls and highly-controlled space (Jewell, 2013).

3 It should be noted that the private sector — portrayed as a class that strives to differentiate itself from what it deems old-fashion local practices — has been accused of imposing the sort of culturally-destructive, Western-influenced, modern architecture

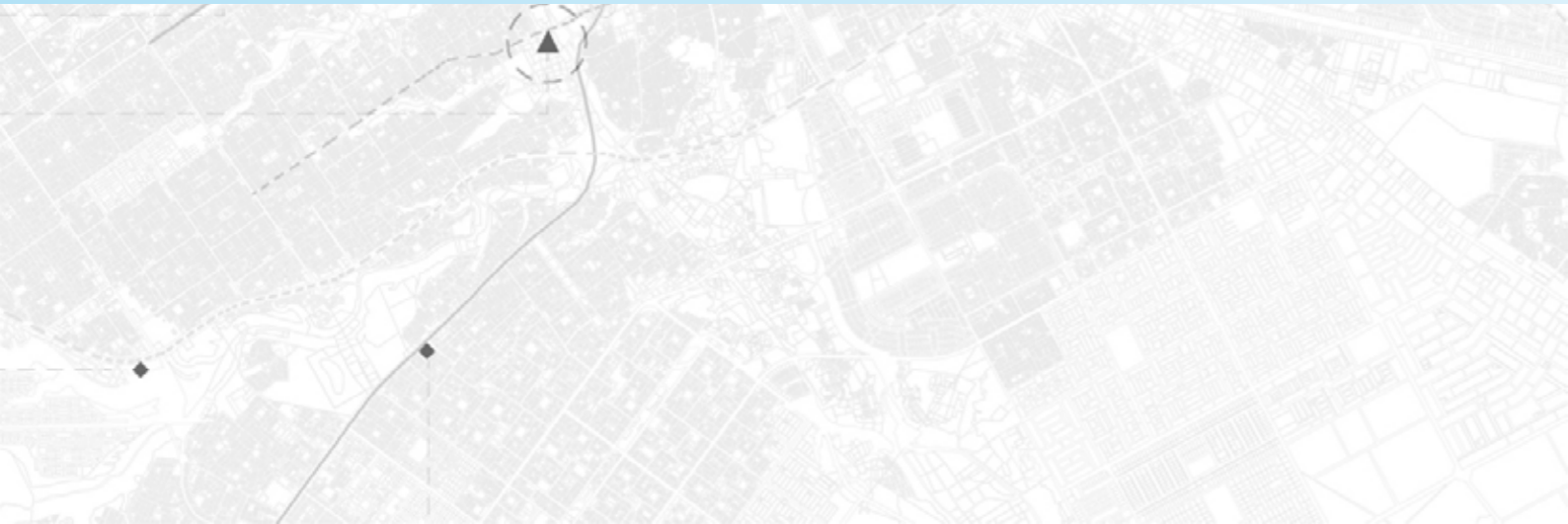
(Abu-Ghazzeah, 1997, p229–253; Fadan, 1983). This research argues that the private sector acted as an enabling agent that actively participated in the implementation of urban strategies facilitated and desired by the state apparatus.



Chapter II
A multi-disciplinary approach to mall typology

2

Methodology



As discussed in the previous chapter, the literature on the mall typology is characterised by conflicting accounts that range from focusing on the determinism of the shopping mall to the subjectivity of its users. This study's methodology is developed in order to overcome such dualistic views. Its approach to the study of the typology is guided by a desire to account for the typology's complexity and multifaceted dimensions at multiple levels. The research approach to the mall typology in Riyadh is henceforth presented in further detail.

This research aims to both study how public life in Riyadh is spatially regulated and explore how individuals negotiate the limitations imposed in public spaces. Furthermore, this research investigates the tensions and spatial implications brought about by the ideological struggle between processes of modernisation and the social conservatism of the religious sphere. It can be argued that the confrontation between social conservatism and urban 'Westernisation' is best visible in the space of the shopping mall, in which the local population is in direct dialogue with an engineered global culture. Also, an inevitable process of re-adaptation and re-appropriation emerges out of the incongruences between the pre-formulated space of the mall and the particularities of the Saudi socio-cultural context. For this reason, the shopping mall in Riyadh is a suitable case for uncovering these processes, and supplements the ongoing debate on the mall type.

Notwithstanding consumer research, the shopping mall in Riyadh has been relatively understudied as an urban and architectural typology if we compare it to studies that focus on housing or traditional urban fabrics, for example. Therefore, the new challenges specific to the mall typology in Riyadh necessitated the development of a multidisciplinary approach informed by complementary methods and data collection techniques. The multidisciplinary approach to the mall typology has made it possible to overcome the gap between the spatial analysis of the mall and the social investigation of how its space is utilised, negotiated and experienced by individuals. Furthermore, and due to the urban scale of the mall typology, the multidisciplinary approach facilitated the development of a methodology which covers multiple levels of resolution, starting with an analysis of urban development in Riyadh and concluding with a study of the mall's internal spaces.

This chapter begins by reviewing the aims, objectives and research questions that helped to establish the presented methodology and define the scope of this research.

It then conducts a brief review of the terminology used in the methodological literature to clarify the three levels of inquiry utilised to define the approach to the mall typology in Riyadh. Thereafter, it covers the methodology of this research, which ranges from the philosophical stance it assumed to the specific methods used for data collection. The summary of the methodology begins by discussing the theoretical framework that guided the choice of the multiple-case strategy as well as the choice of the data collection methods. The case study strategy, the strengths and limitations of the strategy, and the reasoning behind the selection of the study cases are then discussed in further detail. This is followed by a discussion of the specific data collection methods and how they were tested and deployed during the pilot study and the fieldwork. The chapter concludes by presenting the research limitations, followed by a discussion of ethical considerations and the strategy utilised for the data analysis.

Aims and objectives

Through examining the shopping mall typology, this research seeks to investigate the efforts made to regulate and control public space and public life in Saudi cities. By situating the shopping mall in Riyadh in its immediate urban context, this research aims to investigate the social and urban implications of the inherent tensions that are accentuated in the mall typology and brought about by the struggles between political and economic powers — incentivised to ‘modernise’ the urban environment — and religious powers — who perceive processes of urban modernisation as a threat to the integrity of Saudi society.

To this end, the objectives of the study are to:

- 1- Situate the shopping mall typology in the developing urban context of Riyadh.
- 2- Describe the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall.
- 3- Analyse the strategies by which the socio-religious system of values is subsumed and made part of the mechanisms of capital accumulation.
- 4- Investigate how individuals negotiate the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall at the level of everyday practices.

Research questions

This research aims to answer the following questions:

- 1- What are the changes in the structures of power that made the realisation of the shopping mall possible in Riyadh?
- 2- How does the shopping mall overcome the tension between the need for capital accumulation and the prevailing value system in Saudi Arabia?
 - A- What are the specific measures that are implemented to achieve such ends?
 - B- How are the implemented measures spatially manifested?
 - C- How do such measures operate at the micro-level of power relations?
- 3- How do individuals negotiate the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall at the level of everyday practices?
- 4- To what extent has the mall typology impacted the urban and social environment of Riyadh?

The following table illustrates the aims, objectives, and questions of the study.

Aims	Objectives	Questions	Methods
<p>Investigate the efforts made to regulate and control public space and public life in Saudi cities; study the social and urban implications of the inherent tensions accentuated by the mall typology, and which are generated by the struggles between political, economic and religious powers in Saudi Arabia.</p>	<p>1- Situate the shopping mall typology in the developing urban context of Riyadh.</p> <p>2- Describe the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall.</p> <p>3- Analyse the strategies by which the socio-religious system of values is subsumed and made part of the mechanisms of capital accumulation.</p> <p>4- Investigate how individuals negotiate the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall at the level of everyday practices.</p>	<p>1- What are the changes in the structures of power that made the realisation of the shopping mall possible in Riyadh?</p> <p>2- How does the shopping mall overcome the tension between the need for capital accumulation and the prevailing value system in Saudi Arabia?</p> <p>a- What are the specific measures that are implemented to achieve such ends?</p> <p>b- How are the implemented measures spatially manifested?</p> <p>c- How do such measures operate at the micro-level of power relations?</p> <p>3- How do individuals negotiate the spatial strategies of discipline and control in the Saudi mall at the level of everyday practices?</p> <p>4- To what extent has the mall typology impacted the urban and social environment of Riyadh?</p>	<p>1- Analytics of power</p> <p>a - Historical changes in the structures of power in Saudi Arabia</p> <p>b - Analysis of panoptic qualities of shopping malls in Riyadh</p> <p>2- Typomorphological analysis</p> <p>a - Historical changes in the urban form of Riyadh</p> <p>b - Readapted method to investigate the interior space of the mall</p> <p>3- Observations</p> <p>a- Spatial mapping</p> <p>b- Social interaction</p> <p>4- Responsive interviews</p> <p>5- Secondary documents</p>

Definitions

Because of the extensive and sometimes conflicting terminology employed in the methodological literature, it is imperative to clarify the terms used to define the different levels of inquiry in the development of this chapter. According to Creswell (2014), a research design is the phase of the research that encompasses the three intersecting components of philosophical assumptions, procedures of inquiry, and specific research methods. It is defined as ‘plans and procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation’ (Creswell, 2014: 3). On the other hand, Wang and Groat (2013) have referred to research design at the strategy level of the inquiry deriving from a particular philosophical stance, and have defined it as ‘an action plan for getting from here to there’ (Wang and Groat, 2013: 11). The philosophical level of the inquiry¹ guides the research questions and requires an adequate choice of strategy² that, in turn, influences the choice of suitable tactics³. Another useful way of thinking about the research design is to consider it a ‘blueprint’ for research that addresses four fundamental questions, namely ‘what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyse the results’ (Philliber, Schwab, & Samsloss, 1980 cited in Yin, 2008: 26). Each of these questions can be appropriately assigned to one or another level of inquiry and help to develop an overall logic to the research that is developed from the exploration of the literature through the data analysis and to the final discussion.

The three components of the proposed methodology — namely, the system of inquiry, the strategy of inquiry, and research methods — will be presented in further detail below.

System of Inquiry

As evident from the literature review, the numerous accounts cited in the literature generally adopt a critical stance regarding the objective conditions of the mall typology. These inquiries are directed towards the adverse urban domination of the mall (Davis and

Monk, 2007; Mitchell, 2015, p1–16), the underlying and self-destructive logic of capitalist production inherent in the typology (Harvey, 2012; Klein, 2000; Koolhaas et al., 2001; Koolhaas and Foster, 2013), and the hegemony of Western modes of spatial production (Fraser and Golzari, 2013). A parallel line of inquiry studies the mall from a sociological perspective and argues that the human experience is manipulated and fragmented by it (Augé, 2008; Davis and Monk, 2007; Debord, 1994; Mitchell, 2015, p1–16; Sorkin, 1992). These readings suggest that the social experience of the mall is an imposed spectacle devoid of social meaning. People are partially excluded from the experience and made to feel alienated, while those included are implicitly manipulated and encouraged to consume and perform acts not entirely of their own choice. Contrastingly, phenomenological approaches break with the deterministic interpretation of the typology and seek to liberate the individual customer from the influence of the architectural object (Abaza, 2001, p97–122; Degen et al., 2008, p1901–1920; Erkip, 2003, p1073–1093). In these accounts, the shopper/customer/consumer is an active subject who deliberately makes personal choices and individualises the social experience. These rival readings have all concluded, however, that malls are social spaces and involve practices that transcend the simple act of shopping.

This research adopts an intersubjective stance in an attempt to bridge the gap and ease the tension between these two rival modes of thinking. As Wang and Groat (2013) have argued, the intersubjective stance is located midway between constructivism and positivism. It assumes the multiplicities of subjective viewpoints while simultaneously making it possible to account for a unified understanding of social realities. Wang and Groat have further explained that:

In contrast to the objective segment of the continuum, the intersubjective perspective assumes that it is neither possible nor necessarily desirable for research to establish objectivity within a value-free stance. Rather, researchers recognize the significance of values and meaning in framing the goals of the research and/or interpreting the results. And in contrast to the positivist paradigm, causality is assumed to be just one of many possible relations or interactions

within the phenomena under study. More importantly, any causal relationship should be socially and historically situated. (Wang and Groat, 2013: 78)

More importantly, this study is deeply informed by Foucault's 'analytics of power' and is consequently influenced by its approach to research. It should be noted that Foucault's inquiries are both historically and socially situated. Therefore, the Foucauldian framework is in accordance with the research's aim of situating this investigation within Riyadh's specific sociological, historical and urban context. Likewise, a Foucauldian framework enables one to spatially analyse the relation between individual practices and mall mechanisms as well as understand how these are co-extensive; that individuals are never outside the influence of the mechanisms; and that individuals condition and are conditioned by the mechanisms, that 'they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power' (Foucault, 1980: 98). In following such lines of inquiry, and in situating the object of investigation in this Foucauldian context, this study attempts to develop an alternative understanding that would complement the established literature on the mall typology.

Theoretical framework

Foucault's analytics of power

A principal objective of Foucault's work is to illustrate the historical and contingent nature of what philosophy has traditionally viewed as absolute and universal. (Taylor, 2011: 2)

Knowledge of social realities and the prevailing system of values that are given as absolute and universal are for Foucault historical phenomena that can and should be investigated as to reveal the true nature of the relations of power that shape and crystallise these realities (Taylor, 2011).

To study such historical phenomena, Foucault starts his investigation at a certain point in time, establishing how historically, changes in the relations and exercise of power

have shaped present social conditions and realities. In a similar vein, this research starts with a historical investigation of the structures of power in Riyadh and explores how changes in the structures of power affected the urban development that evolved from the establishment of the settlement of *Hajr*⁴ to the accelerated urbanisation of contemporary Riyadh. The aim of the historical analysis that is developed in chapters four and five is not to present the urban evolution of the city per se. Rather, particular emphasis is placed upon the development of the traditional suq and the urban conditions that subsequently led to the introduction of the mall typology. Through this historical analysis, the relations of power and, more importantly, the changes in these relations — which are the underlying forces for the realisation of the mall typology in Riyadh — are discussed.

One of the primary considerations in establishing this methodology was the desire to overcome the split in the literature on the mall typology. It was this position that led to the development of a theoretical framework based on Foucault's work. However, it was soon realised that although it is 'spatially aware', Foucault's 'analytics of power' and his model of the panopticon can only be utilised as guiding concepts for a spatial exploration of the mall typology. Proper techniques for spatial analysis had to be developed to uncover how surveillance and control spatially operate in Riyadh's malls. Likewise, the study of the power struggles that have shaped public life in Riyadh (established in Chapter Three) required a complementary historical analysis of urban development in order to investigate how those power struggles have also shaped the urban space of Riyadh. It is for this reason that a typomorphology was developed as a complementary theoretical framework; indeed, a typomorphology makes it possible to overcome the limitations of a Foucauldian framework in terms of spatial analysis. It is important to note that this study is not a conventional typomorphological analysis of Riyadh's urban environment; it is a study that borrows from typomorphology to develop a comprehensive approach to the mall typology. Hereafter, the theoretical underpinnings of the typomorphology and its relevance to this research are discussed in further detail.

Typomorphology

By virtue of their scale, shopping malls require careful consideration when adequately investigating a space that is akin to the outdoor urban environment. These internalised cities or architectures of ‘bigness’ (Koolhaas et al., 2001), operate at the scale of the super-bloc — or grouping of lots — (Mangin and Panerai, 1999), and thus necessitate the application of tools that operate at several complementary levels of resolution. To this end, the typomorphological approach is the applied tool by which architectural and urban strategies of shopping malls are investigated.

On the definition of typomorphology, Moudon writes:

Typomorphology is the study of urban form derived from studies of typical spaces and structures (Moudon, 1994, p289–311: 289).

Typomorphology is also defined as ‘the study of urban forms, and of the agents and processes responsible for their transformation’ (Oliveira, 2016: 2); these urban forms are defined as ‘the main physical elements that structure and shape the city — urban tissues, streets (and squares), urban plots, buildings, to name the most important’ (Oliveira, 2016: 2). Therefore, typomorphology is an approach that operates at different levels of resolution in order to consider the different scales of the built environment (Moudon, 1994, p289–311). It is a method that focuses on the physical attributes of the built environment resulting from social and economic forces, and studies the consequences of design theories on cities (Moudon, 1997, p3–10). Moudon (1998) has further argued that it is a framework that complements established design research and allows the researcher to understand the process by which cities are produced.

Moudon identifies three schools of urban morphology: the Birmingham school, the Italian school⁵, and the French school⁶ (Moudon, 1994, p289–311, 1997, p3–10, 1998, p141–157). The theoretical frameworks of the three schools are built on common ground: all three agree that cities can be read through the medium of their physical form — a form that can be analysed at different interrelated scales and that is understood through time as it

undergoes a continuous change (Moudon, 1997, p3–10). Therefore, form, scale, and time constitute the fundamental basis of all morphological analysis (Moudon, 1994, p289–311).

Notwithstanding their common foundation, the three schools of urban morphology differ in their initial approach and intentions (Chen and Thwaites, 2016; Moudon, 1997, p3–10; Oliveira, 2016). The morphologists from the Birmingham school base their approach on the works of M. R. G. Conzen and are concerned with the understanding of the formation process of the urban form. Conzen (2004) developed his method based on the analyses of the townscape — which he considered the primary indicator of the urban life of a particular town — and how it is connected to the needs of society. Conzen’s (2004) townscape is composed of three interconnected and complementary form categories: the town plan, the building fabric, and the land utilisation pattern. The town plan — the primary category in his methods — is divided into three analysis units: the streets, plots, and buildings (Moudon, 1994, p289–311). These three units of analysis culminate in what he terms morphological regions (Oliveira, 2016) — urban areas of similar yet distinctive spatial features (Chen and Thwaites, 2016; Oliveira, 2016).

One strength of Conzen’s method — considered ‘the most thorough, detailed, and systematic typomorphological method of the three schools’ (Moudon, 1994, p289–311: 296) — is the level of detail in his analysis. His approach aims to demonstrate how cities are traditionally stratified to reveal the residual traces of past development (Oliveira, 2016).

The emphasis on the historical development of cities led Conzen to focus his research on small medieval cities (Moudon, 1986), primarily those with ‘old towns’ in their centre (Conzen, 2004). Such cities, usually small in size, present the greatest form of historic stratification, enabling him to explore the historicity of the urban form in its most complete manifestation. However, Conzen (2004) argued that his methods should not be limited to the study of historical towns and should include cities of relatively recent formation, as is the case in his study of the townscape of Nelson in New Zealand.

On the other hand, typologists from the Italian school begin their exploration at the scale of the 'cells' that generate a cityscape — that is, the individual parcels with their buildings and open spaces (Moudon, 1998, p141–157). The Italian school is based on the theoretical works of Muratori (Cataldi et al., 2002, p3–14) and was developed by Caniggia, who departed from architectural types to understand the formation and transformation of the urban form. Caniggia and Maffei (2001) argued that the typological approach aims to cultivate the spontaneous consciousness of architects and planners, in order to return to a state of urban continuity and stability. For typologists, 'spontaneous consciousness' describes any urban and architectural production unconsciously conditioned by the cultural background of the builders and which emerges from the prevailing urban order. It is opposed to the critical consciousness advanced by the modernist project, which can be understood as an active intellectual effort that breaks with the codifying order of the existing urban fabric and results in discontinuous and fractured urban tissues (Caniggia and Maffei, 2001).

Moudon (1994) argued that the Italian school was primarily concerned by the traditional city, and characterised architectural intervention as being conditioned by pre-established urban structures. Typologists saw the modernist project as a temporary crisis resolvable by a critical analysis of the processes and transformation of the environment. Such a stance might lead to qualifying typomorphology as inadequate for the study of Riyadh's urban fabric in its contemporary condition. To study the mall typology in Riyadh, such a position might cause the researcher to start the investigation with negative preconceptions about the city's contemporary urban environment which can deter from understanding how and why the mall typology was propagated in this specific context. Yet, as it is argued in this research, it is possible to overcome these limitations by developing a new approach that borrows from typomorphology and readapts its proposed methods.

One of the main critiques of the typomorphological approach is that it is considered an inadequate method in the context of the contemporary built environment — in which the relationship between individual units and the urban fabrics has shifted from one of

dependence to one of disassociation (Moudon, 1998, p141–157). However, Oliveira (2016) has argued that, although a significant number of morphological studies have focused on historical centres and traditional cities, the concepts and ideas developed by this method can and should be applied to contemporary contexts. Certainly, studies on contemporary environments have proved the validity of the typomorphological approach in understanding contemporary urban fabrics (Caliskan and Marshall, 2011, p381–392; Moudon, 1998, p141–157; Whitehand, 1984, p41–55, 1984, p174–200). Oliveira (2016) has furthermore argued that the change in scale and urban processes should be addressed by a change in focus that sensibly considers the elements of the urban form.

This new approach to typomorphology is further developed by the analyses of the French school which — similar to the Italian school — emerged as a reaction against the modernist project and its consequences on the French urban landscape. Their analyses are informed by the historical development of typomorphology. They include the works of Italian typologists (Moudon, 1998, p141–157), which they complement with a close attention to the social factors that drive urban processes (Chen and Thwaites, 2016). However, unlike the Italian school, French urbanists advocated an active and critical engagement with the urban (Levy, 1999, p79–85; Panerai et al., 1999) and architectural (Tschumi, 2001) fragmentation of the contemporary landscape. As Levy (1999, p79–85) has argued, the modernist project emerged as a discontinuity from the traditional urban fabric and led to the emergence of new typologies and 'big architecture' (Caliskan and Marshall, 2011, p381–392), which inverted the dialectical relationship between architectural typology and urban morphology (Castex et al., 1977). Panerai (1999) has asserted that new urban studies are needed to achieve a critical understanding and to denounce the destructive effects of the '*table rase*' or '*tabula rasa*' of the modernist project (Caliskan and Marshall, 2011, p381–392).

As Panerai (1999) has argued, to conclude that the contemporary landscape is fragmented and unstructured is to refuse to consider all the elements that constitute its urban form. The diversity, multiplicity, and constant evolution of urban elements necessitate the

development of multiple approaches that, while informed by the defined tools of the method, are not constrained by it (Panerai et al., 1999). The morphological dimension of the urban form, he posits, is a living organism that should only be considered along with those who live and experience it. This is why the approach developed in *Analyse Urbaine* (Panerai et al., 1999) refuses to set a fixed and predetermined methodological approach, and advocates adaptive methods that can be used to explore the form of contemporary urban landscapes. As an example, Panerai presents the concept of *modes of urban growth* (*mode de croissance*), which describes how the development of the urban area took place. Example of modes of growth include radio central continuous, linear continuous, and discontinuous — to cite but a few. Concepts such as *growth centres* (*pôle de croissance*) and *growth obstacles* (*obstacle de croissance*), as well as densification processes (whereby the city progressively infills its reserves of lots), all represent good examples of how unconventional tools are developed to enable the exploration and description of the urban processes in recent urban formations.

Panerai's proposed concepts — such as the modes of urban growth and growth centres — proved crucial to this thesis' analysis of the historical development of contemporary Riyadh following the decline of its traditional fabric. As such, this research has developed an approach that is greatly influenced, but not limited to, the approach of the French school of typomorphology. Moreover, as Moudon (1997, p3–10) notes, there is a need to address the exceptional urban expansion in cities that have developed outside the European continent. Riyadh, having witnessed radical transformations in the past few decades and a massive growth in the scale and number of shopping malls, has an urban landscape that is incomparable to traditional cities. These distinctive characteristics offer the opportunity to explore and develop the typomorphological approach in order to explicate the physical and formative attributes of the contemporary urban form and mall type in Riyadh.

Accordingly, and due to the urban scale of the typology, methods informed by the typomorphological approach are developed to investigate the interior space of the mall. As an example, the pattern of land and building utilisation developed by Conzen is readapted

to map uses and activities that are of particular interest within the space of the mall; non-shopping activities and vertical circulation nodes, as well as their distribution and spatial configuration are investigated, as they deeply impact how customers navigate, utilise and experience the space of the mall. The specific methods developed in this research will be presented in further detail later in this chapter.

Strategy of inquiry

The descriptive and exploratory purpose of the study, coupled with the recent development of the mall type in Riyadh and its contemporary social phenomena under scrutiny, all suggest the use of a case study design as an adequate strategy to achieve the aims of this research.

The case study strategy is an empirical investigation (Yin, 2008) bounded by time and activity, in which the researcher seeks in-depth knowledge of an event, programme, process or activity (Creswell, 2014; Simons, 2009) over which they have little or no control (Yin, 2008). Moreover, it is defined as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2008: 18).

As stated earlier, the aim of this research is to evaluate the relation between the mechanisms inherent in the mall typology (the primary object of research) and the socio-cultural practices (the contemporary phenomenon under investigation) particular to the context of Riyadh in order to uncover the panoptic mechanisms that make the realisation of the Saudi iteration of shopping malls possible. Given that the object of research can only be constructed and evaluated through the empirical investigation of the relationship between its constitutive elements — which operate at different and complementary levels of resolution inseparable from their real-life context — one can only arrive at a full understanding through the implementation of the case study strategy.

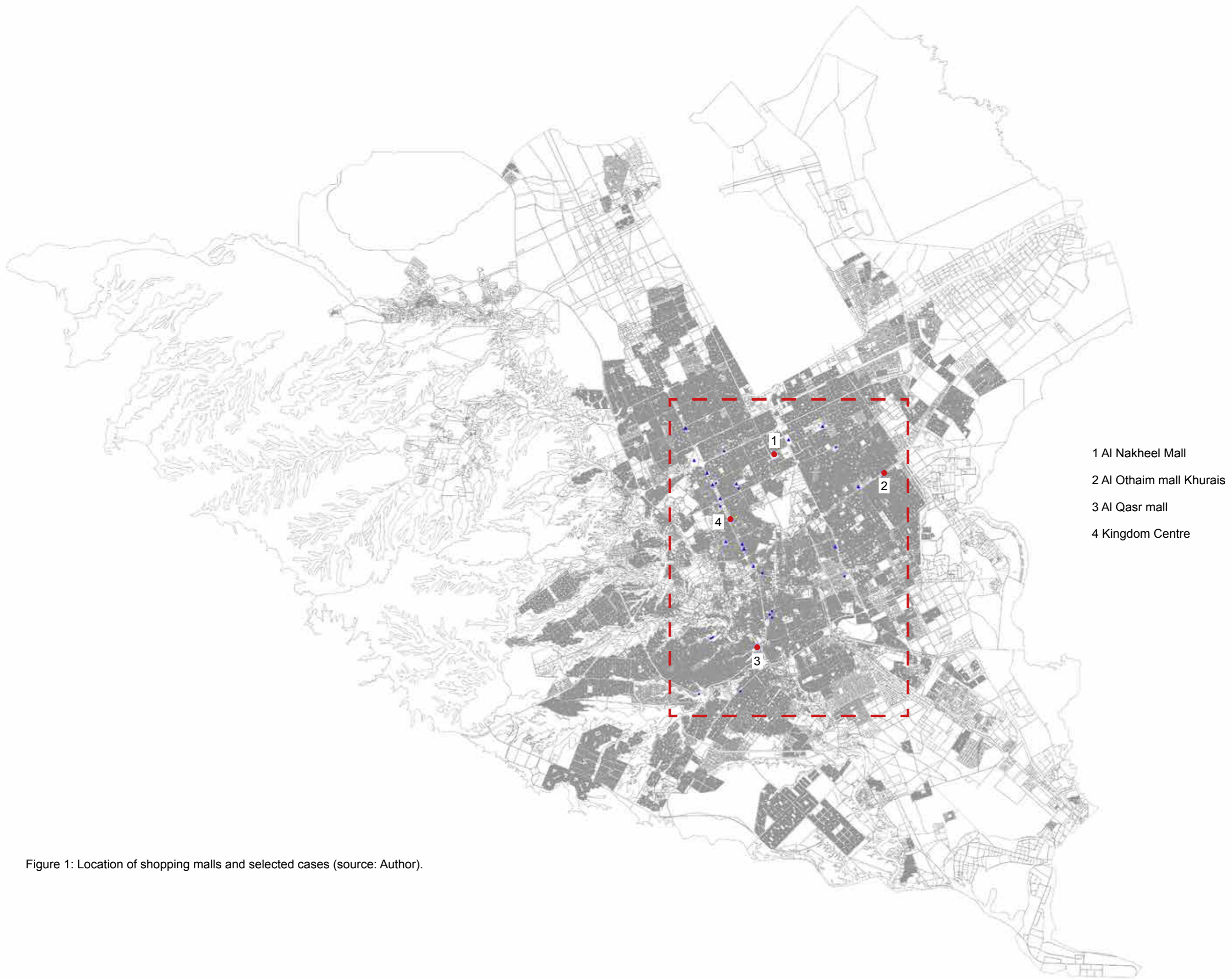


Figure 1: Location of shopping malls and selected cases (source: Author).

As Yin (2008) argues, case studies have long been associated with qualitative inquiry and have often been considered the exploratory stage of other research strategies. As an example hereof, Creswell (2013; 2014) considers the case study to be one of the main qualitative research strategies comparable to phenomenological and ethnographical inquiries.

Yin (2008), on the other hand, argues that the case study is an independent strategy. It is neither fully qualitative nor entirely quantitative and can benefit from both strategies. Wang and Groat (2013) have echoed this attitude when considering architectural research. They argue that numerous examples of architectural research deploy both qualitative and quantitative tactics derived from one or several systems of inquiry (Wang and Groat, 2013). Additionally, others have proposed the use of the case study as a conceptual vessel that can encompass one or several research approaches (Thomas, 2016; Wang and Groat, 2013). Similarly, Yin's (2008) defines the case study as an all-encompassing strategy that follows its own logic deriving from a philosophical worldview and covering all the stages of the research design (Yin, 2008).

Furthermore, the case study is a strategy that allows the researcher to explore and explain causal links in real-world settings that are too complex for more conventional strategies. Its reliance on several sources of evidence increases the potential strength of the inquiry as well as its ability to describe complex relations between phenomenon and context. Both phenomenon and context are integral to understanding the case; however, these cannot be explored independently of each other. Accordingly, the researcher needs to rely on multiple sources of evidence (Creswell, 2014) and utilise several adequate research methods to converge in a triangulating fashion (Thomas, 2016; Wang and Groat, 2013; Yin, 2008).

Multiple-case design

In designing a case study strategy, Yin (2008) favours a multiple-case design because it is more robust and yields greater confidence in the findings. The replication logic assumed

by the multiple-case design increases analytical potential, which in turn further strengthens the validity of the findings. Additionally, having two or more cases helps reduce criticism and scepticism often inherent to the case study strategy (Yin, 2008; 2012). The multiple-case study design is more challenging to implement successfully. Nevertheless, it has the potential to yield greater confidence in the findings (Yin, 2012). The study is often more compelling and robust when utilising a multiple-case approach. The use of multiple sources of evidence also helps in constructing validity and is one of the notable strengths of the case study strategy.

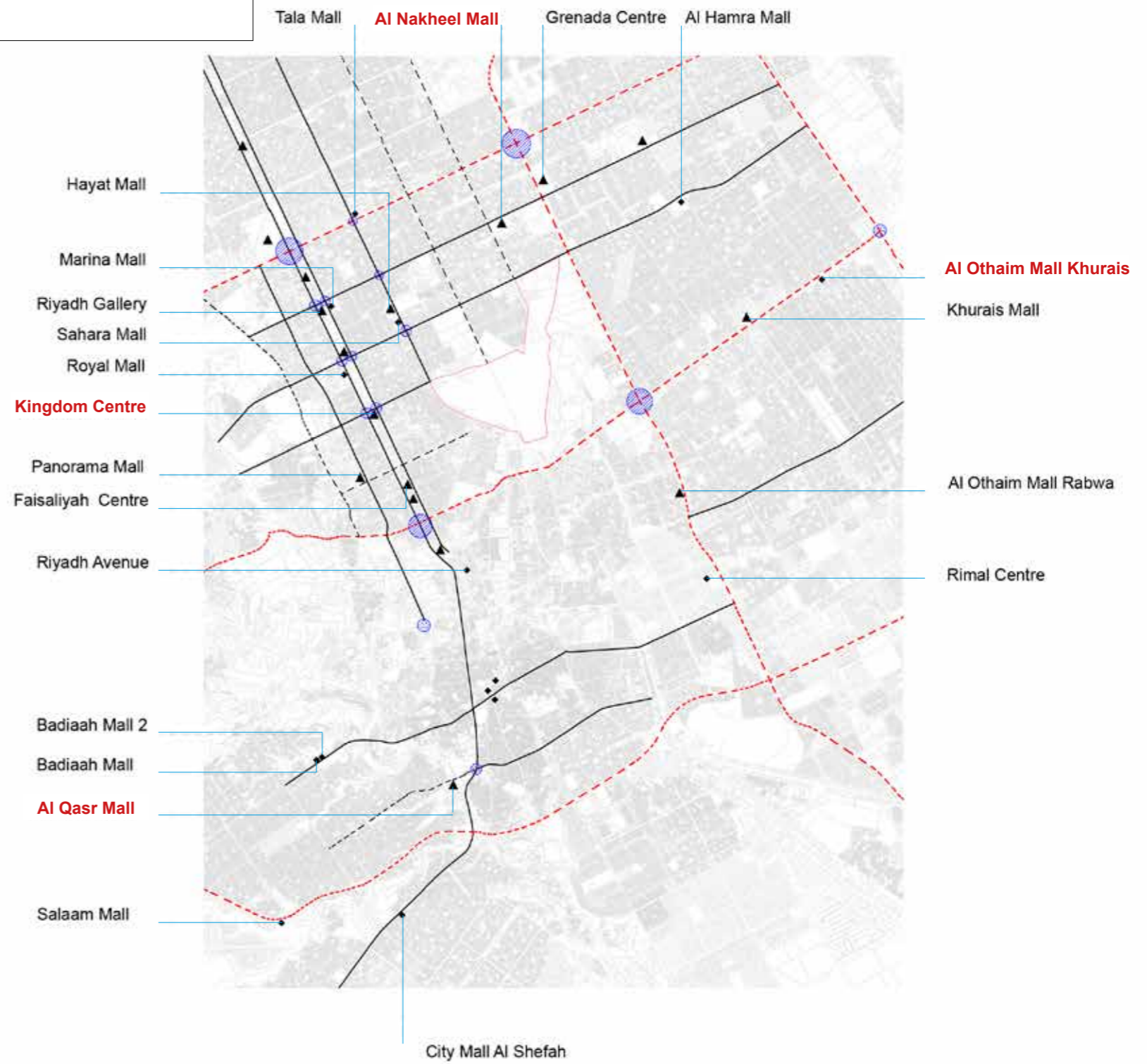
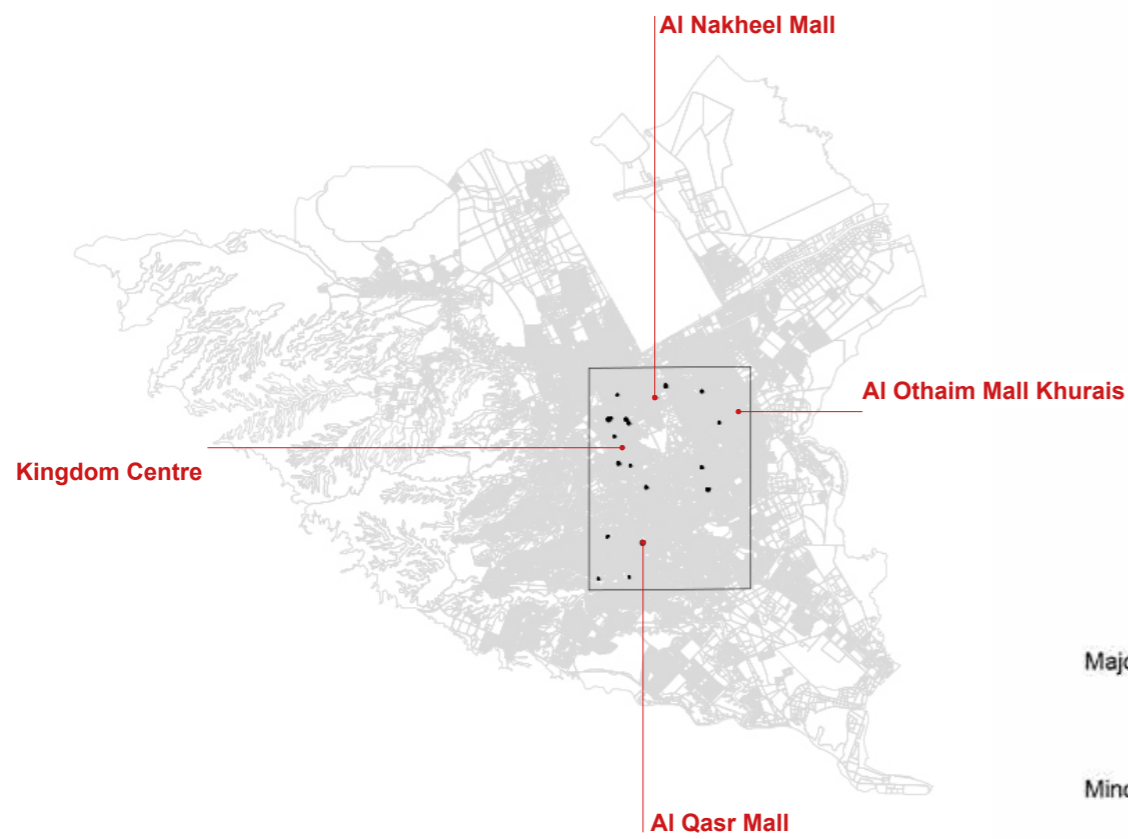
Additionally, Yin (2008) suggests that, in designing a multiple-case study, it is important that the case candidates are not selected based on a sampling logic that can be both disadvantageous and restrictive. Rather, a replication logic should be reflected in the selection of the cases. Depending on the number of cases chosen to be studied, the replication logic can be either literal or theoretical. Some cases would be used for literal replication, while other cases can be designed to reflect theoretical replication.

Case selection

The careful selection of the four study cases was the result of a scoping exercise that was accomplished during the pilot study. In August 2017, a comprehensive exploratory pilot study was undertaken, during which each of the 22 shopping malls represented in (fig. 2, 3) were visited. During these visits, the proposed methods for this research were elaborated upon and evaluated. Observations, notes and photographs were collected. Likewise, the responsive interview method was explored.

The pilot study was undertaken with the help of a female research assistant to respond to the socio-cultural requirement of Riyadh's context. As anticipated, restricted access for unaccompanied men would have significantly limited the scope of the study. Likewise, it would have been impossible to conduct exploratory interviews with female respondents without the intermediary of a female assistant. The extensive hours spent in each of the malls during the pilot study, the observations made during the scoping exercise, and

Figure 2: The visual form of Riyadh; a Lynchian representation of Riyadh's urban environment. A high concentration of malls is found along the major north-south paths of King Fahad Road and Olaya Street. Meanwhile, most other malls are located on paths and edges that directly connect with the north-south major paths (source: Author).



	Path	Edge	Node	Landmark
Major Element				
Minor Element				

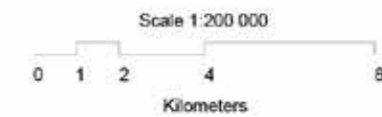
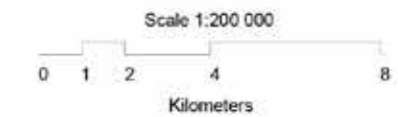
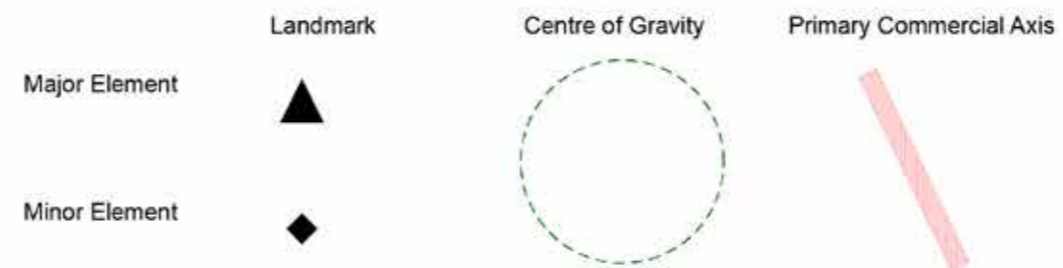
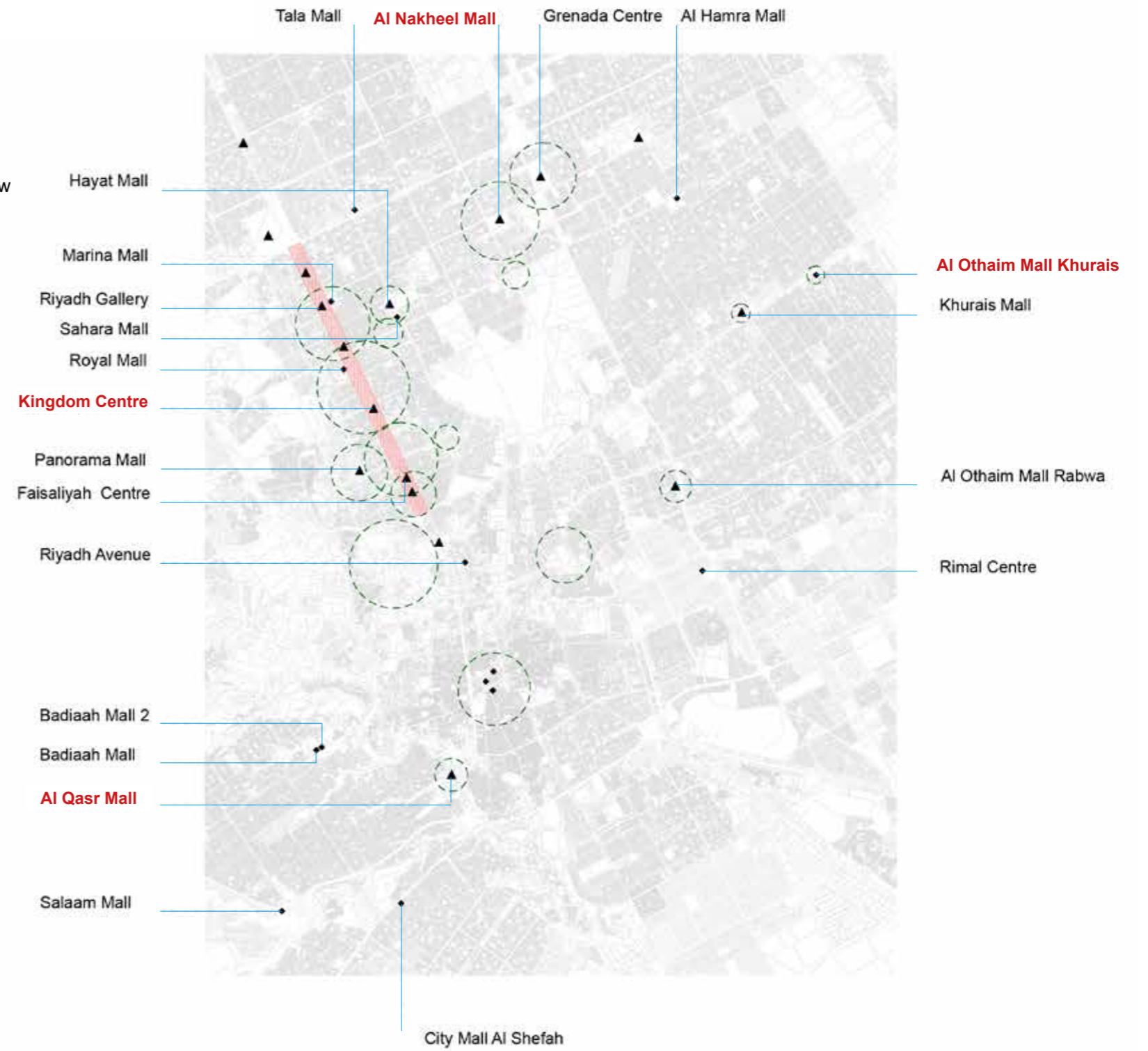
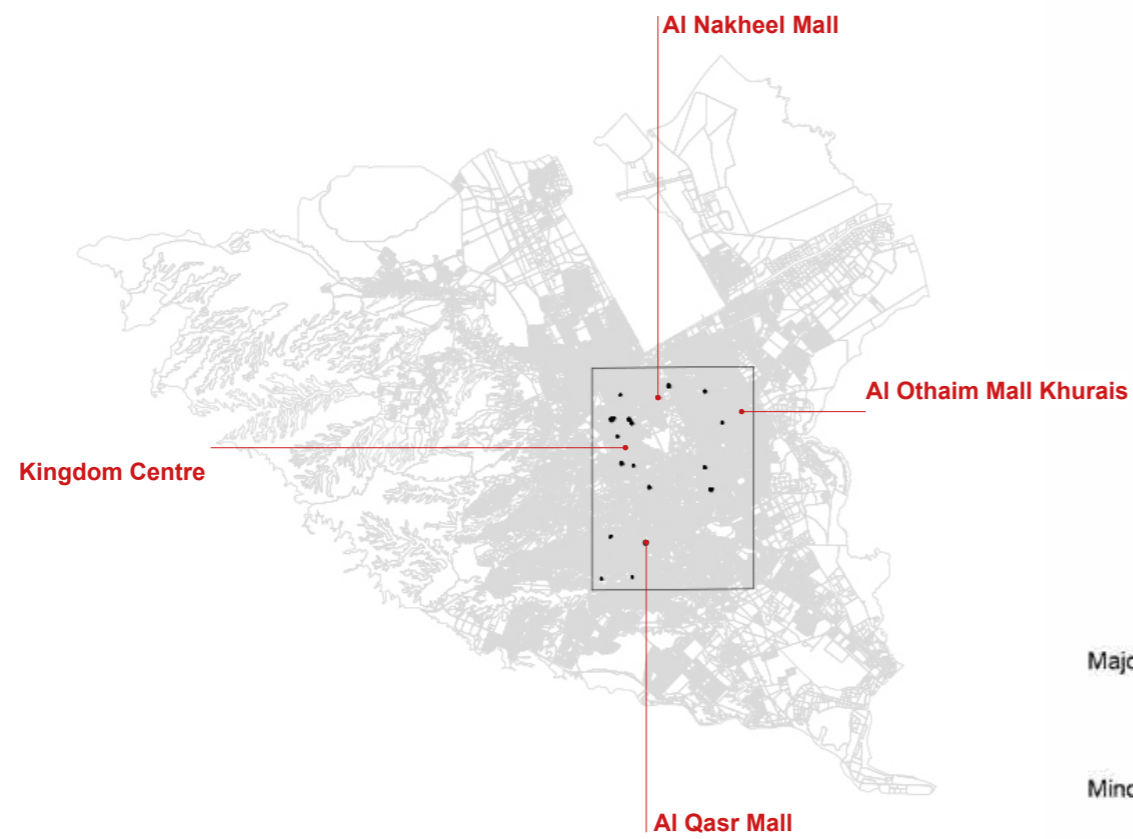
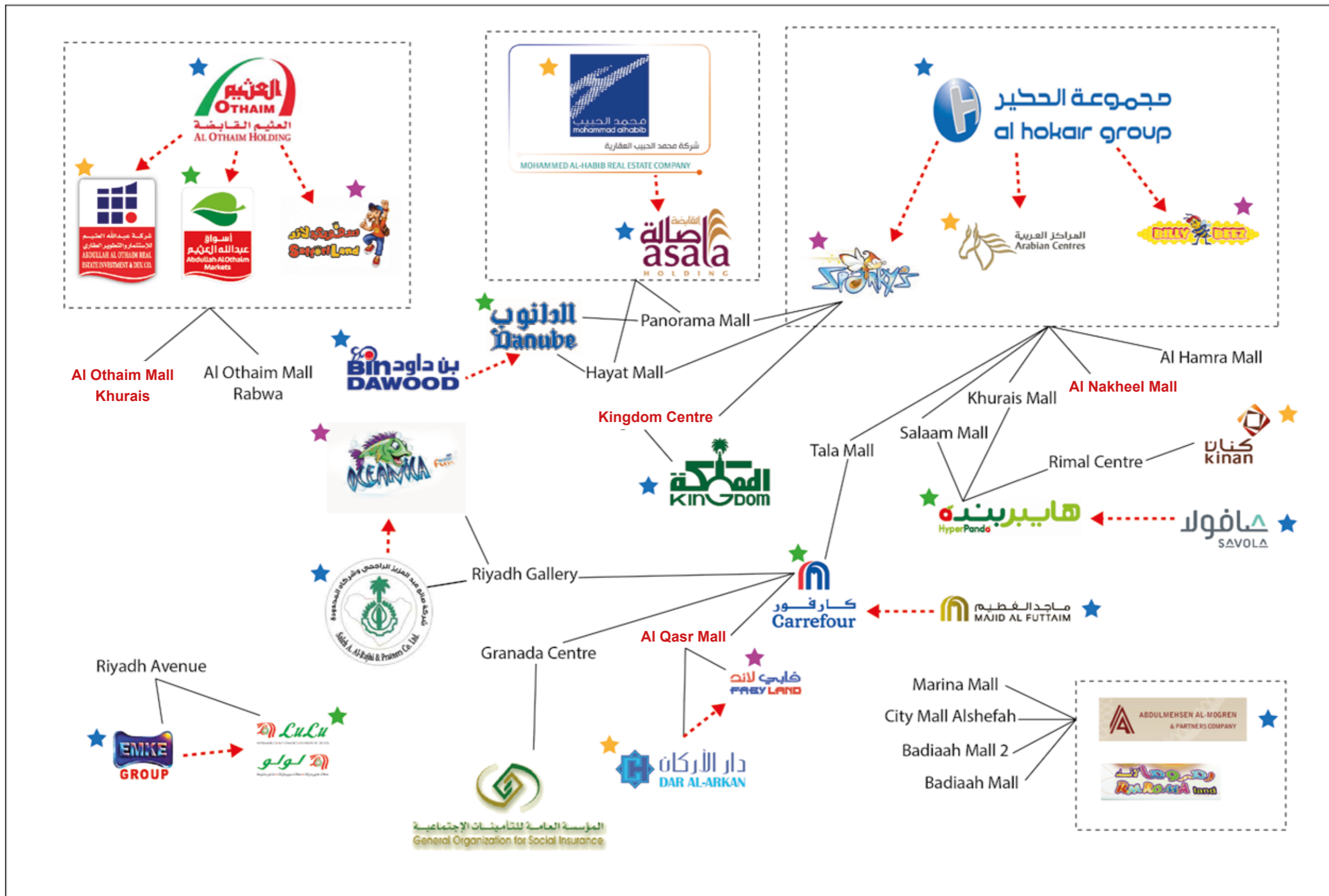


Figure 3: New city centre and centres of gravity. Shopping malls are amongst the major city centres that attract significant amounts of urban activity. The concentration of these centres of urban gravity on the main commercial axis complements the commercial activity of the new centre while simultaneously deeply benefitting from it (source: Author).





★ Holdings Company
 ★ Real Estate Company
 ★ Supermarket
 ★ Entertainment Park
 [] Conglomerate
 - - - - -> Subsidiary

Figure 4: Developers' hegemony: Connections between developers, supermarkets, entertainment parks and malls within the field. It is evident that Al Hokair Group is the dominant player in the field due to the size of the organisation and number of operations as well as hegemonic connections with other players within the field. Al Othaim Holding, on the other hand, is a relatively strong and independent player that has developed a comprehensive operation including malls, anchor stores and theme parks (source: Author).

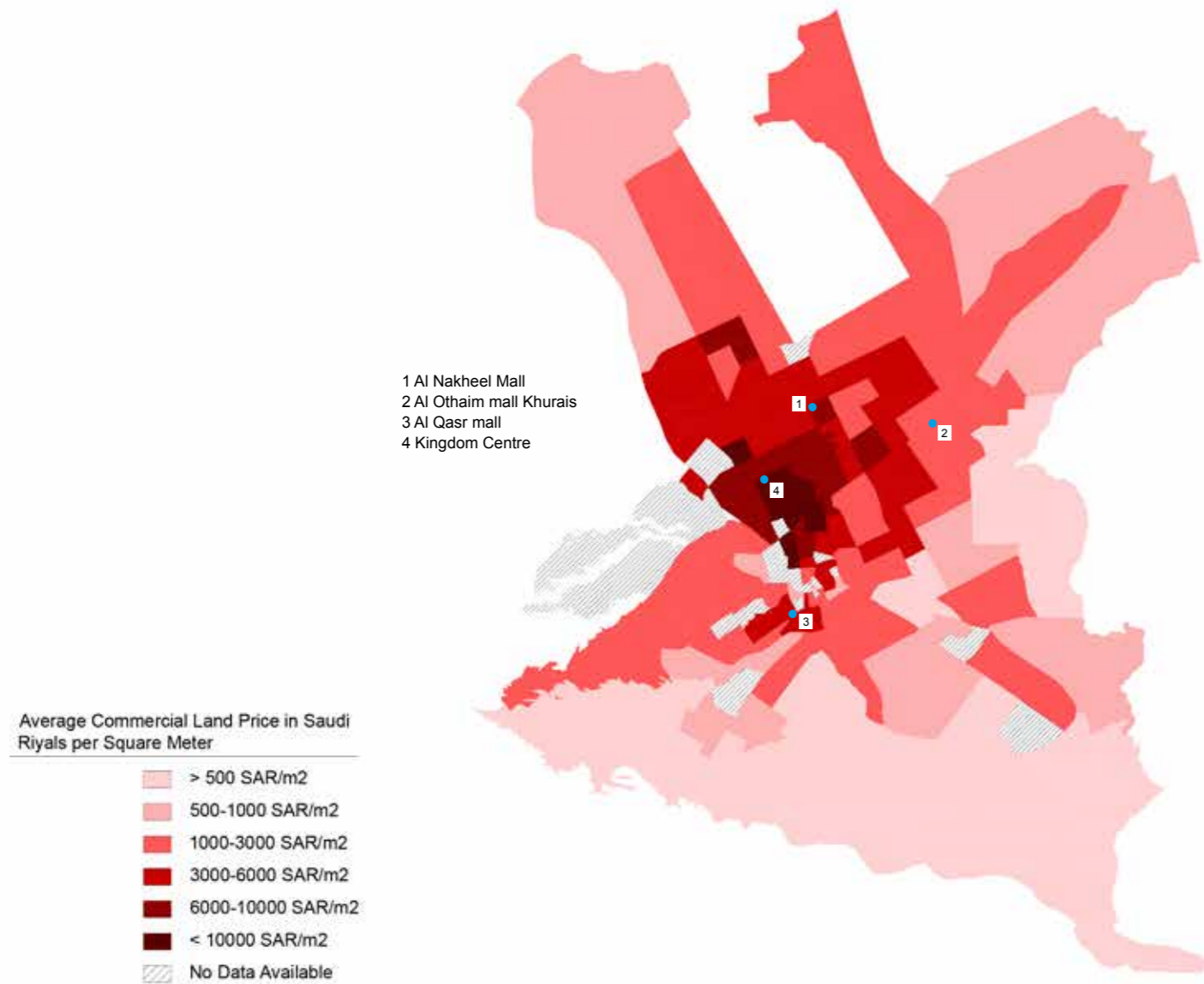


Figure 5: Average commercial land price. The value of commercial land is most valuable in Olaya District and decreases gradually towards the edges of the city. Overall, commercial land is more valuable in the northern parts of the city (source: Author).

the insights that were made available by qualitative interviews and informal discussions offered a comprehensive overview of Riyadh’s malls. It became evident that particular themes — such as spatial mechanisms of control over access and gender segregation — were recurrent in all malls; nevertheless, nuances were observed between malls in terms of how, and to what extent, such mechanisms operated in each of the visited shopping malls.

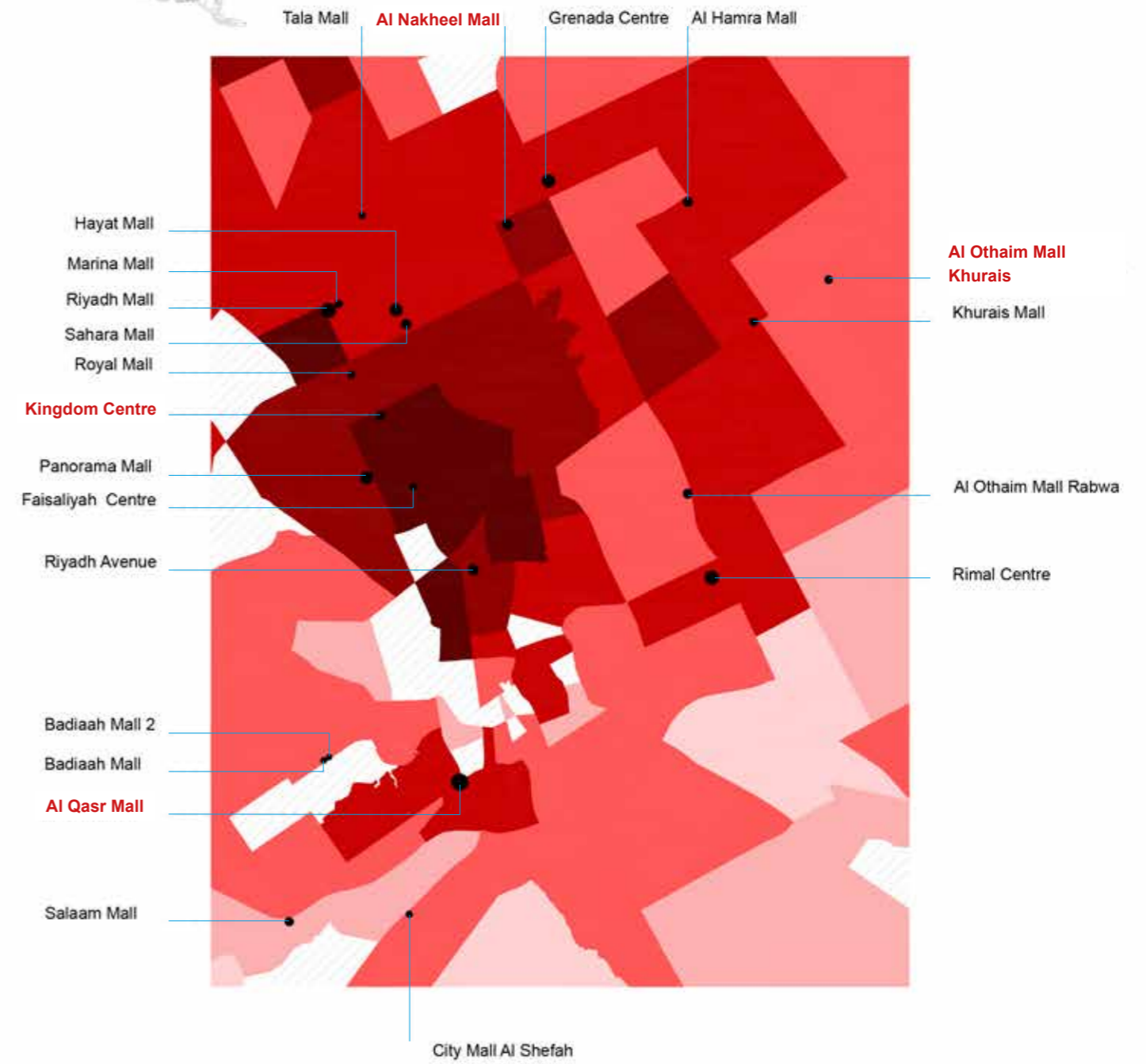
Accordingly, the cases have been selected based on a purposive sampling procedure in order to ensure maximum variation, while avoiding extreme or deviant cases. The purpose of this selection strategy is to evaluate the degree of replication in cases that are of diverse urban and architectural attributes. Each of the study cases was selected to represent the different urban settings in Riyadh (fig. 2, 3). The pilot study also revealed social class differences between shopping malls based on their geographical location. This observation was confirmed with the historical analysis of the city’s urban development. As discussed in chapter five, Riyadh’s urban environment is characterised by a marked class divide between the north-western and the south-eastern parts of the city. This divide was caused by the systematic development of projects dedicated to low-income families in the southern and eastern districts. Contrastingly, the northern and western neighbourhoods attracted middle-income families and the wealthy. Therefore, geographical location is one of the main criteria in selecting the sample as low-income, and wealthy neighbourhoods are equally represented in order to maximise variation.

Economic and spatial composition, as well as symbolic values, are also guiding criteria for selecting cases. It should be noted that symbolic value is based on *a priori* assumptions and is used as a secondary layer to further supplement the sampling process.

Another important realisation was the fact that most of Riyadh’s malls fall under the ownership of a few dominant conglomerates, some of which own and operate malls, retail franchises and theme parks. As an example thereof, Arabian Centres — a subsidiary of Al Hokair Group — owns five of the malls visited during the pilot study (fig. 4). Moreover,



Figure 6: Mall floor area relative to commercial land price.
(source: Author).



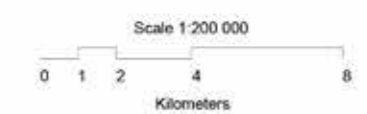
Average Commercial Land Price in Saudi Riyals per Square Meter

- > 500 SAR/m²
- 500-1000 SAR/m²
- 1000-3000 SAR/m²
- 3000-6000 SAR/m²
- 6000-10000 SAR/m²
- < 10000 SAR/m²
- No Data Available

Mall Total Floor Area (m²)

- 250 000
- 150 000
- 50 000

— District Limits



Al Hokair Group owns Sparky's Entertainment Park, a subsidiary which operates — in addition to the malls owned by the group — in three malls owned by competitors. As observed during the pilot study, the spatial and non-spatial strategies deployed in malls that fall under the same ownership follow similar logic. They are often replicated from one mall to the other. Accordingly, and in order to increase the robustness of the case-selection process, mall ownership was mapped (fig. 4) to provide an additional attribute that would ensure maximum variation. Therefore, malls were also selected based on ownership, in order to investigate different approaches to the mechanisms of spatial control observed during the pilot study. Such a selection was imperative to increase confidence in generalisations based on the replication of the selected cases, as replication of cases that fall under the same ownership would have significantly undermined such generalisations.

Guided by the analysis and sampling procedure, the sample selection includes 1) Al Nakheel Mall, 2) Al Othaim Mall Khurais, 3) Al Qasr Mall and 4) Kingdom Centre (fig. 1).

Al Nakheel Mall

Al Nakheel Mall is situated in the Al Mughrizat district, in the northern part of the city. It is located on Imam Saud ibn Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz Road, a major east-west path that directly connects the mall with the primary north-south commercial axis of the city, represented by King Fahad Road and Olaya Street (fig. 1). The mall sits on highly valuable land, with the average commercial land price of the Al Mughrizat district 6908 SAR/ m² (fig. 5) — made even more valuable by its strategic location of the mall on a major path, creating a direct connection with the central northwest-southeast commercial axis of Riyadh (represented by King Fahad Road and Olaya Street) and the rest of the city. In addition, spectacular architecture strongly signals the mall to passers-by commuting on Imam Saud ibn Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz Road. Once inside, the mall's heavy reliance on theming becomes evident. Its strategy is based on theming, cafe franchises and fine dining, and does not include a hypermarket as in most of Riyadh's malls. The pilot study revealed that Al Nakheel aims to present itself as an upscale, themed mall that attracts regional as well as local customers. Al Nakheel mall was selected based on the

assumption that it has increasing economic capital and symbolic value.

Al Othaim Mall Khurais

Al Othaim Mall Khurais is situated in the al-Nasim al-Sharqi (Eastern al-Nassim) district. The al-Nasim district was subdivided in the early 1970s by the municipality and auctioned to low-income groups and speculators (see chapter five). The mall is located in the eastern part of the city on Khurais road, a major boundary that represents the split between the northern and southern parts of the city (fig. 1). The average commercial land price of the al-Nasim district is 2553 SAR/m² (fig. 5), and the size of the mall is relatively smaller than more prominent malls in New Riyadh. Due to its size and location, the mall serves a local population and relies heavily upon its supermarket anchor store Al Othaim Markets to attract its customers. The mall is also dependant on entertainment, with the third floor dominated by an entertainment park and food court. Theming is attempted in Al Othaim Mall Khurais; however, the pilot study revealed that this has been less successfully achieved in comparison to its competitors. Al Othaim Mall Khurais was selected on the assumption that it has decreasing symbolic value.

Al Qasr Mall

Al Qasr Mall is located in the Al Suwaidi district, on Al Swaidi Al Am — a minor road — in the southern part of the city (fig. 1). With an average commercial land price of 4686 SAR/ m² (fig. 5), the mall is part of 'Parisiana Riyadh'; a partly-gated urban community developed by Dar Al Arkan. The 'Parisiana Riyadh' project comprises residential, mixed-use, commercial, and administrative buildings, as well as villas, mosques, schools and Al Qasr Mall.

The size of the mall is significant; its interior space is organised on four floors that conversely suffer from a high rate of vacancy in the upper levels. Significant effort was made to create a spectacular architecture that would differentiate the mall from its competitors. The exterior envelope is equipped with lighting systems, while the structure of the mall is elevated on stilts to liberate the ground floor and maximise the parking area.

The interior space of the mall does not contain distinctive theming. Rather, it attempts through sleek design and architectural features to create the image of a contemporary lifestyle and spectacular space. However, unlike Kingdom Centre, the mall fails to deliver, as it arguably exceeds the potential of its geographical location. The pilot study revealed that the mall fails to attract customers other than the immediate local population — which visits the mall for shopping purposes due to convenience, and prefers to spend more time on non-shopping activities in malls located in the northern part of the city. Al Qasr mall was selected on the assumption that it has decreasing economic and symbolic value.

Kingdom Centre

Meanwhile, Kingdom Centre is located in Olaya District. Its location in the heart of the northwest-southeast commercial axis (fig. 1), in what is known as New Riyadh, is of significant economic and symbolic value. The average commercial land price in the area is 26265 SAR/m² (fig. 5).

Kingdom centre is the podium of the Kingdom Tower and is part of the latter's more extensive programme. As a complementary programme to the larger complex, Kingdom Holdings can be considered as an outsider in the field of shopping malls, since mall real estate development was conceived to add value to the primary tower project.

The architecture of the tower has come to symbolise the image of Riyadh. Its highly valuable image is accentuated by its prime location on the main commercial axis — King Fahad Road and Olaya Street — engendering an even stronger connection with the rest of the city. This high value is reflected in the mall itself, supplementing its economic capital with significant symbolic value. Inside the mall, its sleek design and architectural features convey the image of exclusivity and distinctiveness. Unlike many malls that rely on entertainment and the food court area to attract customers, Kingdom Centre — while acknowledging the need for such features — hides these spaces in its underground floor. The mall also lacks a hypermarket and relies on the aggregate of designer brands and its department stores to attract its customers. A luxurious lifestyle and exclusiveness

are promoted by the mall. Kingdom Centre was selected on the assumption that it has increasing capital and significant symbolic value.

These four cases offer a broad range of architectural, urban and social contexts as well as different competitive strategies. This ensures maximum variation in the selection, while remaining true to the objectives of the study.

Considerations with case study designs

The case study strategy suffers from some perceived weaknesses that need to be addressed in order to raise confidence in its findings. First, a lack of trust in the research procedures might undermine the researcher's output, and they might be accused of following their own biases in collecting and analysing the data, which might compromise the validity of the study (Yin, 2012). It is for this reason that a procedure for collecting the data was defined at the outset of the research and replicated equally in all of the selected cases. To further increase confidence in the research procedures, the time spent in each of the shopping malls was methodologically divided between the cases.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the data collection process for each case was completed in two distinct phases. The reason behind this planning was to ensure that themes that emerged in one of the cases were then equally considered in all of the cases. Accordingly, the first exploratory phase was completed by spending one week with each of the four cases during the first month of the fieldwork. Following this phase, a re-evaluation of the collected data made it possible to refocus the data collection process during the second phase. This also made it possible to ensure that a systematic procedure was applied in all of the selected cases.

Another concern is whether to generalise from the findings of the case study. It is argued that rather than striving to generalise from the case study, the aim is to provide a vivid and vibrant picture and arrive at an understanding of the complexity of the case study (Creswell, 2014; Thomas, 2016). That said, Wang and Groat (2013) note that all

research involves a reduction in some way or another. Both experiments and qualitative inquiries tend to generalise theories from the study of reduced experiences or observed phenomena. As Yin (2008) argues, when drawing from a pre-established theoretical framework, the findings from the case study can enable the researcher to expand and generalise theoretically through analytical generalisations rather than statistical generalisations. Accordingly, the generalisations that are presented in Chapter Seven are informed by Foucault's 'analytics of power' and derived from data triangulation and systematically-observed themes, as well as spatial characteristics and modes of operation that were present in all of the selected cases.

Finally, the case study design can require extensive resources and time, and therefore needs to be manageable, while simultaneously generating satisfactory results for the succeeding analysis and findings phases. Nevertheless, the research questions and the constant evaluation of the data during the fieldwork defined the scope of the research with regards to the type and amount of data collected and analysed.

Research methods and data collection

The case study strategy allows the researcher to directly interact with the complex dynamics of a given phenomenon in its context (Wang and Groat, 2013). It allows for the use of several complementary methods, such as direct observations and interviews, within the case environment. This research relies on several sources of evidence to fully exploit the multiple-case study potential and maximise its validity.

Primary sources of evidence

Spatial analysis

This thesis develops spatial analysis methods guided by the typomorphological approach and complemented with direct observation techniques. The plans, maps, and sectional diagrams are developed using official sources, relying heavily on the reconstruction of different layers in order to reconstitute the spatial configuration of the selected malls. These layers consist of collected plans and diagrams that have contrasting degrees of accuracy, and which have been completed or corrected using direct observations for each of the selected malls. Diagrammatic plans are available for most malls in Riyadh; however, these are often outdated and lack important details crucial for this study's analysis, such as the distribution of stalls, resting areas and coffee shops in the corridors. Fire escape plans, whenever available, have been utilised in order to complement the drawings. More importantly, technical drawings have been verified *in situ* through extensive observation, in order to update the plans and add the desired level of detail to the architectural drawings and prepare them for analysis.

As mentioned earlier, this research is guided by Foucault's theory of power in his conceptualisation of panoptic institutions. To investigate how the mechanisms of surveillance and control operate within the space of the mall, the pattern of land and building utilisation developed by Conzen is readapted to map uses and activities of particular interest within the space of the mall; non-shopping activities and vertical circulation nodes, their distribution and spatial configuration are investigated as they profoundly impact how customers navigate, utilise and experience the space of the mall. Open spaces such as corridors and plazas — as well as their distribution and spatial configuration — are mapped, as this corresponds to how customers are rendered visible and therefore subjected to the exercise of disciplinary power. To increase confidence in the findings, visibility graphs⁷ were produced to quantitatively determine spaces of increased and reduced visibility in the selected cases. These graphs were triangulated with spatial

mapping and observations to uncover the panoptic spatial configuration of Riyadh's malls. The mapping of gender segregation in Saudi malls was meanwhile realised through a similar re-adaptation: family-only, women-only and single male areas were defined as they limit choices and guide how space is negotiated.

It should be noted that shops in Saudi malls close during prayer times and the mall is rendered inaccessible except for its open spaces (i.e. corridors and resting areas). However, malls follow particular patterns in terms of closure times, delaying the closure of coffee shops in order to entice customers to consume more. Likewise, spatial distributions in some cases have been altered to accommodate particular requirements during rush hours and weekend peak hours. Inspired by the historical attention given to typomorphological studies, and informed by Foucault's theorisation of the use of the 'timetable' as a disciplinary tool, these mechanisms are mapped to analyse how the spatial configuration of the mall is implicitly altered at different times during the day.

Observations

Observations are one of the most valuable methods in the case study design, as they allow the researcher to gain a first-hand account of the phenomenon and the context under study. Observations are used as a holistic tool to assess the different facets of the shopping mall — namely, its spatial features, managerial strategies, and customer experience.

Panerai (1999) has proposed the use of observations to complement the typomorphological method. He advocates the development of an 'invested gaze' that allows the researcher to analyse the visual elements of the urban context and the kind of activities that are either promoted or prevented by its configuration. Meanwhile, Gehl and Svarre (2013) argue that the interaction between public life and space could not be pre-programmed in detail. Nevertheless, systematic observations can provide a basic understanding of design qualities that either promote or prevent such interactions.

Notes about the kinds of mall activities and how they are conducted, along with photographic documentation — whenever possible — of the spatial qualities comprise primary qualitative data for this thesis. Analyses of accessibility and security agents' distribution are crucial in understanding the mechanism under investigation. Gehl and Svarre (2013) advocate mapping techniques to map stationary activities in space; with this technique in mind, agents located at mall entrances were mapped. Likewise, the technique was used to locate spatial attributes and complete the plans drawn from the several different sources mentioned earlier. This included a) mapping resting benches and areas, b) outlining a spatial configuration of the food court area, c) mapping the distribution of family-only, women-only and men-only areas in coffee shops and the food court, as well as d) noting their particular attributes, such as the distribution of enclosed areas and individual family-only booths. This mapping exercise was complemented with a recording of the number of tables in the food court to compare those dedicated to family areas with those dedicated to single men, thus enabling an evaluation of the relations of power manifested in space.

Gehl and Svarre (2013) argue that tracing could be used in order to provide knowledge about movement patterns in specific spaces. The tracing of movement is approximate (Gehl and Svarre, 2013), yet makes it possible to gather valuable information about 'walking sequence, choice of direction, flow, which entrances are used most, which least, and so on' (Gehl and Svarre, 2013: 28). Accordingly, the movement of security field agents (security personnel that continuously walk around the corridors) was traced in order to evaluate one of the primary aspects of the panoptic mechanisms operating in each of the selected malls. These observations were also supplemented by close attention to the daily lifecycle of the shopping mall, with the same observations being repeated at different times in order to reflect any changes that might occur during the day and/or the week.

Observations were also utilised to collect data about social interactions and user experiences. As an example, the interaction between security agents and young unaccompanied men comprised part of the data collection process. Such interactions

significantly complement the spatial mapping of control measures and helped us to understand how these are negotiated at the level of everyday practice.

Considerations with observations

In organising observational data, Gehl and Svarre (2013) suggest that the researcher defines general categories, such as age groups and gender. This allows the researcher to systemise the observations with a degree of flexibility, as it is impossible to categorise people in more specific groups (e.g., economic status or professional occupation) based on observation alone.

Moreover, the researcher's presence in a particular context can be seen as intrusive (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2008). This might be true for the setup of the mall in general, and in the context of Riyadh in particular, where an identifiable researcher might cause people to alter their practices or avoid them altogether. However, such limitations are reduced by assuming the participant-observer position.

Participant observation is an interactive method (Wang and Groat, 2013) in which the researcher assumes a role within a particular context (Thomas, 2016). Yin (2008) highlights that, in adopting such a position, the researcher needs to be aware of potential biases. Additionally, in assuming a demanding participant-observer role, the researcher might not have enough time to take notes or explore different perspectives (Yin, 2008).

However, in the particular context of the mall, by assuming the role of a regular customer, the apparent limitations of the participant-observer position are significantly reduced. In adopting the role of a customer, the researcher's presence in the mall does not raise any suspicions and has less potential to affect participants' practices. Furthermore, such a role does not require prior preparation nor the practice of any particular activity. Therefore, the customer's role does not have any particular effect on the ability to collect observational data.

Responsive interviews

The interview is a method used to study ongoing social processes and 'involves focusing on the cultural, everyday, and situated aspects of human thinking, learning, knowing, acting, and ways of understanding ourselves as persons, and it is opposed to "technified" approaches to the study of human lives' (Kvale, 2015: 15). Likewise, Weiss (1994) has argued that through interviews, one could learn about people's behaviours, experiences, and perceptions. Considered an 'art' (Kvale, 2015; Rubin and Rubin, 2012), the qualitative interview is a conversation between partners (Rubin and Rubin, 2012) in which knowledge is co-constructed (Kvale, 2015) through the interaction and exchange between the interviewer and interviewee (Kvale, 2015; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Weiss, 1994). Rather than following a rigid and predetermined structure of questioning, the qualitative interview is fluid and adaptive (Kvale, 2015; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Weiss, 1994; Yin, 2008). It allows for the integration of different perspectives as well as thorough descriptions of the process, both of which lead to a fuller understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Weiss, 1994). As Rubin and Rubin argue (2012), the qualitative interview is best suited for inductive explorations, and is the preferred method when the researcher does not know the key issues and answer categories. In addition, it is a method that presupposes a degree of deliberate naiveté (Kvale, 2015) on the researcher's part that makes it possible to encounter unanticipated social phenomena.

Based on these assumptions, this study relies on the responsive interview model proposed by Rubin and Rubin (2012) to investigate the social space of the mall. In *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, Rubin and Rubin (2012) provided the following description of the method:

Responsive interviewing is a specific variety of qualitative interviewing. It emphasizes flexibility of design and expects the interviewer to change questions in response to what he or she is learning. Responsive interviewing accepts and adjusts to the personalities of both conversational partners. The model assumes that what people have experienced is true

for them and that by sharing these experiences, the researcher can enter the interviewee's world. The researcher's role is to gather narratives, descriptions, and interpretations from an array of conversational partners and put them together in a reasoned way that re-creates a culture or describes a process or set of events in a way that participants would recognize as real. (Rubin and Rubin, 2012: 7)

Accordingly, the responsive interview follows a semi-structured interview logic, in which the researcher develops a line of inquiry guided by pre-developed themes or questions. However, as the research develops, the questions are refined and refocused. Therefore, this technique allows the researcher to uncover and follow new and complementary issues as they arise. It also allows the researcher to change the wording of the questions in different interviews to better suit particular interviewees. The responsive interview is thus an iterative process; instead of following a data collection and analysis sequence, the different stages of the research are developed simultaneously (Kvale, 2015; Rubin and Rubin, 2012) to allow the researcher to revisit and evaluate the line of inquiry continuously.

The optimal number of interviews is not provided in the literature and remains a matter of debate between researchers. It is argued that the number of interviews can range from anywhere between 2 and 30 (Beitin, 2012, p295–305; Johnson, 2002, p103–119; Johnson and Rowlands, 2012, p99–115; Kvale, 2015), depending on the study's aims and scope. Others have argued that the researcher should conduct interviews until the study reaches a state of theoretical saturation (Johnson, 2002, p103–119; Johnson and Rowlands, 2012, p99–115). Likewise, the literature provides little guidance as to how long an interview should last. It is generally accepted that interviews can last as long as they need to. On the other hand, Weiss (1994) has asserted that they should last for at least 30 minutes to provide sufficient data for analyses.

As for the selection of interviewees, this study follows a purposive sampling strategy to maximise the range and variety of respondents (Babbie, 1998; Warren, 2002, p83–101; Weiss, 1994). A total of 40 interviews were planned and distributed equally between

male and female participants, and further distributed equally between the four selected cases. However, given that theoretical saturation was achieved with male participants in three of the four selected malls, the interviews were reduced to four participants in these cases. Correspondingly, a total of ten interviews were conducted in Al Nakheel Mall, five with female participants and five with male participants. A total of nine interviews were conducted in Kingdom Centre, five with female participants and four with male participants. In Al Othaim Khurais Mall, nine interviews were conducted, five with female participants and four with male participants. Finally, nine interviews were conducted in Al Qasr Mall, five with female participants and four with male participants.

Another critical feature of the responsive approach is the ability to conduct the interview in different settings depending on the circumstances (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). This makes it possible to conduct the interviews in different settings inside the shopping mall, such as cafes and restaurants, in which both conversational partners are comfortable (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). Accordingly, interviewees were approached in the mall, and the interviews were conducted *in situ*.

Secondary sources of evidence

Secondary sources of evidence were used during the research whenever these were found to be relevant and offer complementary information about the collected data. These sources included mall websites and social media accounts that helped to map ownership of the malls and document changes in the tenant mix. The retracement of mall plans relied significantly on the availability of diagrammatic plans — available on malls' websites or distributed in leaflets. As an example, in order to prepare the plans necessary for the analyses of the Kingdom Centre, basic schematic plans were found in *Kingdom Magazine* — a monthly magazine distributed freely to the mall's customers — and were used along with fire escape plans and complemented with observations.

Limitations

Obtaining access to the selected case study was not a concern. Indeed, since 2012, Saudi law has prevented shopping malls from denying access to unaccompanied male shoppers (Sandels, 2012). However, constraints and challenges to carry out the fieldwork were observed during the pilot study. It became evident that the presence of single men attracts the attention of security agents. Because the data collection process necessitated long hours to be spent in the malls, the fieldwork was conducted with the collaboration of a female research assistant that helped to avoid misunderstandings and facilitated the data collection process.

Most importantly, because of the segregation of genders in Saudi Arabia, interviews with female participants required the participation of a female research assistant. This necessitated a period of familiarisation during which the research aims, objectives and questions, as well as the theoretical underpinnings and underlying assumptions that guided this study, were explained to the assistant. Moreover, training and familiarisation with the responsive interview method were necessary; mock interviews were conducted, and a protocol was developed in order to define a unified approach to the subject under investigation. Furthermore, most female interviewees and some male interviewees refused audio recordings. As a result, proper note taking techniques were developed to ensure that the interviews were recorded without reinterpretation by the researcher or research assistant.

The use of a photographic device to collect visual data revealed to be a delicate matter in such a sensitive context. To avoid raising suspicions, photographic documentation was mostly limited to collecting visual information about the mall's spatial features. It is for this reason that photographs of malls were limited and were mostly taken at times of limited customer presence, such as early mornings and early afternoons.

Note-taking was utilised as the primary tool to collect qualitative data about social activities in the mall, and whenever photographic tools were used to document social activities, respect of personal identities was sought. Photographs were also taken so as not to intrude on or disturb customers and compromise the data collection process. The pilot study helped to determine whether the use of photographic tools was possible and evaluate when it would be most suitable to deploy them.

As for the spatial analyses, the mall type in Riyadh presents the limitations inherent in recent urban formations (Conzen, 2004). Additionally, the partial and fragmentary plan documents available required extensive reconstruction of the base documents used for the spatial analyses of this research. This is best illustrated by the study of the formation of the traditional city and central suq presented in Chapter 5, as the plans and sections were reconstructed from a synthesis of schematic plans as well as analysis of archival and photographic documents. A similar conclusion can be drawn regarding the reconstitution of mall plans and sectional diagrams.

The challenges and difficulties incurred during the fieldwork and the interactions with mall customers and employees all fed into the social experience and significantly complemented the data collection process.

Ethical considerations

Informed consent was sought from interviewees according to the university code of practice, Section 5.3, and their confidentiality has been fully respected. Respect of respondent anonymity helped to raise the responsiveness of the participants and increased their confidence in the intentions of the research. The collaboration of the female research assistant made it possible to respond sensibly to the socio-cultural context and avoid misunderstandings with respondents and mall security. Additionally, the use of recording devices was made explicit at the outset of the interviews, and as mentioned, whenever these were refused, note-taking was utilised to record the data. Moreover, in

cases where the interviewees revealed valuable information after the official interview was completed (Kvale, 2015; Warren, 2002, p83–101), permission was sought to use the information discovered in such instances (Kvale, 2015). These considerations were explained to the research assistant and taken into account throughout the data collection process.

Data analysis

The structure of the thesis follows a classic linear-analytic structure, and the case study analyses have been developed following a cross-case synthesis strategy (Yin, 2008). Each case is first analysed separately, followed by a general cross-case synthesis. Yin (2008) notes that a cross-case synthesis strategy is used to explore whether the cases have followed a replicating or contrasting logic. Moreover, the analyses are organised using the NVivo software package to facilitate the coding and categorisation of the collected data. Because qualitative data relies on interpretation rather than correlation between variables (Weiss, 1994), content analysis (Morse, 2012, p193–205) is used to identify and map emerging themes from the different cases.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the system of inquiry, data collection methods, analysis strategy, research limitations, challenges encountered and ethical considerations have been discussed. The research design proposed in this chapter relies on the synergy between two independent and complementary theoretical frameworks, namely Foucault's analytics of power and the typomorphological approach. The typomorphological method has been utilised to investigate the specific spatial attributes that empirically and in a per-case basis help in analysing the underlying mechanisms inherent to the mall typology. This enables the investigation of objective spatially-established conditions within the structure of the mall.

Similarly, Foucault's theory has been applied to guide the spatial analysis and situate subjective experiences within the spatial mechanisms of the mall typology. Therefore, the theoretical frameworks are complementary and both necessary to evaluate the constant dialogue between the typology and Riyadh's particular socio-cultural context.

Moreover, the use of direct observations offers a first-hand account of the internal spatial configuration and users' experiences of the mall. Likewise, responsive interviews with mall users make it possible to evaluate such observations. Additionally, because the responsive interview method is adaptive, it facilitates the exploration of emerging topics, and is therefore an adequate tool to explore such experiences in-depth. Finally, the ability to apply the responsive interview method in different settings allowed the researcher to adapt his approach in accordance with the circumstances of the interview. Consequently, it was possible to overcome difficulties specific to the context of Riyadh without compromising the integrity of the collected data.

The theoretical framework based on Foucault's analysis of power structures is discussed in further detail in the first part of the following chapter. The discussion then moves in the second part of the chapter to a historical analysis — through a Foucauldian lens — of the relations of power in Riyadh's context, in order to establish how they have been formulated and transformed over time. Such an investigation is essential as it sheds light on the political, economic and social dynamics that culminated in the regulation of public life in Riyadh. Uncovering these dynamics lays the ground for the study — established in chapter six — of the spatial and non-spatial mechanisms that characterise the Saudi iteration of shopping malls.

Notes

1 The philosophical level of inquiry is referred to as a 'system of inquiry' or 'philosophical stance' (Wang and Groat, 2013), 'philosophical worldview' (Creswell, 2014), 'research paradigm', or 'research philosophies' (Rubin and Rubin, 2012).

2 The strategy level of inquiry describes the overall plan or structure by which the study is conducted. Strategies are termed 'strategies of inquiry' (Creswell, 2014), 'research methodologies' (Mertens, 1998), or 'methods' (Wang and Groat, 2013).

3 Tactics refer to the detailed and specific methods and procedures used to collect and analyse the relevant data. They are also referred to as 'techniques' (Wang and Groat, 2013) or 'research methods' (Creswell, 2014).

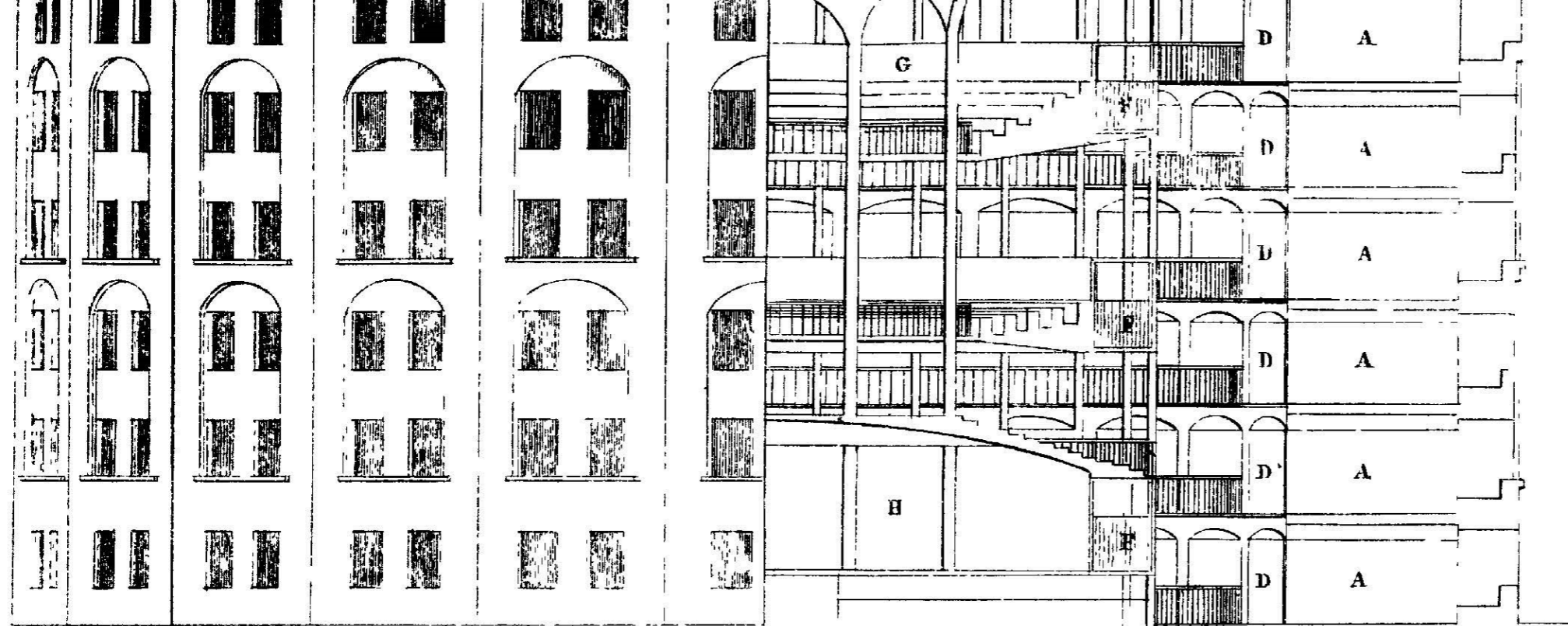
4 The settlement of Hajr preceded the establishment of Riyadh (see Chapter 5).

5 Also known as the Muratorian school.

6 Also known as the Versailles school.

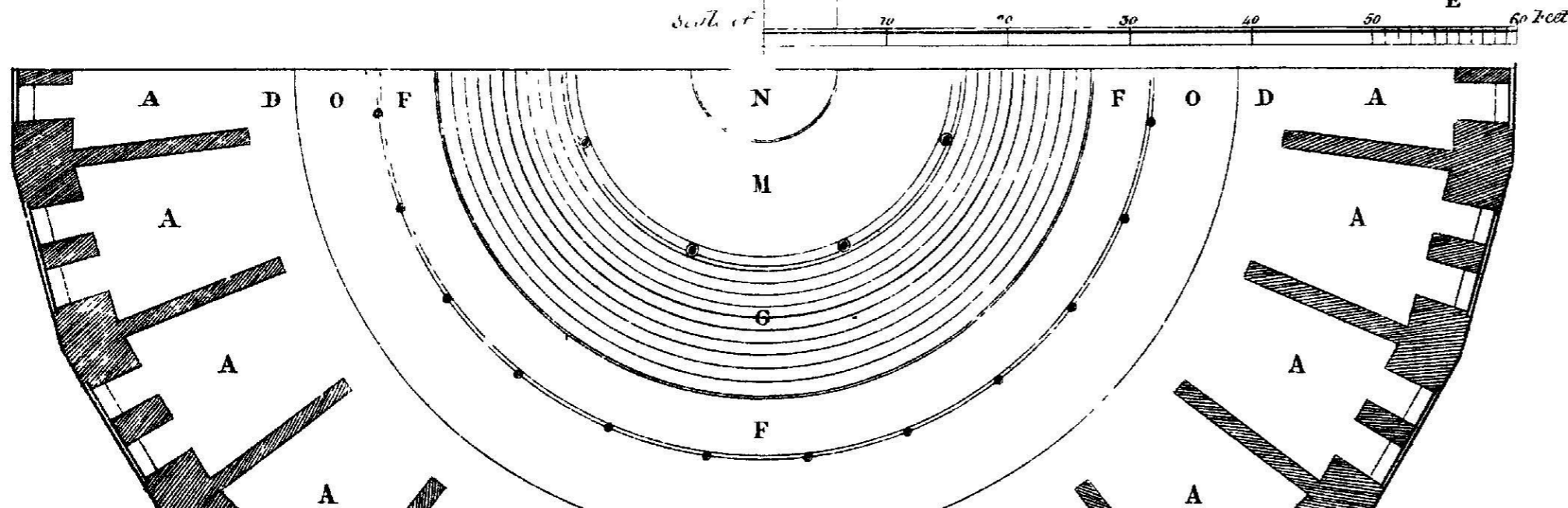
7 A visibility graph is a graphic representation of space that is borrowed from 'space syntax'. Space syntax is a qualitative approach to the study and analysis of spatial configuration based on the theoretical work of Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (Hillier, 1987, p205–216; 1989, p5–21; 1996; 1996, p41–60; Hillier et al., 1976, p147–185; 1983, p47–63; 1987, p363–385; 1987, p217–231; Hillier and Hanson, 1984). It relies on graphic-based representation and computational measurement of spatial attributes. It is described as 'a research program that investigates the relationship between human societies and space from the perspective of a general theory of the structure of inhabited space in all its diverse forms: buildings, settlements, cities, or even landscapes.' (Bafna, 2003, p17–29: 17). Discussing the theoretical underpinnings of 'space syntax' is beyond the scope

of this research. However, visibility graphs proved to ameliorate the spatial analysis of surveillance and significantly complement the study of panopticism in Riyadh's shopping malls.



EXPLANATION.

- A Cells
- B to C Great Annular Sky Light
- D — Cell Galleries
- E — Entrance
- F — Inspection Galleries
- G — Chapel Galleries
- H — Inspectors Lodge
- I — Dome of the Chapel
- K — Sky Light to D^o
- L — Store Rooms &c with their Galleries, immediately within the outer wall all round place for an annular Cistern Q
- M — Floor of the Chapel
- N — Circular Opening in d^o (open except at Church times), to light the Inspector's Lodge
- O — Annular Wall, from top to bottom, for light, air and separation.



Engraved by W. J. L. L. L.

Chapter III - Part I
Foucault's analytics of power

Theoretical framework

In the first part of this chapter, the theoretical framework of this thesis is established based on Foucault's 'analytics of power'.

As argued in this research, Foucault's work offers a comprehensive theoretical framework capable of analysing the object of study's multifaceted dimensions in all of their complexity. It allows for the investigation of the mall typology at different levels of resolution in order to uncover the causes resulting in the negotiation, reformulation and redefinition of the mall typology in Riyadh. Furthermore, it is a framework that situates the mall within the spheres of influence — social, political and economic — that affect the spatial and non-spatial mechanisms of the mall typology in Riyadh. Thus, the 'analytics of power' facilitates the investigation of the dynamics that caused the global typology of the shopping mall to assume different socio-spatial formulations when imported into Riyadh's specific context.

Foucault's 'analytics of power' (Foucault, 1980) is an appropriate tool for the analysis of the mall typology in Riyadh. His conceptualisation of power and 'networks of power' (Foucault, 1980: 138) relations is useful for setting the mall typology in the intertwined network of power relations that constitutes the Saudi context. Thereafter, it becomes possible to analyse the processes by which the interaction between the shopping mall and Riyadh's power dynamics create an iteration of the typology that is quintessentially Saudi in its characteristics.

This thesis argues that the Saudi iteration of shopping malls is conceived as a reverse prison model in which 'the world is kept outside, and not the individual inside' (Foucault, 2015: 84–85). Inside the enclosure of the mall, spatial mechanisms of control such as spatial codification, gender segregation and control over access — in addition to continual surveillance — become active strategies for 'reconciling the individual with God' (Foucault, 2015: 85). Criticised for being the antithesis of the city (Carmona and Wunderlich, 2012; Davis and Monk, 2007), the enclosed architectural formula of the mall typology and its hostility to the immediate urban environment is then turned in Riyadh into a positive feature that enables the malls to eliminate all perceived threats, thus purifying the social body and

producing an ideal social model by way of 'control over individual morality' (Foucault, 2015: 102).

The socioeconomic and political dynamics behind the development of the Saudi iteration of shopping malls — conceived of as a reverse-prison model — is discussed in further detail in the second part of this chapter. In Riyadh, shopping malls are conceived amidst the continuous struggle between the proponents of accelerated modernisation and those who perceive such projects as an overt attack on the established Saudi social and moral order. However, these competing forces are not to be understood solely as an internal struggle between factions of the class in power, nor conceptualised as opposing forces between dominant and dominated classes; the network of power relations comprising the State Religious apparatuses must be understood in all of its complexities, complicities as well as contradictions.

Following decades of isolation and inward-looking development, complex socioeconomic dynamics began to develop due to state determinism and accelerated modernisation in Riyadh. These dynamics began with the fall of the traditional city in the 1950s, the sedentarisation of Bedouin tribes, the reorganisation of social and public life, and the unprecedented development caused by the oil boom — which entrenched the formerly-isolated Saudi state into an enmeshed network of global market dynamics. Such developments led to outcry from the Saudi religious apparatus, which in a panicked manoeuvre erected 'the shield of fundamentalism' (Zizek, 2015: 8) in the name of preserving Saudi morals and an endangered social order.

The state's modernisation project was perceived as an offence and an overt ideological attack on the morality of Saudi society. The direct importation of products and development models were perceived by the religious sphere as an imperialist cultural invasion aimed at propagating a culture of disbelief, moral corruption, social degradation and deviation. Subsequently, religious opposition since the late 1970s progressively disturbed the modernisation process. The state's desire to appease the opposition was realised through

an informal concession by which social *laissez-faire* policies were granted to the religious apparatus. As a result, the religious apparatus proceeded with the implementation of disciplinary mechanisms aimed explicitly at organising and reforming the social sphere..

The Saudi mechanisms of social control are overarching and extra-structural. They have effects that infiltrate various urban institutions, including architectural and urban typologies, which are then readapted to comply with Saudi requirements. As conceptualised by Foucault, disciplinary power crystallises to form overall strategies of domination (Foucault, 1980). In Riyadh, the shopping mall typology was imported into a society which progressively developed a particular model of a 'punitive society' (Foucault, 2015) and a 'carceral city' (Foucault, 1977), in which disciplinary power was propagated to organise the city and its spaces. Caught within this network of power, the mall has been forced to modify its formula in order to secure for itself an objectively favourable and lucrative position in a booming economy and deeply problematic social space.

The mall, which represents the interest of Riyadh's bourgeoisie, is therefore located at the confluence of the spheres of influence that constitute the locus of power in Saudi Arabia. Located at the very point of tension, and forced to mediate between the two, a pact has been formulated between the bourgeoisie and the religious elite, by which the imported 'western' mall becomes one of the effective tools by which disciplinary power is exercised. At the urban level, the modernisation project's relentless focus on motorised mobility and highway infrastructure created a car-oriented environment that proved to be a fertile ground for the importation of the mall typology. Paradoxically, the panoptic formula of the mall — a typology simultaneously embodying the global capitalist order perceived as attacking Saudi morals — made the mall an ideal tool for the concentration, intensification, and precise application of disciplinary power imposed by the religious apparatus.

Therefore, the mall finds itself in a paradoxical situation in which it is forced to give before it can take. In other words, it has to positively contribute to the crystallisation of the established ideological edifice and transfer the knowledge of the religious apparatus

in order to secure for itself a favourable position within the network of power relations. Through the positive effects of disciplinary power — which marks the social body and trains its individuals — the mall acts as the reformer and protector of morality. It is conceived as an ideal model of future society. In effect, through this first act of giving — of pleasing the religious elite — the bourgeoisie is able to multiply and protect its wealth.

Imbued with all the antagonisms of the Saudi condition, the mall typology becomes an ideological battleground and a disciplinary machine in which power is exercised at every level of resolution, causing individual strategies to crystallise in overall forms of domination, and simultaneously creating effects of resistance and deviation. The continuous struggle over power and its exercise creates an architectural and social space that is in perpetual tension, always shifting, changing, adapting, seizing opportunities and extracting surplus silently and efficiently with little regards to wider social consequences. What the mall offers is a concentrated and focused disciplinary environment through which the ideological struggles and the deadlocks of Saudi society can be explored. The mall in Riyadh is a microcosm of Saudi society in all its complexity; its image and history are that of Riyadh and its people.

Primarily architectural (and therefore spatial), equally social and deeply affected by the structure and composition of power, the Saudi mall is socially as well as architecturally investigated in this research through a Foucauldian lens. The 'analytics of power' facilitates analyses of the spatial application of disciplinary power through the model of the panopticon. Simultaneously, it makes it possible to investigate the utility of disciplinary power to dominant classes and define their broader social effects without reverting to over-deterministic readings of the typology or misrecognising the objective conditions that made its realisation and mode of operations possible. Informed by the 'analytics of power', a genealogy that determines the significant shifts in the network of power relations in Riyadh is presented in the second part of this chapter. It also guides the in-depth investigation of the significant shifts in the urban environment discussed in Chapters Four and Five, making it possible to situate the mall within the urban context of the city and its development.

The analysis of the typology through Foucault's 'analytics of power' also opens the possibility for an alternative and nuanced understanding of the mall and enables the study of social practices within its space. Through a Foucauldian lens, it becomes possible to spatially analyse the relation between individual practices and mall mechanisms, and understand how these are co-extensive; that individuals are never outside the influence of the mechanisms, with which they are in fact co-constitutive; and that individuals condition and are conditioned by the mechanisms, such that 'they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power' (Foucault, 1980: 98).

First, it is necessary to explore Foucault's world and establish the notions and concepts behind his 'analytics of power' — specifically, what he terms the 'micro-physics' and 'macro-physics' of power relations, their characteristics and mode of operation. Foucault's work and his concepts are reviewed in further detail in the remainder of the first part of this chapter.

From sovereignty to the disciplines

In his historical analysis of power, Foucault (1977; 1978; 1980) notes that prior to the development of new modalities of power during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the exercise of power was the exclusive right of the person of the sovereign. For him, 'sovereign power' is the power of death over life, of the 'right to take life or to let live' (Foucault, 1978: 138), and thus the ultimate expression of monarchical domination. Indeed, it is only through his right to kill or refrain from killing that the sovereign exercises his power over his subjects (Foucault, 1978). Finding its legitimisation in the form of the law, sovereign power reduces the relations of power to the effect of obedience of those who are subjected to it (Foucault, 1978). Hence, the binary effects of sovereign power translate into the forms of overt domination by the monarch and submission of the social body (Foucault, 1980).

Progressively, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Foucault, 1977; 1978; 1980) new mechanisms of power and a whole series of new techniques and instruments — incompatible with the ancient relations of power — replaced the powers of sovereignty.

The emergence of these new types of mechanisms coincided with the development of the mercantile economy and the rise of new modes of production and capital accumulation (Foucault, 1977). Faced with the challenges of capitalism, and with what Foucault terms 'the problem of the accumulation of men' (1980: 151), new techniques, which focused upon bodies, were implemented to control, maximise, and extract the maximum labour out of individuals. This new type of power was characterised by the shift in its formulation and how it was exercised. While in ancient mechanisms, power was 'exercised over the Earth and its production' (Foucault, 1980: 104), in the new mechanisms, it was exercised 'over bodies and their operation' (Foucault, 1980: 104). Thus, in contrast with the ancient power of the sovereign, which exercised its right to extract the fruits of labour by means of discontinuous levies and obligations, modern mechanisms exercise power in order to extract, as efficiently as possible, labour and the means of production (Foucault, 1980).

The shift to these new mechanisms of power in Riyadh coincides with the social shifts and the accelerated urban and economic developments following the discovery of oil in the 1930s, as well as the gradual globalisation of the Saudi economy from the 1950s onwards. In the Saudi context, the need to organise new modes of production and capital accumulation was supplemented by the need to preserve the morality and sanctity of the Muslim society in the face of the perceived dangers of 'modernisation' — strongly associated with the ills of 'Westernisation'. This became the primary interest of religious powers, who worked to mediate the social effects accompanying the development of capitalism in Saudi Arabia. Although the political structure had remained unchallenged since the unification of the kingdom in 1932, the shifts that accompanied its economic development resulted in the emergence of disciplinary mechanisms specific to a Saudi context. These new mechanisms, the processes through which they emerged — as well as their composition and how they operate — will be discussed in further detail in the second part of this chapter.

Foucault's conception of power is opposed to the traditional top-down pyramidal understanding of power (Lynch, 2011). He argues:

However, it seems to me that this analytics can be constituted only if it frees itself completely from a certain representation of power that I would term — it will be seen later why — “juridico-discursive”. (Foucault, 1978: 82)

That is, the analytics of power relations must detach itself from the 'juridico-discursive' understanding of power, namely the statement of the law, of what the law permits and what it forbids.

This new conception of power relies on constant surveillance and control. Violent and spectacular punishment is replaced by the ever-present gaze of discipline (Foucault, 1977). Hence, punishment is no longer corporal; the body-punishment relation is altered to make the body a vehicle for the exercise of power. If one intervenes upon the body (for example, by means of imprisonment or forced labour), it is to alter it rather than to abolish it. This is achieved through the techniques of deprivation from liberties and enforcement of constant constraints, restraints and regulations (Foucault, 1977; 1980). As opposed to the 'negative' effect of sovereign power, Foucault here argues that power has changed to assume a 'productive' role (Taylor, 2011: 6). Power actively influences behaviour; it trains individuals to dispose of undesired conduct and enforces possible desired outcomes.

Thus, a major shift in the function of power is observed, as he notes:

One might say that the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death. (Foucault, 1978: 138)

Hence, a shift occurs — from power that has the function of consolidating sovereignty by eliminating all those who come to defy it, to power that assumed the function of 'administering life' (Foucault, 1978: 138).

What is important to note here is that, by having their *raison d'être* in the optimisation of the process of capital accumulation, it becomes possible to argue that the application of these new mechanisms extends to the realm of consumption, which is inextricably linked to the process of production, and which represent no less than the essential balancing force necessary for capital to reproduce itself perpetually. Therefore, when transposed to the mall typology, the new mechanisms of power become means by which consumption — rather than labour — is extracted, as efficiently as possible, from the bodies that come under their influence.

Moreover, as discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, the exercise of power becomes continuous (always present), sustainable (discreet) and of minimum economic and political cost. Likewise, power becomes decentralised; the right to power is no longer the sole property of the State; rather, power is exercised in the multiple and intricate network of power relations in which State power occupies a super-structural position (Foucault, 1980). In contrast with the traditional *suq* in Riyadh, in which control over public space was the sole property of the State and its subservient apparatuses, control over the pseudo-public space of the shopping mall typology becomes a continuous negotiation between the State, religious institutions, malls administrations and individual users. Therefore, it is imperative to explore the characteristics and modes of operation of the new 'productive' form of power in order to understand how they operate in Riyadh's shopping malls.

Foucault's conceptualisation of power and the characteristics and modes of the operation of disciplinary power are discussed in further detail below.

Power

Foucault's understanding of power developed from his historical investigations of the specific modes of power that emerged from the preceding forms of sovereign power (Lynch, 2011). The modern forms of power that are placed in opposition to sovereign

power are 'disciplinary power' and 'biopower'. Both modalities have their specific characteristics; however, they share the primary properties of power that Foucault describes in his work¹.

Foucault warns against erroneous definitions of power. In *The history of sexuality, volume 1: an introduction* (1978), He writes:

By power, I do not mean "Power" as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean, either, a mode of subjugation which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire social body. (Foucault, 1978: 92)

The forms of descending impositions of power — in the form of the law and the sovereignty of the state — and hierarchal dominance of one social class or group described here are not to be understood as the immediate manifestation of power, but rather the crystallisation thereof. Foucault does not deny the existence of hegemonies, nor does he reject them. Instead, he argues that power should not be understood in the first instance as either of these forms; these forms of power are consequential rather than fundamental (Lynch, 2011). As he argues, they are 'only the terminal forms power takes' (Foucault, 1978: 92).

Therefore, power is not something that is conceived of as a property, nor is it something that is exclusively retained (Foucault, 1977). Power is not to be understood as the privilege of those who appropriate it, nor as something that is ever fixed or 'localised' (Foucault, 1977; 1980). Rather, it is something that 'circulates' (Foucault, 1980: 80), something that is in a state of perpetual flux and which runs through the entirety of the social body (Foucault, 1977). As opposed to the ancient view of power as something that is possessed, the new mechanisms are always exercised through individuals who 'are always in the position of

simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power' (Foucault, 1980: 80). Individuals are hereafter considered as the 'vehicles of power' (Foucault, 1980: 80) rather than 'its point of application' (Foucault, 1980: 80). Users in Riyadh's shopping malls are not only subject to rules and regulations that are imposed by the mall's administrations; they also work to perpetuate these rules by enforcing them on other mall users, and adapt tactics to avoid their effects or defy them by exhibiting behaviours that deviate from pre-established norms. Moreover, power is relational; that is, power is always exercised in a complex network of relations that are in a permanent state of tension and continuous activity. Thus, power is omnipresent; it is 'always already there' (Foucault, 1980: 141), not because it has the ability to encompass, 'embrace', and 'consolidate' everything, but because it emanates, through permanent exercise, from 'everywhere' (Foucault, 1978). That power is 'co-extensive with the social body' (Foucault, 1980: 141) does not mean that one is condemned to be subjugated to the permanent effects of hegemony and domination. To the contrary, the complex network of power relations represents a field of constant struggle (Foucault, 1977); individuals, by continuously undergoing and exercising power, are constantly shaped by and are equally shaping these network relations. As a result, the disciplinary mechanisms that are imposed by political and religious powers in Riyadh's malls vary in practice from one mall to the other. Such variations are due to the fact that shopping malls are equally informed by the behaviours of their regular users. Therefore, rules and regulations are also defined in a manner that increases the appeal of the mall in order to maximise its profits.

Accordingly, Foucault develops his understanding of the new mechanisms of power, marking a departure from the descending operations of ancient power which act uniformly and in a 'comprehensive manner' (Foucault, 1978: 84) at all levels of resolution. Contrastingly, the new mechanisms of power are described as operating at two levels of resolution: at the level of local tactics, referred to as the 'micro-physics' (Foucault, 1977) or 'micro-relations' (Foucault, 1980) of power, and at the level of overall strategies, referred to as the 'macro-physics' (Foucault, 1977) of power.

In light of this distinction, Foucault's 'analytics' of power always begins with the analysis of the 'micro-'. He states:

It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they

operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontation, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (Foucault, 1978: 92–93)

Thus, 'micro-' power, within the complexity of the network of relations, is described as a 'multiplicity of force relations' (Foucault, 1978: 92); this suggests that power relations are of unequal quality and differ in kind (Lynch, 2011). Foucault (Foucault, 1980) also suggests that power relations are interconnected with other forms of relations (such as family relations) and at once condition and are conditioned by them. These multiplicities are also 'immanent in the sphere in which they operate' (Foucault, 1978: 92); they are inextricably linked to the field or domain in which power is exercised. This is because the exercise of power entails the calculation of aims or objectives (Foucault, 1978). Therefore, power relations cannot be analysed outside the domain in which they operate. Likewise, power relations 'constitute their own organization' (Foucault, 1978: 92), because each calculation of aims and objectives arises from a specific and 'complex strategical situation' (Foucault, 1978: 93), and finds its justification in the logic of the internal organisation of these power relations (Lynch, 2011).

Another important characteristic of these relations is that they are in a perpetual state of struggle and confrontation. By being continuously invested in these relations, the

individual 'transforms, strengthens, or reverses them' (Foucault, 1978: 92) through the continuous exercise of power. It is individual tactics which constitute the 'moving substrate of force relations' (Foucault, 1978: 93) that renders these relations unstable. Hence, power relations are built from the ground up. The ceaseless struggles therein can result in rendering these relations isolated from one another whenever splits and conflicts occur. They can also result in the transformation or reversal of the internal logic of the organisation of these relations. Lastly, when in accordance with each other, relations of power can produce consolidations, strengthening each other to the point of organising larger systems and chains of force relations. These systems, whenever in place, form the over-all strategies that represent the 'macro-' level of the operation of power. Progressively, these strategies strengthen and crystallise in the terminal forms of power that comprise the 'general conditions of domination' (Foucault, 1980: 142) and which manifest in the form of the apparatus of the state, in the form of the law, and in the form of overall 'social hegemonies' (Foucault, 1978: 93).

The crystallisation of power means that the diffused 'localised procedures' (Foucault, 1980: 142) are adapted and introduced into the mechanisms of overall domination.

Hegemonies can subsume local tactics; they reinforce them and transform them in order to formulate and consolidate the strategies in a 'more-or-less coherent' (Foucault, 1980: 142) manner. This inherently results in the hegemonies being inhabited by forms of passivity and acceptance, as well as resistance and confrontation. This is an important distinction in Foucault's formulation of power, as it allows for the account of the formulation of domination and the conditions of its acceptance. Simultaneously, it makes room for the manifestation of resistance and allows localised tactics to intervene in the forms of domination. For Foucault, relations of power and resistance are inextricably linked; he states:

... there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to

come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies. (Foucault, 1980: 142)

Thereafter, individuals are not helpless in the face of generalised forms of domination; rather, subjectivities are constrained by the 'complex strategical situation' (Foucault, 1978: 93) in which, through the complex relations of power, they are practised. Consequently, the hierarchical and binary conception of power relations is replaced here by a network producing multiform relations of domination which can be integrated into more extensive strategies depending on their utility (Foucault, 1978).

Accordingly, larger strategies (i.e. macro-relations of power) should not be understood as something that is engineered and directly imposed. Instead, these strategies arise from localised 'techniques of power' (Foucault, 1980: 101) that prove to be of economic and political utility in a given socio-political and economic context. It is for this reason that Foucault argues that 'power relations are both intentional and nonsubjective' (Foucault, 1978: 94). Power is 'intentional' because the exercise of power at the 'micro-' level results from individuals' choices that are guided by the rational calculation of aims and objectives. However, it is 'nonsubjective' because such 'micro-' actions have 'macro-consequences' (Lynch, 2011: 23) that extend beyond the control of any particular individual and therefore cannot be identified with dominant individuals or groups.

As Foucault claims, the co-constitutive nature of power relations causes power at the 'macro-' level to:

... invent, modify and re-adjust, according to the circumstances of the moment and the place — so that you get a coherent, rational strategy, but one for which it is no longer possible to identify a person who conceived it. (Foucault, 1980: 203)

It is for this reason that the mechanisms and strategies inherent in the mall typology, as demonstrated in the first chapter, have differing effects depending on the socio-

economic and urban context in which they are imported. This is due to the fact that larger economic objectives and rational calculations inherent in the mall typology find utility in tactics that are particular to the context in which they operate, and result in reshaping the typology to incorporate these tactics within the larger strategies of the mall. For the mall typology in Riyadh, the inherent mechanisms of capital accumulation are re-adjusted and contextualised; as a result, the typology is reshaped, readapted and reformulated to facilitate the operation of these mechanisms and maximise their utility, while simultaneously minimising social frictions and resistance.

Having presented Foucault's theorisation of power, the specific modality and utility of 'disciplinary power' — and more importantly, of 'panopticism' — is now explored in order to understand how architecture can effectively become a vehicle for the exercise of power. This discussion will then proceed to the spatial analysis of the mall, thus evident the utility and implications of the spatial strategies employed by the mall's administration.

Disciplinary power

As mentioned earlier, disciplinary power emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Foucault, 1977; 1978; 1980) as a response to the development of the mercantile economy and the emergence of new modes of production and capital accumulation (Foucault, 1977). What distinguishes disciplinary power from old modalities is its primary concern with the exhaustive and continuous control over individuals and their activities (Hoffman, 2001). Foucault writes:

But we can surely accept the general proposition that, in our societies, the systems of punishment are to be situated in a certain 'political economy' of the body: even if they do not make use of violent or bloody punishment, even when they use 'lenient' methods involving confinement or correction, it is always the body that is at issue - the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission. (Foucault, 1977: 25)

Thus, the primary objective of disciplinary power is to train individuals to behave in manners that are deemed most useful or desirable. Simultaneously, the desired growth in aptitudes and productivity — i.e. the increase in utility — is countered by measures aimed at increasing docility to ensure that such acquired skills do not translate into resistance towards disciplinary power (Hoffman, 2001).

As Foucault (1977) explains, disciplinary power achieves three objectives: first, it allows for power to operate at the lowest possible cost, both economic and political; this will become evident later in this chapter. Second, it ensures the maximum expenditure of power with maximum intensity at every level of the social body — without interruption. Finally, the output of the apparatuses — overall strategies — is maximised through the effective increase of the docility and utility of individual bodies — local tactics — that constitute 'all the elements of the system' (Foucault, 1977: 218). *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies for the mechanisms of the shopping mall; disciplinary power establishes control over consumers' bodies to increase their docility and utility — i.e. adherence to the rule of conduct/maximum consumption/minimum social resistance — in order to maximise the output of the apparatus — capital accumulation — at the most effective cost.

In *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (1977), Foucault develops in detail the characteristics of disciplinary power by which these objectives are achieved. He notes that disciplinary power is inherently spatial — that is, it always begins with the organisation of individuals in space (Foucault, 1977). This is what he terms 'the art of distributions' (Foucault, 1977: 141). Control is first achieved through the enclosure, in order to define a homogeneous space of 'disciplinary monotony' (Foucault, 1977: 141) that is different from all other spaces. However, he insists that the principle of the enclosure alone is insufficient for disciplinary power; rather, a more detailed and intricate control over space is exerted in order to break up undesired collectives, and to organise what he terms 'cellular' and 'analytical' space. Space is 'cellular' because it is organised through partitioning; space within the enclosure is further divided into cells. As a result, communication can be controlled and monitored, and individuals each distributed precisely in the appropriate

cell or partition; meanwhile, diffuse circulation and collective dispositions can be regulated or abolished. In gender-segregated Saudi society, the enclosure of the mall and the portioning of its interior space are tools utilised to prevent undesired mixing and preserve the continuity of the local system of moral values. Likewise, social homogeneity — and therefore social stability — becomes achievable through the enclosure, as well as control over access and internal spatial distribution.

Foucault then proceeds with the third principle, which he terms 'the rule of functional sites' (Foucault, 1977: 143) in which spaces are codified and are assigned particular functions in order to render them useful. Foucault here provides the example of the hospital (Foucault, 1977: 144) in which the aforementioned techniques are fully applied in order to exert full control over the administration, diagnosis, medical observation and distribution of individual patients. Thereafter, disciplinary space becomes 'analytical' because it becomes possible to operate supervision that is simultaneously collective and individual; individual activities are controlled, monitored, assessed and calculated. Concurrently, individuals are put in comparison with one another, and are judged according to how they contribute to the collective utility. Consequently, the individual elements of the system become interchangeable; in other words, disciplinary power creates a system of ranks (Foucault, 1977) in which individuals, within the fixed spatial organisation set by disciplinary power, can be moved and removed depending on the classifications and calculations of the system in which they are placed. Thus, disciplinary power is fixed and always in circulation; this is because the enclosure, partitioning and codification of space regulates movement and circulation and 'establishes calculated distributions' (Foucault, 1977: 219). At the same time, the rank is 'a technique for the transformation of arrangements' (Foucault, 1977: 146) that 'circulate' individualised bodies in a network of power relations. These seemingly contradictory characteristics are necessary in order for disciplinary power to safely and effectively increase the utility of multiplicities; the solid horizontal separation between elements counteracts any possibility for multiplicities to oppose or undermine the effects of discipline while the vertical network 'increase[s] the particular utility of each element of the multiplicity, but by means that are the most rapid and the least costly, that

is to say, by using the multiplicity itself as an instrument of this growth' (Foucault, 1977: 220). This corresponds to what Foucault terms the 'organisation of geneses' (Foucault, 1977:156) and the 'composition of forces' (Foucault, 1977: 162); each individualised body is disciplined in order to perpetually grow and achieve an idealised end. Moreover, the forces of these multiplicities are organised in the system of the disciplines² in order to optimise their output, instead of only relying on the sum forces of dispersed and unorganised bodies. Finally, temporal control of activities is utilised by the disciplines as an additional dimension to increase the utility and output of the system. Foucault begins with the 'timetable' (Foucault, 1977: 149) as a tool that effectively enables a detailed spatio-temporal partitioning of activities. The time table is coupled with its 'exhaustive use' (Foucault, 1977: 154) in order to enforce non-idleness and prevent counter-forces that might arise from the non-productive use of free time. Furthermore, individual activities of the body are broken down into single movements that are temporally elaborated to define the most effective sequence by which acts are performed. Foucault here cites the example of military exercises and the discipline — body position, hand gestures — required from pupils to meet the standards for good handwriting (Foucault, 1977). The result of the application of these principles is the creation not of 'an individual', but an 'individuality' (Hoffman, 2001) that, as Foucault explains, 'is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces).' (Foucault, 1977: 167).

The particularity of each of the principles of the disciplines aligns with the ends and objectives of the strategy in which relations of power are invested. Accordingly, in the case of the shopping mall in Riyadh, it is possible to argue that the enclosure corresponds to its urban strategy, and partitioning to its internal spatial configuration. A detailed investigation should reveal the functional utility of partitioning and also evaluate the effectiveness of the strategy employed by each successive mall. To elaborate, the vertical network of relations corresponds to the nature of power relations that operates within the space of the mall; for example, it is possible to analyse these relations by studying accessibility (who is

granted access and who is not?), as well as internal circulation (which individuals benefit from ease of circulation within the space and which suffer from restrained and controlled circulation?), and the exercise of supervision and control over activities (which individuals exercise power and which come under its influence?). By the same token, the rank makes it possible to classify and categorise shoppers according to criteria such as gender, age, composition (family, individual, group shoppers) and general appearances. Accordingly, the horizontal separation between the elements corresponds to the organisation and distribution of the classified elements. In the distinct case of the Saudi shopping mall, horizontal separation is marked by the ubiquitous segregation of the sexes. The timetable gains particular significance in Saudi Arabia because of the daily calls to prayer and the continual interruption of shopping activities throughout the day; further spatio-temporal analyses make it possible to evaluate how disciplinary power operates at different times throughout the day and the week.

As is now evident, the spaces created by the disciplines prove that architecture is a tool through which power can be efficiently exercised. Foucault argues that the arrangement of 'cells', 'places' and 'ranks' culminates in the creation of 'complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical' (Foucault, 1977: 148). However, architectural spaces alone cannot function as complete disciplinary machines. Spatial mechanisms must be accompanied by complementary mechanisms that, as Foucault (1977) claims, presuppose the exercise of power by means of observation. Thus, spaces are hierarchical because they make it possible for surveillance to operate in a network of uneven power relations that develop between individual elements. To elaborate, Foucault writes:

A whole problematic then develops: that of an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen (as with the ostentation of palaces), or to observe the external space (cf. the geometry of fortresses), but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control — to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to

know them, to alter them. Stones can make people docile and knowable. The old simple schema of confinement and enclosure — thick walls, a heavy gate that prevents entering or leaving — began to be replaced by the calculation of openings, of filled and empty spaces, passages and transparencies. (Foucault, 1977: 172)

Hereafter, complex architectural spaces are supplemented by a new dimension of imposed 'compulsory visibility' (Foucault, 1977: 187); individuals are continuously rendered visible, through the meticulous manipulation of spatial features, in order for the disciplinary gaze to effectively exercise its power and ensure the uninterrupted hold it has over its subjects (Foucault, 1977). Continuous surveillance becomes the operative means by which the corrective effects of the disciplines are imposed. As a result, disciplinary power becomes an 'integrated' system in which surveillance is exercised in the network of power relation from 'top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally' (Foucault, 1977: 176). This renders power 'indiscreet' because of the omnipresence and alertness of the supervising gaze, and 'discreet' because it always operates in complete silence; this is why, as mentioned earlier, disciplinary power operates at the lowest possible economic and political cost.

Foucault (1977) then develops the concept of the norm — the set of standards by which it is possible for the disciplinary gaze to cast judgement. While normalising judgment is described as an order of 'mixed nature' (Foucault, 1977: 179), it is simultaneously an 'artificial' order — because it has explicitly defined laws, programs and regulations — as well as a 'natural' order, because it is deeply informed by naturally-occurring and observable phenomena (Foucault, 1977). However, Foucault (1977) insists that normalising judgment is irreducible to juridical penalty; this is because of the essential differences in the functional objectives of these two systems. To elaborate, the normalising gaze creates individuality by setting individuals in a field of comparison, that is, by measuring gaps between individuals and the prevailing norm. It then serves a corrective function aimed at reducing such gaps by way of punishment or gratification (Foucault,

1977). To this end, everything is punishable within the system of the disciplines (a certain gesture, a behaviour, a disposition, a particular speech) and anything can serve as punishment (deprivations, exclusions and enforced obligations, and even humiliation). The objective of normalising judgment is to utilise any departure from the norm as justification to punish, and therefore to exercise individuals, continually and repeatedly, in order to progressively close the gap and extract the maximum utility out of the subjugated bodies.

Normalising judgement also functions as a 'value-giving' measure that differentiates and classifies in terms of the degree of conformity to the rule which is the threshold and the optimal end to be achieved (Foucault, 1977). Consequently, individuals are either forced or enticed to conform, progress and advance towards the ideal set by the norm. Therefore, normalising judgment has a homogenising effect, because it sets the boundaries for the 'normal', which has the coincident effect of defining and excluding 'abnormality' (Foucault, 1977); normalising judgment also individualises, because it makes it possible to measure gaps and departures from the norm and render these differences useful by distributing them accordingly in the network of power relations (Foucault, 1977).

Furthermore, the system of punishment imposed by the disciplines becomes part of the knowledge of individuals (Foucault, 1977). Thereafter, once these mechanisms become internalised, individuals take part in their own subjugation; laterally, individuals become endowed with the required knowledge that allows them to exercise a disciplinary gaze and cast a normalising judgment on other individuals.

The *norm* arises from natural and observable phenomena that prove to be of benefit to the strategies in which they are incorporated. In consequence, their definition and application might differ from one disciplinary institution to another depending on the kind of utility and docility extractable from individual bodies. It is for this reason that the rules of conduct differ from one shopping mall to the other. In this research, it would not be sufficient to conclude that the set of rules and regulations in Riyadh's malls are only imposed by law. Such reasoning cannot account for the subtle nuances and variations in the definitions

*A General Idea of a PENITENTIARY PANOPTICON in an Improved, but as yet, (Jan^y 23^d 1791), Unfinished State.
See Postscript References to Plan, Elevation, & Section (being Plate referred to as N^o 2).*

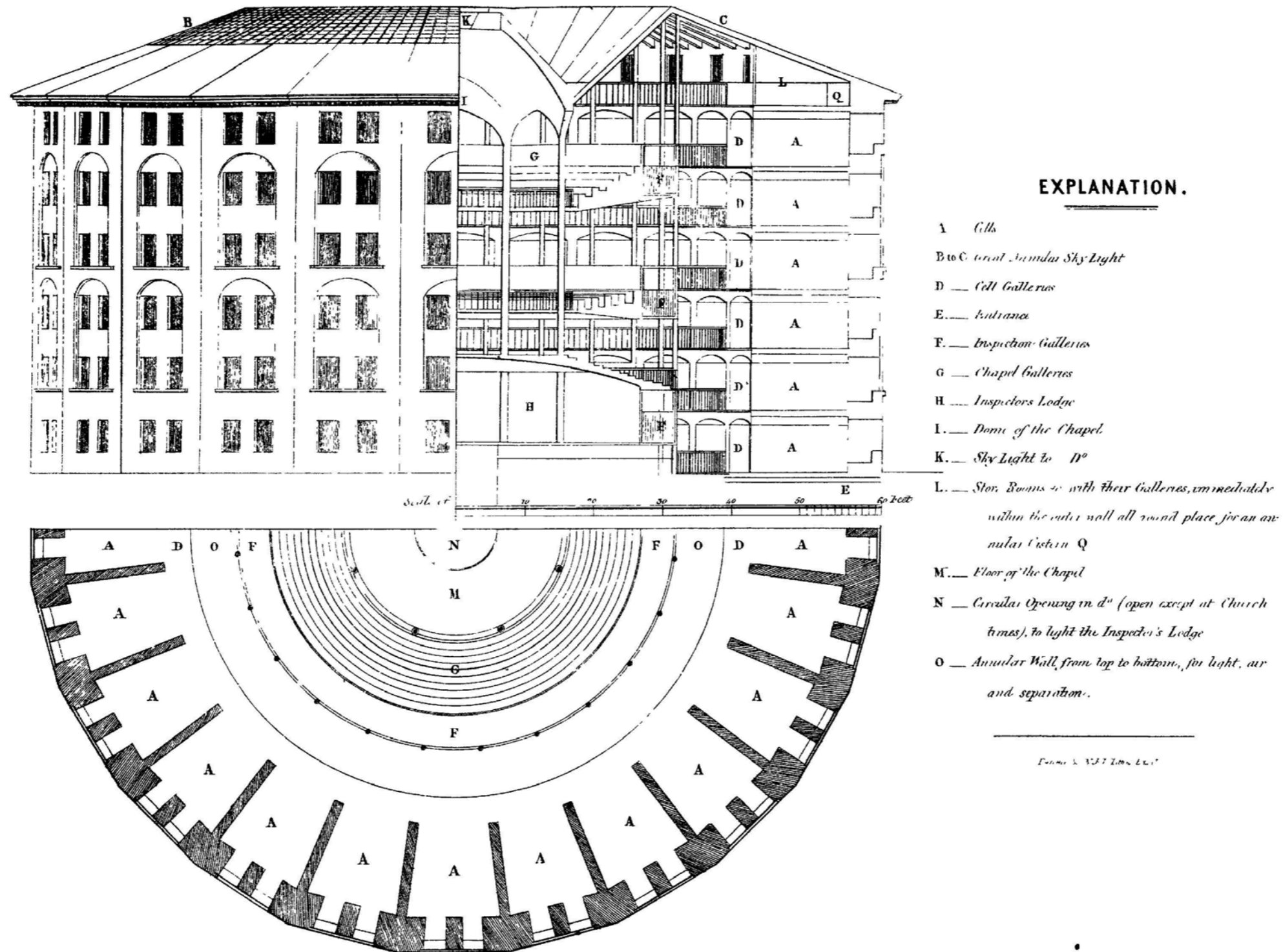


Figure 1: Plan and section of Bentham's Panopticon (source: Bentham, 1843: 172-73).

and application of such rules and regulations from one mall to the other. It certainly is the case that, set within a larger network of power relations, shopping malls in Riyadh follow regulations — such as prayer time closures — that are part of the laws imposed by the state apparatus. Nevertheless, *normalising judgment* accounts for an additional and more subtle set of localised rules that each shopping mall benefits from depending on its particular situation. The concept of the *norm* allows for a more nuanced understanding of the rules of conduct that operate within each mall in Riyadh. It makes it possible to understand a) the observable processes from which they originate, b) their utility for the specific mall in which they operate and c) how individuals come to integrate these *norms* into their knowledge, and in turn be able to exercise disciplinary forces upon other customers.

Panopticism

The culmination of all the mechanisms — spatial distribution and configuration, compulsory visibility, normalising judgment — of the disciplines is to be found in Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, an architectural prototype of the 'total' prison, which Foucault presents in *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (1977) as the perfected embodiment of disciplinary power.

The architectural model of the panopticon (fig. 1) is composed of a central tower encircled by an annular building which consists of individual cells that occupy the entire width of the building (Foucault, 1977). Each cell has openings on both ends; the exterior window allows it to be entirely lit while the internal iron grate door (Hoffman, 2001) directly faces the central supervisory tower, putting those inside the cells in a permanent state of uninterrupted visibility (Foucault, 1977). Hence, 'axial visibility' (Foucault, 1977: 200) is imposed by the panopticon's spatial configuration and is intensified by the effects of backlighting. To further elaborate, the division into cells introduces 'lateral invisibility' (Foucault, 1977: 200) between trapped individuals, ensuring that order is maintained. When taken as principles and transposed as mechanisms onto different spatial configurations, 'axial visibility' and 'lateral invisibility' have an atomising effect on

multiplicities and collective dispositions; what results are multiplicities that are broken up into isolated individualities.

Another significant principle of the panoptic configuration is the need for the inspectors' gaze to be permanently visible as well as unverifiable (Foucault, 1977). Hence the introduction of Venetian blinds on the windows of the tower and the replacement of doors by zigzag openings in order to prevent any signs that might indicate the presence of the guardian (Foucault, 1977). Always visible from individual cells, the central tower conveys the impression of the ever-present gaze of the inspector; this ensures the permanence of its disciplinary effects through concealment (Foucault, 1977). Individuals, by not knowing when they are being observed, continue to feel the influence of the disciplinary gaze even when it is not being applied. The situation in which individuals are implicated creates and sustains power relations that are permanent in their effects, discontinuous in their application, and 'independent of the person who exercises it' (Foucault, 1977: 201). This has the double effect of making individuals become the bearers of their own subjugation, as they become part of the mechanisms of power and concurrently make it possible for anyone to fulfil the role of the inspector. Significantly, the panoptic institution could then dispose of the weight of the architectural typology; cells can be removed without compromising the mechanisms and principles of supervision and control (Foucault, 1977). Hence, even inspectors, as they are caught in the network of power relations as well, may come under the influence of the panopticon; in other words, it makes it possible to monitor and supervise its own mechanisms. Foucault elaborated:

It is an important mechanism, for it automatizes and disindividualizes power. Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up. (Foucault, 1977: 202)

Hence, the panoptic machine, through the arrangement of space and imposed visibility, facilitates the exercise of *normalising judgment*; it becomes easier to analyse and classify processes and activities, to mark differences, to isolate that which deviates from the norm,



Figure 2: F house. Stateville Correctional Center. USA. Illinois. 2002. Photography by Doug Dubois & Jim Goldberg/Magnum Photos (source: www.magnumphotos.com).

and to impose disciplinary measures. The result is a network of power relations that is asymmetrical and homogeneous in its effects, regardless of the individual elements of which the network is composed (Foucault, 1977).

A generalised model of the panopticon is then developed; the mechanisms and functioning of the panoptic model are no longer tied to a particular building type or a specific institution. It is instead presented as a model that defines a network of power relations which can develop in any situation, in which the principles of the panoptic machine are effectively applied (Foucault, 1977). Foucault states:

Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used. (Foucault, 1977: 205)

Of significant importance is the fact that the panopticon 'has a role of amplification' (Foucault, 1977: 207); it increases, multiplies and makes effective the output and utility of the institution in which power is invested. Therefore, it can be integrated into any function in order to maximise its effects, by meticulously organising processes and implementing the mechanisms for their permanent supervision (Foucault, 1977). Hence the fact that power is not something imposed from the outside to bear upon the functions in which it

is invested, but instead arises from the internal organisation of such functions. Power is inherent in the mechanism in which it operates; It is subtly present within the network of power relations and multiplies the effects of the function by increasing the point at which it is exercised (Foucault, 1977).

Therefore, it would not be difficult to imagine panoptic mechanisms operating in the mall typology. Foucault argues that the panopticon 'can establish a direct proportion between 'surplus power' and 'surplus production' (Foucault, 1977: 206), and the same applies to 'surplus consumption'. If the role of the panopticon is to increase and multiply, and if the mall's *raison d'être* lies in the maximisation of capital accumulation through consumption, then it becomes evident that panoptic mechanisms are appropriate for the kind of output desired by the typology. An analysis of architectural arrangements (such as partitioning, openings, calculated circulation, and imposed visibility) and functional distributions (such as gates, corridors, shops, coffee shops and restaurants, entertainment parks, and resting areas) as well as operating mechanisms (such as control of access) makes it possible to shed light on the panoptic characteristics that serve the functions of the mall typology. Moreover, Foucault's concept of *normalising judgment* suggests that norms in Riyadh's malls would be informed by practices that are found to be of utility to the primary functions of the typology and therefore include them in its panoptic mechanisms. To elaborate, *norms* that are linked to the disciplinary effects of the mall become gradually accepted by customers as they accumulate knowledge about such *norms*, resulting in practices that are subsequently incorporated into more extensive strategies. Hence the active participation of individuals in the disciplinary mechanisms of capital accumulation in which they are implicated. It can therefore be argued that the network of power relations in Riyadh's shopping malls is co-constituted and co-extensive with the local social body. The outcome thereof is that the introduction of generalised and globalised mechanisms inherent in the typology into a new and particular network of power relations — which in this research is directly linked to the particular context of Riyadh — causes those mechanisms to be altered and re-adapted. Consequently, significant variations to the typology occurs, both in terms of architectural configuration and internal organisation — as evident in the case of

Chinese shopping malls (chapter one), and as will be proven in the case of Riyadh's malls (chapter six and seven).

It is now apparent how disciplinary power achieves the objectives stated earlier in this chapter — namely, the exercise of power at the lowest possible economic and political cost. Through the mechanisms of the panopticon, power is perfected; it becomes lighter and more effective (Foucault, 1977). The panopticon achieves this by allowing power a) to be effectively operated by a reduced number of individuals while simultaneously increasing the number of those that come under its influence; b) to be omnipresent and to continually pressure individuals even before offences are committed; c) to operate spontaneously at every node of the network of relations without superimposition and in complete silence; d) to act directly on individuals' behaviours without the need for direct physical intervention.

As a result:

This enables the disciplinary power to be both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely 'discreet', for it functions permanently and largely in silence. (Foucault, 1977: 177)

The carceral city

Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the surface of images, one invests bodies in depth. (Foucault, 1977: 217)

Hereafter, Foucault (1977) argues for the proliferation of the panoptic model throughout the entire social body. The emergence of a 'disciplinary society' is suggested, in which panopticism infiltrates all other modalities of power leading to a situation of generalised surveillance and creating a social order in which individualities are 'carefully fabricated' (Foucault, 1977: 217). However, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, disciplinary

power cannot be identified with a particular institution or apparatus that imposes its mechanisms as a standard model of social order. The proliferation is due to the fact that the mechanisms can be taken up easily by institutions and pre-established authorities, creating a large network of power relations that runs through the social body and crystallises in the form of overall hegemonies (Foucault, 1977). Based on these suggestions, it would be appropriate to hypothesise a situation in which the mall employs particular mechanisms of surveillance and control that are, in turn, set against a larger network of power relations. This means that the mall — in order for its mechanisms to be effectively incorporated within larger hegemonic strategies — would deploy mechanisms that best serve its ends and which at the same time would be in alignment with a) the overall strategies of the particular context in which it is implemented so as to place the mall in a favourable position with the larger system of power relations, and b) the development of these strategies from observable local and natural processes so as to minimise the effects of social counter-forces and resistance.

The correlation between disciplinary power and the acceleration of capital accumulation through 'the ordering of human multiplicities' (Foucault, 1977: 218) — and the inherent link between global capital and the mall typology — strongly suggests the need for a closer investigation of the processes of capital accumulation in Riyadh in order to evaluate their urban and architectural effects. This will make it possible to evaluate the co-constitutive nature of disciplinary mechanisms in Riyadh malls. To elaborate, it makes it possible to understand the dialogue between global mechanisms — and the extent to which they are readapted in order to operate effectively in Riyadh's context — and local mechanisms — and similarly, the extent to which they are influenced by the infiltration of mechanisms that originated in a foreign context. To this end, the historical developments and the pivotal moments in which significant shifts in the structures of power occurred in Riyadh are thoroughly investigated in the second part of this chapter. Meanwhile, the criticisms that have been raised against Foucault's 'analytics of power' are now addressed.

Addressing criticism

As will become evident in later chapters, gender segregation is a primary issue in analysing the power relations operating within the shopping mall when situating the typology in the Saudi context. This raises concerns about the adequacy of deploying a Foucauldian framework. Feminist theorists (Hartsock, 1990, p157–175; King, 2013, p29–39; Ramazanoglu, 1995) have criticised Foucault's 'analytics of power' for its seeming gender neutrality, arguing that his work is incapable of promoting positive social change. In the following section, critiques of Foucault's work are explored and addressed. In this research, the gender neutrality of Foucault's work is acknowledged and taken into account; however, this aspect of the Foucauldian framework does not prevent a gendered analysis of power in Riyadh's malls. Instead, the 'analytics of power' is necessary for an alternative and comprehensive understanding of shopping mall dynamics, of which the issue of gender constitutes an integral part. Finally, this research maintains the position that positive social change is possible through a Foucauldian framework.

On gender

Foucault is criticised for not taking into consideration gender differences when it comes to the functioning, exercise and effects of power relations (King, 2013, p29–39; Ramazanoglu, 1995). As McLanaren (2002) notes, this criticism led Foucault to be accused of being 'androcentric' and 'gender-blind'. As a result, some feminist theorists have rejected his work for what is argued to be a lack, in his conceptualisation of power relations, of the systemic asymmetrical distribution of power that would account for generalised forms of gender dominance (Hartsock, 1990, p157–175; Ramazanoglu, 1995). However, other feminist critics have argued that such interpretations are founded on a misreading of his work (Deveaux, 1994, p223–247; McLaren, 2002; Phelan, 1990, p421–440). Indeed, the aim of his analysis of power is precisely to uncover the unequal distribution of disciplinary power and mark the imbalances in its exercise, in order to expose processes of normalisation and subjugation (Deveaux, 1994, p223–247; McLaren, 2002; Phelan, 1990, p421–440). As Foucault writes:

The general juridical form that guaranteed a system of rights that were egalitarian in principle was supported by these tiny, everyday, physical mechanisms, by all those systems of micro-power that are essentially *non-egalitarian and asymmetrical that we call the disciplines*. (Foucault, 1977: 222, emphasis added)

Nevertheless, Foucault's 'analytics of power' should not be rejected on the basis of its seeming gender neutrality. The lack of gender differentiation in his work is one shortcoming that this research attempts to address by introducing a gendered analysis of the mechanisms of the mall typology in Riyadh. As a result, gender becomes an additional layer that complements the analysis and sheds light upon the imbalances and disparities that characterise Riyadh's urban spaces. As will be demonstrated in this research, it is the very functioning of disciplinary power in the Saudi shopping mall that creates a gendered space which ultimately reifies gender roles in Saudi society. Because disciplinary power co-exists and is co-constituted with — and unequally distributed within — the social body, and because it operates locally and spatially, and emerges at the level of 'micro-relations', a Foucauldian framework is the adequate tool for introducing a gendered and contextualised analysis of the 'social' and the 'spatial' of the Saudi mall typology.

The death of the subject?

One major issue of contention against Foucault stems from what is argued to be, in the Foucauldian world, a subjectivity that is systemically overdetermined, passive and thus always dominated and under the influence of power (Hartsock, 1990, p157–175; Ramazanoglu, 1995). Thus, critics have concluded that in a Foucauldian framework, subjects are strapped in an inescapable web of hegemonic forces that impede any possibility of independent and self-determined action (Hartsock, 1990, p157–175; Ramazanoglu, 1995). Still, his work does not eliminate subjectivity; it offers an alternative framework in which subjectivity is constructed in and through the complexity of power relations (McLaren, 2002).

Foucault's conception of subjectivity is that it emerges from — and is thus deeply influenced by — relations of power that constitute the social world (Foucault, 1977; 1980). This does not mean that subjectivity is determined, but that it is co-constituted with disciplinary power through processes of normalisation. Subsequently, subjectivity can be deeply influenced by the prevailing norms that are inscribed in power relations, and simultaneously, can be constituted through strategies of opposition to such dominant norms. In other words, in relations of domination, subjectivity can be constituted through active resistance and conscious opposition, which in turn can have a significant impact on the nature and exercise of such power relations.

To elaborate further, this research argues against the readings of the mall presented in the literature review which claim that the typology is an overdetermined institution in which behaviours are artificially manipulated. By the same token, it argues against the more optimistic views in which objective structural constraints are entirely rejected in order to shift the focus onto individual experiences and argue for unrestricted subjectivity. Such dualistic views are limiting and insufficient if we are to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the typology, in which both spatial and social, objective and subjective, constituents of mall dynamics are equally weighted and considered. In this research, the Foucauldian perspective is argued to be a framework capable of presenting a balanced view necessary for shedding light on the constraints and, as a result, opening up the realm of alternative possibilities, in which subjectivities are constituted and expressed.

Another perceived weakness in Foucault's work is the lack of a normative framework (Fraser, 1981, p272–287; Ramazanoglu, 1995). An extended discussion about the underlying philosophical assumptions of such claims is beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, Foucault's reluctance in openly prescribing and defining emancipatory action does not negate him advocating positive social change (McLaren, 2002). He is cautious about norms because his work clearly demonstrates how these have been historically subverted as to increase control and domination in contemporary societies. It is evident that he leaves this issue open-ended intentionally. It is his position that the analysis

of power is always historically and socially situated. Subsequently, emancipatory action should originate from within the capillary and localised disciplines rather than borrowed from without. This is why the lack of a normative framework should not form the basis for the rejection of his work. Rather, his 'analytics of power' is the basis that should be built upon in order to explore how macro shifts in power relation can be initiated at the micro-level and from within that very network of domination and control. As Foucault argues:

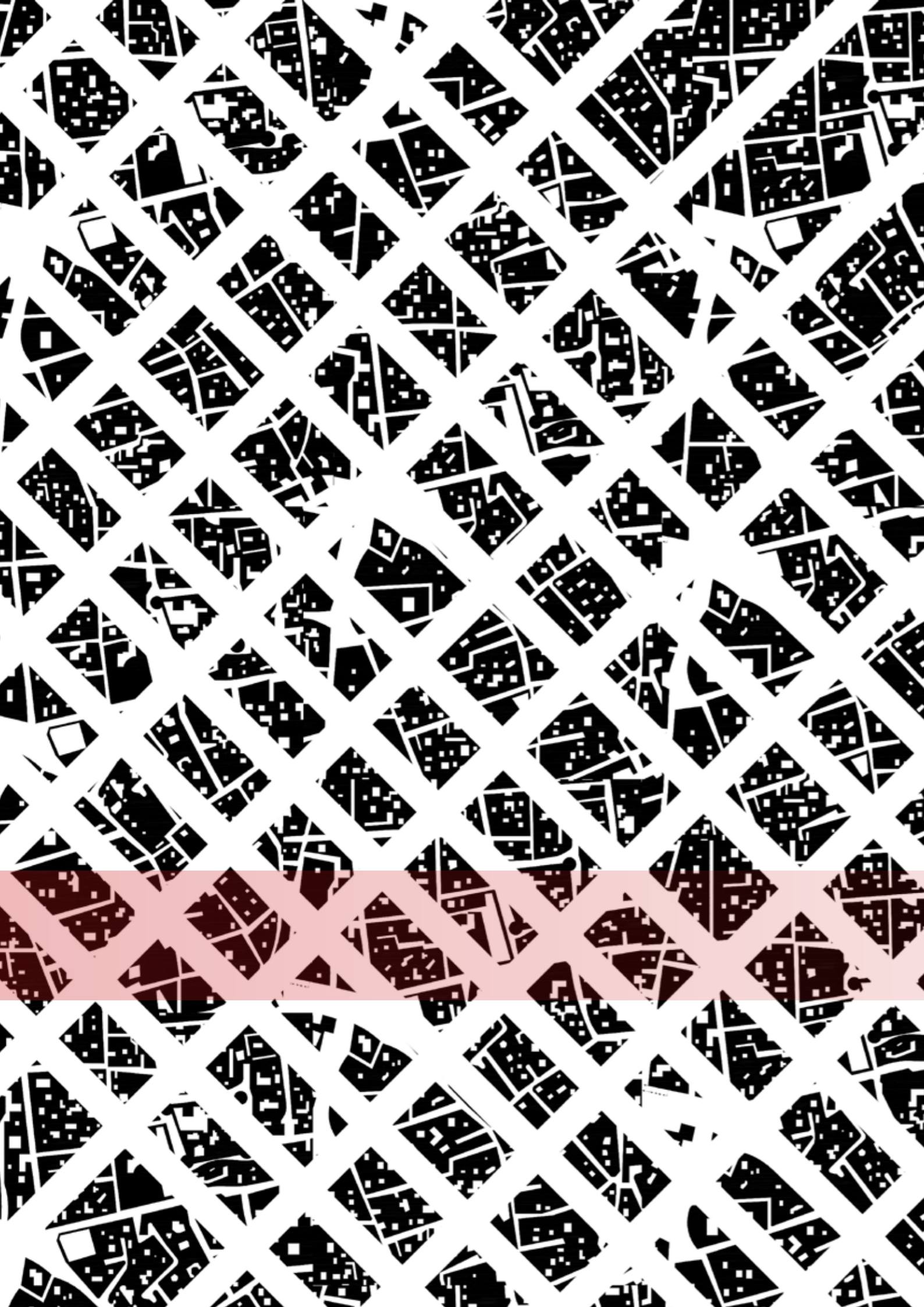
... I think it is always a little pretentious to present in a more or less prophetic way what people have to think. I prefer to let them draw their own conclusions or infer general ideas from the interrogations I try to raise in analysing historical and specific material. I think it's much more respectful for everyone's freedom, and that's my manner. (Foucault, 1988: 146)

Contrary to the belief that the lack of a normative framework constitutes a weakness in Foucault's work, this research argues that it is perhaps what gives it theoretical strength and makes it an adequate framework for analysing relations of power in new and understudied contexts. This is because the 'analytics of power' renders visible the realm of alternative possibilities by exposing the workings of power without imposing a particular view of how things ought to be. Therefore, based on a localised understanding and definition of norms, the analysis can be appropriated correspondingly in order to shift power relations in the manner that best suits the desires and needs of those who, having understood that what is perceived to be the natural order of things is, in fact, artificial and constructed, can work to alternate or reverse them. To this end, Foucault's 'analytics of power' is used to uncover the Saudi network of power relations and its internal dynamics in the second part of this chapter. It is an investigation that establishes the political, economic and ideological climate in which the mall typology was imported. Prior to the in-depth analysis of the mall typology in Riyadh, a contextual analysis of power relations makes it possible to understand the limitations imposed on public life and sheds light on the origins of the surveillance and control characteristic of Riyadh's context.

Notes

1 The historical shift to the modern modalities of power is empirically investigated in *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (Foucault, 1977), and theoretically developed in *The history of sexuality, volume 1: an introduction* (Foucault, 1978) and *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977* (Foucault, 1980).

2 The disciplines refer to the sum of mechanisms that constitute the modality of disciplinary power. It is what Foucault describes as the 'tiny, everyday, physical mechanisms, ... [and] those systems of micro-power that are essentially non-egalitarian and asymmetrical' (Foucault, 1977: 222).



Chapter III - Part II
The Saudi panopticon

Foucault's analytics of power in context

3

In Part Two of this chapter, the ‘analytics of power’ is used to investigate the Saudi network of power relations in order to account for the processes that resulted in the implementation of mechanisms of control over public spaces and significantly altered the shopping mall typology in Riyadh. Moreover, this investigation makes it possible to uncover the processes that created a welcoming environment for the mall typology and allowed it to thrive in Riyadh’s socioeconomic climate.

This research opposes the dualistic explanations whereby the perceived ills of the urban environment are presented as the consequences of the conflict between imported Western modes of spatial productions and the specific requirements of a conservative and traditional society. This sort of explanation cannot account for the multiplicities that constitute the social and political space, and reduces its actors to an oversimplified and homogenous entity with non-conflicting demands and aspirations. As this research demonstrates, the spatial and social conditions of Riyadh are produced by the discrepancies and conflicts between heterogeneous spheres of influence and their continuous struggles for power and legitimacy.

Riyadh’s socio-urban conditions emerged from the locus of power to the capillary level of everyday practices. The contemporary urban environment has not been imposed onto Saudi society from without. Instead, it emerged from historical, political, economic and social processes that attest to the multiplicities of the agents and apparatuses invested in the network of power relations. The development of this network and the pivotal moments at which it was reformulated, negotiated or consolidated is explored in greater detail in the remaining of this chapter.

The locus of power and the emergence of a disciplined society

The locus of power is used to determine the critical positions within the network of power relations that constitute the centre of decision-making in Saudi Arabia. Defining the composition of the locus of power is essential to the analysis of public spaces — both in their modes of production and operation — as they are deeply affected by the struggles

and negotiations between those in positions of power in their attempts to consolidate or alter their respective positions.

The composition of the locus of power in Saudi Arabia finds its origins in the historical pact, formed in 1744, between Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his religious project to purify the creed and practices of central Arabia, and Muhammad Ibn Saud, who provided the former with the political structure and military force necessary for the realisation of his project. This alliance between religious and political powers signalled the birth of the first Saudi state (Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005) and remained the model upon which the composition of power was formulated during the emergence of the third Saudi state.

Accordingly, the locus of power is composed of two co-dependant spheres of influence: a structured political establishment and a complex, partly-structured religious apparatus that, while appearing to operate autonomously, is deeply intertwined in the dynamic network of power relations.

During the early stages of the third Saudi state’s unification, the political elite found in the religious Wahhabi mission a source of legitimacy that allowed it to assert hegemony over what was to become the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Haykel et al., 2015; Menoret, 2005). State determinism and the gradual centralisation of power was subsequently justified as it became the embodiment of a godly mission which had as its objective the establishment of an ideal societal model grounded in piety and purity of creed, and cemented through its devotion to God and the State (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005). Equally, the religious mission became an integral part of the mechanism through which the unification of a fragmented social space — composed of rival tribes and sedentary populations — was to be achieved. The religious apparatus provided the state with an ideological tool that facilitated these processes of unification. It replaced local tribal loyalties with subservience to a divine order (Al-Rasheed, 2002; 2013; Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005), and homogenised the social space by administering lifestyles and practices down to their minute details of everyday life (Al-Rasheed, 2013).

Therefore, the structural changes that accompanied the formation of the state required the establishment of disciplinary mechanisms for administering the social body and guiding its purification. As a result, the religious project became an apparatus through which it became possible to implement the necessary disciplines to prevent the social and political deviations that risked disturbing the newly-established socio-political order. This process was first established during the processes of sedentarisation and the subsequent religious education by agents of the state sent to guide and supervise the population.

Interestingly, the wars of conquest and unification had further economic implications (Menoret, 2005) as they allowed the state apparatus to accumulate economic surpluses — seized from newly-conquered land — which were redistributed to the populations already under its influence. Surplus redistribution had the effect of reinforcing loyalties, notably between the state and the *Ikhwan*, an army of tribal warriors that pledged allegiance to the emerging state and engaged in its local wars. However, the peace brought by the unification of the Kingdom and the political agreements established with the British empire caused the *Ikhwan* army, who saw this development as a betrayal to their mission, to rebel against the state apparatus. Consequently, the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice (CPVPV) was established in 1927 to appease the opposition and establish social order (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Menoret, 2005).

The Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice (*hai'a al-amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*) is a religious authority charged with the implementation of the doctrine of *hisbah*, defined as 'the enjoining of a good that has been evidently abandoned and the forbidding of an evil that is openly practiced.' (Maajid et al., 1997: 74). The precepts of promoting virtue and preventing vice were institutionalised and supervised by the religious apparatus, which regulated the functioning of society through action, verbal intervention, and rejection of deviant behaviours. As a collective duty, the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice were to be implemented by all members of society. Official members and volunteers of the commission were equipped with the capability of direct intervention, while other members of society were encouraged to act as informants

and report deviant behaviours to concerned authorities. As a result, the religious apparatus proved to be a politically useful disciplinary tool central to the formulation and function of power relations in Saudi society.

The mechanisms of surveillance created through the intermediary of the religious apparatus increased the efficiency of disciplinary power, as they created channels for the diffusion and discreet operation of surveillance under the self-legitimising guise of religious obligation and duty. The proliferation of religious education and the precepts of preventing vice and promoting virtue led to the emergence of a self-regulating society, as individual agents became an integral part of the application of disciplinary power. Progressively, the crystallisation of a disciplined society took root at the capillary level and created the social climate in which the future mall typology was implemented. More importantly, the precepts of promoting virtue and preventing vice were supplemented by the principle of blocking the means (*sadd al-dharā'i'*) of permissible acts that are believed to lead to vice. From a Foucauldian perspective, blocking the means leading to 'evil' provides the religious apparatus with the power of normalisation. To elaborate, the elasticity of the principle creates avenues for arbitration, leading to the creation of norms that operate as extra-law. For instance, loitering or gatherings in public spaces can be prevented based on religious justifications, creating the possibility of administering public life and maintaining public order.

Significantly, the emergence of a disciplined society disturbed tribal autonomy (Al Fahad, 2015, p231–262) while tribal social structures remained (Al-Rasheed, 2013). For women, this meant that they were kept under the influence of male relatives. In the public sphere, private patriarchy of the family became supplemented with the public patriarchy of the politicised religious apparatus (Al-Rasheed, 2013). For Al-Rasheed (2013; 2015, p292–313), these structural limitations were caused by the need to regulate women as they became symbols of national identity. Ideologically and in practice, women became the bearers of public morality; the purity of the social body had to be reflected in the — literal and symbolic — purity of their bodies. Therein lie the limitations women experience today

when attempting to venture outside the protected space of the private; the unpredictability of the public space and its corruptive potential must be neutralised through constant patriarchal surveillance. Whether through the direct guardianship of male relatives, or mediated by disciplinary mechanisms of official institutions, women constantly find themselves in protected and enclosed spheres in which they are required to embody the image of a homogenous and pious nation.

This composition of the locus of power and its wider socioeconomic implications are at the root of what Al-Rasheed (2013) terms the *religious nationalism* by which Saudi national identity was created. As Al-Rasheed (2013) argues, the dynamics between political and religious power are at the root of the conditions in which women find themselves in Saudi society. This research further expands on Saudi religious nationalism, arguing that its implications have wider urban and social repercussions which include — but are not limited to — how shopping malls are formulated in Riyadh.

The mutually-supportive dynamic between political and religious power resulted in the emergence of a robust disciplinary order that originated from the locus of power and progressively caused the entire population to be invested in its network. More importantly, the logic of partitioning — characteristic of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) and also described as ‘sectorisation’ (Lacroix, 2011) or ‘compartmentalisation’ (Le Renard, 2014) — became state policy. Lacroix (2011) describes this organisation as a system of vertical links created between the state and its different institutions while simultaneously ensuring their horizontal division. As a result, the dangerous collision of opposite positions is eliminated, and the stability of the order is ensured through the horizontal segregation and vertical centralisation of power. Nonetheless, the dynamic nature of power relations inevitably disturbed this organisation. Processes of modernisation were hesitant during the years following the unification of the kingdom (Menoret, 2005) and the newly-established order remained stable up until the 1950s. As Lacroix (2011) notes, a moral census was never achieved, but the logic of partitioning — particularly in the segregation of the spheres of cultural production — guaranteed and maintained social order. However, beginning in

the 1960s, changes in the dynamics of the locus of power would prove, by 1979, to have severe and destabilising effects that would have lasting impacts on Riyadh’s social and urban environment.

1960s-1970s: accelerated and heterogeneous development

The Middle East witnessed the rise of nationalist and secular governments during the 1960s, notably in Egypt and Syria; this threatened the Saudi state apparatus and caused it to embrace strategies to ensure its stability (Lacroix, 2011). To counter the increased regional competition between the Saudi monarchy and Arab nationalism, the state apparatus championed modernisation and found in its processes a new source of legitimacy.

Large-scale modernisation was enabled by the rise in oil revenues and the gradual emergence of an oil-based economy enmeshed in global market dynamics. Concurrently, members of the Muslim Brotherhood, who represented the political opposition to the nationalist and secular governments in the region, found refuge in Saudi Arabia following their prosecution in Egypt and Syria (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005). As a religious organisation, the Muslim Brotherhood appeared to align with the state apparatus, which continued to derive its legitimacy from the religious apparatus, and which found in the Muslim Brotherhood an ideological tool mobilised to counter the threat of anti-monarchical politics.

The arrival of the Muslim Brotherhood in Saudi Arabia since the 1960s represented a pivotal moment in the formulation of religious nationalism, as the Brotherhood progressively infused a political consciousness into the religious apparatus, causing it to destabilise the established order in the locus of power. As religious as it is political, the Muslim Brotherhood is characterised by two ideological stances that caused the religious apparatus to oppose the state’s newly-embraced strategies of modernisation. As described by Lacroix:

Like the Muslim reformist tradition from which it derives, the tradition of the Muslim Brotherhood is primarily political and was constructed, in its Bannaist version, against the 'imperialist West' and in its Qutbist version, against the 'godless regimes' of the Middle East. The Wahhabi tradition, in contrast, is primarily religious and was constructed against *bida'*, that is, the impurities that were supposed to have grown up around the original dogma of the pious ancestors. (Lacroix, 2011: 52)

Thus, the Muslim Brotherhood appeared complementary to the Salafi (i.e. Wahhabi) tradition, as it supplemented its local, isolated interests with a globalised political consciousness (Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005). Consequently, the state apparatus embraced new strategies for development while simultaneously implementing the seeds of its opposition. The logic of partitioning¹ came under pressure as a new agenda was set for the religious apparatus to fight against the evils of 'Westernisation'. Hence, a tension was created between the two sources from which the state derived its legitimacy.

The introduction of the Muslim Brotherhood also signalled the internal fragmentation of the apparatus responsible for unifying the multiplicities of the social space. Its insertion into Saudi Arabia created a religious apparatus composed of different groups characterised by the '... multiplicity of visions that motivates them' (Lacroix, 2011: 2). Although state determinism led to an attempt to institutionalise the religious apparatus in the 1970s (Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005), the religious sphere resisted homogenisation and remained composed of different groups, most notably: 1) Traditional Salafis (Wahhabis), 2) the Muslim Brotherhood, 3) the Sahwa movement, which can be described as a hybrid movement established at the junction between the Wahhabi and Brotherhood traditions, 4) Ahl-al-Hadith, who desired to purify Wahhabism from the influence of Muslim Brotherhood ideology, and therefore by definition were anti-Sahawis, and 5) Jihadis, who emerged in the 1990s and advocated armed mobilisation against the state (Lacroix, 2011). Therefore, the religious apparatus became characterised by a multiplicity of opposing or overlapping views. Most significantly, the effects of these affiliations were propagated through the educational system — which was especially mobilised by the Muslim Brotherhood to

counter the effects of 'Westernisation' and its corruptive effects on the purity of the nation. Both in schools and universities, generations were educated to 'scorn what the West was giving them, while also being encouraged to blame the West for their ills' (Lacey, 2009).

By the 1970s and through to the 1980s, the influence of the religious apparatus on the education system had the effect of propagating ideologies as well as the disciplines at the capillary level. Thus, the gradual fragmentation of the apparatus found its way into the social body. Affiliations were made explicit in some instances, while they remained implicit whenever members of the general population came under the influence of one group or the other. Therefore, the precepts of promoting virtue and preventing vice gained new dimensions, as implicit and explicit affiliations of official members and volunteers could vary across the ideological spectrum, while the general population was educated to counter the social 'ills' incurred from processes of modernisation.

Against this socio-religious background, the oil boom of 1973 stimulated and accelerated state-led modernisation. Urban and economic development was further accelerated due to economic deregulation coupled with the royal decrees issued between 1973 and 1978 — which greatly incentivised the private sector to participate in the modernisation process (Menoret, 2005; Taylor and Weissman, 1980, p331–359). The royal decrees placed a structural limitation on foreign capital by forcing non-Saudi investment to go through local representatives who were paid an important percentage of the profits generated in the local economy. By forcing partnership with the Saudi private sector, the state apparatus created an investment climate that caused the emerging Saudi business class to accelerate the penetration of international capital. As a result, what the religious apparatus saw as a process of 'Westernisation' that risked undermining the purity of the social body became a source of enrichment for the emerging business elite. A split was therefore created in the locus of power between the sources of state legitimacy: one class constantly 'Westernising', and another constantly fighting 'Westernisation'.

The 1970s were also marked by the increased appearance of women in the public sphere. Modernisation during this period opened new channels for women's participation in public media such as the appearance of women's photographs in newspapers (Lacey, 2009). However, at the social level, the oil boom of 1973 led to the double exclusion of women (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Women were excluded from the general economy, as men were the sole breadwinners; at the same time, economic abundance caused women to be excluded from the domestic sphere as more families were able to afford the use of domestic help (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Consequently, increased purchasing power and free time caused women to become agents of surplus absorption through consumption. As Al-Rasheed (2013) notes, the situation of women challenged societal norms as they started to be more visible in urban spaces. As a result, segregation between the sexes — which was the rule in central Arabia² (Lacey, 2009) — came under pressure in the 1960s and 1970s as more women ventured in unregulated urban spaces. However, this caused women to become targets of harassment, intimidation and flirtation (Al-Rasheed, 2013). In response, the state apparatus gave more power to the CPVPV, which was charged with repressing contact between the sexes (Al-Rasheed, 2013). This development must be understood in light of the state apparatus' desire to appease growing religious discontent caused by such social developments. Therefore, state-led modernisation continued without interference from the religious apparatus at the political and economic level. On the other hand, the social sphere came increasingly under its influences in order to counter and suppress what was believed to 'compromise' the integrity of the social body.

Nevertheless, the increasing tension created by the state apparatus caused a militant opposition group to emerge at the fringes of the religious apparatus. The group was established in the mid-1960s by religious students who assumed the duty of practising the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice (*hisba*) (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011; Lacroix, 2011). Disciples of prominent scholars and named *Al-Jama'a al-Salafiyya al-Muhtasiba* (the Salafi Group that practices Hisba), members of the group derived their position from Ahl-al-Hadith in their anti-Sahawi ideology (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011; Lacroix, 2011), presenting themselves as volunteers with

the mission of protecting society from the 'corrupting' effects of accelerated modernisation and Westernisation.

A complete account of *Al-Jama'a al-Salafiyya al-Muhtasiba* and its history is beyond the scope of this research; however, what is important to note is that the group witnessed a split in 1977 led by a radical follower, *Juhayman al-Utaybi*, who became the leader of the internal rebellion (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011). Progressively, Juhayman and his followers differed with the official religious establishment as they accused it of tolerating the immorality of the state apparatus (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011; Lacroix, 2011). The group rose against what they perceived as the state's perversion of Islamic precepts, condemned the state's allegiance to the United States as the enemy of the Islamic nation, and attacked the state's imposition of moral corruption and vice over society (Lacroix, 2011; Menoret, 2005). Thus, the disciplinary mechanisms of the precepts of promoting virtue and preventing vice were re-appropriated, turned against the state apparatus, and mobilised as a source of legitimacy for political opposition.

By the end of 1979, the efforts of Juhayman and his followers culminated in the armed occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011; Lacey, 2009; Lacroix, 2011). The year 1979 also coincided with the Islamic Revolution and overthrow of the Shah of Iran, which followed the rise of Arab nationalism in the region. Such local and regional events raised political concerns which caused the State to turn to the religious apparatus and adopt strategies to ensure the stability of the Saudi locus of power.

The seizure of the Grand Mosque came as a shock to the state apparatus, which was not equipped at that time with the tools necessary to deal with the complexity of the situation (Lacey, 2009). Due to the religious — both ideological and geographical — context of the occupation, the state apparatus turned to the official religious establishment to provide a legal opinion prior to military intervention. The response of the religious establishment came three days later, which suggested the embarrassment felt by the scholars, who were

asked to condemn ‘...the pious young men they had once blessed as their missionaries’ (Lacey, 2009: 27). Ultimately, two weeks of military intervention with the help of the French special forces GIGN³ ended the occupation and restored public order (Hegghammer and Lacroix, 2007, p103–122; 2011; Lacey, 2009; Lacroix, 2011).

Post-1979, or ‘the post-Juhayman campaign of godliness’

The events of late 1979 mark a pivotal moment for the structures of the locus of power, as Saudi Arabia witnessed what is described as ‘the post-Juhayman campaign of godliness’ (Lacey, 2009: 52). Destabilised and threatened by the strong links the rebels had forged with prominent scholars, the state apparatus decided to grant the religious apparatus more power and embrace the social demands of the rebels. Effectively, the state apparatus turned Juhayman’s social project into ‘government policy.’ (Lacey, 2009: 53). This strategic development should be understood within the state’s attempts to stabilise the locus of power by appeasing religious discontent and bridging the growing gap with the apparatus from which it derived its primary source of legitimacy. As a result, the societal and economic developments that the country had witnessed from the 1950s until the end of the 1970s — and which were perceived as infecting the morality and the purity of the social body — came in the 1980’s, at the social level, under the total control of a determined religious apparatus (Lacey, 2009). Importantly, this development signalled the end of autonomous social spheres. The logic of partitioning that guaranteed social peace was being supplemented by processes aimed at controlling and re-homogenising the populace. Since then, the religious apparatus has operated as extra-structural; it regulates and mediates the effects of modernisation in all segments of the social sphere.

Implicitly, an agreement was established between the state apparatus and the religious apparatus by which political and economic matters remained central to the functions of the former while social matters were now entirely under the control of the latter. As a source of legitimacy, the growing influence granted to the religious apparatus was to neutralise the risk of political opposition. As a source of disciplinary power, its influence was to re-

homogenise the growing fragmentations that led to the temporary destabilisation of the system. Herein began the period of repression (Lacey, 2009) and social discipline.

In urban spaces, the increased visibility of women of the 1970s was countered by a return to gender segregation, which has since extended beyond the Najd region — the central region of Saudi Arabia — and propagated to rest of the country (Lacey, 2009). Public spaces became regulated, and women were banned from public media and television (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Lacey, 2009). Segregation and control over space gradually created, at the city level, two parallel gender-specific worlds (Le Renard, 2011; 2014) between which contact was reduced and often eliminated. Thus, while the disciplinary mechanism of the religious apparatus propagated horizontally, it reintroduced a spatial logic of partitioning that facilitated its control over access and activities in public spaces.

During a period in which the state needed to re-stabilise the network of power relations, the religious apparatus became the arbitrator in matters of public life. As a consequence, processes of modernisation continued; however, they were now being altered and mediated so as to respect the religious character of Saudi society. From the 1980s onwards, the ‘modernisation-Westernisation of Islam’ (Menoret, 2005: 113) of the 1960s and 1970s was gradually replaced by the ‘Islamization of Western modernity’ (Menoret, 2005: 113). As a result, the processes of modernisation were enabled by the disciplinary mechanisms of the religious apparatus, while the perceived ‘ills’ of imported ‘Western modernity’ remained the justification for religious determinism. This co-dependent process allowed the state apparatus to continue its modernisation policies while ensuring that no opposition obstructed its advancement. Subsequently, the economic bourgeoisie continued to accelerate and profit from urban and economic development. Simultaneously, the religious apparatus worked to neutralise its social effects and prevent shifts in the network of power relations by ensuring that social structures remained static and stable.

From the 1980s onwards, women became one of the primary means of achieving social stability against the background of a rapidly-changing environment (Al-Rasheed, 2013; 2015, p292–313).

Gender in the post-1979 era

As Al-Rasheed (2013) has argued, the incessant religious control over the social sphere derived primarily from its exclusion from the spheres of political and economic power. Consequently, the determinism of the religious apparatus penetrated both public and private spheres in its desire to engineer and crystallise its social vision. The precepts of the promotion of virtue and prevention of vice justified social action, while the principle of blocking the means leading to vice allowed the religious apparatus to formulate the norms necessary for the minute control of everyday life. Based on religious arbitration formulated in order to prevent what might lead to ‘immorality’ and ‘sin’, restrictions were placed to regulate details of public life such as dress code, lifestyle and public conduct. For women, restrictions prevented their appearance in public media (Lacroix, 2011) and urban spaces. Rendered invisible, and suffering from restricted mobility, women were mostly confined to the private sphere. In a period preceding the introduction of the mall typology, access to urban spaces remained subject to male guardianship, either exercised directly by male relatives or indirectly through the intermediary of the CPVPV and its formal and informal networks of agents, volunteers and informants. Thus, the private patriarchy of the family went hand-in-hand with the public patriarchy of religious nationalism, each reinforcing the other (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Nevertheless, spatial restrictions and arbitration also prevented gatherings of young men in public spaces, due to the perceived dangers of social rebellion that can arise in such circumstances. Likewise, control over dress code and lifestyle equally affected men who were subject to the restrictions imposed to control imported Western trends, such as non-conforming haircuts.

A panoptic socio-urban model thus progressively begins to crystallise; men and women are confined to predetermined roles and assigned to their respective segregated spaces.



Figure 1: Commission for the promotion of virtue and prevention of vice patrol at the entrance of Al Othaim mall (source: Author).

ساعات افتتاح مركز التسوق MALL OPENING HOURS

Duaa

Entering a MarketPlace

(لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، له الملك وله الحمد يُحيي ويميت وهو حي لا يموت، بيده الخير وهو على كل شيء قدير)
رواه ابن ماجه وحسن الألباني

(None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, alone, without a partner to Him belongs all sovereignty and praise. He gives life and causes death, and He is living and does not die. In His hand is all good and He is over all things, omnipotent.)

دعاء

دخول السوق

Stores

Saturday - Thursday

09:30 am - 11:00 pm ليلاً 11:00 - صباحاً 09:30

Friday

04:00 pm - 11:00 pm ليلاً 11:00 - عصراً 04:00

المعارض

السبت - الخميس

الجمعة

Food Court

Saturday - Thursday

09:30 am - 12:00 am ليلاً 12:00 - صباحاً 09:30

Friday

02:00 pm - 12:00 am ليلاً 12:00 - ظهراً 02:00

المطاعم

السبت - الخميس

الجمعة

Entertainment

Friday

04:00 pm - 12:00 pm ليلاً 12:00 - عصراً 04:00

الترفيه

الجمعة



arabiancentres



@arabian.centres

arabiancentres.com

920 000 262

Figure 2: Information and instructions at the entrance of Al Nakheel mall (source: Author).

As Spain (1992) argues, disparities and gender stratification are reinforced by spatial segregation. Women's access to urban spaces and the public sphere certainly deteriorated following the events of 1979; in comparison, men appeared to benefit from freedom of mobility and greater access to urban spaces. Nevertheless, the relative freedom experienced by men does not negate the fact that control was exercised on all segments of society. In a gender-segregated society, both men and women come under the influence of disciplinary power; it is the nuances and variations in its application between genders and social classes that create the stratifications characterising Saudi society.

As opposed to gender stratification, spatial segregation in Riyadh — and the apparent social homogeneity caused by religious processes of normalisation — have the effect of disguising class stratification. The urban sprawl caused by state-led urbanisation, coupled with the disciplinary mechanisms of the religious apparatus, creates a fragmented and controlled urban space in which contact between heterogeneous social agents is reduced. Moreover, the normalisation of public appearances and behaviours causes social frictions to be neutralised whenever such contacts occur. As a result, the stability of the locus of power is secured. It is against this background of urban sprawl and increased social and spatial regulation that the future shopping mall typology would be imported.

1990s: Renewed opposition and shifts in the structures of power

The stability of the locus of power was once more disturbed in the early 1990s, due to renewed political opposition emerging from within the religious apparatus. Having secured their power over the social sphere, Sahawi activists and prominent scholars mobilised between 1991 and 1995 in an attempt to widen the scope of their influence and overtake the political and economic spheres (Lacroix, 2011). In response, the state apparatus established direct control and organisation of the official religious establishment between 1993 and 1994 (Lacroix, 2011). The strategic move towards greater institutionalisation of the religious apparatus strongly suggests the development of processes aimed at

subsuming its power, which further blurred the distinction between the religious apparatus and the state apparatus. As a consequence, control over the inner workings of the religious apparatus makes it possible to extract legitimacy and social order while simultaneously repressing any manifestation of political opposition.

Hesitantly, the state apparatus started to open up the social sphere and gradually accelerated processes of modernisation. However, power struggles remained within the locus of power while the religious apparatus continued to have a significant impact on the social space. From 1990 to 2003, opening up and Islamisation continued hand-in-hand (Menoret, 2005), each enabling the other.

Following the terrorist attacks of September 2001 on the United States and the global rise of Al-Qaeda, Saudi Arabia was subject to terrorist attacks from Jihadi activists. Concurrently, it came under increased pressure from the international community that blamed the Saudi state for enabling international terrorism. In response, the state apparatus continued its hesitant shift towards modernisation as a source of legitimacy. Significantly, women became the means through which the state apparatus would forge a new image in its attempts to appeal to the international community (Al-Rasheed, 2013). As a consequence, women gradually re-emerged into public discourse and became more visible in public media (Lacey, 2009).

Accordingly, the 2000s marked the diminishing autonomy of the religious apparatus and the gradual restructuring of the locus of power. The inner composition of *religious nationalism* was altered; the state apparatus became the ultimate arbitrator, and the religious establishment subservient to its policies (Lacey, 2011). It is during this pivotal moment of the intensified move to modernisation and the corresponding repression of religious opposition that the shopping mall typology was introduced in Riyadh.

The introduction of the mall typology

In Riyadh, the shopping mall typology in its contemporary form appeared in the late 1990s and early 2000s, following two decades of increased theocratic control over the public sphere. From a social perspective, the mall appeared a solution for the desire to modernise and open up the social sphere, while maintaining in practice the disciplinary mechanisms characterising Riyadh's socio-urban environment. From an economic perspective, the double exclusion of women, coupled with increased free time and purchasing power, caused shopping mall administrators to formulate commercial strategies in favour of female customers. In a gender-segregated society, malls essentially became spaces for women. Indeed, in contrast with the restrictions women experience in outdoor urban spaces, malls are experienced as spaces of relative freedom (Le Renard, 2014); men on the other hand experience malls as spaces of increased restrictions.

Arguably, the shopping mall typology in Riyadh appears as the culmination of the dynamics of disciplinary power. As demonstrated in this research, it is the spatial materialisation of the panoptic model that resulted from the internal struggles of the locus of power. Set against the unpredictability of the urban environment, the spatial control offered by the mall typology creates a space that allows women to be in public while remaining in a sanitised, protected, and predictable environment. It is a space that projects the image of a modern society, and a space in which 'piety' and 'morality' are maintained.

Significantly, the shopping mall typology was introduced during a period of gradual reform. During its introduction, restrictions on access and activities were put in place to maintain social order. For example, young and unaccompanied men were denied access, particularly at busy hours, when more families and women were likely to be in the mall. In 2012, such restrictions on access for men were officially lifted; in practice, however, access to malls remained subject to restrictions. Likewise, the power given to the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice was significantly reduced in 2016. The reorganisation of the CPVPV, announced by the Council of Ministers, removed its ability to take action and confined its responsibilities to report infractions to state authorities.

By the time the fieldwork for this research was conducted, the organisation of public life was no longer under the direct control of the religious apparatus. On the other hand, the disciplinary mechanisms it had instilled for decades remained in operation. The shifting urban and social landscape in Riyadh facilitated the data collection process. However, as will be discussed in later chapters, the observed restrictions and persistent control over space and the social sphere attest to the continuous propagation and self-perpetuation of the Saudi socio-urban panoptic model.

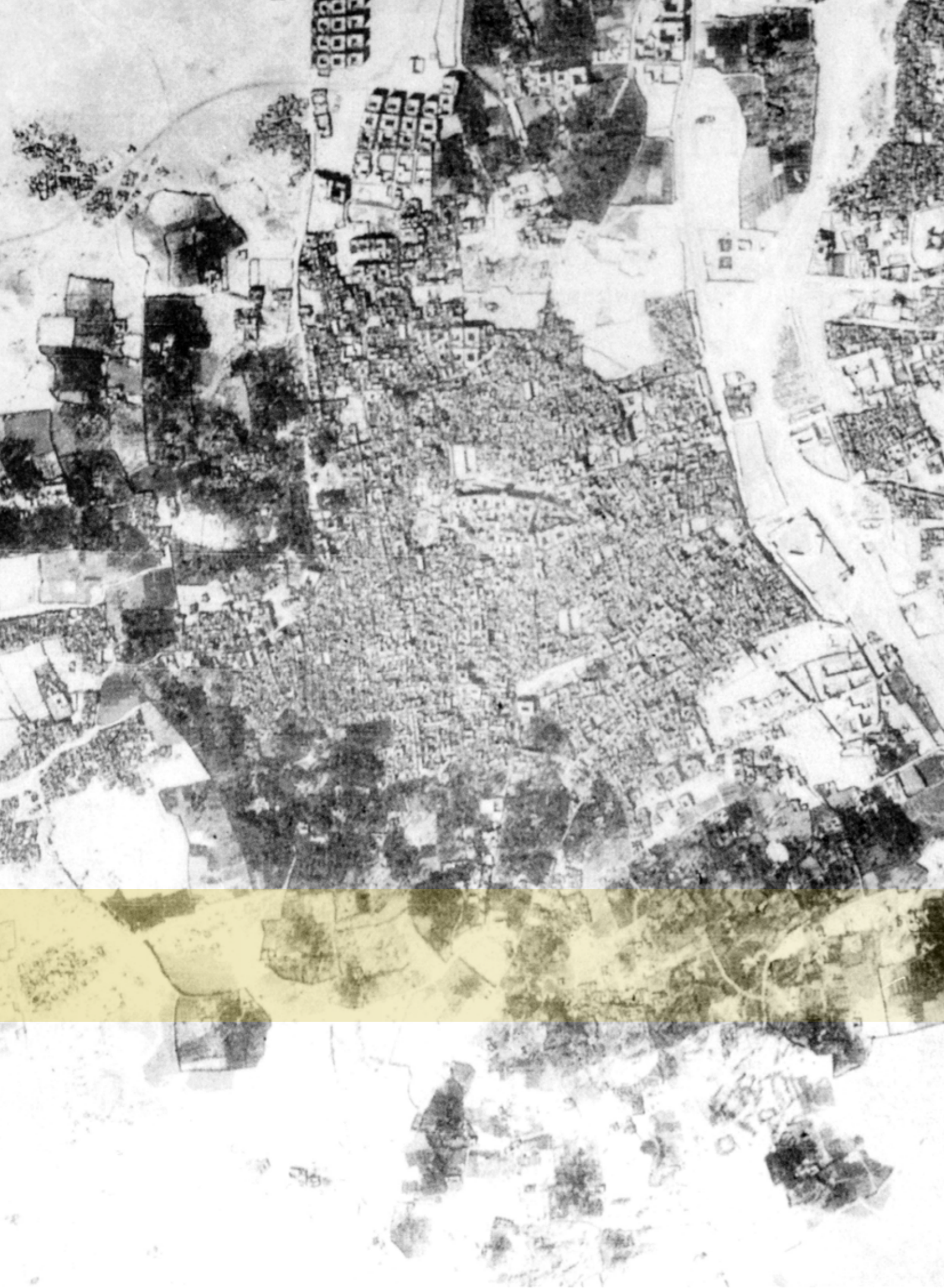
The following chapters discuss the development of Riyadh from the establishment of the traditional city to the development of the contemporary urban environment. The objective is to investigate the changes in the structure of the city; these are namely the evolution of the traditional *suq* and its fall, followed by the development of the modern urban environment and the accelerated urbanism that the city has witnessed. It is a selective reading of Riyadh's urban environment, which focuses primarily on how public space and public life were shaped and re-shaped through the formation and transformations of Riyadh's urban form. This is necessary for situating the shopping mall in the wider context of Riyadh and exploring the changes in the structures of power that have directly impacted the emergence of the Saudi shopping mall.

Notes

1 Partitioning is a term borrowed from Foucault. It designates the division of a given space into partitions to facilitate surveillance and prevent undesired encounters between individuals. In this research, it is used to describe how the urban and social spaces of Riyadh are divided into fragments respectively. These fragments were engineered, and an effort was made to reduce contact between them in an attempt to eliminate social frictions. As a result, the stability of the system is guaranteed by heterogeneous agents, and contrasting views are less likely to conflict.

2 The study of the spatial organisation of the traditional *suq* in chapter four confirms that gender segregation is a constant characteristic of public spaces in Riyadh.

3 GIGN: Groupe d'intervention de la Gendarmerie nationale. English translation: National Gendarmerie Intervention Group. The GIGN is the French elite police force that 'was created in the aftermath of the deadly failure to counter the hostage taking of Israeli Olympians at the 1972 Games in Munich.' (Peachy, 2015).



Chapter IV Traditional Riyadh

The urban setting pre-1950s

4

This chapter covers the urban development of Riyadh, from the emergence of the early settlements to the establishment of the city as the capital of Saudi Arabia. It is a selective reading of the early developments of traditional Riyadh, primarily focusing on its urban spaces. A detailed investigation explores the spatial attributes of the *suq* (i.e. the traditional marketplace) and the primary urban structures of the traditional fabric. This approach is based on a close analysis of historic travelogues and photographs, as well as contemporary studies that offer valuable information about the formation of Riyadh and its development. The close attention paid to the traditional marketplace stems from the fact that it was the first commercial space of the city. As will be discussed, the *suq* was the primary public space of Riyadh up until the fall of the traditional city in the early 1950s (see: Facey, 1992; Philby, 1922; Rihani, 1928).

The diminishing resources of *Najdi'* towns, along with its harsh regional climate and hostile social structure, resulted in the city's isolation from external influences (Facey, 1992) prior to the discovery of oil and the modernisation of Saudi Arabia (Daghistani, 1985). Such aspects of traditional Riyadh contrast with the present globalisation of the city and the introduction of imported typologies that originated in European and North American contexts — as can be observed in the villa-type dwelling² or the shopping mall. Still, certain aspects of the *suq* — such as the rhythm imposed by the Mosque and the daily call to prayers — have been maintained in the contemporary urban environment (namely in the shopping mall), and have certainly played a role in shaping a localised-global typology particular to Saudi cities. Additionally, the social segregation in the contemporary shopping mall finds its origins in the spatial organisation of the traditional city. However, it differs from the male-dominated *suq* in adopting strategies initially favourable to female shoppers (Sandels, 2012).

Therefore, the historical study of the city's traditional fabric is relevant to the study of the mall typology, as it sheds light on the origins of local socio-cultural practices perpetuated today in Riyadh's malls. This chapter demonstrates how control mechanisms assumed in the mall's organisation are theoretically in accordance with practices that were already

established in traditional Riyadh. However, both mechanisms and practices differ significantly in their intentions and the level of exclusion in which they operate. It should be noted that the mechanisms of the mall operate to exclude the socially undesired and the unpredictability of the urban setting. As for favoured groups, strategies are deployed to encourage impulsive consumer behaviour in order to increase profits. On the other hand, historically, the supervisory role played by the palace was intended to ensure social order and did not exclude particular social groups from the *suq*. Additionally, gender segregation was established by religious rulings to prevent undesired intermixing in order to encourage values of piety and chastity³. Such aspects of traditional Riyadh have been introduced into the contemporary shopping mall and are believed to have created a situation particular to the Saudi context. This chapter will lay the foundations for the study of these similar — and to a certain degree, competing — mechanisms that operate in the contemporary space of the mall.

This in-depth exploration of traditional Riyadh is followed by discussions on the political and social structure of Riyadh in the late 19th and early 20th century, its primary sources of revenue, as well as the economic and social significance of the *suq*. Finally, the investigation is foregrounded by a brief overview of Riyadh's geographical and climatological characteristics that help situate the investigation in its context. This will shed light on the essential attributes that made the *Najd* area, and Riyadh in particular, a favoured place for early societies to establish their settlements.

Location, geographical characteristics and climate

Riyadh is the capital of Saudi Arabia (fig. 2, 3), located in the Arabian peninsula (fig. 2) in the central sedimentary plateau of *Najd* (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1999), about 3km from the eastern bank of *Wadi Hanifah* valley (Lorimer, 1915), and some 600m above sea level (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1999; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Daghistani, 1985; Thompson, 1996). The city lies on a fertile low silt plane, at the confluence of three major arterial *wadis* (Daghistani, 1985) and is

Figure 1: Map of the World (source: Author).



Figure 2: Map of the Middle East (source: Author).



Figure 3: Map of Saudi Arabia (source: <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/saudi-arabia-map.htm>).



Figure 4: Map of Saudi Arabia (source: Encyclopædia Britannica online, 2012).

bordered by minor tributaries that adjoin and feed the *Wadi Hanifah* (Facey, 1992). The water resources provided by the *Wadi* system are typical of Riyadh's surroundings. It was an area favoured amongst settlers, who relied on such resources to establish agricultural towns surrounded by palm gardens and other plantations (Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992). The name 'Ar-Riyadh' (meaning: gardens), originated from the ubiquitous palm groves surrounding the early settlements of central *Najd* (Al-Jasir, 2001), and later became the name of the capital city.

However, Riyadh is situated in a harsh environment (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2006), and suffers from a dry climate (Facey, 1992), with temperatures that can rise above 40C during the summer season (Thompson, 1996). On the other hand, temperatures decrease significantly during the winter season to an average of between 6C and 10C in January, and may occasionally fall below 0C (Daghistani, 1985; Thompson, 1996) causing hard frost to damage agricultural produce (Facey, 1992). Rainfall is scarce and is often concentrated in several heavy showers that fall all at once in short periods, resulting in flash floods (Daghistani, 1985) capable of sweeping away entire settlements (Facey, 1992).

Droughts were also a recurring theme in the early history of *Najd* (Facey, 1992). Its harsh climate led to periods of unrest and social divide, causing settlements and Bedouin tribes to compete for resources. Such was the nature of *Najdi* society up until the emergence of the first Saudi state and the establishment of a social and political structure that unified local societies and replaced rivalries with an allegiance to one religion and state (Facey, 1992).

Politics, social structure and state revenues

Each *Najdi* town was governed by a local chief called *shaykh* or *ra'is*, who owed his right to rule to having either founded the settlement initially or to having usurped the founder or his successor (Facey, 1992). His power over the inhabitants was exerted by the land

ownership that he disposed of to extend his area of influence (Facey, 1992). The lands would be leased, allowing the ruling family to secure a valuable source of income, or would otherwise be given to influential new settlers who offered human resources for the *sheik* to secure the settlement and extend his realm of influence (Facey, 1992). In Riyadh, the *suq* was also owned and supervised by the Royal Palace (Rihani, 1928), thus increasing the revenues paid to the Royal treasury.

The security offered by the ruling family appealed to new settlers, who in exchange, offered military service and paid a tribute, called *khuwwa*, imposed by the local *sheik* (Al Rasheed, 2002). Similarly, a tax was imposed by the ruling chiefs on passing trade and *Haji* caravans in exchange for protection (Facey, 1992). The taxation system continued to be applied during the Saudi states with the imposition of the Islamic alms tax, or Zakah (Al Rasheed, 2002; Facey, 1992). The latter was paid based on both apparent and hidden wealth (Al Rasheed, 2002). This meant that tax was levied on livestock in tribal communities, and on agricultural produce in settlements (Facey, 1992). An additional wealth tax of 2.5% was levied on gold and silver, and merchants paid a similar tax on traded goods (Facey, 1992).

In practice, the collected tax was paid to the treasury and provided for the establishment of the ruler and the expansion of his power (Facey, 1992). However, the nomadic nature of the *Bedu* tribes made it difficult to keep them under within fixed settlements (Al Rasheed, 2002). Subsidies were paid to preeminent tribal chiefs in exchange for military service and the promise of loyalty to the ruler (Al Rasheed, 2002; Facey, 1992). Likewise, the tax provided for the daily meals and gifts that the Royal Palace offered to its daily visitors (Facey, 1992; Palgrave, 1868; Philby, 1922; Rihani, 1928).

The subsidy system was the essence of traditional *Najdi* rule (Rihani, 1928). It was paid directly to tribal chiefs, or offered as gifts and meals from the Palace, and resulted in the circulation and redistribution of public wealth (Al Rasheed, 2002). It justified the pre-eminence of the ruler to his people (Rihani, 1928). Consequently, the local

population relied significantly on the Royal Palace to provide for their needs. Through the management of the Palace, the taxation system, as well as booty collected in times of war, provided revenues for the expenditures of the state. These revenues essentially paid for the services of guards, soldiers, and the like, and were also paid back to the larger population of *Najd*.

As a result, the structures of traditional Riyadh relegated the *suq* to a minor economic role, and the Royal Palace replaced the market as the primary economic engine of the city. Nevertheless, the *suq* played an important role in the life of Riyadh, and was the place where people spent most of their free time. The *suq*, by being closely located to the Palace, perhaps justified the presence of those who wanted to be nearby the ruling establishment, and it was certainly the first contact with the city which visitors experienced when visiting the King.

Having established the environmental, political and economic arrangements of traditional Riyadh, a brief overview of its development is essential to understand its urban form and investigate its central core as well as the traditional *suq* in further detail.

Riyadh: origins and development

The early settlement of *Hajr*

Riyadh locates its origins in the settlement of *Hajr*, also known as *Hajr al-Yamamah* (fig. 5), which is situated in *al-Yamamah*⁴ district in central Arabia (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011; Al-Jasir, 2001; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992; Othman, 1996, p84–124). It is believed that the origins of the settlement trace back to a time when the tribes of *Tasm* and *Jadis* established a fortified settlement sometime before 380 AD (Al-Jasir, 2001; Facey, 1992). The *Hajr* of *Tasm* and *Jadis* was destroyed in 420 AD (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40), and later, the ruined settlement was re-built by the tribe of *Banu Hanifah* during the last two centuries of the pre-Islamic era (Othman, 1996, p84–124).



Figure 5: Al-Yamamah district, Hajr and major settlements 380-420 AD (source: Author).

The urban patterns of *Hajr* remain unknown due to a lack of archaeological evidence. However, Facey (1992) argues that literary sources could be called upon to provide a rough image of the settlements of *al-Yamamah*. Facey relies on evidence such as the literature of the Persian traveller Nasir Khusraw, who visited *al-Yamamah* of *Banu Hanifah* during the early 11th century. About the settlement, he writes:

... We reached Yamamah after a journey of four days and four nights [from al-Aflaj]. Yamamah is a large, old castle, at the foot of which spreads the town and the market. In the market craftsmen who practice every trade do businesses. The great Mosque is beautiful...

... The district of Yamamah is cut by flowing streams and underground water channels, and there are date plantations. (Schefer 1970 cited in Facey, 1992: 58)⁵

It is noticeable from Khusraw's description that the castle of *al-Yamamah* was the primary urban entity, next to which was located the central marketplace. Unlike most Muslim cities — such as in Baghdad, Tehran and Damascus — in which the *suq* was dependent on the location of the Great Mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Hakim, 1986), the urban configuration of *Najdi* towns was primarily reliant on the ruling palace. This is particularly visible in the configuration of old Riyadh up until the early 1950s. Moreover, Facey (1992) remarks that the settlement referred to here is *Khidrimah*, a settlement located on the *Hajj* caravan route between *al-Kharj* and *Hajr*. Whatever the case, he argues that such a description could be used to determine the nature of settlements during that period. Based on such evidence, he describes the settlement of *Hajr*.

Within such new constraints, we may nonetheless envisage the urban fabric of *Hajr* much as before: fortified houses and towers scattered amongst the palm groves and gardens, with a central area composed of the fortress of the governor or ruling house, a *suq*, a large central mosque, and perhaps a concentration of houses belonging to the prominent merchants and members of the ruler's militia — rather along the lines of, for example, the Najran oasis in recent centuries. To what extent it was fortified is impossible to say but, on present evidence, it is perhaps unlikely that it was a discreet walled town with the entire population concentrated within, as was to become the pattern in later times. (Facey, 1992: 54)

This is how *Hajr* was believed to be at its height: a continuation of the nucleus of the urban pattern of the traditional city, and a prosperous settlement of pastoral and agricultural activity. Trade thrived, and the *suq* was known historically for its blacksmiths, its provision of military equipment, and its textile and knitting trades (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). Nevertheless, the history of *Hajr* remains for the most part unknown, and periods of prosperity and decline cannot be clearly identified (Facey, 1992). Nonetheless, the settlement is believed to have declined gradually in the second half of the ninth century (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40), and disappeared from historical chronicles by the 13th century (Othman, 1996, p84–124). By that time, *Hajr* had fragmented into smaller

settlements of lesser significance, including: *Muqrin*, *Mi'qal*, *al-'Ud*, *Jubrah*, *Manfuhah*, *al-Binyah*, *al-Masani'* and *Siah* (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011; Othman, 1996, p84–124). These *Najdi* settlements were in later centuries to become part of the city of Riyadh.

Riyadh in the 18th century

The name 'Riyadh' first appears in historical records in the 17th century, when the group of settlements and their surrounding plantations began to be referred to as 'Riyadh' (meaning 'Gardens'), with *Muqrin* being the prominent settlement in the area (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Facey, 1992).

However, it was during the mid-18th century that Riyadh was first established as a distinct city (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Othman, 1996, p84–124) — when in the 1730s, Diham bin Dawwas, the prince of *Manfuhah*, fled to *Muqrin* and established himself in a city which occupied the same central core as the city of Riyadh as it is found in later historical records. It is during the time of Diham's rule that we have the first evidence of a completely-fortified city; however, no evidence is available as to when exactly the first constructions of the wall took place in Riyadh. Nevertheless, Facey (1992) argues that, even if the walls were existing when Diham bin Dawwas took over *Muqrin*, he would have extended and improved on the fortifications before 1745-6, in order to protect the settlement from hostilities emanating from neighbouring rivals in *Dir'iyyah* and *Manfuhah*. Otherwise, the available evidence suggests that the fortifications encircled an area larger than Riyadh, as described by Palgrave in 1862. This area included the surrounding palm gardens and satellite towns, which were later excluded from Riyadh, such as the settlement of *Mi'qal* (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Facey, 1992). Additionally, Diham bin Dawwas established a ruling palace (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40), and under his reign, trade flourished with *al-Hasa* of the Eastern Province (Facey, 1992).

In 1773, Riyadh lost its independence to *Dir'iyyah* and came under the influence of the first Saudi State (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40). It had also lost its political and economic

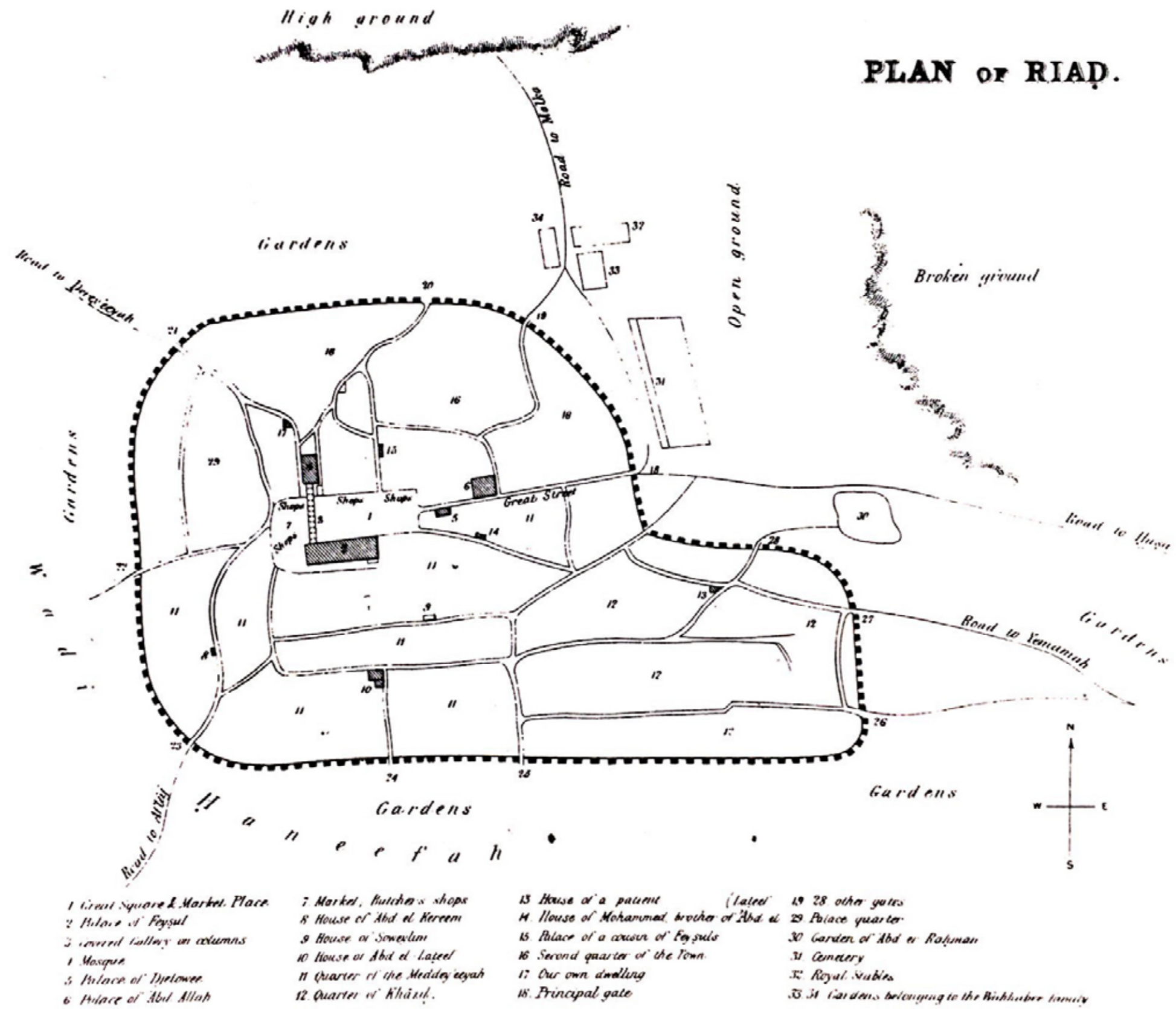


Figure 6.a: Palgrave's plan of Riyadh in 1862 (source: Palgrave, 1868).

significance, and became a mere agricultural town. Nonetheless, records do not show to what extent the walls and the palace of Diham bin Dawwas were destroyed. It is evident that the fortifications were destroyed in order to render the city defenceless (Facey, 1992). No other evidence is available to describe the urban pattern of Riyadh at that time. Thus, the city remained partly destroyed, only to become — in later decades — the capital of the *Emirate of Najd* — the second Saudi state — under the command of Imam Turki ibn Abdullah, who established a ruling palace and re-built the city’s fortifications.

Riyadh: capital of the second Saudi State – *Emirate of Najd*

Riyadh later became the capital of the second Saudi state, also known as the ‘*Emirate of Najd*’, under the reign of Imam Turki ibn Abdullah in 1824. Upon establishing Riyadh as the successor of *Dir’iyyah*, the urban pattern of *Dir’yyah* was repeated in the new capital; the Imam constructed a fortified palace and established the seat of the new government, the city walls were restored, and a new Grand Mosque was built in the central core of the city (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Daghistani, 1985). Furthermore, the establishment of Riyadh as the capital required the expansion of the city after its decline, in order to accommodate the functions of the new government. It was during the time of Imam Turki ibn Abdullah that the urban pattern of the city would be developed, which is how it remained until the end of traditional Riyadh in the 1950s (Facey, 1992).

Furthermore, it is from this time onwards that we start to have the first extensive description of Riyadh based on the recorded observations of travellers and agents in central Arabia. The first to record a detailed account of the city was William Gifford Palgrave, who visited Riyadh in 1862, four decades after it became the capital of the second Saudi state (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011; Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992). Based on his observations, and the first drawn plan of the city (fig. 6), it is evident that the new fortifications of Riyadh covered an area smaller than the area described at the time of Diham, and it is also evident that the urban patterns of the city became more focused around its core.

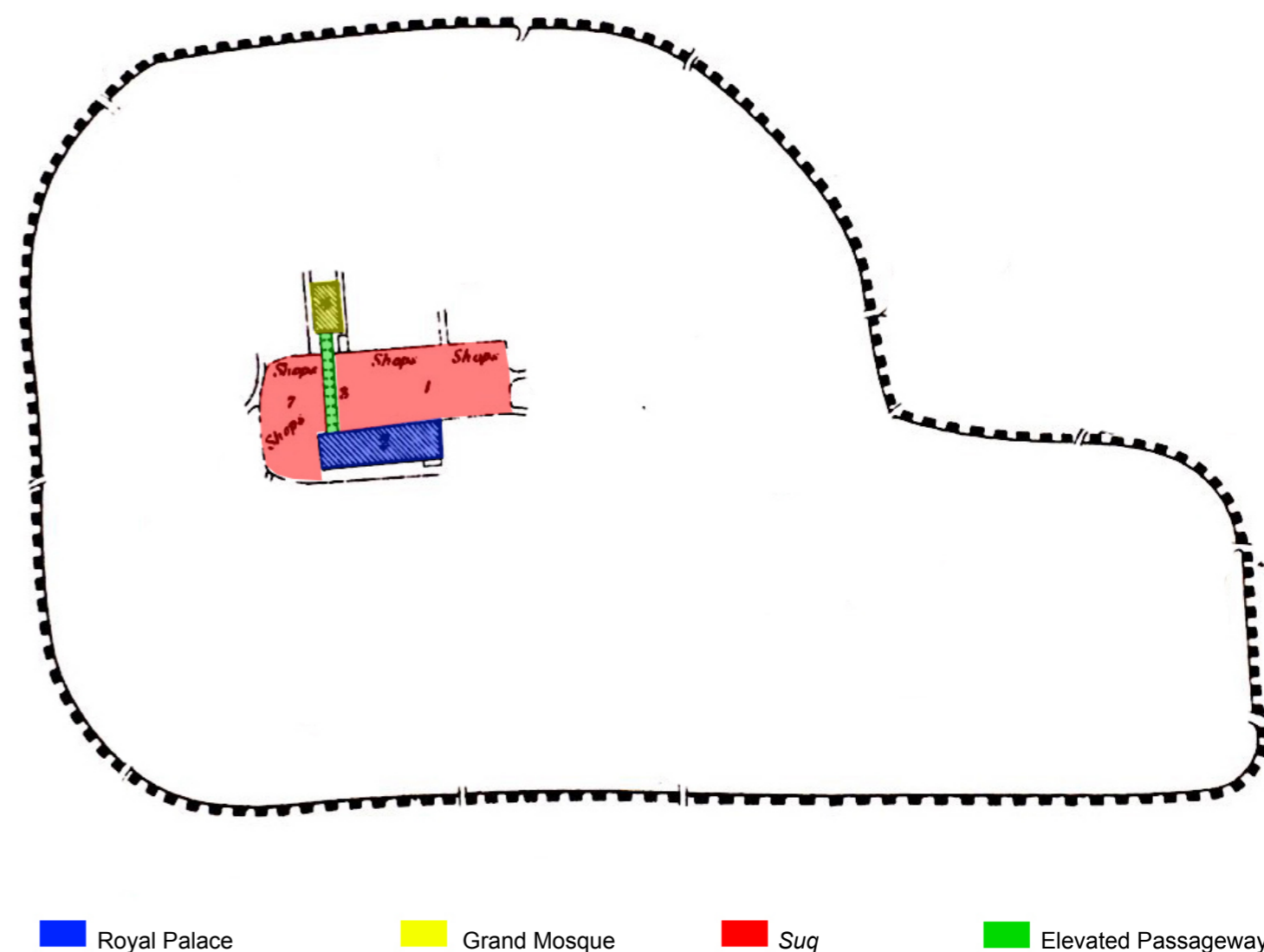


Figure 6.b: Spatial organisation of the central area (readapted from Palgrave, 1868 by the author).

Palgrave estimated that the population of Riyadh at that time was approximately 12,000 to 16,000 (Facey, 1992). It should be noted that the estimations of local population provided by travellers were calculated based upon the number of worshippers gathered in the Grand Mosque during Friday prayers. Therefore, they cannot be definitive (Facey, 1992). Nonetheless, given the scarcity of research on the development of the old city, these accounts remain a valuable tool which helps to provide an approximation of changes in the urban patterns — the *suq* in particular — that were required in order to accommodate the needs of the local population.

When Palgrave visited Riyadh, it was a prosperous city, with pastoralism and agriculture being the primary practices of the local inhabitants. The *suq* must have played a central role in the everyday life of the population; however, it is unlikely that it played a primary economic function. As will be discussed further in this chapter, the economic role of the *suq* in Riyadh was essentially of secondary importance.

Riyadh: capital of the third Saudi State

The prosperity of Riyadh was interrupted in 1891 when the house of Saud was dislodged, and the city walls were once again destroyed. The years of war and famine considerably decreased the population of Riyadh until the city was reclaimed by King Abdulaziz ibn Saud — known as Ibn Saud — in 1902. Riyadh was once more established as the capital, and its defences were rapidly restored (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). Many travellers — such as officer and Arabist Harry Philby, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Leachman, who each visited Riyadh as agents of the British Empire, the Austro-Hungarian journalist Leopard Weiss, and the Lebanese-American writer Ameen Rihani — visited Riyadh during the reign of Ibn Saud. It is from this period that we have the most detailed accounts of the traditional city. In 1915, Lorimer (1915, vol. II: 1539) stated that the local population amounted to 8,000 inhabitants. Later, Philby (1922: vol. I: 374) estimated that the population of Riyadh had grown to approximately 18,000 inhabitants. Whatever the case, it is clear from these accounts that the new-found prosperity and security in the region had attracted more people to the city. Moreover, new trading

opportunities and the discovery of oil during the late 1930s, along with the introduction of new technologies, progressively placed more pressure on the urban fabric of Riyadh.

Urban form of the central core – the Palace, the Grand Mosque and the *suq*

This investigation now turns to the physical description of the old city: its walls, its general attributes and its central core — namely, the ruling palace, the Grand Mosque, and of greatest interest, the central *suq*.

As previously discussed, it is during the time of Imam Faisal bin Turki onwards that we begin to find the most vivid descriptions of Riyadh. All accounts describe a fortified city surrounded by substantial palm groves, located essentially outside the south and south-western parts of the wall. Constructions were inward-facing and made of local material; sun-dried mud bricks and raw wood trunks were the primary means of building, and the architecture was characterised by minimal exterior decoration, if there was indeed any decoration at all (fig. 7).

Philby described the city:

...as an irregular many-sided figure, which with the help of a little imagination may be regarded as an equilateral spherical triangle with a baseline of rather more than 600 yards on the north and its apex to the south, with a superficial area of about 100 acres and with streets radiating in every direction towards the circumference from a central and roughly circular enclave dominated by the palace.' (Philby, 1922, vol. I: 70).

Moreover, Riyadh was comprised of a compact and dense urban fabric encircled by a defensive wall, with guard-turrets located at frequent intervals ensuring the security of the inhabitants, and was complemented with gateways known as *darawiz* (sing. *dirwazah*)⁶ (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011), which regulated access to the city. Consequently, the Royal Palace was able to exercise control over access and circulation both to and from the city.



Figure 7: Riyadh's traditional architecture. The urban form was characterised by a continuous and functional mass of minimal architectural decorations (source: Mousalli et al., 1977).

Around the fortifications were extensive plantations (fig. 8) and palm groves situated beyond the southern, south-western and western parts of the wall (Lorimer, 1915; Philby, 1922). Meanwhile, the open eastern plateau was occupied by Bedouins who were attracted to the offerings of the new capital. The Bedouin camps later became part of the new suburbs of Riyadh (Facey, 1992).

During the second Saudi state, Palgrave observed that the city was divided into four quarters, each '... considered as a municipal whole...' (1866, vol. I: 442, see also High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003, p112; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7-40), with thirty mosques located within the city's enclave (Povah, 1887 cited in Facey, 1992). These quarters did not have any distinct physical separations — such as in traditional Damascus, for example — and were defined only by the main streets surrounding them. These would

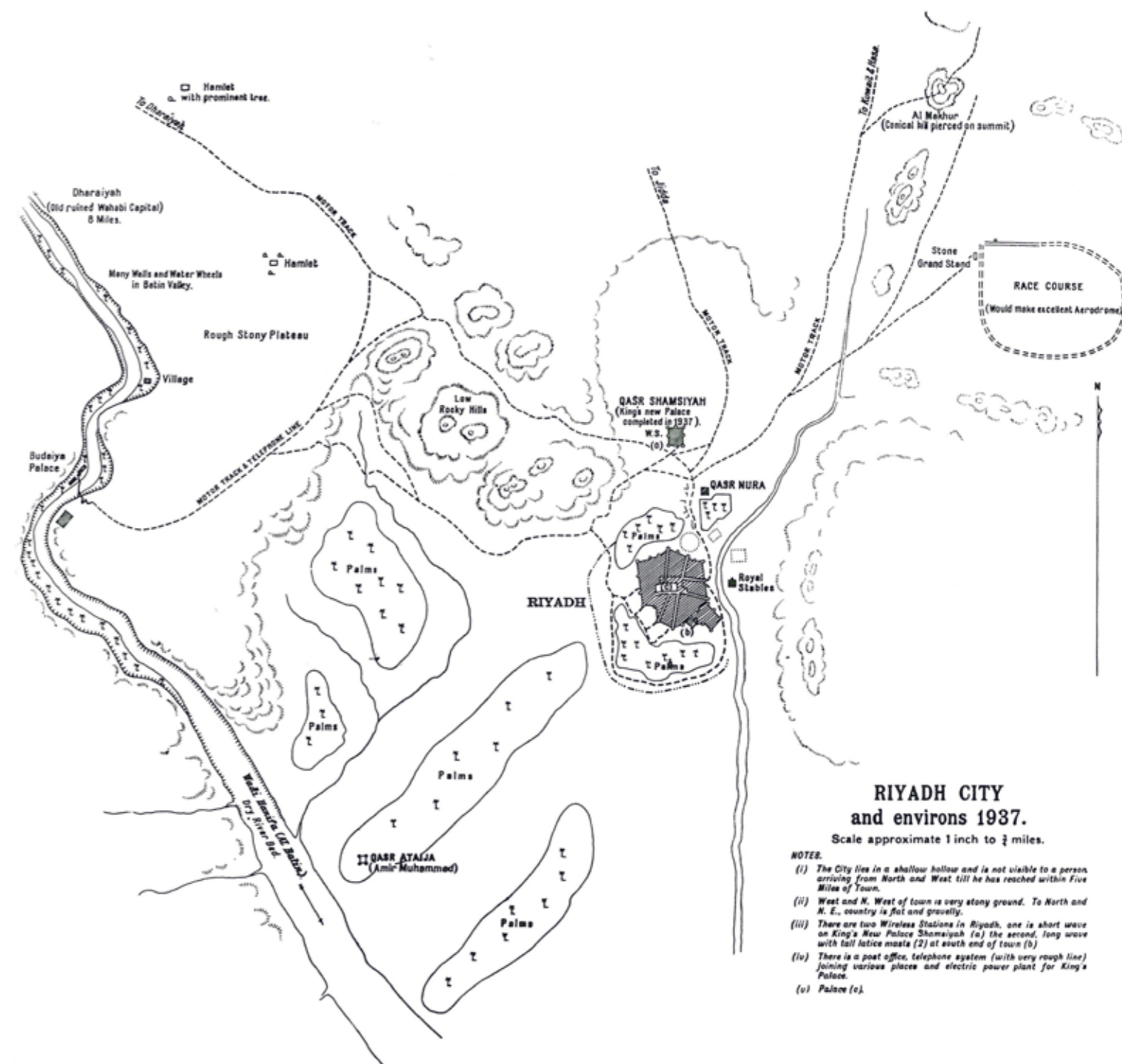


Figure 8: Dickson's map of Riyadh 1937 (source: Dickson, 1983).

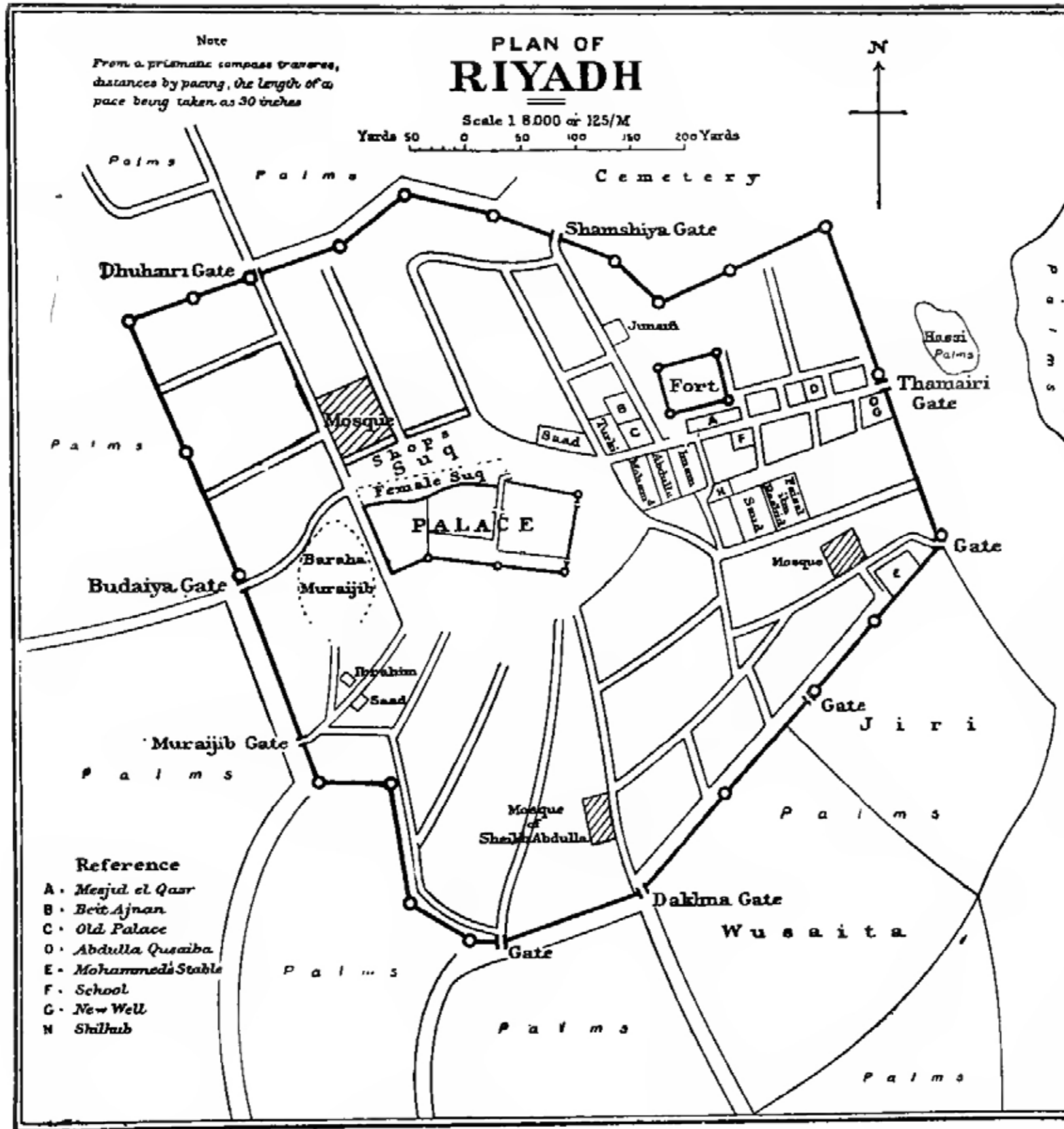
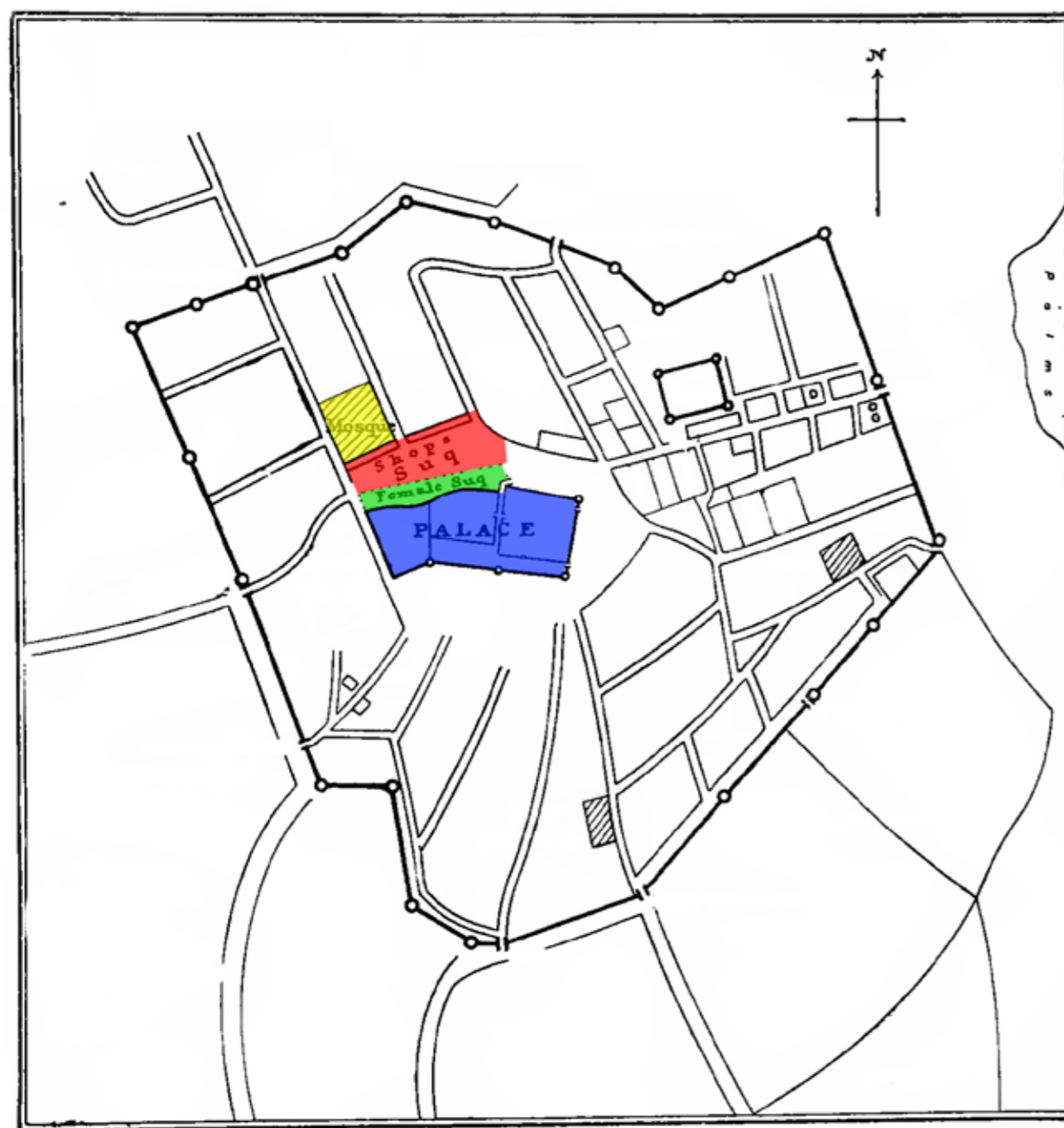


Figure 9.a: Philby's plan of Riyadh 1922 (source: Philby, 1922, vol. I: 71).



■ Royal Palace
 ■ Grand Mosque
 ■ Suq
 ■ Female Suq

Figure 9.b: Spatial organisation of the central area (readapted from Philby, 1922 by the author).

converge in the central area of the city where the marketplace — bordered by the Grand Mosque on the one side, and the ruling palace on the other — was to be found (Palgrave, 1866).

It is argued that Palgrave’s accounts were rough approximations, as most of his descriptions were written from memory after his journey in Riyadh (Facey, 1992; Philby, 1922). Thus, the information he provided would be less accurate than those provided in more recent literature. Regardless, it is certainly the case that the city and its population grew within the fortifications in the early 20th century, and that the number of neighbourhoods, mosques, gates and shops must have increased accordingly. In all cases, the architecture of the dwellings within the city was of little interest to travellers and was rarely described. For example, their exteriors did not catch the attention of Philby (Facey, 1992) who described them as ‘...ordinary dwelling-houses, of which no special mention is necessary.’ (Philby, 1922: 76). Their architecture was, as noted, inward-facing, with minimal external features. As such, Philby was more interested in their internal composition and decorations, especially in those belonging to the royal family (Facey, 1992).

It is perhaps more evident in the plan of Riyadh (fig. 6) that Palgrave was working from memory. His pronounced L-shaped plan was later corrected by Philby (Philby, 1922), who spent an extensive period of time calculating the dimensions and observing the characteristics of the city and its fortifications (fig. 9). Nonetheless, Palgrave was keener in observing the inhabitants’ everyday life, and the physical description he made of the central core corresponds with those reported in later decades; therefore, it offers a valuable source of investigation of the *suq* in 1862.

Palgrave (1866, 1868) described the *suq* as a great open parallelogram bordered by shops located along its northern edge — those are the shops found along the southern wall of the adjacent Grand Mosque — while the southern part of the *suq* was free of shops. The dimensions of the *suq* were arrived at by pacing; he estimated the length of the



Figure 10.a: The urban pattern of traditional Rivadh 1930-1950 (source: Author).

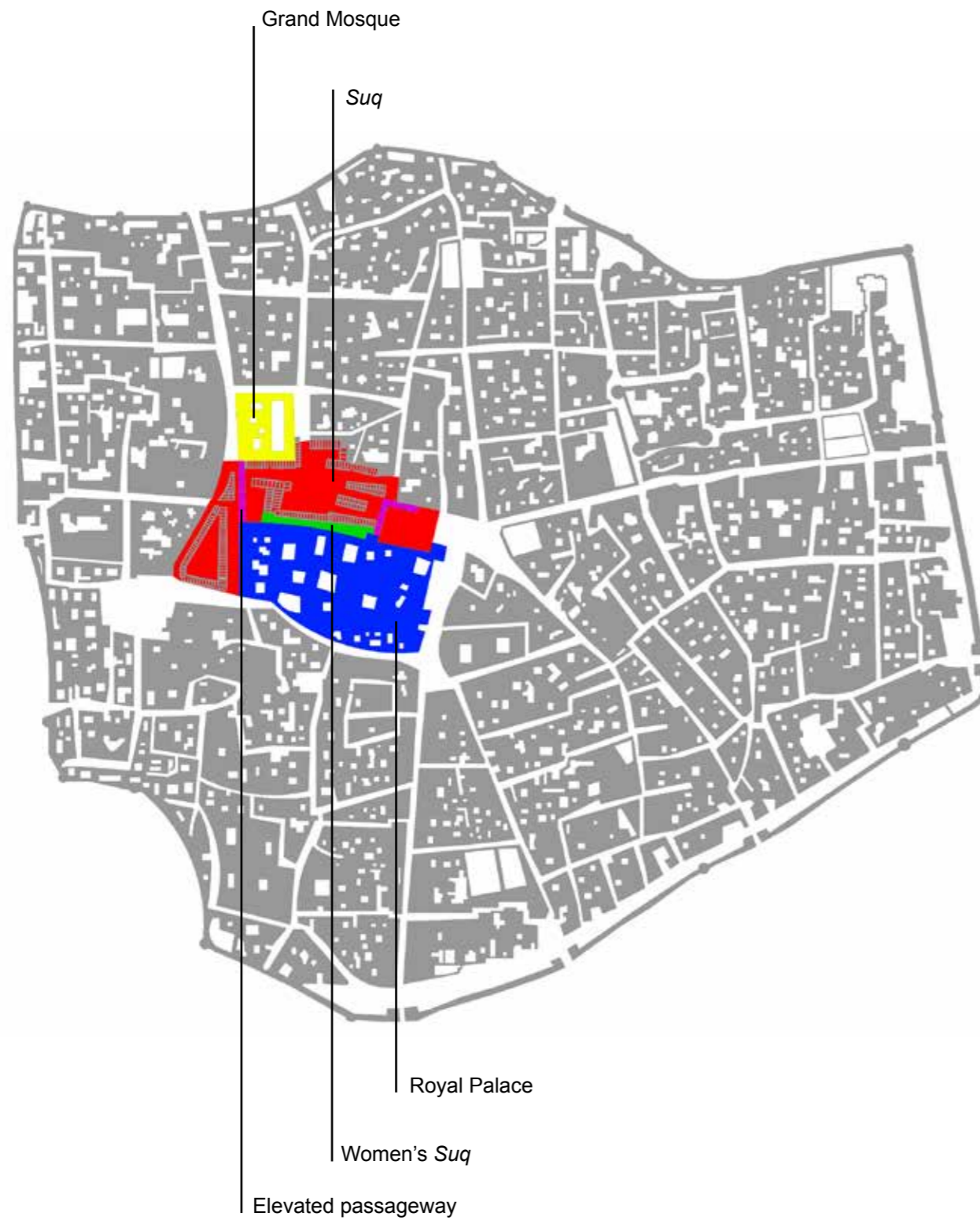


Figure 10.b: Spatial organisation of the central area 1930-1950 (source: Author).

parallelogram to be ‘...about two hundred paces, by rather more than half the same width’ (Palgrave, 1866, vol. I: 393, 1868: 230). In the southern section of the *suq*, and along the northern wall of the royal palace, Palgrave observed some fifty to sixty women sitting in the shaded area of what later came to be known as the women’s *suq*.

... In the midst of this space, and under the far-reaching shadow of the castle walls, are seated some fifty or sixty women, each with a stock of bread, dates, milk, vegetables, or firewood before her for sale; around are crowds of loiterers, camels, dromedaries, sacks piled up, and all the wonted accompaniments of an Arab market. (Palgrave, 1866, vol. I: 393, 1868: 230-231)

Palgrave’s description indicates that the *suq* in 1862 was not physically divided, as it would become in the following decades, and was only divided in terms of uses and functions. Palgrave (1866, 1868) also observed an elevated passageway situated in the western section of the *suq*, giving direct access to the Grand Mosque located a hundred yards from the Royal Palace.

During the revival of Riyadh under the reign of Ibn Saud, the number of shops had increased in the central square, and the *suq* also extended to neighbouring streets. Increased demand led to the construction of further rows of shops in the central area, consequently separating the women’s market from the remainder of the *suq* (Fig. 10.b). It is important to note that female traders were not provided with built shops; these shops were added to increase the number of shops dedicated to the principal *suq* and to separate between the central area and the space dedicated to women.

As in the *Emirate of Najd*, the new constructions observed in the *suq* cannot be ascribed to a particular date; however, it is noted that when Captain William Shakespeare visited Riyadh in 1914, the new shops were already in place (Facey, 1992). The total number of shops was estimated to be about 120 in the male section of the *suq* (Philby, 1922), while in other instances it was estimated to be around 128 shops, with between 50 and 60 shops in the women’s section, amounting to a total of approximately 200 shops (Philby, unpublished., cited in Facey, 1992). Philby’s account of the women’s shop is found in



unpublished diaries, and he decided to omit such observations in his book *The Heart of Arabia* (Philby, 1922). Additionally, the shops in the women's section were not reported by other travellers. From Twitchell's photograph taken in 1933 (Fig. 12), it can be confirmed that this section did not include any built shops.

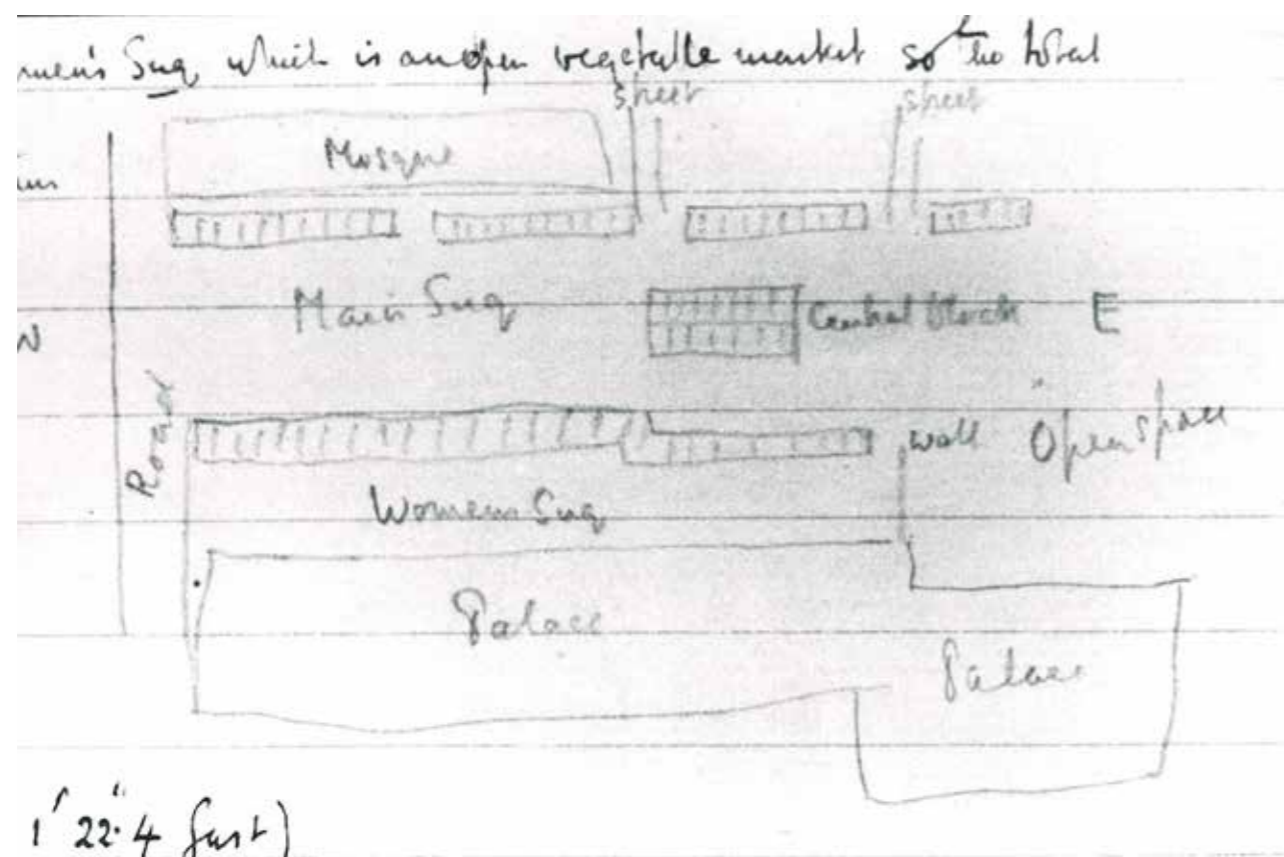


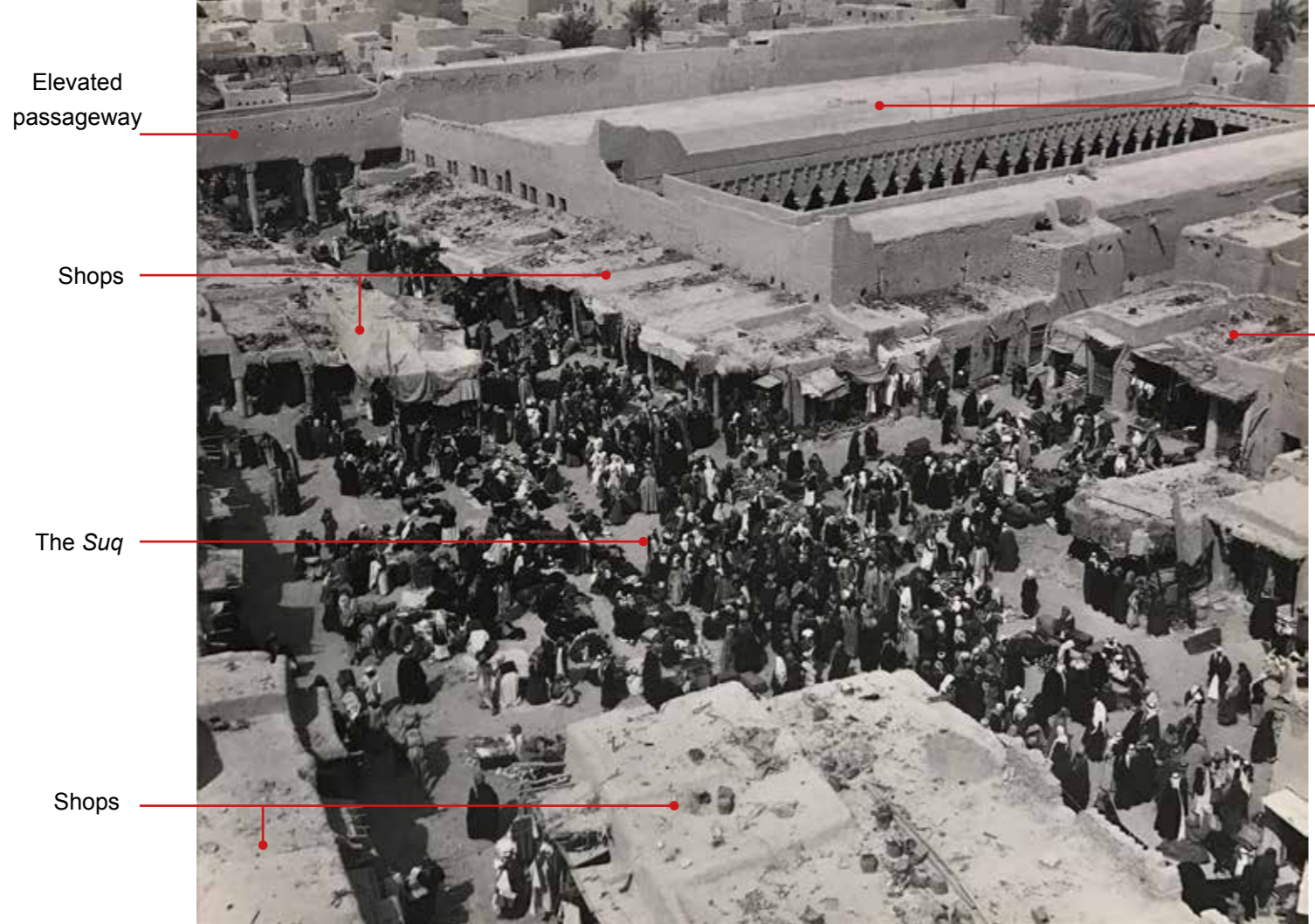
Figure 11: Philby's unpublished sketch of the suq in 1918 (source: Facey, 1992).

The women's *suq* was located at the foot of the northern wall of the Royal Palace. It can be argued that the Palace also provided women traders with a shaded area and thus catered for their comfort. On the other hand, although both male and female shoppers were allowed to circulate freely in the market, Riyadh remained a segregated and conservative society, and by placing the women's *suq* in this section, the Palace provided women traders with a supervised space detached from the remainder of the male-dominated market (fig.10.b). Additionally, as a traditional society, it can be deduced



Figure 12: A view of the women suq (left) by twitchell in 1933 (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

It is visible from this photograph that this section of the market did not feature shops and that male shoppers were allowed to trade with female traders



The Grand Mosque

Shops

Weiss (1930 cited in Facey, 1992) also described the *suq* as being the yard of the ruling Palace; located in the central place, later known as *Haraj Ibn Qasim* or *al-Haraj* (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011) it consisted of rows of one-storey shops of small dimensions located along both sides of the irregular square. Each shop is described as a tiny room of unpretentious architecture (Philby, 1922) with no openings other than the door, which constantly remained open. In the northern section of the *suq*, the shops were backed by the walls of neighbouring houses and the southern wall of the Grand Mosque, offering access to the Mosque through a small interruption in the row of shops (Philby, 1922), equidistant from the extremities of the wall. In contrast, the southern part of the *suq* was a row of butcher's shops (Weiss, 1930 cited in Facey, 1992) detached from the palace wall, creating a shaded narrow passageway in between, in which was located the women's market. Moreover, in the area in-between these primary rows were to be found supplementary rows of shops, smaller in number and supported back-to-back.

Figure 13: A view of the main square (Haraj Ibn Qasim) by T.F. Walters in 1949-50 looking west towards the mosque (source: Facey and Grant, 1996).

The physical dependence of the shops on the mosque is visible in this photograph; also visible are the traditional shading techniques, irregularity of forms and dimensions of the shops. In later photographs, the elevated passageway also becomes noticeable.

that trade was not considered to be a primary activity for women in Saudi Arabia. This is most evident in the fact that this section of the *suq* did not include any built shops, which suggests that either female traders' presence in the *suq* was considered temporary, or that they were financially unable to afford rented shops. Nowhere does the literature provide detailed information about the organisation of this section of the market. However, the activity of female traders was perhaps more informal than that in the 'normal' shops. Finally, the proportion of this section in relation to the rest of the *suq*, as well as its physical isolation, supports the assumption that trading and shopping was mainly a privilege for male citizens. Contrastingly, it is assumed that shopping malls in Riyadh came to favour female shoppers, as unaccompanied male shoppers were initially prevented from visiting them⁷.



Figure 14: The central square looking towards the mosque by Mueller 1951-52 (source: Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).



The shops extended from the central core of the city to the neighbouring main streets, and as demand rose, further shops were introduced in and around the *Haraj Ibn Qasim* and adjacent streets. It is visible from the photographs (fig. 13, 14) that the number of shops surrounding *Haraj Ibn Qasim* increased significantly between 1914 and 1950. In addition, the photographs of the suq taken by Shakespeare in 1914, Philby in 1919, Rendel in 1937 (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011: 32- 33), and Mueller in 1951-52 and 1956 reveal a continuous accumulation, in short intervals of time, of the physical form and spatial organisation of both the market and the whole city, accommodating the growing demands on Riyadh's urban fabric. Furthermore, an old cemetery to the south-west of the ruling palace was displaced, and the space was to become *al-muqaybrah*⁸ square, extending the old *suq* further to the south-western part of the city (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). In addition, to the east of the main central *suq*, an open space known as *al-Safah* or '*I-Baraha* was located, in which some of the commercial activity was conducted. *Al-Safah* was also the scene of local ceremonies, and was the place where visitors would tether their horses and sit their camels (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

It is visible from the photographs that the architecture of the *suq* favoured function over aesthetics, and was the result of accumulated alterations, extensions and innovations that responded to particular local needs. It is noticeable that protection from direct sunlight was provided for large sections of the *suq* (fig.13, 14, 15). For example, the south-facing shops were protected by overhangs, supported on mud pillars, while in other shops, structural raw wooden beams were left to extend beyond the walls and were utilised to hang large pieces of cloth. In narrower streets, these would be supported by cables attached to adjacent walls, while finally, some streets were to later become entirely covered by structures made out of wood and palm wicker thatch (fig. 15).

Philby, during his first visit to Riyadh, did not make a note of the elevated passageway described by Palgrave — nor did it appear in Philby's photographs of Riyadh (fig. 17). It is certainly the case that the passageway was destroyed in the years 1891-1902,



Figure 15: The central square looking east by Mueller in 1956 (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

It is visible from more recent photographs that as demand arose, the number of shops increased around the central square, and likewise, the traditional shading techniques were expanded to cover entire streets for the comfort of the inhabitants.

and was rebuilt at some time between 1918 and 1922 (Facey, 1992). Additionally, a second passageway was noticed by Philby when he revisited Riyadh by the end of 1930 (Facey, 1992). The new passageway was located in the eastern section of the market, at a distance of 200 paces from the covered viaduct joining the palace to the mosque. It connected the royal palace to *Khuraimis* Palace (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). This extension was built on the ruins of old houses⁹ and was arranged across two storeys. It included a new *madhif* — a guest house in which Ibn Saud received



Figure 16: A photograph of the suq looking west taken by Shakespear in 1914 (source: Facey and Grant, 1996).

The separation is distinguishable between the women's suq — located on left between the row of shops and the Palace — and the main square. The elevated passageway connecting the Palace to the Mosque does not appear in such early photographs.

his visitors — and hosted governmental functions in the upper storey, such as the treasury and military office. As such, it is evident that the palace followed a similar development pattern to the *suq*, and was altered continuously and expanded as required.

The Palace

The Royal Palace of Ibn Saud covered a large portion of the central area (fig. 21); its conspicuous irregular mass was visible from outside the walls of the city, and it owed its distinctive to its dimensions and proportions. The simplicity of its architecture and the absence of ornament was evident, as was the fact that the edifice was intended for both the comfort and security of Ibn Saud (Philby, 1922). The dimensions of the palace are again arrived at by approximation: Palgrave stated that a section of the palace was three storeys in height at about 50 to 60 feet (Palgrave, 1868, p233), while it was reported that during the third Saudi state, the palace was constructed on two storeys and covered an area of about 10 000 m² (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

As discussed above, the Royal Palace was the most significant entity in the political, economic and social organisation of Riyadh. It held a central and authoritative position, one that was matched with its central urban location and dominating architectural scale. The palace, in its mass and impressive dimensions, physically imposed itself as the authoritative urban figure, thus reaffirming the power it exercised over the traditional city.

Adjoining the Palace along its northern walls — and consequently located to the south of *al-Safah* and east of the women's *suq* — were located long benches of mud and clay (Palgrave, 1868; Rihani, 1928) that were provided for the comfort of visitors, who after traversing the central Palace would sit and wait on these 'earth-seats' before they were welcomed inside the Palace. Rihani describes the scene:

“There, was a spectacle—the first of its kind I had seen in Arabia.

Along the Palace wall were clay benches in double tiers filled with people,

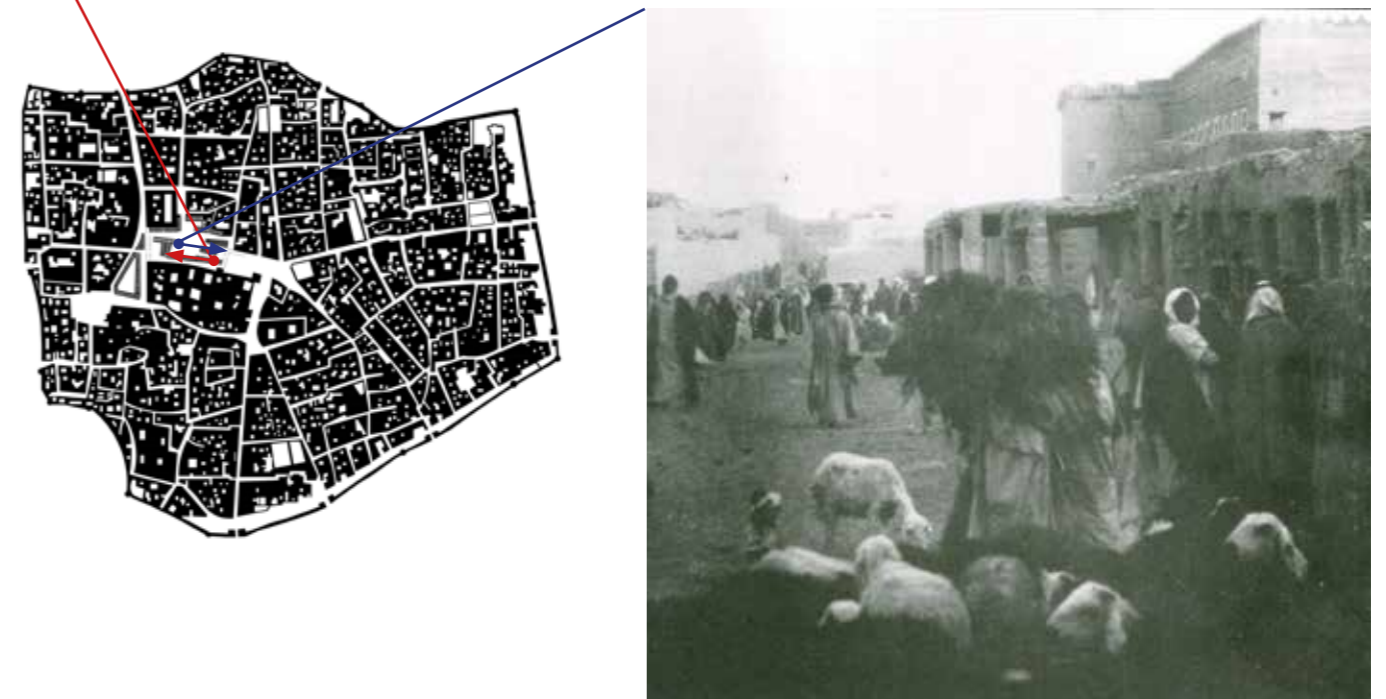


Figure 17: The main square looking east towards al-Safah by Philby in 1919 (source: Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).

The Royal Palace is visible on the right, while the new passageway had not yet been constructed.

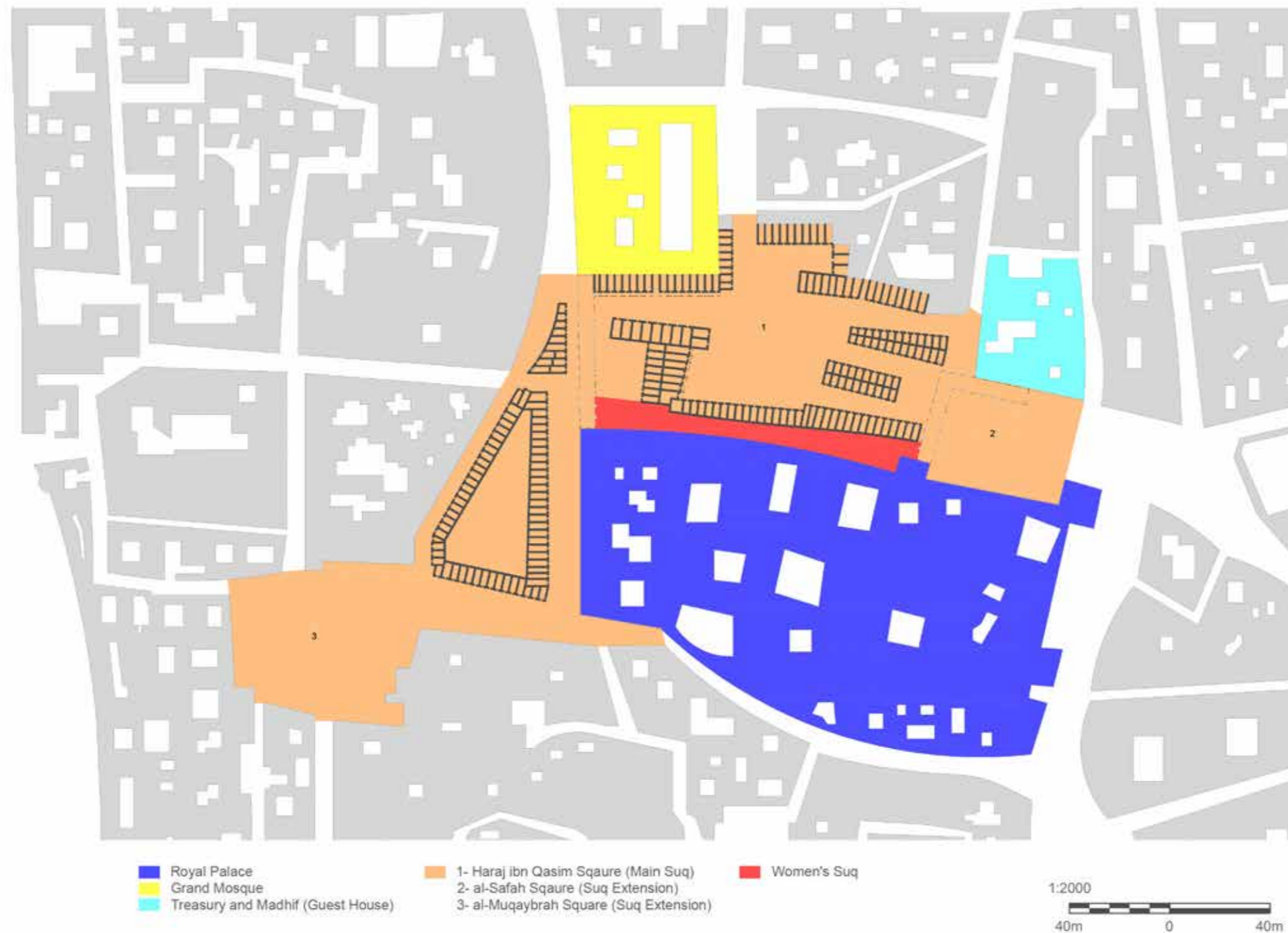


Figure 18: Plan of the central area in the late 1940s (source: Author).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the women's *suq* did not include any built shops. The row of shops that are parallel to the women's *suq* opened on the Main *suq* and were utilised by male traders.

who had come out, I first thought, to see us; and the idea of an open theatre, a full audience, and a show which had arrived from the desert, afforded me, the principal character, a moment of amusement. (Rihani, 1928: 123)

From Rihani's account, it becomes evident that the *suq* was the first contact visitors had with the city and its population. It functioned as a mediating public space between the city and the Palace of the Imam. Furthermore, the dominating centrality of the Palace, its scale, and its spatial proximity with the surrounding areas, all allowed it to

have a supervising view on the *suq* and its activities. Leachman (1914, p500–520) and Shakespeare (cited in Facey, 1992) described an upper public hall called the *Diwaniy'a*, overlooking the Bazaar and the town. Moreover, Philby (1922) also mentioned that the roof of the Palace was the highest point of the city, and allowed a view that extended from the surrounding roofs to the areas outside the fortifications. The panoptical¹⁰ configuration of the central core enforced the dominance of the Palace and the Mosque over the *suq*. By being in a field of permanent visibility, and as mentioned, by having their economic fate in the hands of the Palace, both traders and shoppers would thus become compliant to the



ruling structure in Riyadh. Social order was maintained and complemented by the urban configuration of the *suq* — a similar situation to the order imposed by the shopping mall, albeit driven by different intentions.

The Mosque

The Grand Mosque, on the other hand, was less dominant. Its architecture was one of simplicity and purity. Ample space was provided for the worshippers (Palgrave, 1868) and the walls were free of any sort of ornament or decoration (Philby, 1922). The dimensions of the mosque were less imposing, and the simplicity of its design, coupled with the lack of decorations stemmed from the religious teachings of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his disciples, who considered mosques to be places of pure worship (Facey, 1992). This inward-looking approach led to the creation of spaces in which functionality dominated over aesthetics. It can be further be argued that the significant influence of religious authority over Riyadh’s society also influenced its architecture, and translated into inward-facing constructions that lacked apparent exterior ornamentation.

The mosque was one storey in height, and the *minaret*, unlike those in other Muslim cities, was a low and modest structure, located near the centre of its northern wall (Philby, 1922). Its internal space was divided into two covered sections, separated by a central open court that occupied about a quarter of the structure. Philby (1922) estimated the mosque to cover an area of about 60 by 50 yards and estimated the length of the walls to be 90 paces along the western side, and 62 paces along the southern side (Facey, 1992).

The Suq

The *suq* was divided into specialised areas (fig. 18), each with its own distinct location, name, and chief articles on display. One of these sections was *al-Hidam*, in which were found clothes and traditional *abayas*¹¹, *suq al-‘alaf* where one could buy fodder for livestock, and *al-bez* for textile products (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). As previously discussed, the central section of the *suq*, located east of the Grand Mosque, was known as *Haraj ibn Qasim*, a large open space used as a ‘thriff’

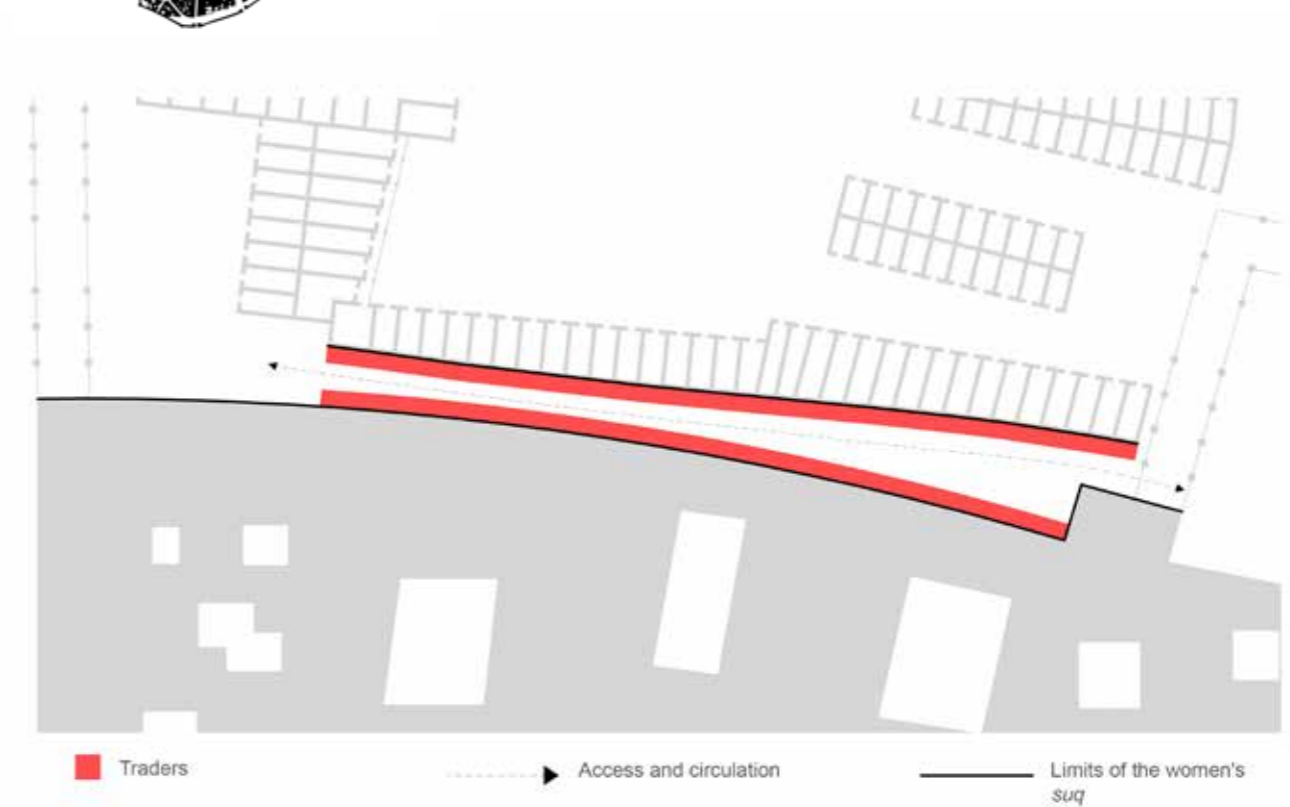


Figure 19: Organisation of the women’s suq (source: Author).

The physical separation with the rest of the suq minimised women’s public exposure and would have allowed a greater control over access to this section of the market.

suq where the inhabitants would trade in personal belongings and inherited items no longer needed or desired (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). It was observed that the *suq* was public property (Rihani, 1928), and the rent was paid to the treasury of the city. However, irregular traders and those who were unable to afford their own shops were also allowed to trade in the open space of a *suq* such as *Haraj ibn Qasim*. They situated themselves around the market, where they sat on the ground and displayed their small goods on blankets. As such, it can be argued that while a certain degree of control and supervision was exercised over the *suq*, its space allowed for a high degree of freedom, and equally provided a place for both established traders and locals to trade and exchange. Moreover, the sight of trucks loaded with firewood was a recurring scene in the *suq* and was conducted by such irregular traders. Livestock trading was also observed in

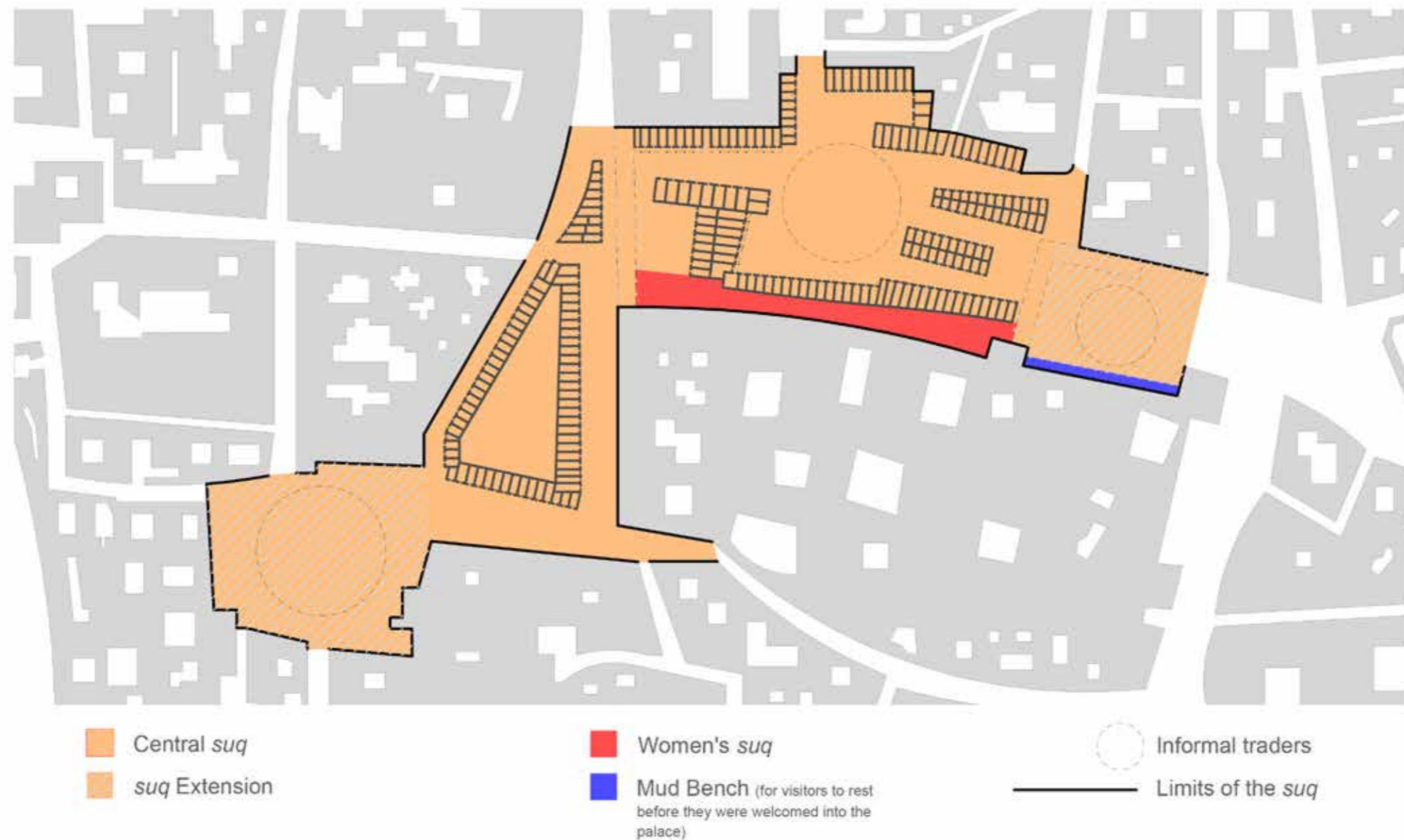


Figure 20: Organisation of the suq (source: Author).

the *suq* (Philby, 1922), and was primarily conducted in *al-Safah*, along with trade in military equipment (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011). Trade in animal fodder, fruit and vegetables, and dairy products was conducted in *al-Muqaybrah* square. As discussed, the southern section of the market was allocated to female traders — called *suq al-Hareem*¹² (fig. 19) — in which women would sit next to baskets of eggs, vegetables spread on palm leaves, bread, dates, milk, firewood, beauty products and other domestic necessities (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011; Weiss, 1930 cited

in Facey, 1992; Palgrave, 1866, vol. I, 1868; Philby, 1922). Philby (1922) noted that this section was reserved exclusively for the use of female traders, while on the other hand, it was also stated that male shoppers were allowed into this section of the market (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

The *suq* was active from the early morning and reached the height of its activity during the mid-day hours (Leachman, 1914, p500–520). Philby (1922) described the scene of

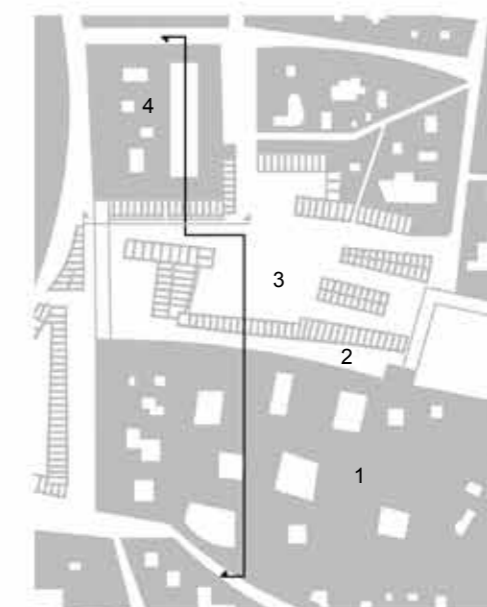
the *suq* as lively and one of perpetual movement. However, the scene would constantly be interrupted by the call of the *Muadhdhin*, upon which the *suq* would suddenly become deserted, and the shops would close in preparation for prayers. Shortly after prayer time, the *suq* would resume its activity. The busy scene would regularly come to a temporary halt throughout the day.

Due to the fact that Riyadh was primarily an agricultural settlement, a wide range of food articles were on display; these included figs, apricots, melons, aubergines, clover and other imported food articles, such as tea, coffee, sugar, spices, meat, and rice. Dates — the staple food — were locally produced, and available in both quantity and quality (Leachman, 1914, p500–520; Philby, 1922). The articles on display ranged from locally-produced to imported goods, and included such items as wicker products, leather goods and saddlery, as well as ‘...articles of luxury or desire, such as rifles, ammunition, watches, field-glasses, and what not...’ (Philby, 1922, vol. I: 72). Other services were also provided

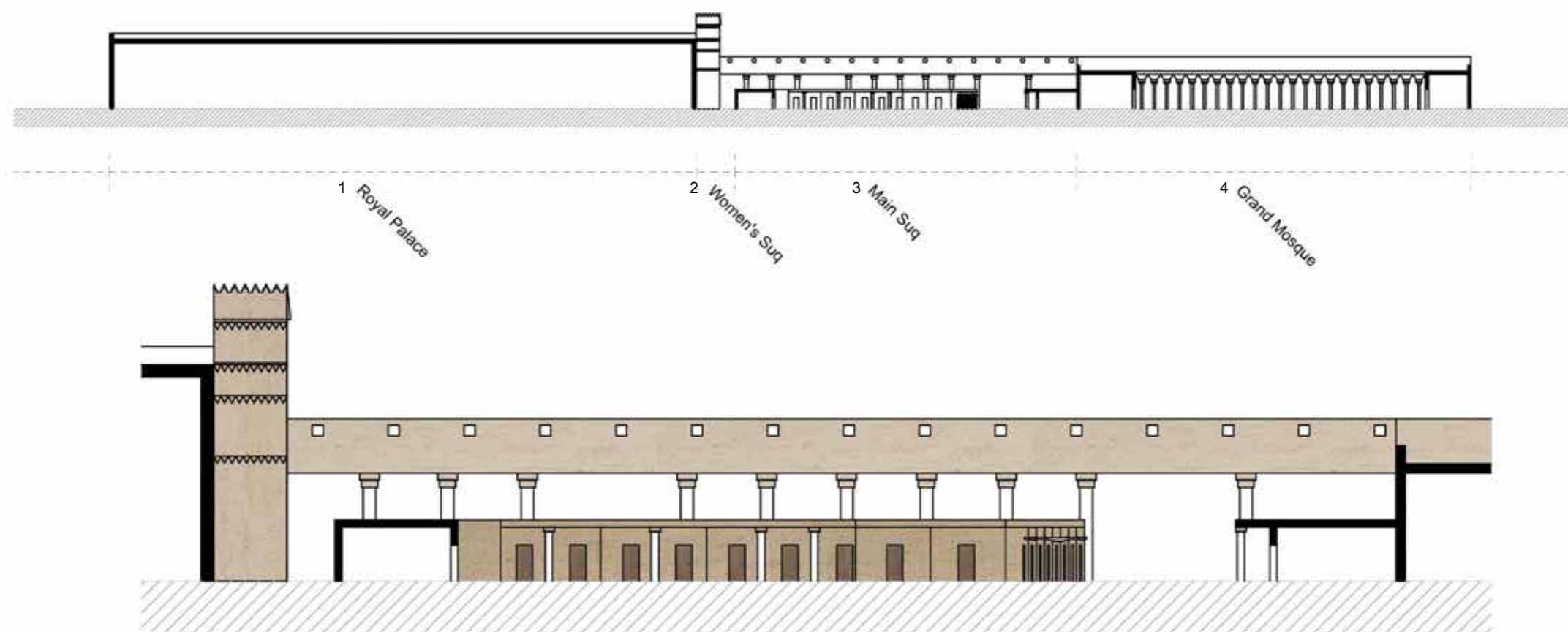


Figure 21: Section showing the relation between the Royal Palace, the Grand Mosque and the *Suq* — not to scale (source: Author).

It is evident from this drawing that the Royal Palace and the Mosque occupied a great part of the central area of the city. The size of the women’s section was relatively small compared to the rest of the market.



- 1 Royal Palace
- 2 Women's suq
- 3 Main Suq
- 4 Grand Mosque



by craftsmen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, sandal-makers, saddlers, tanners, butchers, carpenters and masons (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).

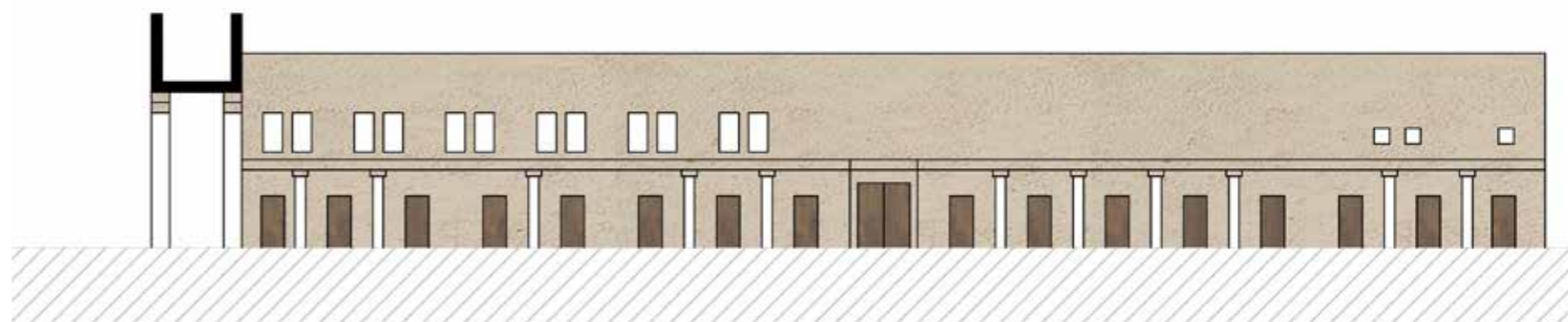
Nonetheless, it is noticeable from all these accounts that the *suq*, the Royal Palace, and the Grand Mosque functioned as an urban entity; their functions and urban configuration cannot thus be investigated individually. The Royal Palace, the most prominent architectural and urban entity of old Riyadh, held a position of authority and control; it supervised not only the *suq* but the entire walled city and its surrounding palm groves. As previously discussed, and unlike other cities in Saudi Arabia, the palace in Riyadh was considered to be the real economic engine of the city, with the *suq* playing only a secondary role in the economy of Riyadh. On the other hand, the *suq* was the busiest space in the city. It was a space of social significance and was perpetually occupied by traders, shoppers, loiterers, and locals as well as outsiders. It acted as a buffer space and a transitional open place leading to the Palace of the Imam. Moreover, it represented visitors' first urban experience of the capital. Additionally, the *suq* was partly physically dependant on the mosque, which in turn was directly connected to the Royal Palace via the elevated passageway. Thus, the continuity and unity of the urban fabric were both evident, while the functional dependency between the mosque and the *suq* was expressed in the regulated rhythm of the *suq*, accompanied by the consistent call of the *Muadhhdhin*.

The economic dependency of the *suq* and the local population of the Royal Palace, and the hierarchical organisation of Riyadh, translated into physical form. As a result, those who visited old Riyadh were not impressed by the architecture of the *suq*, nor the individual houses of the city — perhaps with the exception of the Palace and other governmental buildings. The *suq*'s size was considered relatively small in comparison to the size of the city and the total number of inhabitants (Leachman, 1914, p500–520).

By the 1940s, the *suq* had extended in proportion with the expansion of the city and its population. Furthermore, with the growing influence and wealth of the house of Saud and the discovery of oil, new imported goods and technologies found their way into the city. The shops extended northwards, parallel to the eastern wall of the Grand Mosque;

Figure 22: Section showing the relation between the mosque and the neighbouring shops — not to scale (source: Author).

Shops were physically and symbolically dependant on the mosque. Prayers regulated the opening times of the shops, and the backs of the shops were supported by the Mosque's wall. The passageway was directly connected to the Palace, providing the ruler with greater control and ease of circulation while avoiding public exposure.



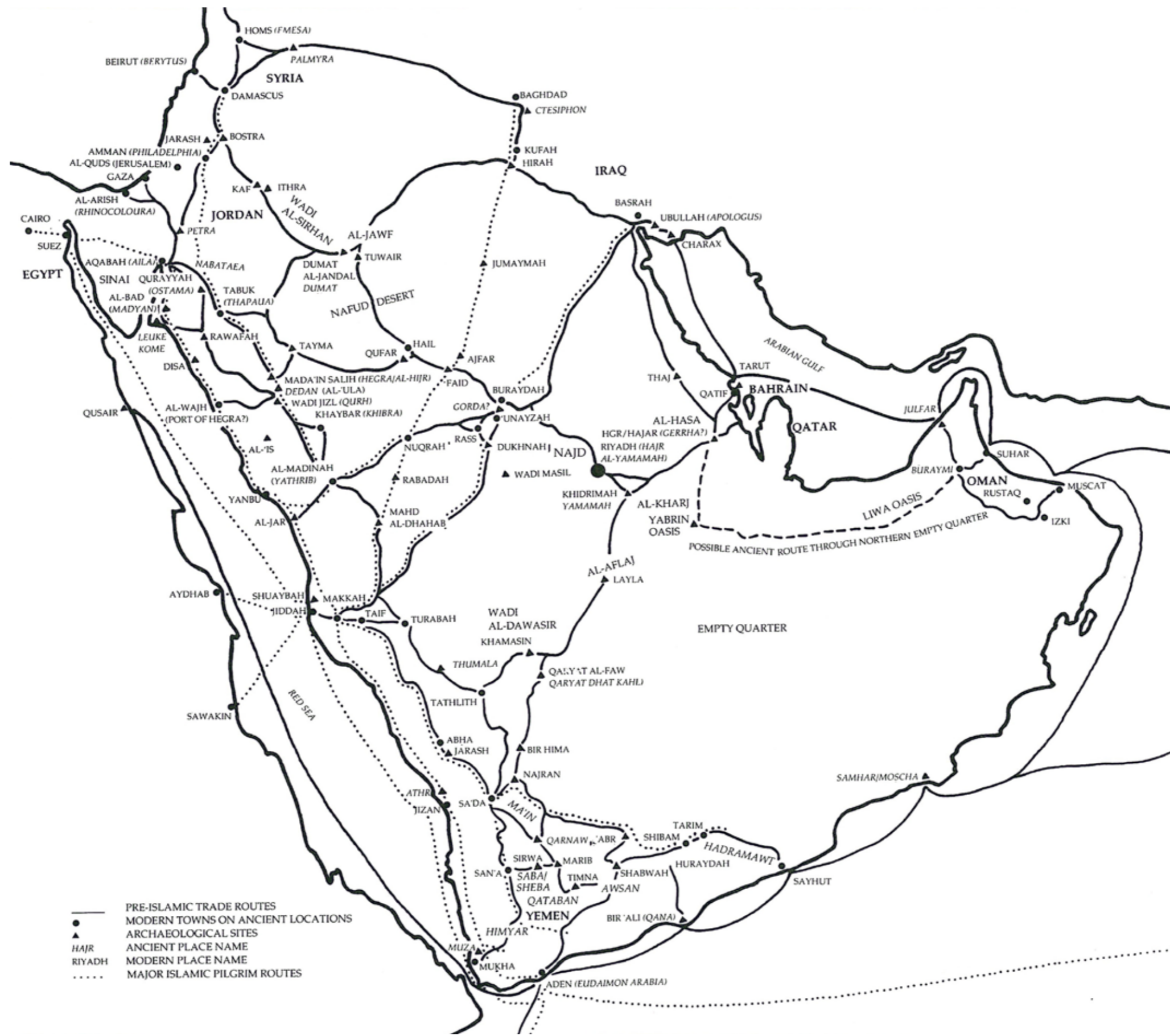


Figure 23: The Trans-Arabian trade and *hajj* routes (source: Facey, 1992).

additional shops were located in the *al-Muqaybrah* square and smaller areas near the south-eastern wall of the Palace. It can be said that the *suq*'s urban importance reached its zenith at the time, only to succumb to the pressures of modernisation and be destroyed in the second half of the 1950s. However, prior to its decline, to what extent did the *suq* contribute to the economy of the city? And what trading opportunities were offered both by Riyadh's geographical location and its political status as the new Saudi capital?

Trade and the significance of the *suq*

Riyadh and its surrounding settlements are located at what was once the intersection of the eastern, western and south-western trans-Arabian trade routes with the northern *Najdi* route (Facey, 1992). These recorded itineraries were primarily trade routes during the pre-Islamic era, and later became utilised by *Hajj* caravans. They allowed settlements in central Arabia to increase their trading opportunities and to overcome the scarcity of resources in the arid environment (fig. 23).

One of the busiest trade routes during the 18th and 19th century connected Najd with Damascus. It was later replaced by the *Darb Zubaida* trade route, which connected Kuwait and Iraq to *Hijaz* via *al-Qasim*. Located north of Riyadh, *'Unayzah* and *Buraydah* were the major settlements of *al-Qasim*, and the most significant trading centres in *Najd*; they specialised in long-distance trading and in organising caravan transports (Steinberg, 2002), and allowed Riyadh to connect with northern routes and profit from *Hajj* caravans as well. Additionally, during the tribal rule of *Banu Hanifah* in the 15th century, a tax was levied on such caravans, in return for their security protection (Facey, 1992). Later, cities provided livestock for pilgrims to perform the ritual *Eid* sacrifice (Steinberg, 2002).

Najd was connected from Riyadh to the eastern province and *al-'Uqayr* seaport via *al-Hasa* (also known as *Hofuf*) trade route (Facey, 1992; Steinberg, 2002). It was through *al-Hasa* that all trade transited from *Najd* before export to Basra, Bushehr, Bahrain, Muscat and India (Facey, 1992; Potts, 1988, p127–162). Similarly, all *Najdi* trade with *al-Hasa*

— the principal trade centre of the eastern province — passed through Riyadh before it transited to neighbouring *Najdi* Settlements.

These trade routes constituted the major and primary routes for trade journeys passing through *Najd*. Nevertheless, as Potts (1988, p127–162) has argued, routes in central Arabia should be considered as a checkerboard of travelling possibilities, offering a network of choices, depending on the circumstances, for going from one given place to the other.

However, due to the lack of natural resources, the opportunities offered by the trans-Arabian routes did not lead to significant changes in Riyadh until the discovery of oil in the first half of the 20th century and the correspondingly major shift in the Saudi economy. Before oil, agriculture and animal breeding remained the chief economic activities of *Najdi* settlements. As discussed above, large palm plantations surrounded the city (fig. 8), in which the inhabitants also cultivated wheat and barley as the primary grain crops; fruits and vegetables such as pumpkins, figs, lime, apricots, melons and aubergines; as well as millet and lucerne (also known as alfalfa) that was used as fodder for horses, camels and sheep (Steinberg, 2002).

Irrigation in Riyadh and *Najdi* settlements was secured by a system of traditional deep wells (Philby, 1922, p67), about 80 feet deep (Leachman, 1914, p500–520), known locally as the *sawani* (Facey, 1992). Animal power — essentially donkeys and mules, as well as camels whenever needed — drew water from these wells. At the same time, distribution was organised by unlined channels causing considerable amounts of wastage (Facey, 1992). Nonetheless, the produced crops did not yield any surpluses to be exported and were merely traded and consumed locally; nor did they enable *Najdi* settlements to become self-sufficient, even though the land was cultivated as intensely as local techniques allowed (Steinberg, 2002).

The most lucrative trade for *Najdi* settlements was the Arabian horse trade with India, exported via *al-Hasa* (Facey, 1992); camels and sheep were traded, as well as animal-based products such as butter, ghee and animal hides, especially during the increased market activity which accompanied the annual *Hajj* season (Steinberg, 2002). However, horse exports were affected by internal turmoil that decreased the number of livestock, and thus did not constitute a constant source of revenue for Riyadh (Philby, 1977, p216). Additionally, the scarcity of resources led the inhabitants to seek revenues outside *Najd*. A high demand developed for pearl fishing in the eastern coast — one which nearby coastal cities could not meet. Therefore, *Najd* provided the necessary human resources, which in turn became one of the sources of revenue for the region (Steinberg, 2002).

On the other hand, the considerable amount of food and commodities that had to be imported into Riyadh exceeded the value of the city's exports. *Al-Hasa* and *Qatif* were the only cities close to *Najd* that were able to produce a surplus of agricultural products and livestock as well (Steinberg, 2002). This was due to the abundance of water, which allowed these two cities to export their surplus produce to neighbouring cities where resources were scarce. Therefore, Riyadh was able to import the bulk of its food from the eastern region (Lorimer, 1915). Rice became one of the main articles imported to Riyadh, and was consumed in large quantities by the high society of urban Riyadh, while dates remained the staple food of Bedouins (Steinberg, 2002). Additionally, dates had to be imported from the Eastern Province to supplement *al-Qasim*'s produce, and regulations were imposed in the *suq* to prevent Bedouin tribes from buying *Rutab* dates during the winter season (Philby, 1977).

Riyadh equally traded with *Kuwait* and *Hijaz* and imported additional items such as tea and coffee, spices, textiles and other items of luxury like carpets, swords, scented soap made in England (Rihani, 1928), paper, watches, printed books (Steinberg, 2002), rifles, ammunition, watches, and field-glasses (Philby, 1922, vol. I).

Despite Riyadh's political significance, the city was never considered a main trading centre. When compared to more prominent markets in cities like *Mecca*, *Medina* and *al-Hasa*, the *suq* in Riyadh was relatively small, and its activity less significant. Everyone who visited Riyadh agreed on such observations; Weiss and Harrison (cited in Facey, 1992) both noted that the city had no independent commercial importance, with a market smaller than the one found in *Buraydah* — the trading centre of *al-Qasim* located 350 Km north-west of Riyadh (fig.1), and even smaller than the *suq* in *Ha'il* (the capital of *Ha'il* province located some 618km north-west of Riyadh) (fig. 3). As such, Riyadh functioned as the administrative capital in which commercial activity was of secondary importance. Leachman (1914, p500–520) also observed that trade in Riyadh was extremely poor at the time, and considered the size of the *suq* to be small in comparison with the urban population of the city. To illustrate, Leachman (1914, p500–520) estimated that with its suburbs, Riyadh contained about 25,000 inhabitants and featured a small *suq* within the walls of the city. On the other hand, he noted that the city of *Hofuf* in the Eastern Province housed 30,000 inhabitants, and hosted a large open market outside the walls of the city.

Likewise, visitors in the 19th century constantly observed and recorded the fact that the local inhabitants of Riyadh were not good traders; they mainly concerned themselves with agriculture and pasture, while trade was relegated to foreigners (Palgrave, 1868). The shopkeepers in Riyadh came from more prominent trade centres such as *Shaqra'*, *al-Hasa*, *al-Qasim*, *Qatif*, *Oman*, *Mecca*, and *Najran*; traders also came from different areas such as *Bahrain*, *Iraq*, *Hijaz*, *Sudayr*, *Zilfi*, and *Yemen*, notwithstanding the regular presence of Bedouins in the city (Facey, 1992). It can be assumed that these traders had immigrated to Riyadh and sought the opportunity to expand their activity in the newly-established capital.

Unlike other cities in central Arabia such as *al-Hasa* and its booming pearl trade (Facey, 1992), the people of Riyadh were extremely dependent on the Palace, and a large proportion of the local population worked in government services (Weiss 1930 cited in Facey, 1992; Rihani, 1928). As such, it was the Palace, rather than the *suq*, that was

considered to be the principal economic engine of the city. However, the *suq* played a significant role in the social life of the inhabitants. It was the place of gatherings, social encounters, contact with outside visitors and tribesmen, as well as the place of contact between the ruler and his subjects. Weiss (1930 cited in Facey, 1992) noticed that the *suq* was always filled with people who did not participate in any commercial activity, but instead spent their free time near the Palace sitting and walking around the *suq*, and would come to meet with acquaintances. More importantly, Rihani (1928) noticed that the *suq* was also the waiting place for people before they were allowed inside the Royal Palace. Because of the aforementioned dependency of the inhabitants on the Royal Palace, it was inevitable that those who visited the Palace had to pass through the *suq* and wait on the long benches in *al-Safah* square. In describing the people waiting on the benches, Rihani writes:

... And not until I had inquired did I know the intent and purpose of these people sitting solemnly outside the Palace and in the court and corridors within. They were waiting, not meekly or beggarly, but like personages who had an appointment with their sovereign lord. Indeed, some of them had the mien of princes; others, whose rags were most conspicuous, were dignified enough with the inevitable bamboo stick, the curved end of which they held up to their lips, vacantly or pensively it matters not. But nothing seemed to require emphasis or even speech at that hour; so those few hundred, mostly of the Bedu, sat there solemnly, I say, and silently, rubbing the bamboo against their lips and waiting for their second daily meal at the Palace. (Rihani, 1928: 123)

Therefore, it can be argued that the importance of the *suq* stemmed from its central position in Riyadh. It functioned as the mediating space between the palace — the political authority and the real economic engine of the city — and the mosque — the religious authority and regulator of daily rhythm and practices. The *suq* became the primary social hub as well as the focal point of urban daily life in Riyadh up until the 1950s.

The public space of old Riyadh

This investigation has shed light on several interesting issues that are closely related to the study of contemporary shopping malls in Riyadh. Since the early development of the city, a close relation was established between its commercial space and its social life; the *suq* provided the dense urban fabric of the city with an open space that eventually became the primary public space for Riyadh's inhabitants.

Because the Royal Palace was the real economic motor of the city, it can be argued that the *suq* fulfilled a more significant social function. As observed by visitors, the local population seldom came to the *suq* to shop and often spent their free time wandering around the market and meeting acquaintances. Likewise, the *suq* was physically dependant on its surroundings; its spatial organisation represented a continuation of the traditional urban fabric, while its scale was considerably smaller than the adjoining Palace and Mosque. In addition, the architecture of the shops was modest, of minimal scale and featured functional aesthetics. It did not feature any spaces other than the small shops and was specifically designed to serve trading purposes. Contrastingly, since their early development, shopping malls have been considered as antithetical to the city (Jewell, 2001, p317–378) and have recently adopted marketing strategies founded on architectural know-how, pushing both scale and aesthetics to their limits in order to ensure the longevity of the investments they entail (Jewell, 2013). For instance, the Arg Commercial complex in Tehran features an interactive façade that enables visitors to communicate with the envelope of the complex on special occasions¹³; while the Villagio Mall in Doha is entirely Italy-themed, and features water canals that visitors can navigate through using Venetian-style Gondolas¹⁴. The spectacularisation of space in the mall stimulates consumers' impulsive behaviour and contrasts with the modest lifestyle of Riyadh's traditional society and the practical design of its *suq*. Additionally, it can be argued that such initiatives — along with the exclusion of 'undesired' social groups in the mall — are primarily driven by the need to maximise profit and boost capital accumulation regardless of their social impact.

Admittedly, the *suq* was a highly-regulated and supervised space. Nevertheless, this chapter demonstrates that the control mechanisms deployed in traditional Riyadh were established for different reasons. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Riyadh had seen periods of unrest and decline throughout its early history. A detailed description of the political strategies and aims of the Saudi State in its early years is beyond the scope of this research. However, it should be noted that Ibn Saud, since the establishment of the third State, intensively promoted the settling of Bedouin tribes. This would eventually lead him to gain greater control and supervision over oftentimes unpredictable and hostile tribal chiefs. This was most clearly expressed in the organisation of the central core of the city — wherein the physical and economic dominance of the Palace, coupled with permanent visual supervision, allowed it to establish a power relation with the city's public space favourable for the King's administration. It imposed social order and consequently ensured the longevity of Saudi rule.

Religion has always been an important component of Saudi Society and one of the fundamental constituents of Saudi rule. This was most expressed in the rhythms imposed on the *suq* by the adjoining Grand Mosque. Today, shops and shopping malls continue to respond similarly to the calls to prayer, ceasing activity several times throughout the day. As part of religious rulings in Saudi Arabia, women were prevented from trading in the mens' *suq* and were provided with their own section to avoid extended public exposure and undesired intermixing with male traders. Still, photographs show that both genders were allowed to shop in all sections of the *suq*. This suggests that a certain degree of freedom was allowed as long as the general guidelines on acceptable behaviour — such as minimising interaction to necessary transactions — were respected¹⁵.

The women's section was an important aspect of the traditional *suq* in Riyadh, and its scale and location indicate that it was regarded as an inferior space, in which female traders' public exposure was controlled. The lack of built shops reveals the less formal and perhaps temporary function that these traders performed compared to their male counterparts. It can also be assumed that due to the traditional composition of Riyadh's

society, men were considered the breadwinners and women would only become traders in atypical circumstances; this would partly explain the disparity between the male and female sections of the *suq*. Nevertheless, gender segregation has certainly had a great effect on the organisation of contemporary commercial spaces, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Unlike contemporary malls, the market was owned by the Royal Palace and was therefore considered public property. It was organised and supervised by an official steward (Rihani, 1928)¹⁶, and its economic and physical dependence on the palace allowed the King to forge a powerful connection with and a dominant position over his subjects. Yet, it allowed for a certain degree of freedom and offered Riyadh with a space that accommodated all segments of society. Traders who were unable to afford shops were allowed to display their goods in the central square, and consequently had an equal opportunity to trade and profit. It was a collective and practical space of great social significance. For instance, the rivalry between the settled population and nomadic Bedouin tribes progressively transformed into one of interdependence through trade and exchange in the *suq*¹⁷.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Riyadh was virtually isolated from external influences up until the third Saudi state's increase in political power and influence. Gradually, contact with the outside world was mediated by travellers and official agents; in the local *suq*, the population had its first contact with distant cultures and exotic items imported from overseas.

As opposed to traditional Riyadh, an inverse situation characterises its contemporary landscape, in which external influences have a deep impact on the urban form of the city. In contrast with the local *suq*, malls have been designed to entice visitors to escape the harsh local environment and travel into a distant world of fantasy and consumption. This radical shift in form and function is the focus of the next chapter; it will cover how Riyadh rapidly transitioned from a small walled-city into a modern metropolis and will lay the ground for an in-depth investigation of the contemporary mall.

Notes

1 *Najd* is the central region of Saudi Arabia. It comprises the administrative regions of Riyadh, Al Qasim, Ha'il, and parts of Mecca, Al Jouf and the Northern Borders Region.

2 On villa-type dwellings see: Al-Hathloul, S.A. (1981). *Tradition, continuity and change in the physical environment: the Arab-Muslim city*. PhD Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

3 See: Ibn Baz, A. (no date). Danger of women joining men in their workplace.

Fatwas of Ibn Baz. Riyadh: General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta. Available from <http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/FatawaChapters.aspx?languagename=en&View=Page&PageID=75&PageNo=1&BookID=14> [Accessed 1 March 2017].

4 Historically, *al-Yamamah* was a distinct area located in the eastern part of *Najd* and encompassed the escarpment of *Jebel Tuwaiq* and its surroundings. However, the area was gradually engulfed by the larger *Najd* area during the early Islamic centuries (Al-'Askar, 2014).

5 The quoted text is a translation by W. Facey from the French version of the original travelogue record of Nasir-i Khusraw Safarname, in: Schefer, C.H.A. (1970). *Sefer nameh: relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse, pendant les années de l'hégire 437-444 (1035-1042)*. Amsterdam.

6 The word *dirwazah* was borrowed by locals from the Farsi language, via the influence of neighbouring Gulf states, particularly from Kuwait and Bahrain (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011)

7 The case study will cover these issues in greater depth.

8 Meaning: the small cemetery.

9 Facey (1992) notes that it replaced the house of prince *Sa'd*.

10 See: (Foucault, 1978: 195–228).

11 *Abayas* (sing. *abaya*) are simple black and loose over-garments worn by women in Saudi Arabia and some parts of the Muslim world.

12 Meaning: the women's *suq*.

13 See: <http://realiran.org/top-10-most-luxurious-shopping-malls-in-iran/> [Accessed 1 March 2017].

14 See: <http://listamaze.com/10-luxurious-shopping-malls-world/> [Accessed 1 March 2017].

15 This is the official stance of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta headed by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia.

16 Rihani observed that the *suq* was under the management of *Shalhoub*, chief steward of the *sultanate of Najd* (Rihani, 1928: 129).

17 Nomadic tribes would trade in surplus products such as cheese, butter, leather goods, and livestock in exchange for agricultural items available in settlements (Facey, 1992).



Chapter V
Contemporary Riyadh

The urban setting post-1950s

5

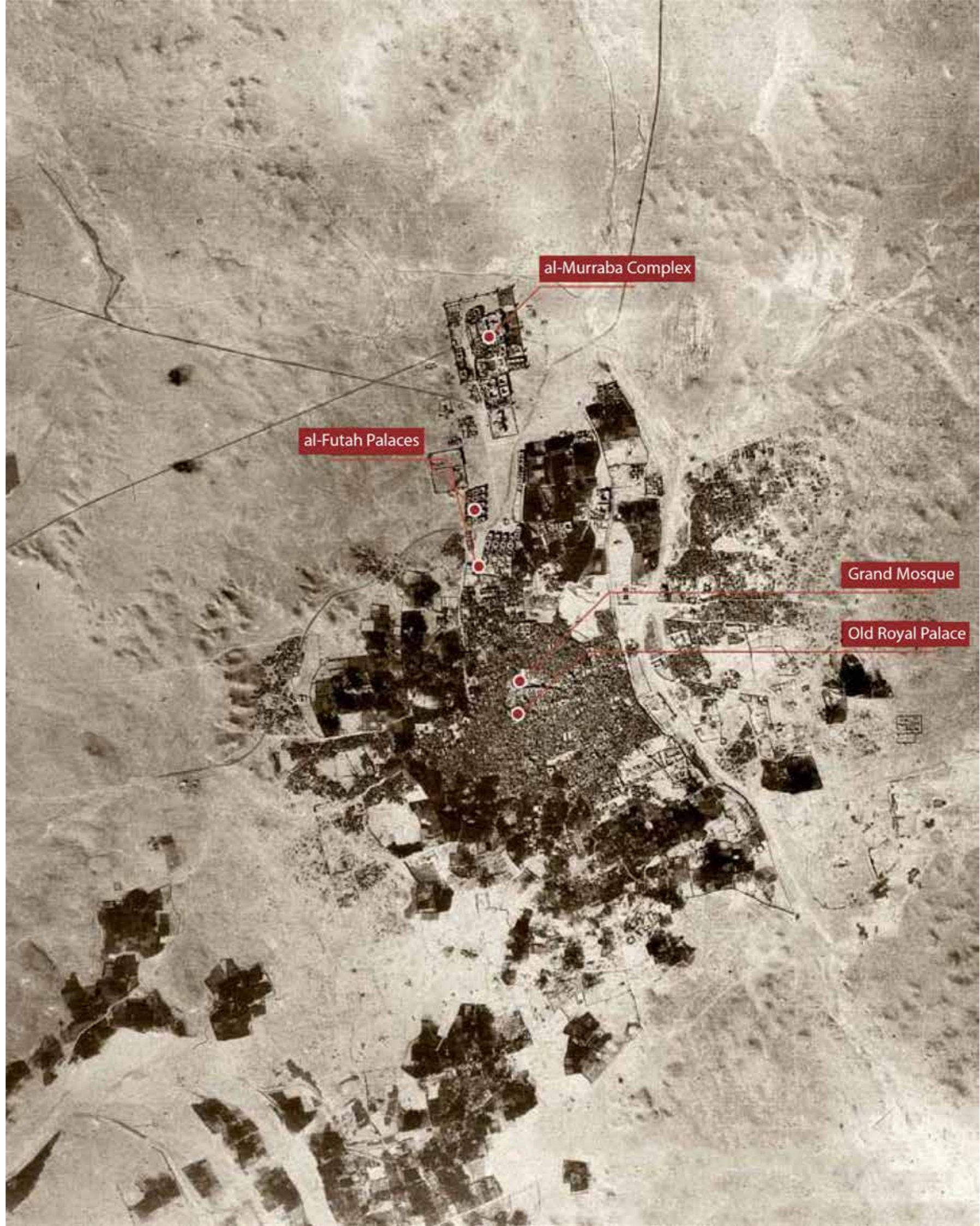


Figure 1: Aerial view of Riyadh, 1950 (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011. readapted by the author).

In this chapter, the development of the contemporary urban environment in Riyadh is discussed. It is a selective and chronological review of the period of accelerated growth that followed the decline of the traditional urban fabric and eventual destruction of the city walls in 1950 (Facey, 1992). The chronological order of this chapter is informed by the definition of the six stages of urban development in Riyadh proposed by Al-Hathloul (2017, p97–120). As this chapter argues, each of these stages coincides with the pivotal moment at which the state apparatus adopted strategies aimed at promoting urban modernisation — a source of state legitimacy — while simultaneously supplementing them with mechanisms aimed at guiding, controlling and supervising the physical growth of the city. These stages are discussed in this chapter to establish how they resulted in an urban environment in which public spaces were neglected, and the human scale was lost, which ultimately resulted in an environment ready to absorb and propagate the shopping mall typology.

The first stage was marked by the development of royal palaces and state-led projects outside the dense fabric of the traditional city. As a result, these projects stimulated urban development, causing the urban fabric to grow in their direction during **the second stage**. Accordingly, the first and second stages were marked by the rapid decline of traditional Riyadh and the subsequent development of new neighbourhoods beyond the limits of the city's fortifications. Thereafter, accelerated processes of modernisation and the lack of regulatory mechanisms eventually caused the state apparatus to introduce the first masterplan in order to reaffirm its control over the city and its development. Thus, **the third stage** was characterised by the introduction of the Doxiadis masterplan in an attempt to regulate urban growth during the 1970s. Following the approval of the masterplan, the High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh was established to supervise the modernisation process and ensure the proper implementation of the plan. However, the hastened growth triggered by the oil boom of the mid-1970s rendered the masterplan obsolete. As a result, the masterplan was revised during **the fourth stage** of development. Following that revision, **the fifth stage** was initiated, during which the High Commission for the Development of Riyadh attempted to regulate urban development in the 1980s

and 1990s. Finally, the introduction of the Metropolitan Development Strategy for Riyadh Region (MEDSTAR), approved in 2003, corresponds with the beginning of **the sixth and on-going stage** of the modernisation process. In the remainder of this chapter, each of these stages is discussed in further detail.

The decline of the traditional city

The progressive decline of the traditional fabric of Riyadh can be traced back to the construction of *al-Murabba* Palace, completed in late 1937 and located two kilometres north of Riyadh (fig.1), beyond the city's fortifications (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Al-Naim, 2008; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992). Traditional construction techniques were preserved in the construction of the royal palace (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Facey, 1992), yet it marked a substantial departure from the traditional urban fabric in terms of scale and location (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120). As Al-Hathloul (1981) has argued, it is the large scale of the palace (fig. 2) — a square of 400 by 400 metres (which is the origin of the name *al-Murabba*, 'the square') — that caused the king to move outside the dense fabric of the city. Several additional factors can be attributed to the decision to move outside the city. Firstly, Riyadh witnessed a population increase from the 1920s as well as the development of suburbs located in the south-eastern area outside the fortifications; the suburbs were subsequently annexed and became part of the city's urban fabric (Facey, 1992). Secondly, the growth in the royal household and the functions of the state necessitated the development of greater palaces that the current dense fabric was unable to contain. Finally, the introduction of the car and communication technologies made it possible to conceive of a royal palace distant from the city centre (fig. 5).

Significantly, the new residence of the king signalled the beginning of a newly-established age of security and prosperity in the Kingdom. Hence, *al-Murabba* Palace marks the first pivotal moment in the urban history of contemporary Riyadh as it opened up the possibility of living outside the city's fortifications (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Daghistani, 1985). During the 1940s, subsequent royal palaces were built for the king's elder sons west of



Figure 2: View of *al-Murabba* Complex in 1935. Photograph by Gerald de Gaury (source: Harrigan, 2016).



Figure 3: View from inside *al-Murabba* Complex. Photograph by Darrell C. Crain, Jr., 1950 (source: Darrell C. Crain, Jr. Photograph Collection, DC Library).



Figure 4: Cars are travelling from *al-Murabba* Palace (in the background) to Old Riyadh. Photograph by Darrell C. Crain, Jr., 1950 (source: Darrell C. Crain, Jr. Photograph Collection, DC Library).





New Royal Palace

Traditional urban fabric

Figure 5: Aerial view of Riyadh, 1950 (Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).

Figure 6: The traditional fabric rapidly deteriorated as buildings were demolished to enlarge roads and accommodate car traffic. Photograph by Philby, 1959 (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2011).



Figure 7: Mudbrick constructions were destroyed in the 1950s to accommodate wide and right-angle streets that cut through the fabric of the city (source: Harrigan, 2016).





the road connecting the new palace to the old city, which resulted in the emergence of al-Futah neighbourhood (Al-Hathloul, 2012). Consequently, al-Futah had the effect of reinforcing the direction of urban development towards the north (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120). Affluent members of society soon followed the king’s steps and gradually moved north of the traditional city (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Facey, 1992).

Riyadh’s traditional urban fabric came under further increased pressure following the discovery of oil in 1938 and the subsequent introduction of the car (fig.6) as the principal means of transportation (Al-Hathloul, 2012; 2017, p97–120; Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992). Indeed, a government garage was built south-east of the city and housed about 300 cars by 1939 (Al-Naim, 2008; Daghistani, 1985; Facey, 1992). Gradually, the number of cars increased to reach 5,000 cars in 1950 (Facey, 1992). As a result, Riyadh’s traditional urban fabric deteriorated; it was altered (fig.7) to accommodate wide and right-angle streets that cut through the city to allow for car traffic (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722).

Pressure on the traditional fabric was further accelerated by the inauguration of the railway station in 1951 (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Facey, 1992). Connecting the capital to the Eastern Province (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40), the railway was Riyadh’s gateway to modern construction techniques and materials first introduced by ARAMCO (Arabian-American Oil Company) in al-Khobar. As Al-Hathloul (1981) has noted, al-Khobar was the first modern urban community in Saudi Arabia, and became its urban model; its modernist urbanism, gridiron plan and villa units (fig.8) deeply influenced how contemporary Saudi cities were developed (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Naim, 2008). Moreover, the airport, located 7km north of the city, was improved in 1952 (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120), and the road system — such as the Riyadh-Dhahran road opened in 1961 (Al-Solaiman, 2009) — was gradually developed to link the capital with the principal regions of the kingdom. Progressively, transportation networks interrupted the geographical isolation that guaranteed the urban homogeneity of the city. Steel and concrete constructions gradually overwhelmed and irreversibly changed Riyadh’s urban landscape (Facey, 1992).

Furthermore, the population grew from 47,000 in 1940 to 83,000 in 1950 (Facey, 1992). Urban expansion developed northwards following the direction of the Royal Palace. At the same time, the increased pressure on the traditional centre culminated in the destruction of the city’s walls, along with the central mosque and the Royal Palace during the early 1950s (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722; Daghistani, 1985). Importantly, it was the inclination of the Royal family — followed by the well-to-do — to move north and west of the city, while lower-income families remained in the suburbs located in the east and the south (Facey, 1992). The seemingly organic north-south social divide was institutionalised and made part of the ‘modernisation’ processes during the introduction of the first masterplan (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

Moreover, the cultural value of traditional architecture was unable to compete with the commercial value of the land. As a result of the dictates of the real estate market, buildings in the central area were left to decay and be subsequently replaced (Shuaibi and Al-Hathloul, 1984). Also, the state apparatus continuously demonstrated its inclination



Figure 8: Modernist planning of al-Khobar, 1947 (source: Al-Naim, 2008).

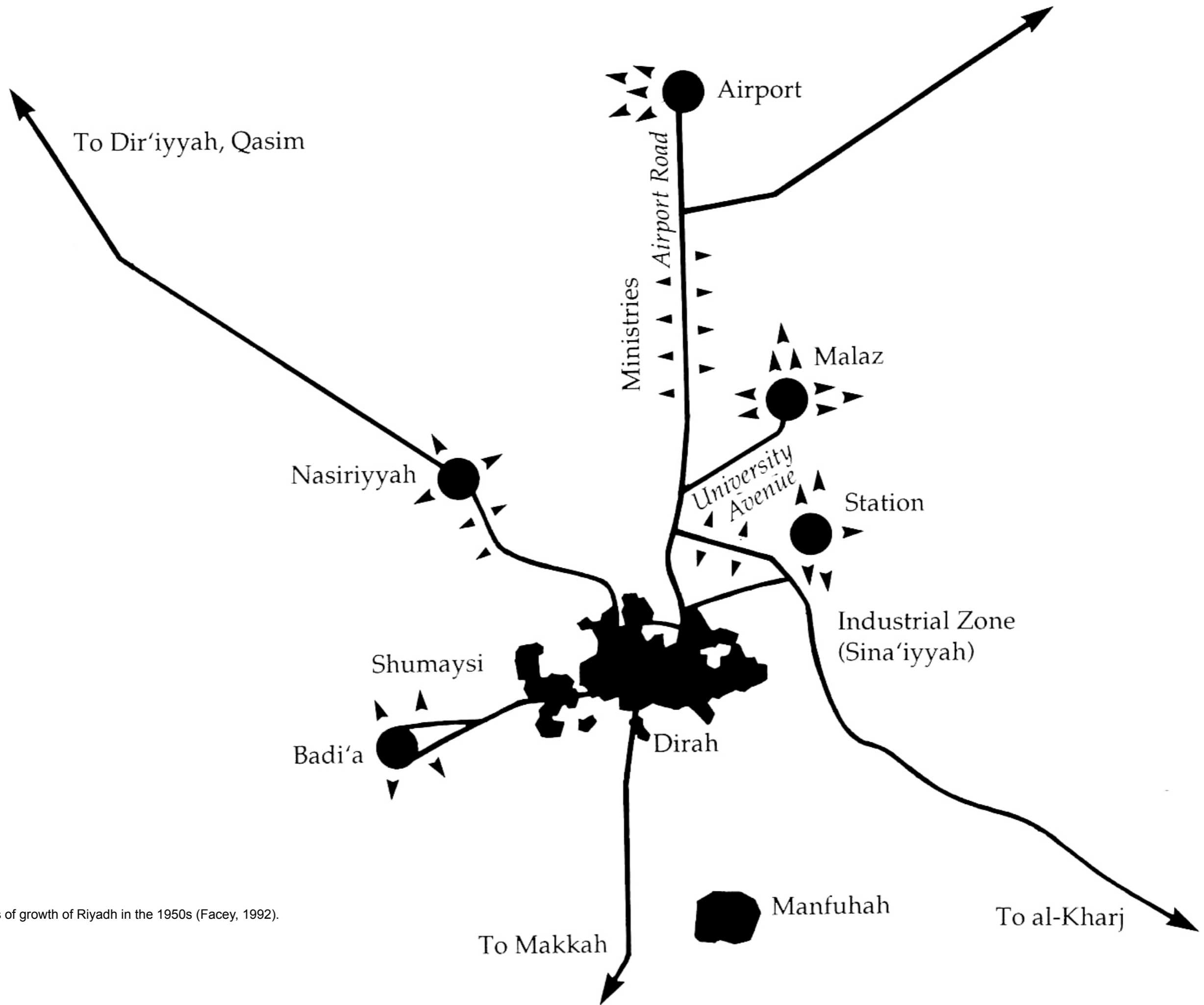


Figure 9: The nodes of growth of Riyadh in the 1950s (Facey, 1992).

towards processes of urban modernisation at the expense of the traditional fabric. This is illustrated by the destruction of the old Royal Palace, followed by its replacement with the Governorate of Riyadh and the Justice Palace using modern construction materials and techniques (Facey, 1992). The Grand Mosque was replaced following the same logic (Facey, 1992).

Ad hoc modernisation

Although the Riyadh Municipality was established in 1953 to oversee the modernisation process (Facey, 1992), the lack of a cohesive plan of action resulted in the ad hoc development that essentially followed the urban logic of *al-Murabba* Palace. As has been noted, the urban logic of Riyadh at that time followed the direction of state-led projects located at a distance from the current city fabric, subsequently resulting in an unstructured infill urbanism that developed along the main circulation axes linking the new project to the fabric of the city (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722; Facey, 1992).

Importantly, large-scale oil production began in 1946 and resulted in a sharp increase in oil revenues: from \$10 million, government income reached \$113.6 million by 1950 (Facey, 1992). During this period, much of that income was invested in royal palaces and state-led projects (Al-Solaiman, 2009), as exemplified by the development of *al-Nasiriyya* Palace.

***al-Nasiriyya* Palace**

The second significant event in Riyadh's urban development was the rebuilding and subsequent expansion of *al-Nasiriyya* palace (fig.10), a small estate turned royal palace during the rule of King Saud following his accession to the throne in 1953 (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2012; 2017, p97–120; Al-Naim, 2008; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Facey, 1992). The complex was located north-west of the old city; it followed a grid-plan pattern and represented the city's first encounter with reinforced concrete and modern construction techniques (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Naim, 2008). It was completed in 1957 (Al-



Figure 10: Aerial view of the original *al-Nassiriya* Palace in 1953. The palace was demolished and replaced in 1957 (source: Facey, 1992).

Naim, 2008; 2013, p70–79), covering an area of 250 hectares and:

... comprised the Royal Divan, the King's private palace, Palace of the King's Mother, the guest palace, four smaller palaces, thirty-two large villas, and thirty-seven smaller villas. The complex also included a museum, a library, a school for boys, a school for girls, a hospital, recreation areas, and a zoo. (Al-Hathloul, 1981: 160)

As an isolated complex, the general population did not come in direct contact with *al-Nasiriyya* and was therefore unaffected by its construction techniques and materials (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Its direct impact came in strengthening the north-western axis created by *al-Murabba* Palace and *al-Futah* neighbourhood (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722). Bonnenfant (2014, p708–722) states that the inclination



to move north-west is attributed to the fact that the area forms an ascending slope which benefits from the north-western breeze and avoids the wind and pollution of the city. As a result, construction started to appear south, east, and north of the *al-Nasiriyya* complex while the neighbourhoods of *al-Murabba* and *al-Futah* progressively stretched northwards (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40).

While *al-Murabba* Palace marks the first departure from the traditional urban fabric in terms of scale and geographic location, *al-Nassiriya* marks a real rupture with the traditional city, as it introduced modernist architectural and urban principles to Riyadh. Therefore, it is possible to argue that *al-Nassiriya* represents the pivotal moment at which the state apparatus fully embraced modernisation as an additional source of state legitimacy. The hesitant modernisation brought about by the development of *al-Murabba* was fully realised in *al-Nassiriya*. Hence, the royal complex signalled the state’s inclination to modernisation; it was a demonstration of an alternative approach to urban planning and became the model upon which the state developed its future projects (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97– 120). Once embraced and re-appropriated, modernist architecture and urban planning were made available to the general population via the intermediary of the *al-Malaz* neighbourhood.

***al-Malaz* project**

The *al-Malaz* project was the third major urban construction in Riyadh’s modern development and had the most significant impact on the urban fabric of the city. The project was developed to house government employees following the king’s decision in 1953 to transfer all ministries from Mecca to Riyadh (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120; Al-Naim, 2008; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7– 40; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722; Cardenas, 2016, p393–404). The project was located 4.5 kilometres north-east (fig.9) of the historic centre (Al-Said, 2003, p1–10) and was only partly completed when the ministries finally transferred in 1957 (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

al-Malaz marks a significant departure from the traditional fabric of Riyadh in terms of

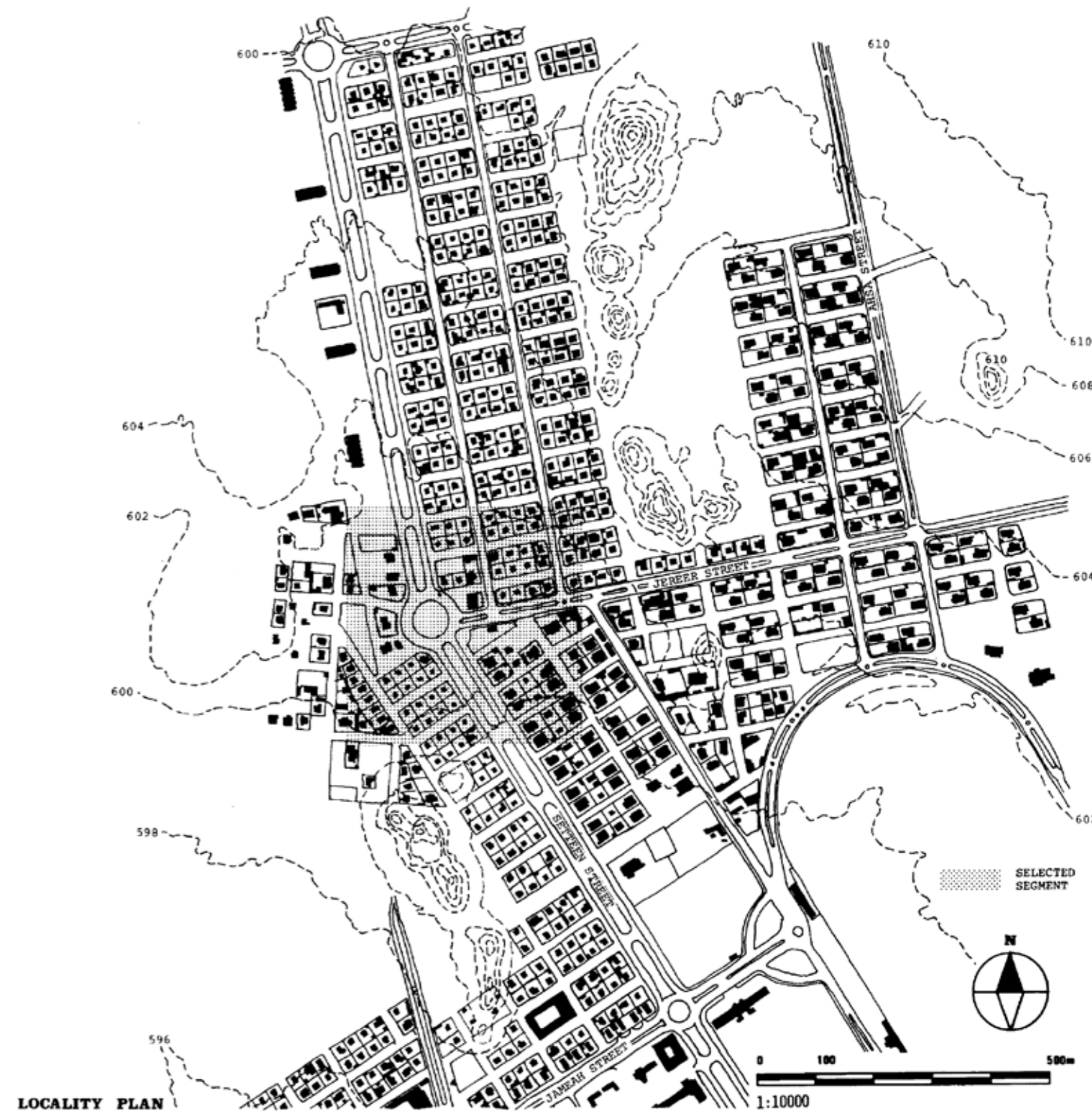


Figure 11: Plan of the *al-Malaz* project (Al-Hathloul et al., 1975).

scale. It led to the loss of the human scale, as its streets were primarily designed to accommodate car traffic. The project was characterised by its regular grid and the newly-introduced hierarchy of streets (fig.11). As Al-Hathloul (1981; 2017, p97–120) has noted, thoroughfares of 30 metres in width, main streets of 20 metres and secondary streets of 10 to 15 metres divide the neighbourhood into blocks of 100 by 50 metres. Each block is subdivided into lots of 25 by 25 metres for the most part (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120)¹. The project, which ‘... consisted of 754 detached dwelling units (villas) and 180 apartment units in three apartment buildings’ (Al-Hathloul, 1981: 162), was divided in two by a major boulevard of 60 metres in width (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

The project represents a pivotal moment in the urban history of Riyadh, as it was the first successful experimentation with spatial regulation and meticulous spatial distribution. As a symbol of modernity, it reflected the state apparatus’s conception of ideal urban planning (Al-Said, 2003, p1–10) and soon became the urban model for replication in Riyadh and the rest of the kingdom (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120; Al-Said, 2003, p1–10; Al-Solaiman, 2009). Moreover, *al-Malaz* had a lasting impact as the general population came into contact with the project. The fact that it was built for state employees, who were regarded as an elite and educated social class, further increased its appeal (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Thus, a new architectural and urban trend was set by the state apparatus, which the affluent and middle-class strived to imitate.

With the completion of *al-Malaz* — which came to be known as New Riyadh (Menoret, 2014) — the state-established urban trend fully crystallised. A new north-eastern axis was established by the *al-Malaz* neighbourhood and the transferred ministries that were located on the road leading to the airport (fig.12). Thus, the urban logic that followed the development of *al-Murabba* and *al-Nassiriya* palaces continued with the *al-Malaz* neighbourhood, as the city continued to develop towards the northern areas.

From 1951 to 1974, urban development was fast and disorderly (Al-Naim, 2013, p70–79). Large scale state-led projects were developed outside the dense fabric of the traditional



Figure 12: The transferred ministries aligned along Airport Road. Photograph by V.K. Anthony in 1959 (Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).

city. Major circulation axes were then erected to connect these projects with the historic centre. As a consequence, these projects attracted further development and caused the urban fabric to stretch along the axes. Thus, this period was characterised by the shift from radial to axial development (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40), from high to low density (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120; Al-Said, 2003, p1–10; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Eben Saleh, 1998, p571–589), from integrated to highly-separated uses and functions (Eben Saleh, 1998, p571–589), and marked by the introduction of hierarchies and spatial regulations (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120).



Figure 13: The dense urban fabric of New *Manfuha* (source: Al-Hathloul et al., 1975).



Figure 14: Traditional construction techniques continued to be utilised in New *Manfuha* (source: Al-Hathloul et al., 1975)

In the northern parts of the city, freedom from financial and geographical constraints (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722) caused the urban model of *al-Malaz* to propagate during the 1960s and 1970s. Overall, Riyadh developed horizontally with buildings of up to 7 storeys, and with taller buildings located on the main commercial axes (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40). On the other hand, the traditional fabric was gradually being replaced with parking lots and other modern typologies such as specialised commercial zones, schools, and administrative offices (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40); however, public space typologies, such as squares, plazas and pedestrian streets, were not introduced into Riyadh’s new urban fabric.

However, with processes of modernisation came processes of class segregation. In contrast with the urban trend in the northern areas, the neighbouring village of *Manfuha* located south of Riyadh did not constitute a principal area of development in the 1950s. To the contrary, *Manfuha*’s inhabitants tended to move northwards in the 1930s to settle in the low-income suburbs that developed south and east of Riyadh (Facey, 1992). Low-income suburbs subsequently grew southwards towards deserted *Manfuhah* (Al-Solaiman, 2009). In the 1950s, the Riyadh Municipality provided land subdivisions in the area between *Manfuha* and Riyadh (fig.15); the neighbourhood was called New *Manfuha* and became a southern suburb dedicated to low-income groups (Al-Hathloul et al., 1975; Al-Naim, 2013, p70–79; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Facey, 1992).

Importantly, the evidence demonstrates that the subdivision of *Manfuha* differs from that of *al-Malaz*, as neither the low density nor the villa-type dwellings of the latter were introduced. In contrast with the northern neighbourhoods, *Manfuha* remained a highly-dense urban fabric (fig.13) in which traditional construction techniques continued to be utilised (fig.14). The well-to-do increasingly followed the north-west and north-east development axes while the poor either remained within the traditional fabric of the city or were pushed southwards.

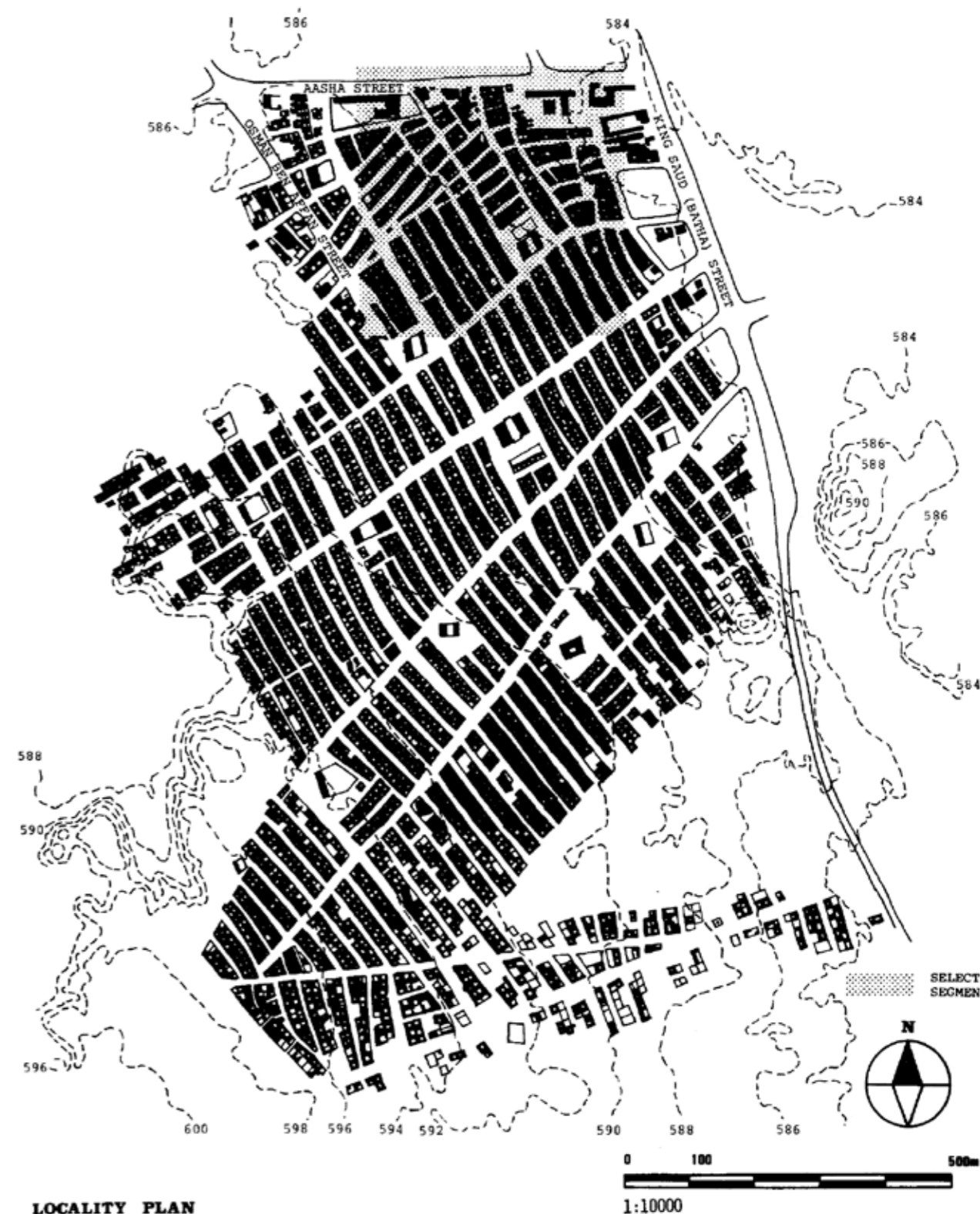


Figure 15: Plan of New *Manfuha* (Al-Hathloul et al., 1975).

As the traditional urban fabric deteriorated, the city expanded to reach a total area of approximately 73km² (Daghistani, 1985) to 85km² (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40) by the late 1970s. The population grew from 83,000 in 1949 to 350,000 during the same period (Daghistani, 1985). The concurrent growth of the state apparatus and the decisions made since the early 1950s attracted migration, which in turn accelerated the development of the city. As a result, a masterplan was commissioned in the late 1960s to establish spatial control over urban development. The urban trends that were established by the state apparatus were then consolidated with the introduction of the Doxiadis supergrid.

Controlled growth: the Doxiadis masterplan of the 1970s

In response to the uncontrolled sprawl of the 1950s and 1960s, the state decided to organise an international competition in 1968 to introduce a masterplan for the development of the city (Al-Naim, 2008). The completion was won by the Greek architect Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120) who officially submitted the plan to the Ministry of Municipal and Rural affairs in 1971 (Al-Naim, 2008; Daghistani, 1985). The Council of Ministers subsequently approved the plan (fig.16) in 1973 (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Al-Naim, 2008).

The plan aimed to quantify the needs of the city, regulate its growth and set targets for its development up to the year 2000 (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Daghistani, 1985). The submitted proposal identified the following number of issues that it intended to address: 1) the unstructured growth of the city; 2) the concentration of urban activity and 3) traffic congestion in the historic centre; 4) the lack of guiding principle for future development; 5) the lack of an adequate hierarchy of roads; 6) the shortage of housing supply and lack of organised financial structure; 7) the inadequate location of the old airport in proximity to the city's urban fabric; 8) the lack of community facilities in newly-developed areas, and finally; 9) inadequate infrastructure (Daghistani, 1985).

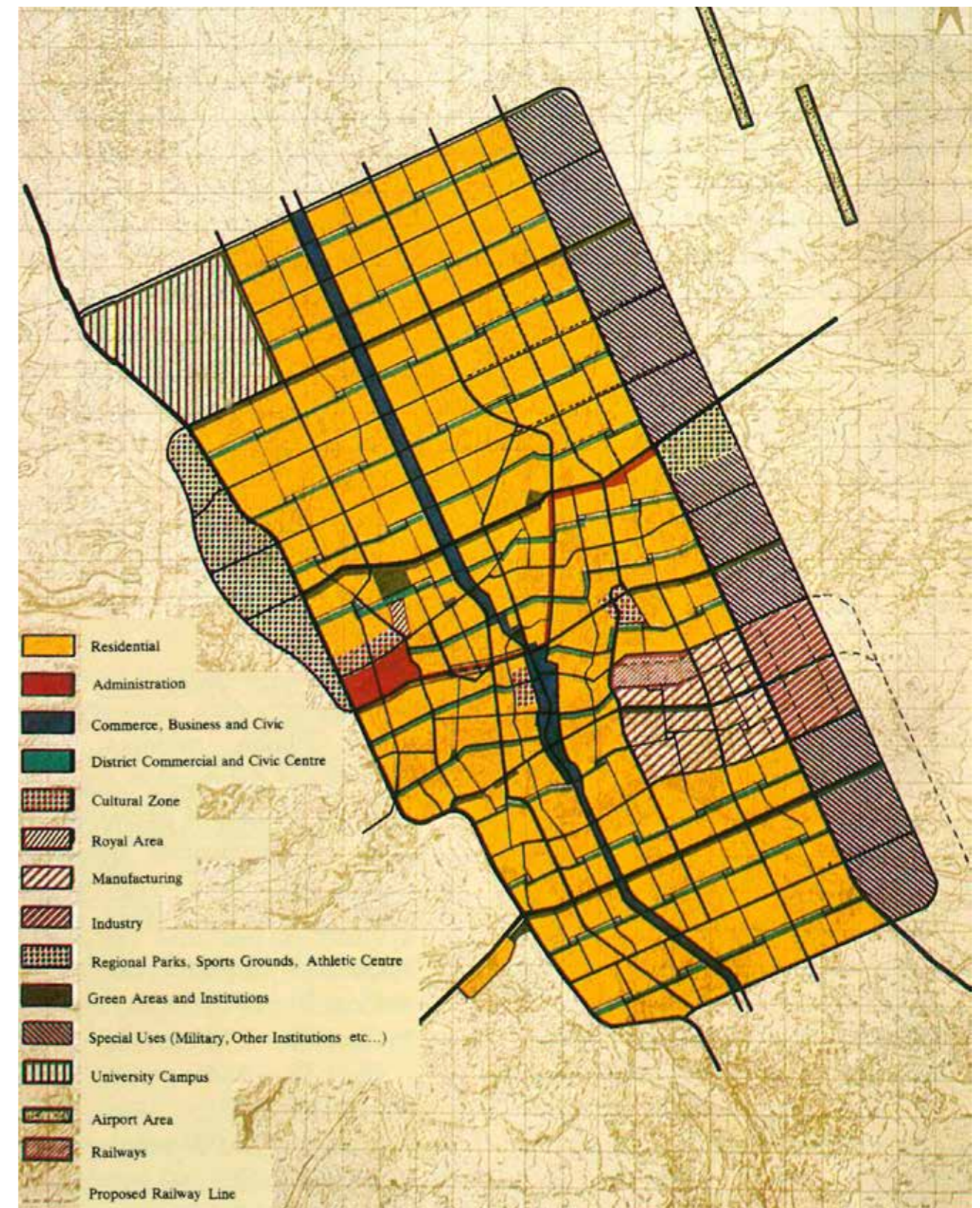


Figure 16: Original masterplan for the year 2000 (source: Doxiadis, 1971 cited in Daghistani, 1985).



Figure 17: The central northwest-southeast commercial and administrative axis of the masterplan (source: Doxiadis, 1971 cited in Al-Hathloul, 1981, readapted by the author).



To counter the effects of unstructured development, Doxiadis proposed a masterplan for Riyadh based on his idea of the Dynapolis (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). Through the model of the Dynapolis (fig. 17), Doxiadis envisioned a dynamic city that would expand progressively in a parabolic fashion following unidirectional axes of development (Middleton, 2009). Moreover, the model of the Dynapolis was developed to avoid congestion and provide for the future growth of the city (Menoret, 2014; Middleton, 2009). To relieve congestion, in the model of the Dynapolis, the central area of traditional urban planning is replaced by a central spinal axis that can develop indefinitely (Menoret, 2014). As a result, the central spine becomes the structuring element of the city; it establishes the principal commercial and administrative functions of the city and guides its future development. Finally, Doxiadis developed the idea of community hierarchies (Daghistani, 1985; Middleton, 2009) distributed around the central spine in self-contained *superblocks* (Menoret, 2014) of 2 by 2 km² (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). The ‘*superblock*’, or the ‘*modulus*’ (Middleton, 2009) is a spatial unit which consists of a series of descending community classes (Middleton, 2009); it is a complete unit that contains essential community functions which are located within range of pedestrian access (Middleton, 2009). In the model of the Dynapolis, pedestrian movement is contained within the limits of the *modulus* (Middleton, 2009). A hierarchical system of roads organises traffic within each unit and separates between vehicles and pedestrian movement while fast circulation axes organise vehicular movement at the city level (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Daghistani, 1985; Middleton, 2009). Thus, the pedestrian scale was considered in Doxiadis’ initial plans. However, and as will be later discussed in this chapter, such considerations were not realised as future developments remained car-centric and the pedestrian scale was further neglected.

Riyadh’s masterplan was therefore developed in continuation with the gridiron planning logic of *al-Malaz*. It institutionalised the super-grid as a model of urban development and multiplied the logic of circulation hierarchies (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120).. Likewise, it institutionalised the shift from radial to axial development first introduced in the development of *al-Murabba* palace.

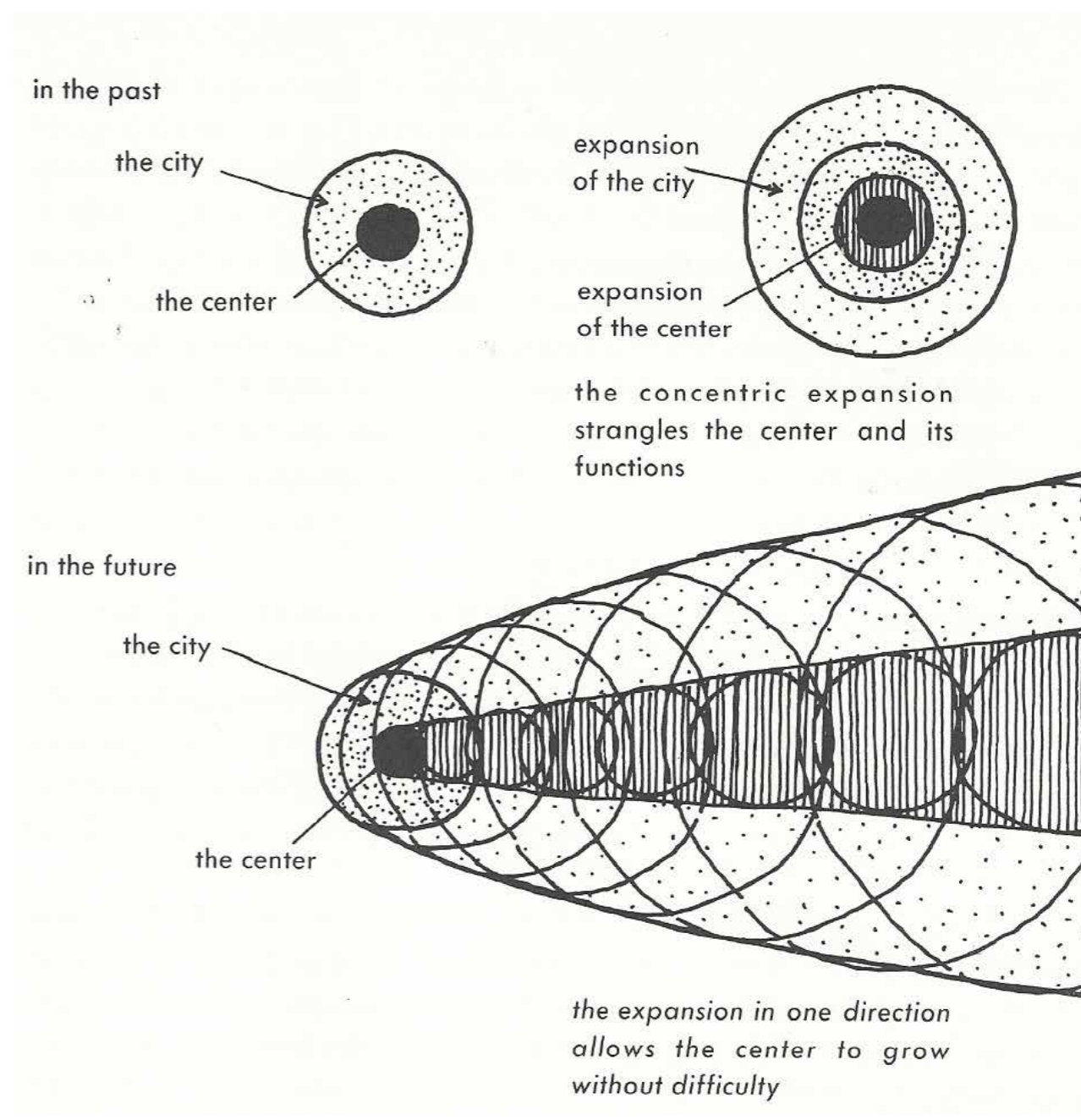


Figure 18: Model of the ideal Dynapolis (source: Doxiadis 1966 cited in Bromley, 2002, p317–330).



Figure 19: King Fahad Road (left) and Olaya Street (right) form the central northwest-southeast commercial and administrative axis that cuts through the entire urban fabric of the city. In this photograph, Kingdom Tower is viewed from Al Faysaliyah Tower, two major landmarks of contemporary Riyadh that are located on its principal axis (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2006).

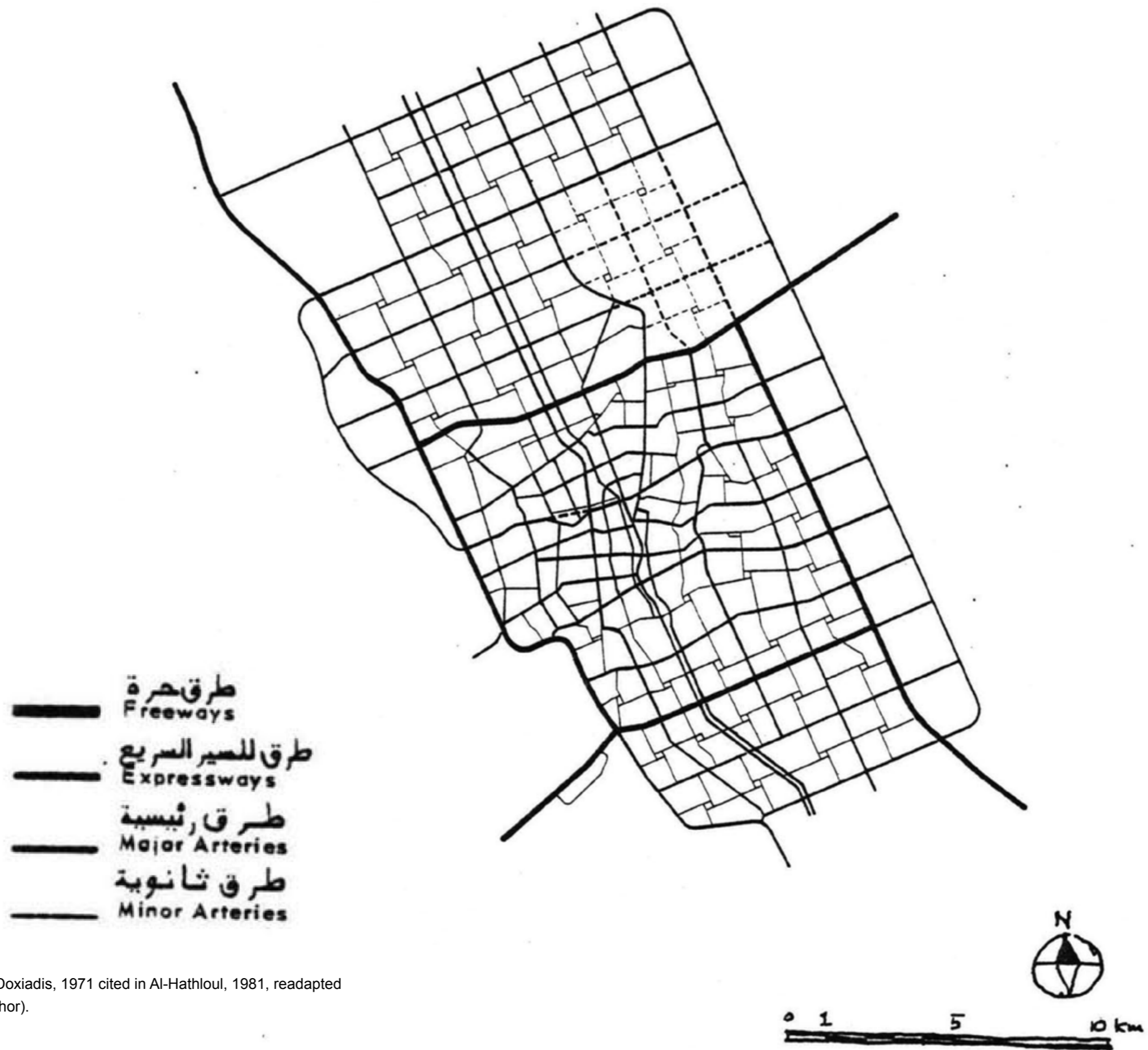


Figure 20: Traffic hierarchies of the masterplan (source: Doxiadis, 1971 cited in Al-Hathloul, 1981, readapted by the author).

Accordingly, a central northwest-southeast commercial and administrative axis was introduced to relieve traffic congestion in Riyadh's historic centre and decentralise its concentrated urban activity (fig.17). The central axis was principally formed by the future development of King Fahad Road and Olaya Road (fig.19). Also, minimum-size lots and setbacks, as well as maximum heights and area coverage regulations, imposed the villa-type dwelling as the basic unit of habitation (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120). Although space-consuming, freedom from geographic limitation, the abundance of cars and the ease of fast-traffic circulation caused the villa-type to dominate the urban landscape (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722).

The pedestrian dimension of the *modulus* unit meant that public spaces were integral to Doxiadis' conception of the Dynapolis. However, the human scale of the *modulus* unit did not materialise in Riyadh, as decision-makers disregarded his approach to the neighbourhood typology (Hadj, 2012). As a result, the introduced zoning regulations and traffic hierarchies (fig.20) did not resolve the conflict between pedestrians and motor traffic. To the contrary, the logic of partitioning, coupled with low-density urbanism, culminated in the overwhelming domination of the car. The resulting space created social disparities, as individuals who did not have access to the car increasingly suffered from limited mobility as the city expanded in all directions (Menoret, 2014).

Progressively, a system of spatial partitioning emerged in Riyadh. *Modulus* units were distributed along the city's central spine, and the city was progressively divided into manageable self-contained units linked by a system of fast-moving traffic. Hierarchies organised movement and facilitated spatial distribution. The hierarchical plan divided the city into six primary areas, each composed of eight to twelve localities of two by two kilometres (Al-Hathloul, 1981; 2017, p97–120). It also created spatial segregations based on levels of income, which was engineered by the provision of different minimum lot sizes in different areas of the city (Al-Hathloul, 1981). By providing larger minimum lot sizes in the northern areas², the state imposed structural limitations that prevented low-income groups from having access to the housing market in northern neighbourhoods. The divide



Figure 21: Low-income housing project of the masterplan (source: Doxiadis, 1971 cited in Al-Hathloul, 1981, readapted by the author).



Figure 22: An informal neighbourhood next to the old Royal Palace. In the background is the Water Tower built in 1971; it is one of the urban landmarks of modern Riyadh (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722).

between rich and poor was marked by the contrast between the low densities and large lots of the north (Al-Hathloul, 1981) and the smaller lots and higher densities of the south (Daghistani, 1985). To further accentuate the divide, an isolated small housing project (fig.21) was planned to the south-west of the city — despite the planner’s reluctance — to house the immigrant Bedouin population (Menoret, 2014).

On the north-south class divide

The modernisation of Riyadh was accompanied by a parallel process of urban marginalisation and displacement that produced a marked north-south class divide.

The unprecedented rate at which Riyadh developed since the early 1950s caused rural inhabitants to migrate to the city in pursuit of education and economic prosperity (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722). In 1962, it was estimated that migrants amounted to 54 percent of the city’s population (Menoret, 2014). As they moved to the city, the first migrants grouped in neighbourhoods based on their geographical and tribal origins, which caused neighbourhoods to be named after the population that appropriated its space (Al-Naim, 2008, p28–32; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Al-Solaiman, 2009; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722). As already stated, neighbourhoods were traditionally based on ethnic and geographic backgrounds rather than on levels of income (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Moreover, the urban sprawl that resulted from the ad hoc urbanism preceding the introduction of the masterplan provided rural migrants with the possibilities of re-appropriating empty lots located within or nearby the fabric of the city. As an example, an informal neighbourhood developed west of *al-Nassiriya* Palace, and housed the workers and officers of the palace (Menoret, 2014).

Nevertheless, the urbanisation of the 1960s also accelerated the rate at which informal neighbourhoods developed. In 1968, slums became a significant concern for the state apparatus as the former grew to represent 20 per cent of the city’s housing stock in 1968 (Menoret, 2014). This trend continued during the 1970s and 1980s, as urban sprawl caused informal neighbourhoods to grow on vacant land within the fabric of the traditional

and modern city (fig.22). The propagation of shacks (*sandaqa* plural. *sanadiq*) (Al- Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722) marked a significant contrast with the modernist constructions of New Riyadh and caused a parallel economy to develop in the mid-1970s around the provision of materials. As Bonnenfant writes:

... workers specialized in the collection of wood and the manufacture of panels that they then sold to those wanting to quickly set up a shanty: prefabrication applied to the shantytown, so to speak. In 1980, it cost from 4000 to 5000 SR to build a shanty covered with new corrugated iron and with properly aligned planks. Its walls and the interior sides were often covered with large sheets of scrap cardboard (refrigerator packaging, for example) that blocked drafts and kept dust out ... Of course, these shantytowns tarnished the image of Riyadh that the leadership wanted to promote ... and the city council tried to make them disappear, either by removing them or by building walls to hide them from the view of passing

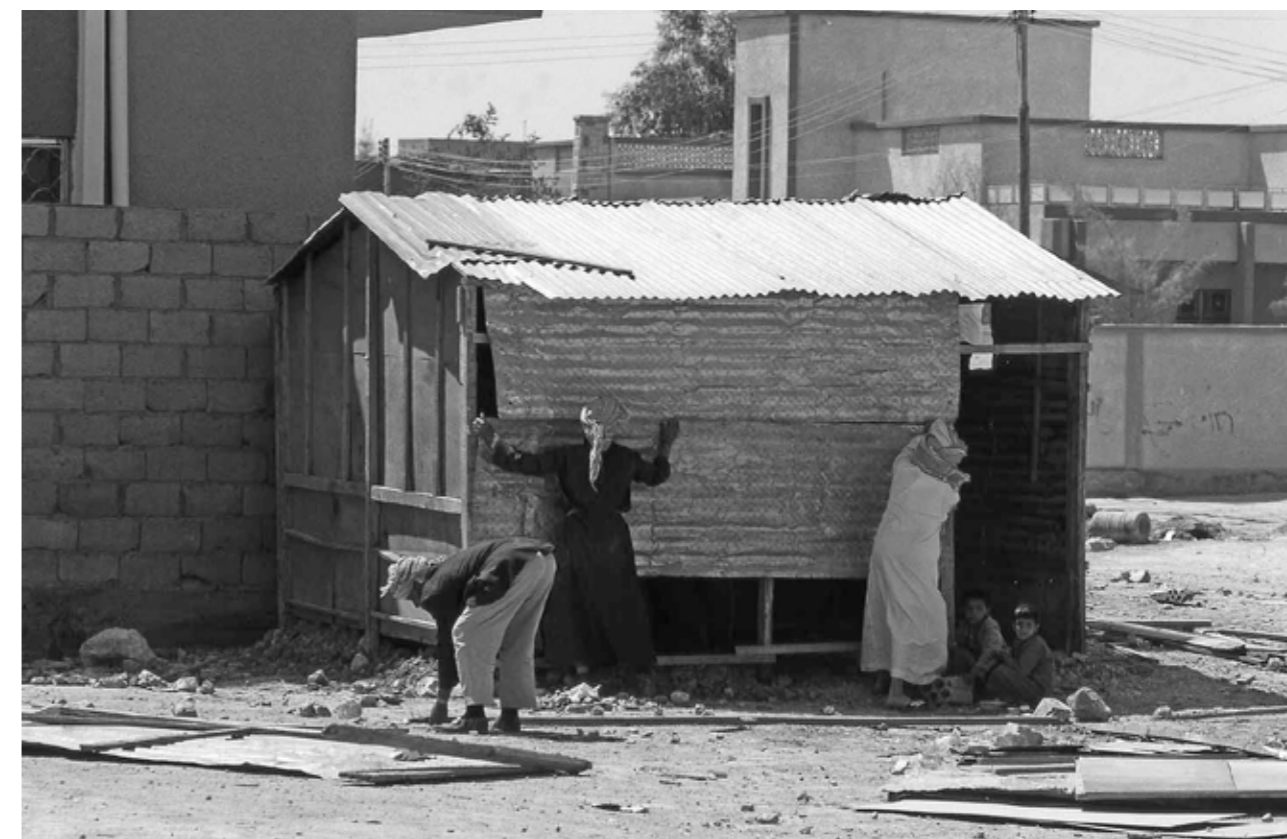


Figure 23: A prefab shanty in wood and corrugated iron is built in a residential area (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722).

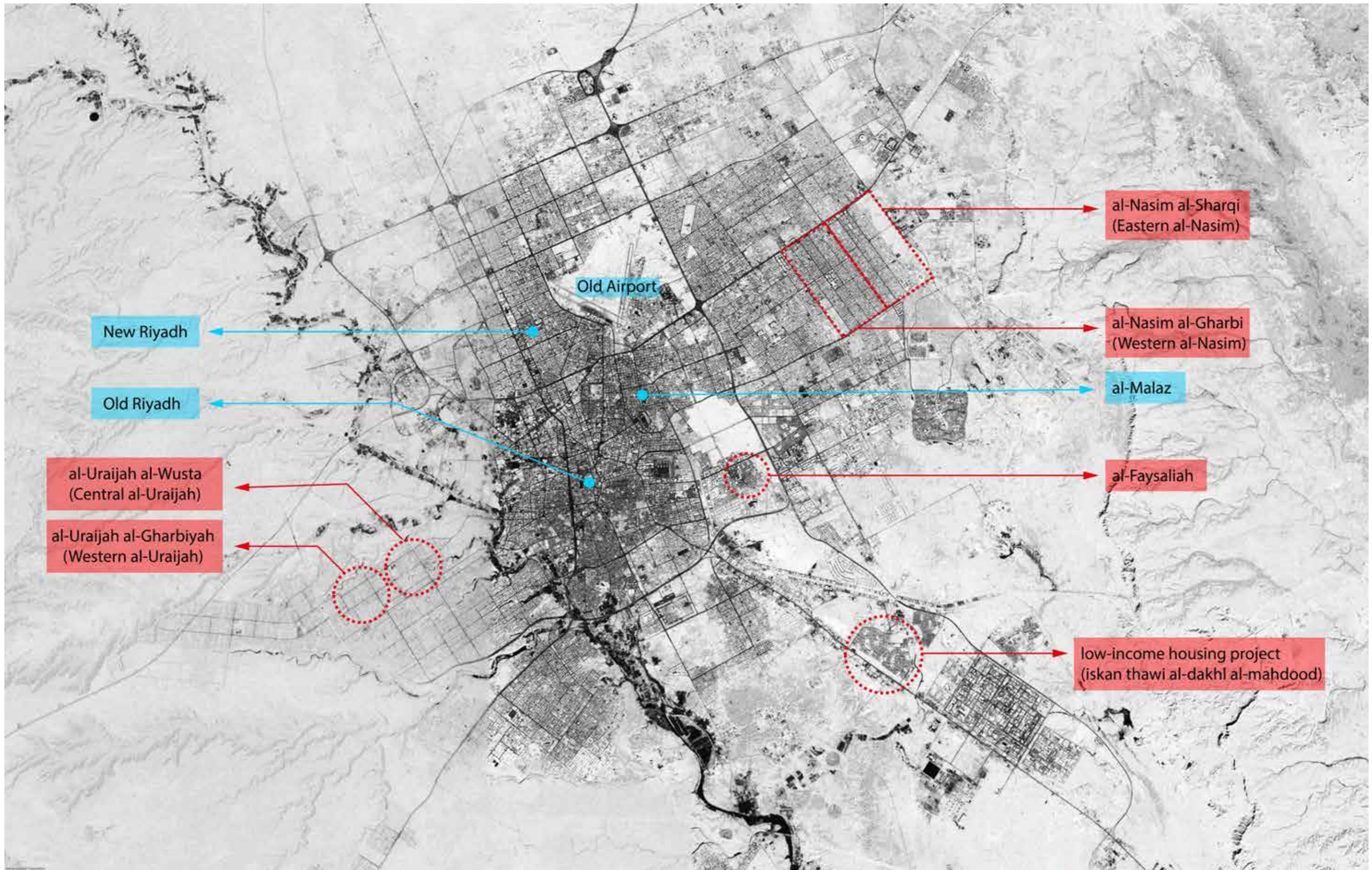


Figure 24: Location of low-income neighbourhoods (red). Riyadh, 1985 (source: Author).

cars. There was a violent contrast between villas, luxury buildings, hotels, luxury stores, administration and company headquarters, symbols of wealth and of the power of the state, and the bourgeoisie and the shanties that progressively retreated under their pressure. (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722: 714–715).

More than compromising the image of modernity, it is possible to suggest that informal neighbourhoods developed in the areas in which the initial masterplan was to be implemented. The other concern with slums would have stemmed from the fact that while they developed within the fabric of the city, they remained outside the dynamics of the real estate market that fuelled the city's development.

Inevitably, the spatial reorganisation of the city necessitated the removal of the slums and the displacement of their population. As Menoret (2014) states, the planner's initial intention was to develop mixed neighbourhoods and relocate low-income groups within the existing fabric of Riyadh. Nevertheless, the evidence demonstrates that low-income groups were continuously relocated to the southern and eastern areas of the city (Al-Hathloul, 1981; Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Menoret, 2014). As an example, the Municipality transferred the population of the central slums to *al-Faysaliah* (fig.24) located east of the historic centre (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40). Another example is the development of al-Nasim, located in eastern Riyadh, and which was '...subdivided by the Town Planning Office in 1973 and auctioned in 1974' (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722: 718) to low-income groups and speculators (fig.24).

Similarly, the introduction of the first masterplan required the reappropriation of property, in order to enable large circulation axes to cut through the declining dense fabric of central Riyadh. Land reappropriation and displacement caused homeowners to oppose the masterplan and challenge the authority of Doxiadis' firm (Menoret, 2014). In response, the High Committee for the Development of Arriyadh was established in 1974 to enforce the implementation of the plan (Menoret, 2014). The commission took over the work of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs concerning Riyadh's development and was responsible for implementing its urban strategy (Daghistani, 1985).

More than the spatial order it introduced, the super-grid was desired as it allowed for the organisation of the real estate market, which became an essential source of private enrichment (Menoret, 2014). Capital accumulation, along with social and spatial divisions, further consolidated as the economy witnessed the oil boom of the 1970s, followed by the sharp surge in the real estate market.

With the introduction of the masterplan began the disciplinary mechanisms of spatial distribution and control. Class segregation, which was guided by the masterplan and fuelled by the dictates of the real estate market, initiated the process of social homogenisation at the level of individual neighbourhoods. Simultaneously, spatial portioning at the city level ensured that heterogeneous social groups would not come in dangerous contact with one another. Zoning and the separation of functions facilitated the organisation of public life. Primary circulation axes became delimitations that marked and isolated neighbourhoods. Meticulous spatial distribution preserved the pristine image of modernity as low-income groups were identified, contained and isolated through the implementation of the super-grid. In the northern areas, individual enclosures were built around individual villas (Eben Saleh, 1998, p571–589) as the collective social body of traditional Riyadh fragmented into individual family units of New Riyadh. Likewise, the collective spaces of the city came to be experienced via the intermediary of the individual enclosure of the private car. As the real estate market accelerated, the integrated fabric of traditional Riyadh gave way to layers of spatial isolations and exclusions.

The oil boom of 1973 and the revision of the masterplan

Following the oil boom of 1973, Riyadh witnessed unprecedented economic and urban growth that the masterplan was unable to contain. It was estimated that the population of Riyadh grew from 82,000 in 1950 to 1.2 million in 1985 (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40); or from 83,000 in 1949 to 1,500,000 in 1983 (Daghistani, 1985). Car imports also increased from 51,134 in 1973 to 423,906 in 1983 (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40). Additionally, the administrative and business functions developed as the banking sector moved to Riyadh in the 1970s.

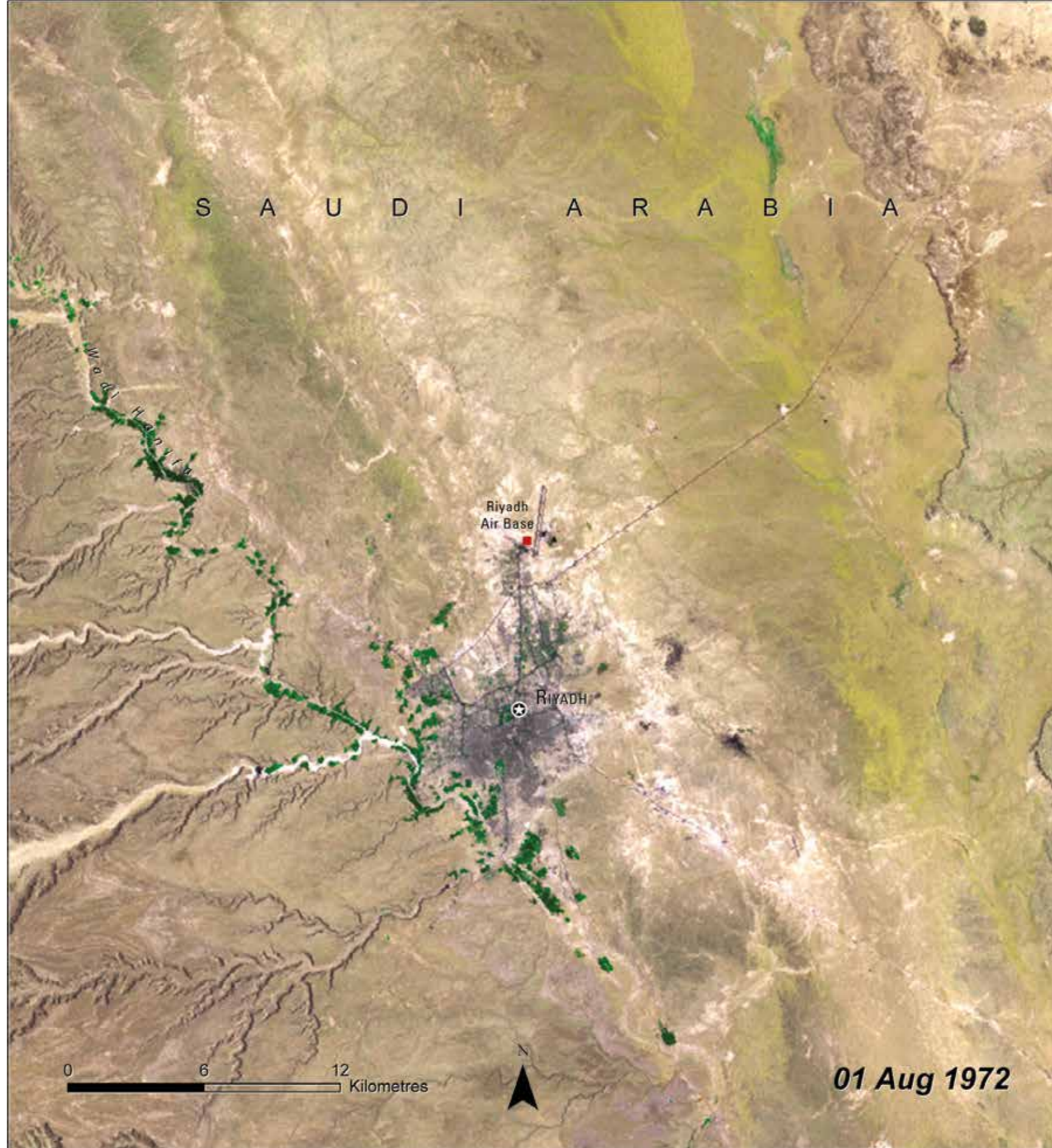


Figure 25: Aerial view of Riyadh in 1972 (source: UNEP, no date).

Likewise, the government decided to transfer foreign embassies to Riyadh in 1975 (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120); by 1982, the transfer was completed (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722).

The concentration of economic development in Riyadh put pressure on a state apparatus unable to foresee its urban effects. As the economy thrived on oil exports, the real estate market became a significant vehicle for surplus absorption. Land prices soared as speculation mounted (Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722), which had the effect of reinforcing urban sprawl and class divisions. Between 1977 and 1983, Daghistani (1985) estimated that the built-up area increased seven times while the population of the city doubled. The result was an increase in car-centric low-density urbanisation and the ineffective and costly provision of services and infrastructure. The Municipality issued more than 12,000 private construction permits in addition to the significant increase in large-scale state-led projects such as universities and medical centres (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). As an example, the investment budget of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs increased to 48.5 billion riyals, of which 30.2 billion riyals were allocated to investments in the central province (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40).

The concurrent increase in interest-free loans provided by the Real Estate Development Fund³ (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722; Garba, 2004, p593–608) resulted in a higher demand for new villas which further accelerated the dynamics of the real estate market. Entire neighbourhoods were emptied in the centre of the city as the population was able to move to the newly-developed north and eastern parts of the city (Menoret, 2014). As a result of the accelerated rate at which the city developed, coupled with the open-ended nature of the super-grid that allowed for infinite horizontal expansion, Riyadh expanded beyond the limits set by the masterplan and surpassed its future projections. For example, the plan estimated population growth to reach 900,000 in 1985 and 1.4 million by 2000 (Daghistani, 1985). In contrast, the city had grown to more than 1.5 million by the late 1980s (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Daghistani, 1985).

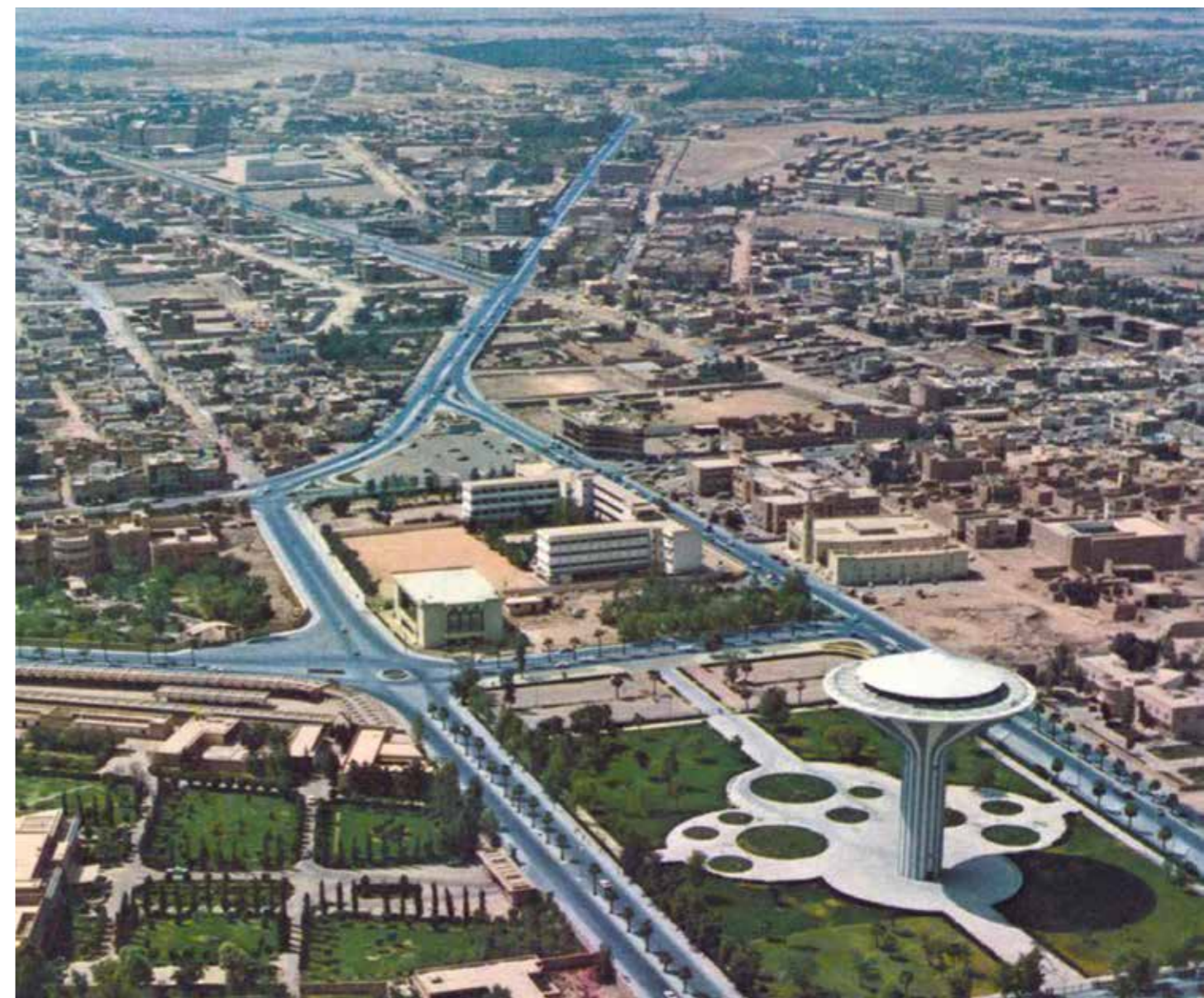


Figure 26: Sprawling urban fabric of 'modern' Riyadh in the late 1970s. In the foreground is the Water Tower. It was built in 1971, and it is one of the major landmarks of the city (source Harrigan, 2016; High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2018).

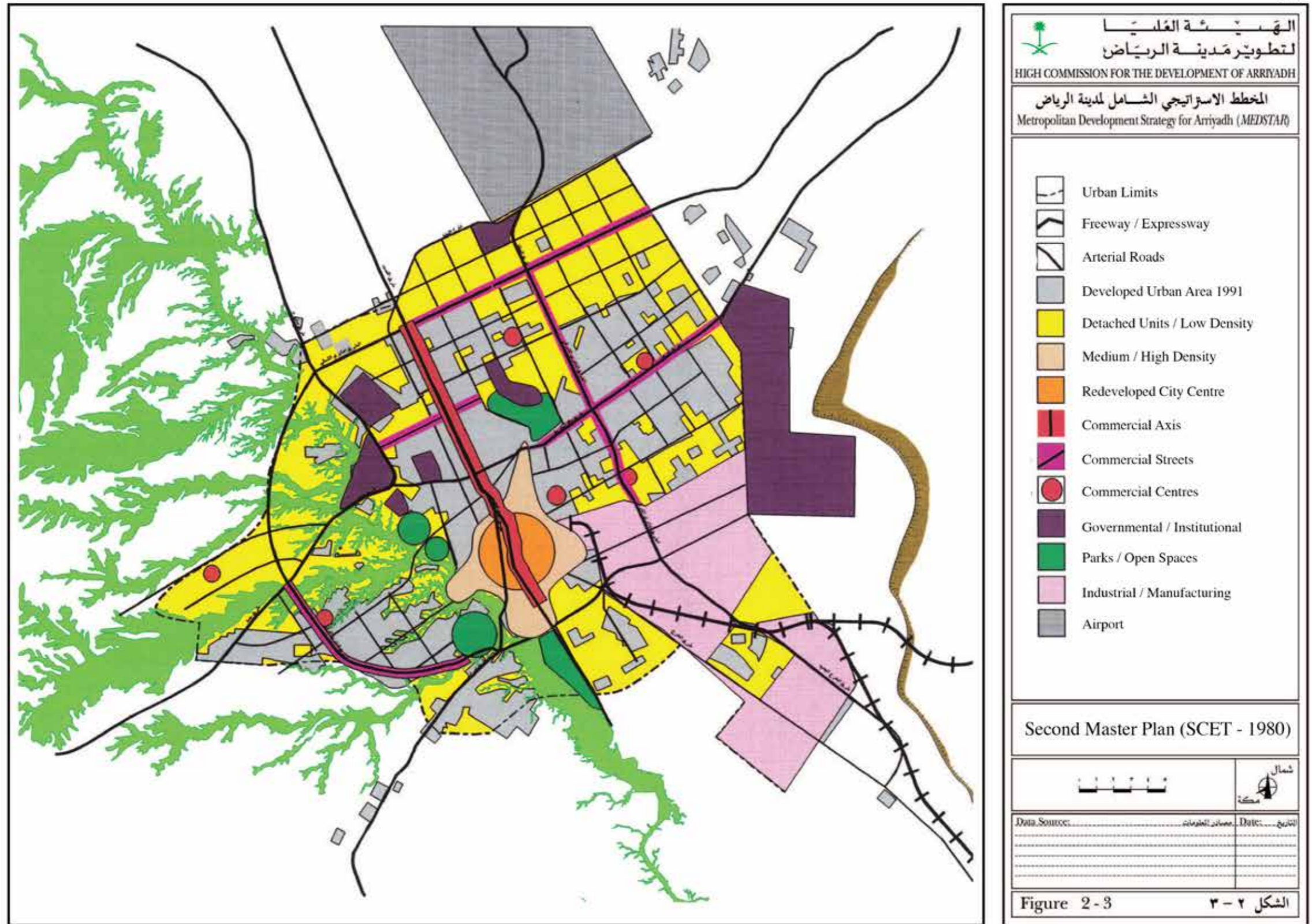


Figure 27: SCET Revision of the masterplan, 1980 (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003b, translated by the author).

Consequently, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs commissioned the French firm SCET int./SEDES in 1976 to revise the masterplan (fig.27) and contain the unanticipated growth of the city (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Daghistani, 1985). The revised plan covered twelve years from 1978 to 1990 and focused on its short-term implementation (Daghistani, 1985). Notably, one of the long-term objectives of the revised plan was ‘to create more open spaces for recreation’ (Daghistani, 1985: 165); it did not, however, provide a framework for the short-term implementation of public space.

Furthermore, the Doxiadis super-grid was maintained and extended to cover the areas that developed outside the limits set by the initial plan; this was especially true for governmental projects that needed to be integrated with the city’s fabric (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). The hierarchical road system was also maintained and further developed with the introduction of the ring road, while the spinal commercial north-south axis was strengthened (fig.27) with the implementation of King Fahad Road (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120).

Likewise, the marked north-south class divide was maintained. For example, subdivisions were provided for low-income groups in the south-western areas of the city (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120), such as *al-Urajjah* (Al-Hathloul, 1981) and the low-income neighbourhood (fig.24) that was developed west of *al-Urajjah* (Al-Sharif, 1988, p7–40; Bonnenfant, 2014, p708–722). The low-income housing project (*iskan thawi al-dakhl al-mahdood*) (fig.24) was also developed in the south-eastern area during the same period (Menoret, 2014).

Therefore, the revision was reactionary and did not alter the urban trends set by the initial plan. To the contrary, it extended the scope of the Doxiadis super-grid and proved its ability to accommodate the open-ended and horizontal expansion of the city (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). However, the revised plan was not officially approved and was only partially implemented (Al-Solaiman, 2009). Nevertheless, the elements it introduced remained a guiding tool that would inform the future development of the city.

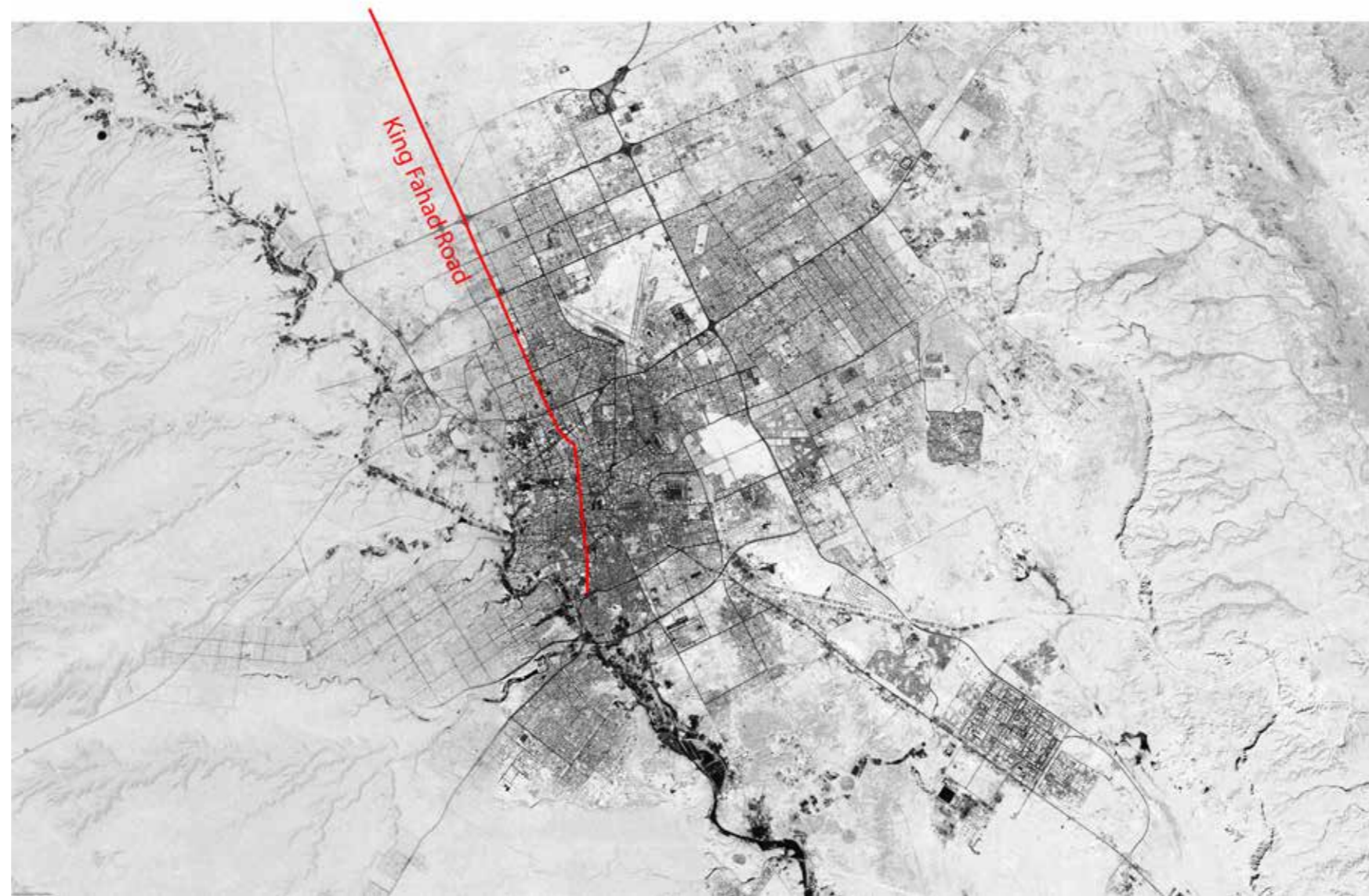


Figure 28: The northwest-southeast central axis as represented by the development of King Fahad Road. Riyadh, 1985 (source: Author).

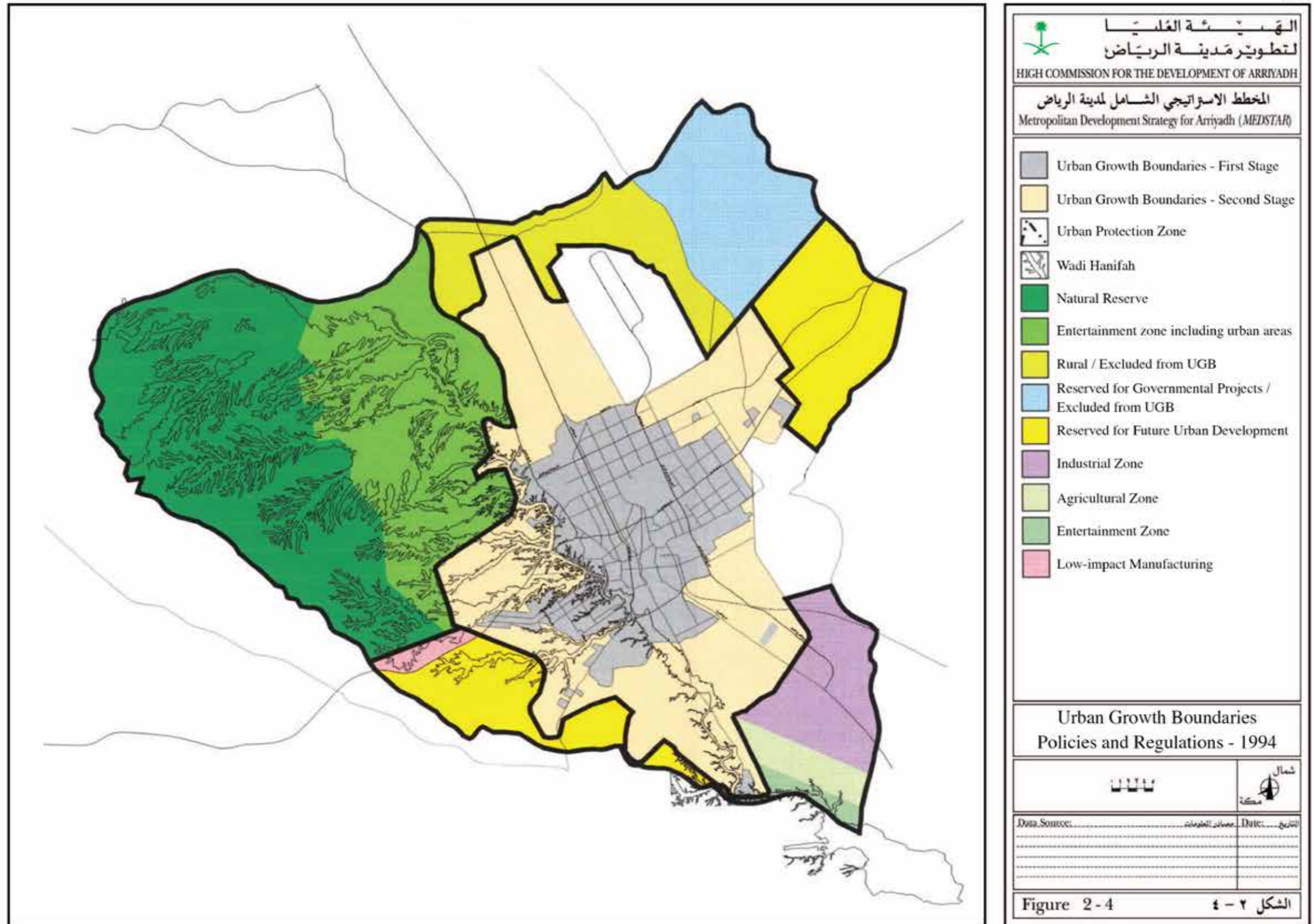


Figure 29: Urban Growth Boundaries (UGB) policies and regulations, 1994 (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003b, translated by the author).



Importantly, it is during this period of heightened economic, social and urban change that the events of the Seizure of the Grand Mosque unfolded in 1979. As previously argued, it was against the threat of radical change that resistance developed from within the religious apparatus. During the 1970s, the spatial organisation and re-homogenisation of the city based on levels of income profoundly disturbed the ethnic homogeneity of traditional Saudi neighbourhoods. More than ever, individual families came in contact with ‘strangers’⁴ as more people migrated into the city in search of new opportunities.

It is, therefore, possible to suggest that the violent outburst in 1979 was a manifestation of the growing unease with unexpected changes that profoundly affected the stability of the social body. Significantly, the religious apparatus worked incessantly during the 1980s and 1990s to counter the social effects of modernisation. Concurrently, the state apparatus attempted to regulate the city’s growth and appease discontent by projecting an image of modernisation that was in continuity with local heritage.

Decelerating horizontal expansion: the Urban Growth Boundaries of 1986

The revision of the masterplan only made it possible to accommodate Riyadh’s expansion, without implementing measures aimed at decelerating the pace of the city’s development (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). Importantly, the mid-1980s were marked by an economic recession that was caused by the sudden drop in oil prices (Menoret, 2005). As a result, the cost of ineffective urbanisation that was caused by haphazard subdivision, urban sprawl and unregulated expansion had to be controlled; the state was no longer able to support unregulated market speculation. Thus, a national program was set to delimit the boundaries of urban development in Saudi cities. In 1986, land subdivision processes were temporarily halted as the High Commission for the Development of Riyadh (HCDR) set the Urban Growth Boundaries (UGB) (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120). The urban boundary was set in two main stages (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003a). During the first stage, urbanisation was to be limited to already-developed areas, covering

632 km² (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003a) up to the year 1995, in order to encourage infill urbanisation. It was estimated that vacant land within the actual fabric at that time could support growth for a population of 3.4 million (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1990). The second stage widened the scope of the boundaries to reach 1780 km² (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003a) up to the year 2005. However, the boundaries of the first stage were extended by an extra 108km² in 1990 (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003a). The HCDR also established a Protection Zone for Urban Development which delimits the areas outside the UGB that are reserved for the future development of the city.

Moreover, land use was established and distributed during each successive stage (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1990) in order to organise and structure urbanisation. These measures made it possible to decrease the percentage of undeveloped land within Riyadh from 50% in 1988 to 21% in 2003 (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003a). Nevertheless, they did not have a profound effect on the low-density, sprawling urbanism of Riyadh.

A crisis of architectural identity?

Other than regulating the growth of the city, the HCDR undertook several revitalisation projects during the 1980s and 1990s in key historic areas. As an example, the historic centre was redeveloped in three stages that comprised the rebuilding of the Royal Palace (fig. 33) and the Grand Mosque (fig. 31, 32, 33), while the areas surrounding them were turned into public spaces. Likewise, *al-Murabba* Palace was turned into the King Abdulaziz Historical Centre, the *al-Masmak* fortress was turned into a national museum, and *Ad Diriyah* was subject to a comprehensive conservation and redevelopment programme. Moreover, the ADA was responsible for the development of the Diplomatic Quarter (*Hay al-Safarat*), a gated community developed south-west of the city to house foreign diplomatic missions.



Figure 30: Satellite view of Riyadh in 1990 (source: Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).



Figure 31: Redeveloped Grand Mosque in the old centre of Riyadh (source: Badran, 1992)..



Figure 32: The aesthetic language of the redeveloped mosque is deeply informed by the architecture of traditional Riyadh (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1991).

The projects developed by the HCDR during this period were characterised by their common aesthetic language that fused local and Islamic architectural features with modern geometries and construction techniques. Creating direct links between New Riyadh and the disappearing traditional city became central to the functions of the HCDR during the 1980s and 1990s. Through these projects, the state apparatus forged for itself a new image of modernity and a new sign of urban dominance. On the one hand, it is possible to identify the efforts made to bridge the gap between modern and traditional Riyadh through modernity as a medium for the glorification of an idealised past. On the other hand, selective preservation and redevelopment in the face of a decaying traditional fabric attest to the urban and symbolic significance of the selected projects.

As Al-Naim (2008) notes, traditional architectural images were evoked in institutional buildings in response to raised concerns about the negative impact of imported Western designs which resulted in the lack of urban and architectural identity in Riyadh's physical environment. He further suggests that the Islamic revivalism which followed the events of late 1979 was one of the causes that led the State to strive for a 'Saudi' architectural identity. Therefore, it was political concerns and the struggles within the locus of power from the 1980s onwards — rather than (or in addition to) cultural concerns of architectural identity — that caused the HCDR to invoke traditionalism in its institutional projects and develop a new hybrid traditional/modern urban identity.

Crucially, the development of these projects coincides with consequential shifts in the locus of power, that translated into the period of increased Islamisation developing as a response to the events of late 1979. It was during this period that the 'modernisation-Westernisation of Islam' (Menoret, 2005: 113) of the 1960s was being replaced by the 'Islamization of Western modernity' (Menoret, 2005: 113). Therefore, it is possible to attribute the development of these projects to the desire of the state apparatus to replace 'modernisation as the Westernisation of the physical environment' with 'modernisation while preserving the Islamic and traditional character of the city'. By attempting to bridge the gap between modernisation and local architectural heritage, state-led projects mark a



Figure 33: Redevelopment project of Qasr al-Hokm district and the Grand Mosque. The Imam Turki Bin Abdullah Grand Mosque appears in the background with its distinct parallel minarets and rectangular shape imitating the architecture of the original mosque. As in the old city, it is connected to the Qasr al-Hokm that houses the office of the governor of Riyadh. The three parallel rectangular buildings house the Riyadh Municipality, the Emirate of Riyadh Province, and the Police Department of Riyadh Province (Municipality of Ar-Riyadh and London Center of Arab Studies, 1999).



Figure 34: Location of the Diplomatic Quarter (*Hay al-Safarat*) (source: Author).

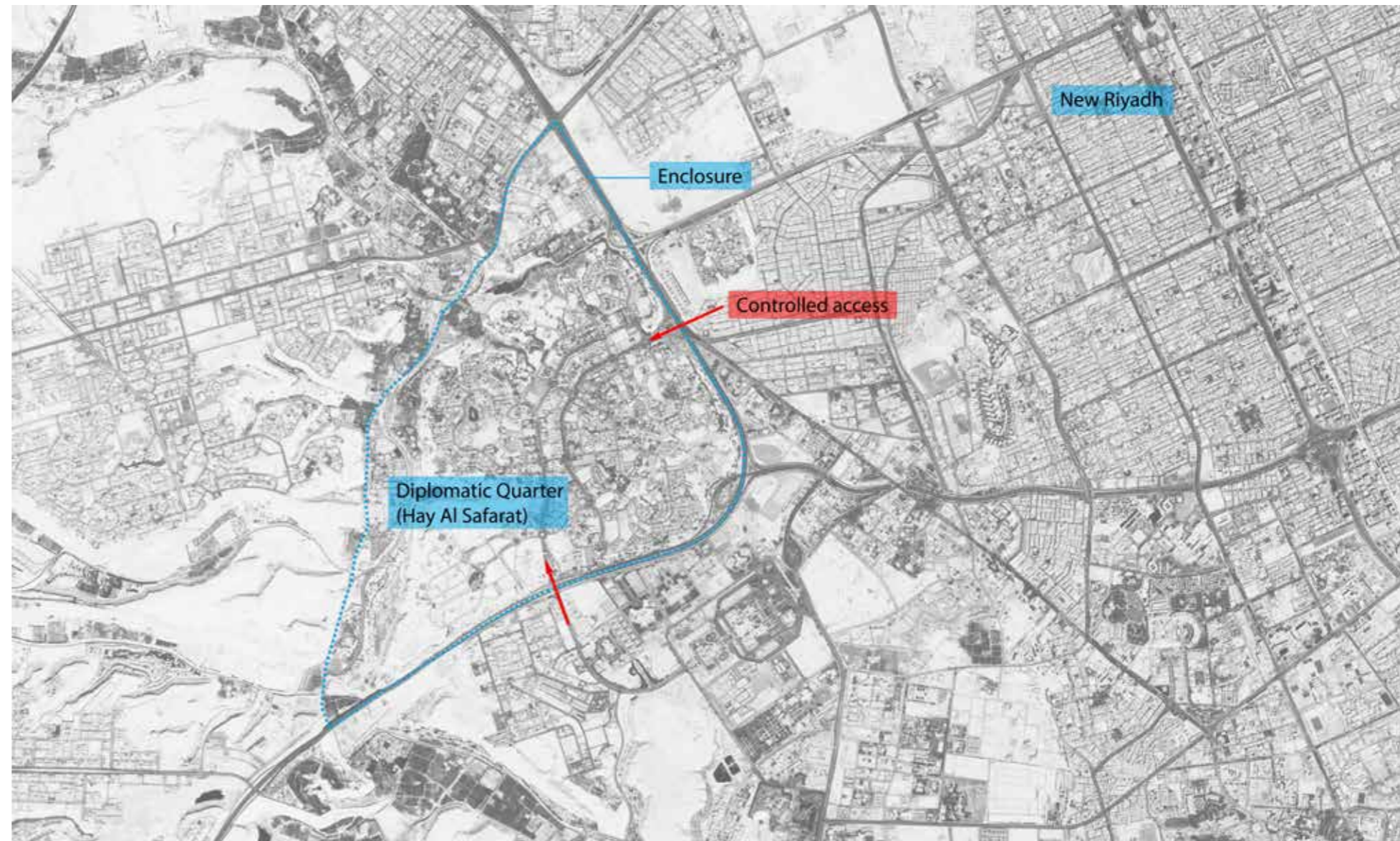


Figure 35: The Diplomatic Quarter is detached from the urban fabric of Riyadh and remains inaccessible to the general population. As an isolated project, the Diplomatic Quarter does not have a significant impact on the architecture and urbanism of contemporary Riyadh (source: Author).

significant disassociation with the criticised urban environment of Riyadh. Hence, the state apparatus developed its urban strategy during the 1980s and 1990s as a strategic reaction that is analogous to the granting of power to the religious apparatus over the social sphere during the same period. In other words, it attempts to further stabilise the locus of power by mediating the adverse effects of perceived 'Westernisation' and rapid social and urban changes through the invention and manipulation of an urban identity primarily based on aesthetics.

As institutional landmarks, these projects gain significance in their symbolism and visual representation. For New Riyadh, the projects did not have a significant effect as the general population did not replicate their architecture. Moreover, it is the architectural features of traditional Riyadh, rather than its urban qualities, that were imitated. In terms of scale and urban logic, the modernist urbanism of new Riyadh continued to be produced under a new guise. The issues of sprawl and ineffective distribution of infrastructure endured; the traditional fabric further deteriorated, and the established disciplinary logic of urban partitioning — as exemplified by the urban enclosure of the diplomatic quarter (fig.35) — was perpetuated and reinforced.

Thus, the accelerated modernisation of the 1970s, which resisted the efforts of the state apparatus to organise it, was contained during the 1980s and 1990s in two distinct ways. The first was the implementation of the Urban Growth Boundaries, which made it possible to decelerate the negative impact of leap-frog development. The second was the mediation of the perceived negative impacts of 'Westernisation' through the apparent redefinition of the modernisation process. With eased resistance and contained urbanisation came the possibility to allocate time and effort to reassert control over the physical growth of the city and redevelop its urban strategy. This effort culminated in the introduction of the Metropolitan Development Strategy for Arriyadh (MEDSTAR).



Figure 36: Headquarter of the High Commission of the Development of Arriyadh located in the Diplomatic Quarter. The project resembles the redevelopment of Qasr al-Hokm district in its aesthetics and is reminiscent of traditional Riyadh's architecture (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, no date).

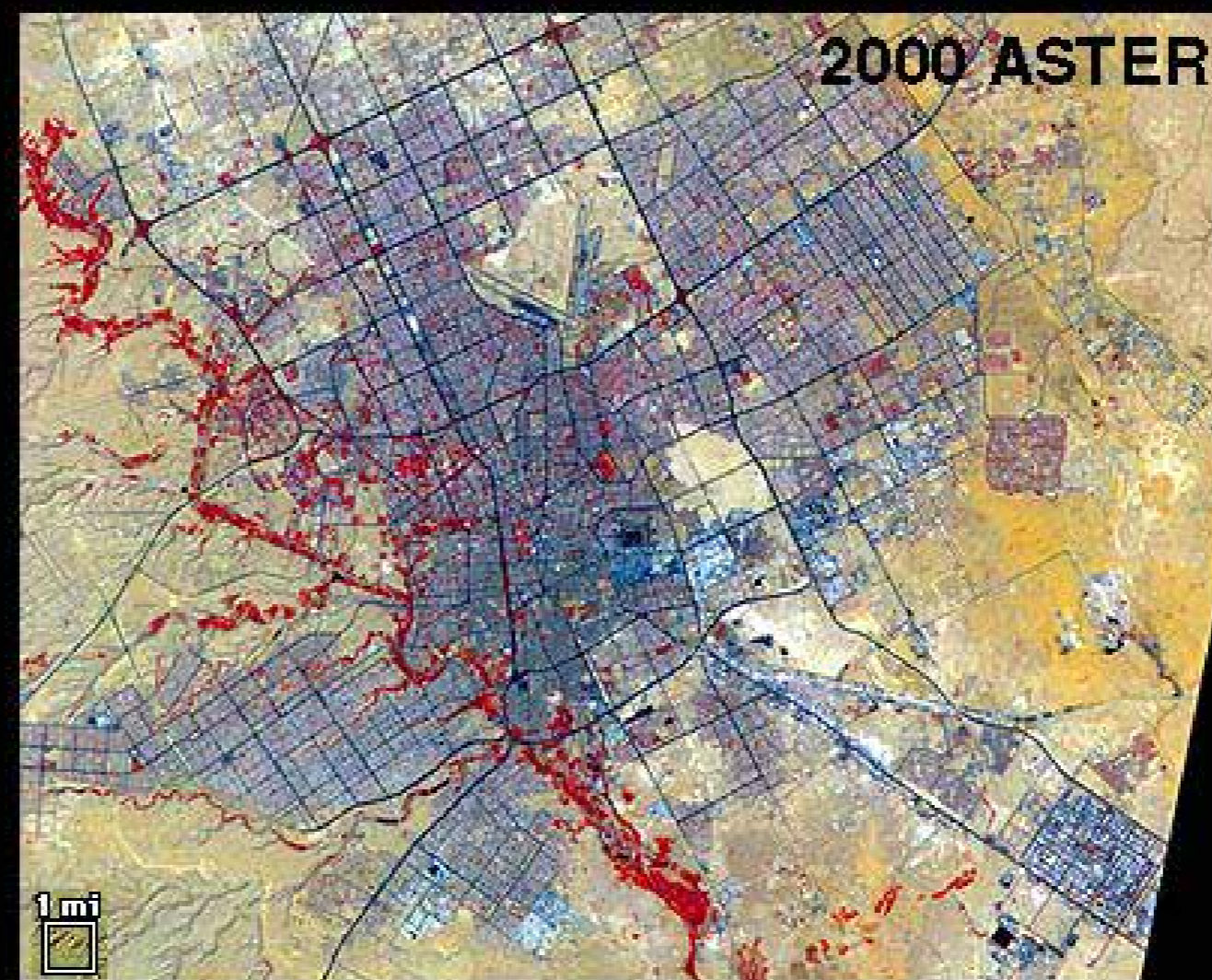
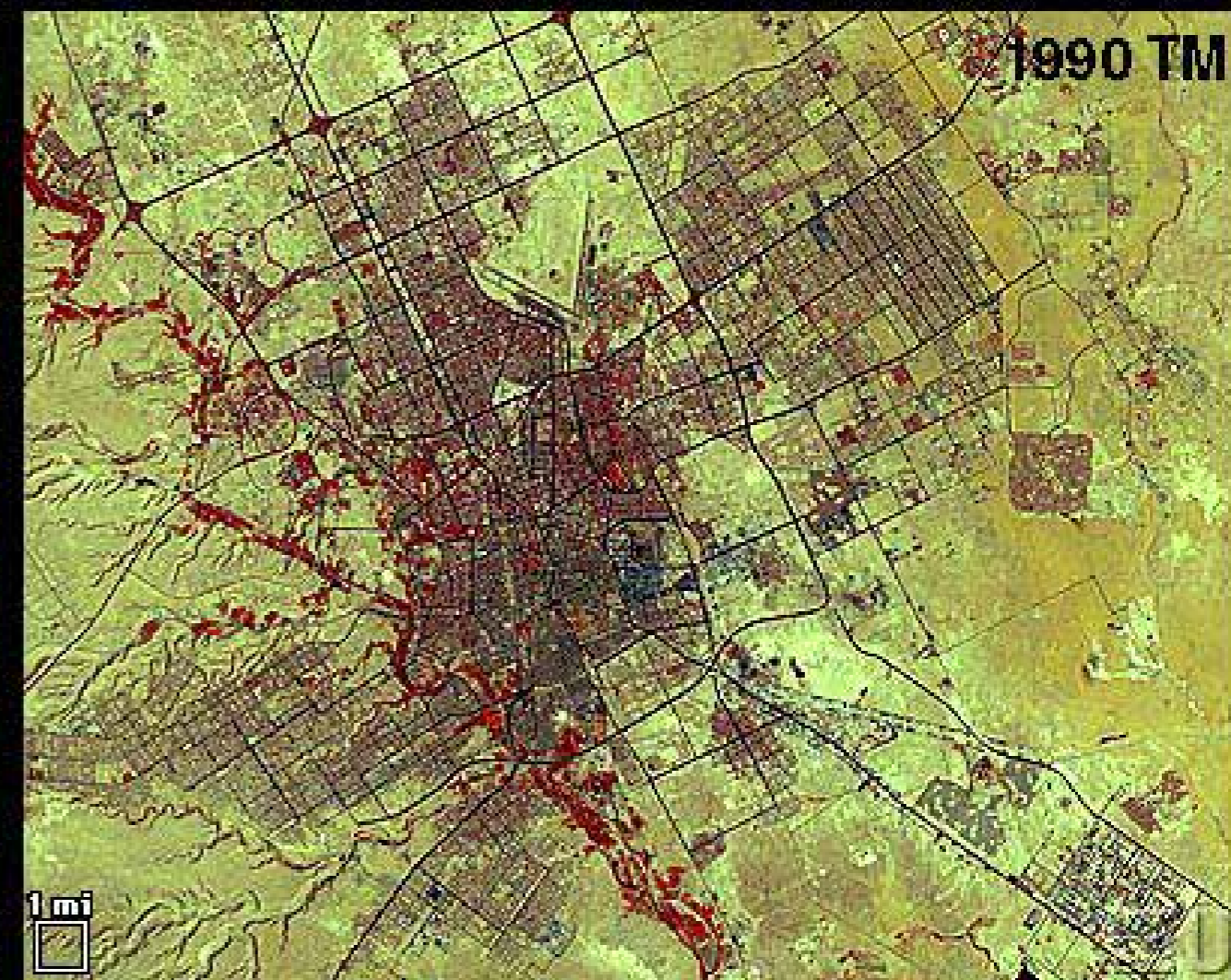
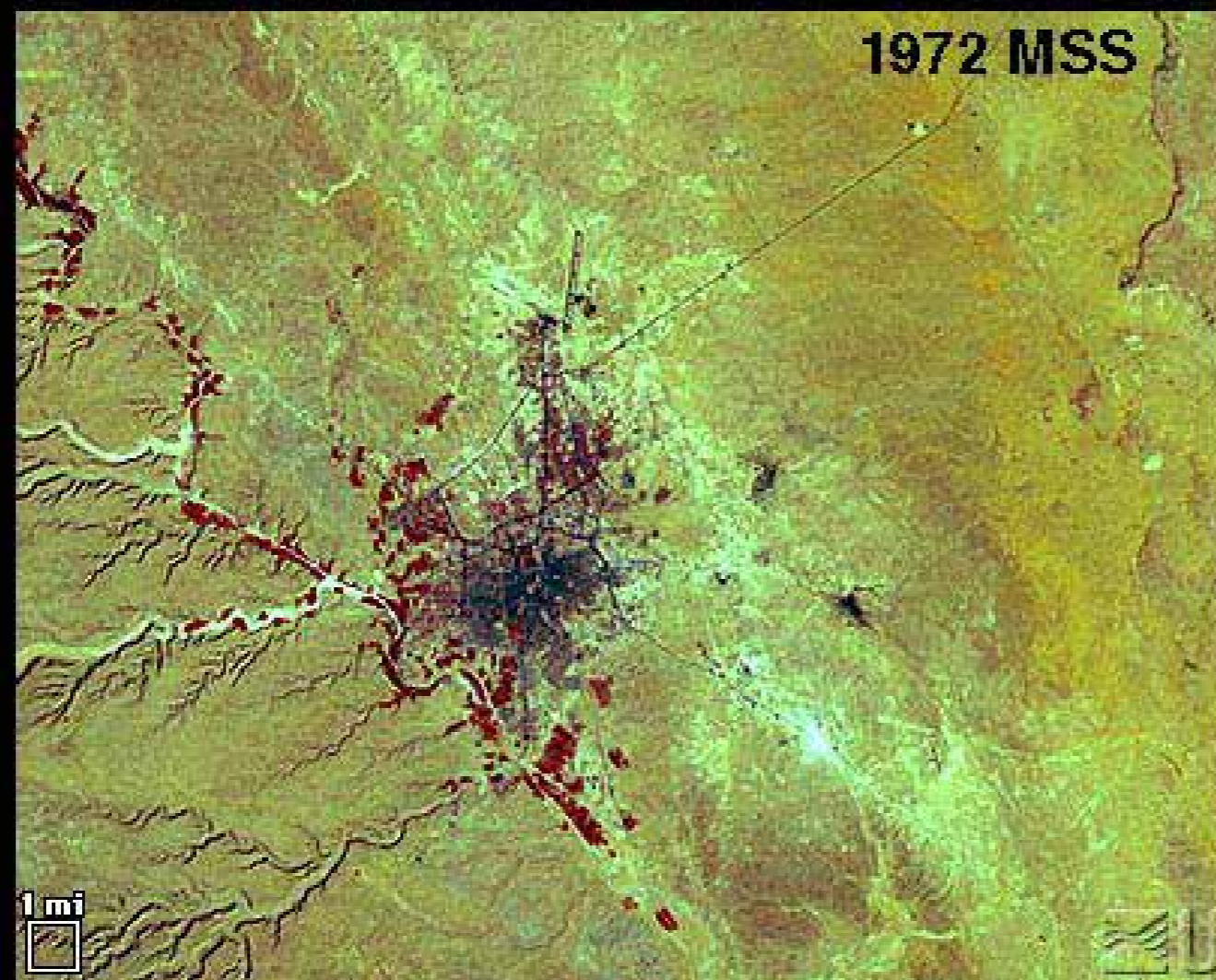


Figure 37: ASTER Satellite images of urbanisation in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (NASA/GSFC/METI/ERSDAC/JAROS and U.S./Japan ASTER Science Team, 2001).

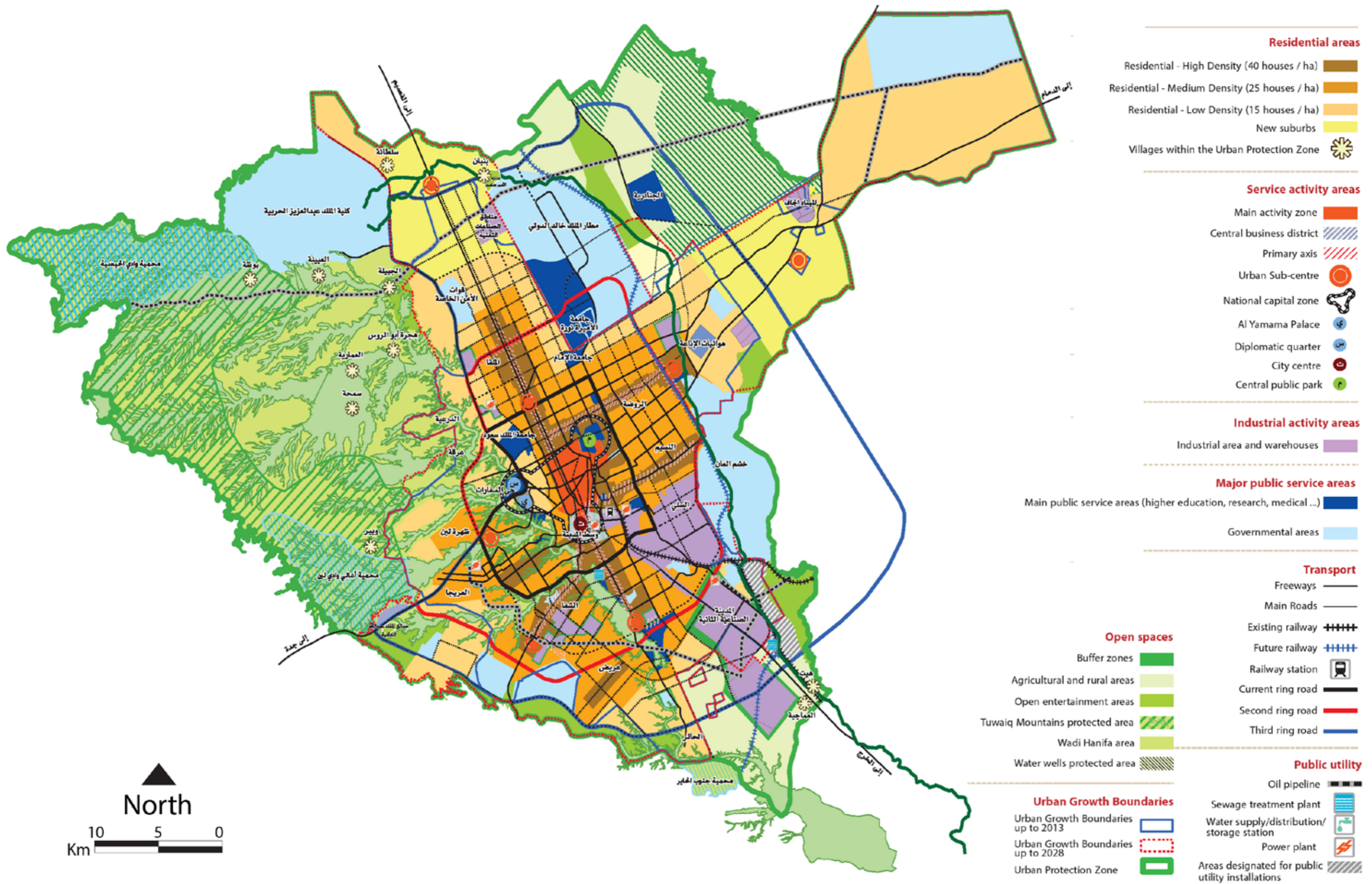


Figure 38: MEDSTAR structural plan (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2012b. Translated by the author).



Metropolitan Development Strategy for Arriyadh (MEDSTAR)

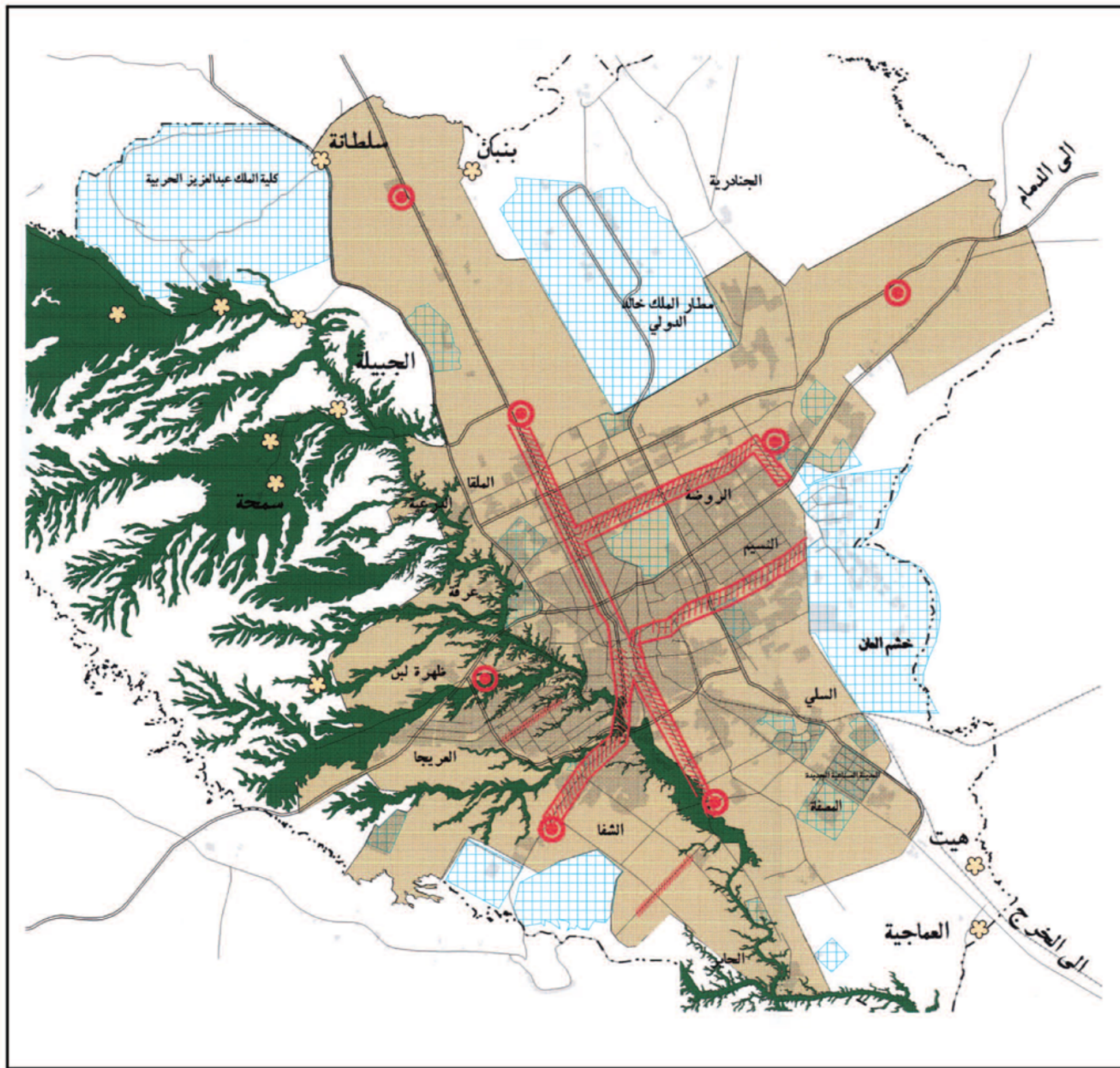
In the late 1990s, the High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh (HCDR) estimated that the population of Riyadh was growing by an annual rate of 8%, and projected that the city would reach a total population of 10.5 million by 2020 (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1997; 2003c). The fast rate at which Riyadh was developing and the perceived failures of the Doxiadis masterplan necessitated the development of a new approach to the development of the city that would contain its projected growth. Thus, work on The Metropolitan Development Strategy for Arriyadh started in 1996 by the High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh (HCDR) in collaboration with internal and external consultants (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; Garba, 2004, p593–608) and was approved by the HCDR in 2001 (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120).

The Metropolitan Development Strategy for Arriyadh Region (MEDSTAR) is the strategic referential plan that was developed by the HCDR to regulate the future development of Riyadh and coordinate between all the factors influencing its metropolitan development. The strategy covers the entire metropolitan area of 4,900km². It aims to create a long-term plan to guide and direct all aspects of metropolitan development, including urban, social, economic, and environmental development, as well as infrastructure and transportation (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003c). Therefore, the strategy was developed as a coordinated effort between all concerned parties and stakeholders in both the public and private sectors, including ministries and the specialised state-funded commissions that were established to oversee the mega-projects of MEDSTAR. Moreover, the strategy was developed as a guiding structural plan rather than a determined masterplan; it is meant to be a process through which the continuous implementation and evaluation of the structural plan and its effects on the growth of the city informs the future development of Riyadh and causes the plan to be revised as necessary. Accordingly, the implementation of monitoring mechanisms within the processes of urbanisation provides the HCDR with the means to enforce control over the growth of the city and ensure that no unforeseen and uncontrolled development undermine the realisation of the structural plan.

The time frame for the strategy is to set a long-term future vision for the next fifty years, a strategic framework for the next twenty-five years, and short-term implementation action plans for the next ten years. The future vision of the city was developed over three essential stages: the first consisted of a thorough investigation and evaluation of the current urban situation in Riyadh. During the second stage, the metropolitan strategy was established, while the mechanisms for its proper implementation was developed during the third stage.

The result was a complete reorganisation of the city's urban landscape through the implementation of major structural elements that are in continuation with the elements introduced by the initial masterplan. First, an important decision was made to restructure the central core of the city and turn it into the administrative and cultural heart of Riyadh. Accordingly, five new sub-centres were introduced in order to relieve the city's centre and house specialised industries and commercial activities that do not require to be in the central core of the city. These centres are expected to absorb a population of 1 million to 1.5 million and be linked to the historic core via several transportation channels. As it is presently intended, each of the sub-centres will follow a logic of spatial hierarchy, starting with a central urban commercial and administrative hub in which are located the principal transportation channels, and ending with the individual neighbourhood unit. Each of the sub-centres will include two to four administrative zones, each absorbing a population of 300,000 to 500,000. A total of fifteen administrative zones have been distributed in the structural plan, each of which is further divided into six neighbourhood centres located within a radius of two kilometres from the administrative zone. In addition, the city will be supplemented with a northern and an eastern suburb that will be developed following the same logic of spatial hierarchies.

The link between these sub-centres and the historic core represents the third major element of the structural plan. The primary north-south axis of the Doxiadis plan will be extended and supplemented with primary and secondary axes which will be developed along the north-south and east-west axes of the city (fig.39). At the city level, the future



الهيئة العليا
لتطوير مدينة الرياض
HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARRIYADH

المخطط الاستراتيجي الشامل لمدينة الرياض
Metropolitan Development Strategy for Arriyadh (MEDSTAR)

- Urban limits
- Developed area
- Urban areas
- Wadi Hanifah
- Primary Axes
- Urban sub-centres

Primary Commercial Axes

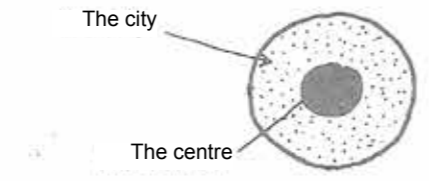
North
Mecca

Data Source: التاريخ:

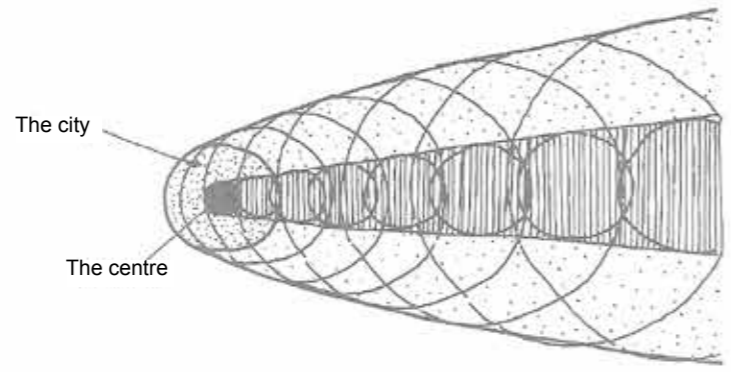
Figure 4-7 الشكل ٤ - ٧

Figure 39: Extension of the primary north-south commercial axis (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003c. Translated and readapted by the author).

Old Riyadh
(pre-1950)



Modern Riyadh
(1950-2001)



Future Riyadh
(2001-current)

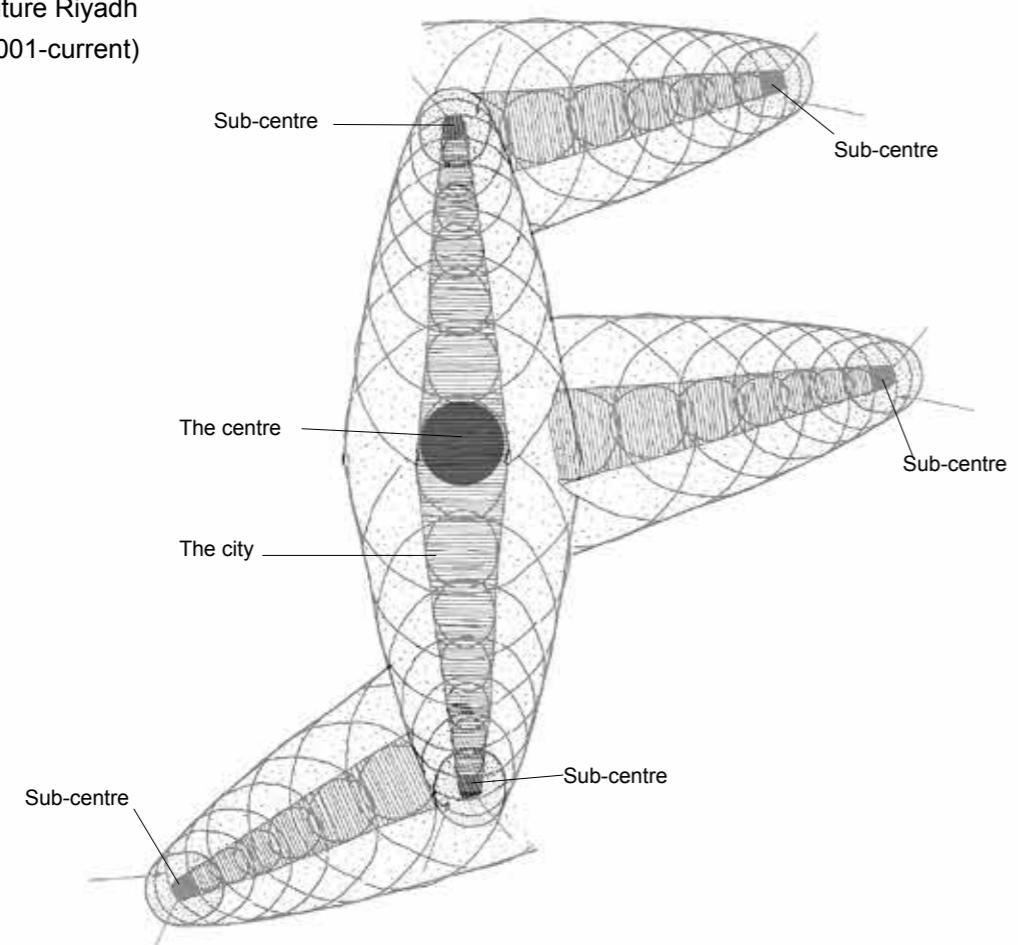


Figure 40: MEDSTAR revised model of the ideal Dynapolis (source: Doxiadis 1966 cited in Bromley, 2002, p317-330. Readapted by the author).

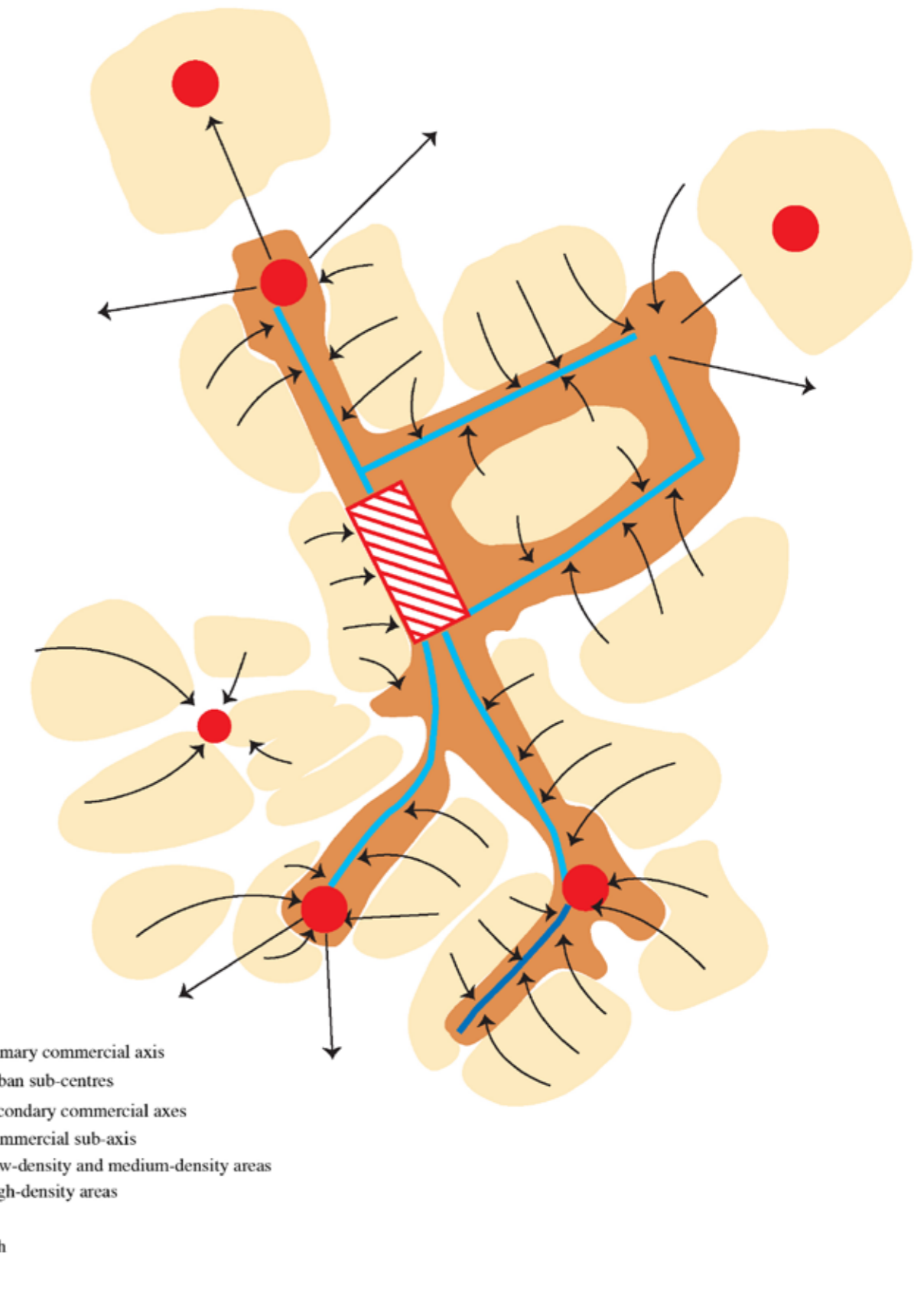


Figure 41: Structural elements of MEDSTAR (source: High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003c. Translated by the author).

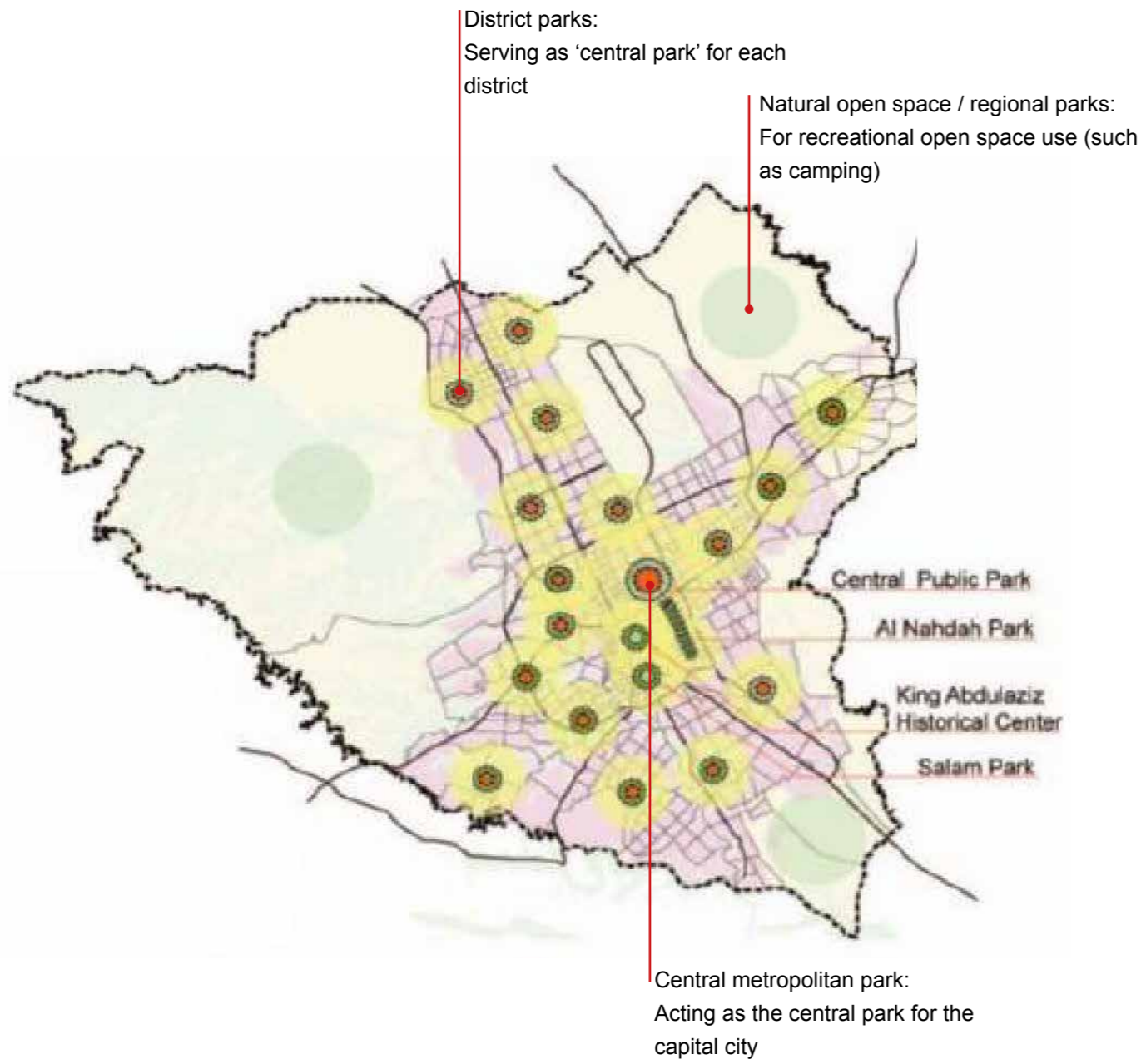


Figure 42: Hierarchy of parks at the city level (source: Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, no date. Readapted by the author).

Figure 43: Hierarchy of neighbourhood parks (source: Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, no date. Readapted by the author).



of Riyadh is envisioned as a hybrid of the planning of the pre-Doxiadis era — which was characterised by development which followed the direction of urban growth centres — and the Doxiadis plan — which was primarily developed along a strong linear administrative and commercial axis to relieve the congestion of the centre.

Further similarities can be drawn between the intentions of MEDSTAR and that of the Doxiadis masterplan. For example, amongst the issues that were recognised during the first stage of MEDSTAR was the domination of the car as the principal means of transportation and the lack of open and green spaces at the level of the city and the individual neighbourhood.

The city of Riyadh has witnessed urban growth at various levels where the city provides many services to its residents. However, in the midst of rapid development, many aspects of the city were neglected, as the city witnesses the conspicuous domination of the car. This has extended to residential neighbourhoods, which impacted traffic safety. There is an urgent need to provide all services to the city's residents and to provide open areas and squares in neighbourhoods, commercial areas, and streets with pedestrian paths so that the human scale is considered and given priority in planning and building neighbourhoods and in designing streets and squares. (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2003c. Translated by the author)

The MEDSTAR synthesis report provides the guidelines for planning individual neighbourhoods. It emphasises the need to plan according to the logic of spatial hierarchies to organise the structural elements of the neighbourhood unit and reintroduce the pedestrian scale. To achieve this goal, each district should comprise three levels of urban activity: a) the district centre, which comprises of the major shopping centre of the area and a Grand Mosque; b) neighbourhood centres, which include schools, neighbourhood mosques, neighbourhood parks as well as various cultural, sports and entertainment centres; and finally, c) secured neighbourhood sub-centres dedicated to women and children. Thus, the neighbourhood — taken as an individual unit and set

within a network of spatial hierarchies in the MEDSTAR reports — is identical to the spatial structure devised by the Doxiadis plan, which planned the city utilising the descending community classes of the *modulus* unit (i.e. the individual neighbourhood). Accordingly, it is possible to argue that the planning of individual neighbourhoods of the MEDSTAR structural plan is a return to the idea of the *modulus* unit, which aims to reintroduce the pedestrian scale neglected during the implementation of the Doxiadis masterplan.

The logic of spatial hierarchies is also noticeable in the proposals for increasing open and green spaces in Riyadh. At the city level, the report suggests the replacement of the old airport field — located within the urban fabric of the city — with a central public park, which the report describes as becoming one of the major attractions of the city, comparable to Central Park in New York, Hyde Park in London or Les Bois de Boulogne in Paris. Further regional parks are suggested along with the rehabilitation of the Wadi Hanifah. In addition, the city would undergo a process of 'beautification' by increasing the number of green spaces and plants as well as a significant increase in the number of neighbourhood parks. As the report emphasises, these urban elements should constitute a continuous network of open spaces that should enable pedestrians to move around the city without the need to use the car as a means of transportation. Perhaps the most evident example of this intention is the planned cultural promenade in the historic centre of Riyadh — an open urban promenade that should link major landmarks and urban spaces within the historic area, such as the King Abdulaziz Historical Centre and Qasr al-Hokm district. Thus, the structural plan proposes an urban strategy for parks and open spaces according to a spatial classification and a determined hierarchical system. Four classes of parks are proposed at the city level. They include: 1) open spaces that are located outside the built area 2) the central metropolitan park that serves the entire city, 3) district parks, and 4) neighbourhood parks that are located within each district and serve individual neighbourhoods (fig.42). These neighbourhood parks are in turn classified into three categories: 1) the central neighbourhood park for all inhabitants, 2) children's areas and high-visibility playgrounds dedicated to users aged between 3 and 13+, and 3) protected family parks for women and children (fig.43).

Since these recommendations of MEDSTAR were made, the HCDR has initiated the process of increasing the number of open spaces. As Almahmood et al. (2018, p1–24) note, a combined total of 1,035,000 m² of promenades and walkways, 5,450,000 m² of neighbourhood parks and 590,000 m² of neighbourhood sports fields were added to Riyadh by 2018. This number is expected to increase as the implementation of MEDSTAR continues; however, the continuous network of open spaces has not been realised in the time being. It may be too early to evaluate the development of open spaces in the city; yet, it is also evident that priority has been given to large-scale projects, such as the rehabilitation of *Ad Diriyah* and *Wadi Hanifa*, the restructuring of Riyadh’s centre, the development of King Abdullah Financial District and the development of two suburbs located east and north of the city. Still, it would be imperative for the future development of the city to rethink the connection and continuity between such individual projects in order to truly regain the pedestrian scale at the city level. Otherwise, the implementation of spatial hierarchies without the creation of strong continuous links would create a fragmented landscape and cause the urbanism of Riyadh to revert to the logic of partitioning and spatial segregation.

One of the major mega-projects that has the potential to create strong links between the major structuring elements of Riyadh is the Riyadh Public Transport Network (RPTN), which is currently under construction. The development of the Riyadh Public Transport Network was the result of the recommendation of MEDSTAR (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120) and the desire to create an adequate public transportation system to relieve the city from the dominance of the car. In 2012, a royal decree was issued to develop the project which consists of six primary metro lines, a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) network, and a supporting network of feeder line and neighbourhood buses (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120; AS&P - Albert Speer & Partner GmbH, 2014) that would create a direct connection between individual neighbourhoods and the main metro network.

The development of the RPTN necessitated close attention to the design of streets and the public realm around the stations to increase the number of pedestrians and encourage

the use of public transport. As a result, Albert Speer & Partner was commissioned to provide a manual for architects and planners in order to guide the development of the public realm in the areas surrounding the main Metro stations. The result was the proposal of the Metro Urban Design & Streetscape Manual (UDM) in 2014 (AS&P - Albert Speer & Partner GmbH, 2014). One of the objectives of the manuals is to provide guidance to achieve ‘a non-vehicular prioritised approach which aspires to the creation of an inclusive and pedestrian-friendly streetscape, one which supports the “vision” of a fully integrated transportation system for the city of Riyadh’ (AS&P - Albert Speer & Partner GmbH, 2014: III). The manual emphasises the need to link the streetscape and the metro stations with adjacent open spaces and prioritises multimodal transportation. Street design should carefully create a defensible pedestrian area and increase the space allocated to non-vehicular movement. Natural and artificial shading devices and street furniture are suggested as elements to be utilised for the safety and comfort of users. As an example, increasing the number of mature plantations and the creation of covered walkways are advised to increase shading and counter the effects of Riyadh’s hot climate (fig. Add typical design extract). The RPTN was expected to be operating by the end of 2018 (Al-Hathloul, 2017, p97–120); the project is still underway and it is too early at this stage to evaluate the implementation of the Metro Urban Design & Streetscape Manual (UDM) and its effects on the quality of Riyadh’s public realm. The RPTN and the UDM have the potential to re-introduce the pedestrian scale and significantly improve the public realm of the city. However, this will require a continuous effort to create proper pedestrian networks at the city level and improve the public realm beyond the direct urban area of the metro station areas. By the time the fieldwork for this research was undertaken, the public realm in Riyadh was dominated by construction sites of the RPTN and the other projects of MEDSTAR which has the effect — at least temporarily — of increasing the appeal of enclosed and protected spaces such those of the mall.

By the time work on MEDSTAR started in 1996, it was estimated that the number of shopping centres in Riyadh had already risen to more than 126 centres (Riyadh Chamber of Commerce, 1995), most of which are concentrated in the central, western and northern



parts of the city. An important distinction is to be made between shopping centres and shopping malls in Riyadh, as they constitute two different typologies that are particular to the context and history of the city. It is true that the terms ‘shopping centres’ and ‘shopping malls’ might be used interchangeably to signify the same typology. For example, the typology under investigation is commonly referred to as ‘shopping malls’ in the United States and as ‘shopping centres’ in the United Kingdom. In Riyadh, shopping centres signify the first iteration of the imported commercial typology, which includes shopping activities but is also characterised by the absence of a food court or entertainment outlets, and might include mixed-use programmes such as offices independent of those dedicated to the centre’s administration. An excellent example of this first iteration is al-Maiglah Market, developed in late 1987 as a joint venture between Riyadh Municipality, the General Organisation for Social Insurance and the Saudi Real Estate Company (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 1991a) and which includes offices for the Municipality of Riyadh. Another example is al-Akria Centre, also developed by the Saudi Real Estate company in 1984, and which includes the headquarters of Al-Rajhi Bank.

Shopping malls, on the other hand, appeared in the early 2000s and are characterised by the incorporation of food courts and entertainment outlets to their programmes. As opposed to the mixed-use programme of shopping centres in Riyadh, the exclusion of offices from shopping malls indicates the extent to which retail and consumption are the focus of the mall typology. Le Renard (2011; 2014) has attributed the beginning of the mall typology trend in Riyadh to the development of Kingdom Centre in 2002. The data collected during the pilot study revealed that other malls preceded Kingdom Centre, such as Sahara Mall, which opened in 1998, or Al Othaim Mall Rabwa Snow City, which opened in 2001. However, it is possible to argue that the development of Kingdom Centre in 2002 and al-Faisaliyah Centre in 2001 had the greatest impact on the image of the city and the development of mall typology. Both projects are part of larger complexes; Kingdom Centre sits at the podium of the Kingdom Tower complex and al-Faisaliyah Center is part of the al-Faisaliyah Tower complex — both of which are directly located in the heart of the city’s primary commercial axis. Although established by the private sector, these projects were

developed by entrepreneurs from the Royal Family and came to represent the image of contemporary Riyadh. More importantly, it was through these projects that New Riyadh initiated real contact with the mall typology. As a result, the mall typology grew in popularity and was replicated in greater numbers around the city. It is true that the MEDSTAR has the potential to overturn urban sprawl, reintroduce the human scale and improve the quality of the public realm. However, by the time the fieldwork for this study was undertaken, Riyadh was still suffering from a significant lack of adequate public spaces. Ultimately, it is the enduring sprawl, fragmentary urbanism and the current absence of an adequate public realm — coupled with the need to oversee public activity and the appeal of the mall typology deriving from its royal endorsement — that created an urban environment ready to absorb and propagate the shopping mall typology.

Having discussed the stages of contemporary urban development in Riyadh, the discussion now turns to the specific urban context of the study cases, in order to establish how they relate to the structural elements that characterise the contemporary fabric of Riyadh. For each of the selected cases, the study begins with the urban level of resolution to establish the specificity of its urban context on both the city and neighbourhood level. The study then proceeds to the in-depth investigation of its interior spaces. As established in the methodology chapter, the empirical study presented in the next chapter follows a classic linear-analytic structure, with the cases presented and analysed successively.

Figure 44: Satellite view of Riyadh in 2019
(source: Google Earth).



Notes

1 Al-Hathloul (1981; 2017, p97–120) has noted variations in the width of the lots between 25 metres, 35.7 metres and 50 metres, while the depth of 25 metres remained constant.

2 A 400-square-metre minimum lot size was set in the northern areas compared to 150 square metres in the southern areas (Al-Hathloul, 1981)

3 The Real Estate Development Fund (REDF) was established in 1974 (Al-Naim, 2008).

4 In traditional Riyadh, strong social links formed at the neighbourhood level as individual neighbourhoods were composed of extended families of common origins and relations. Also, the form and pedestrian scale of the traditional fabric promoted prolonged socialisation with other neighbours. This added a sense of security and familiarisation that homogenised the social sphere. In contrast, such relations became diffuse within the contemporary fabric of the city, with social distances increasing as original inhabitants increasingly mixed with families that migrated to Riyadh from other parts of Saudi Arabia.



Chapter VI
Riyadh: a city of malls

6

Case study analyses



Figure 1: Shopping malls in Riyadh are mostly located on commercial axes and concentrated in the northern parts of the city (source: Author).

Located in the northern, central, eastern and southern parts of the city, the shopping malls included in this research were carefully selected to include distinct instances of different typologies, urban location and scale.

Al Nakheel Mall and Al Othaim Mall are classic mall typologies; they are pod developments that can be described as free-standing boxes that are cut off from their immediate urban environment (fig. 4, 32). Contrastingly, Al Qasr Mall and Kingdom Centre are part of larger urban schemes and are conceived of as secondary objects supporting a more prominent primary programme (fig. 58, 86). Al Qasr Mall is a free-standing mall that is urbanistically part of Parisiana Living, a housing project developed by Dar Al Arkan; Al Qasr is designed to be the commercial heart of the development (fig. 65). Kingdom Centre, on the other hand, is architecturally part of the Kingdom Tower complex which primarily includes offices and houses the Four Seasons hotel of Riyadh. In addition to their location, scale proved to be a determining factor in how users experience the space of the mall and profoundly affected how the mechanisms of surveillance and control are perceived. Significantly, Al Nakheel Mall is perceived to be the most spacious mall, as its total area of 98,483m² is primarily organised on one floor. The mall's second floor, which houses the food court and entertainment park, constitutes only a fraction of the total floor area of the mall and therefore causes most of the total area to be allocated to its leasable area and ground floor corridors. Contrastingly, Al Othaim Mall has a total area of 60,000m² organised across three floors, while Kingdom Centre has a total area of 57,000m² organised across four floors. Finally, the footprint of Al Qasr Mall with its total area of 250,000m² is reduced by its organisation across four floors.

The mechanisms of control and surveillance over public life in Riyadh, which have been discussed in earlier chapters, will hereafter be carefully examined within the space of the mall. Accordingly, this chapter proceeds with a linear-analytic structure in which each case is first analysed separately. Systematically, and throughout the analyses, the collected data is presented and analysed to demonstrate the spatial application of panopticism in Riyadh's shopping malls. This is then followed by a cross-case synthesis developed in Chapter Seven, which discusses the findings of this research.

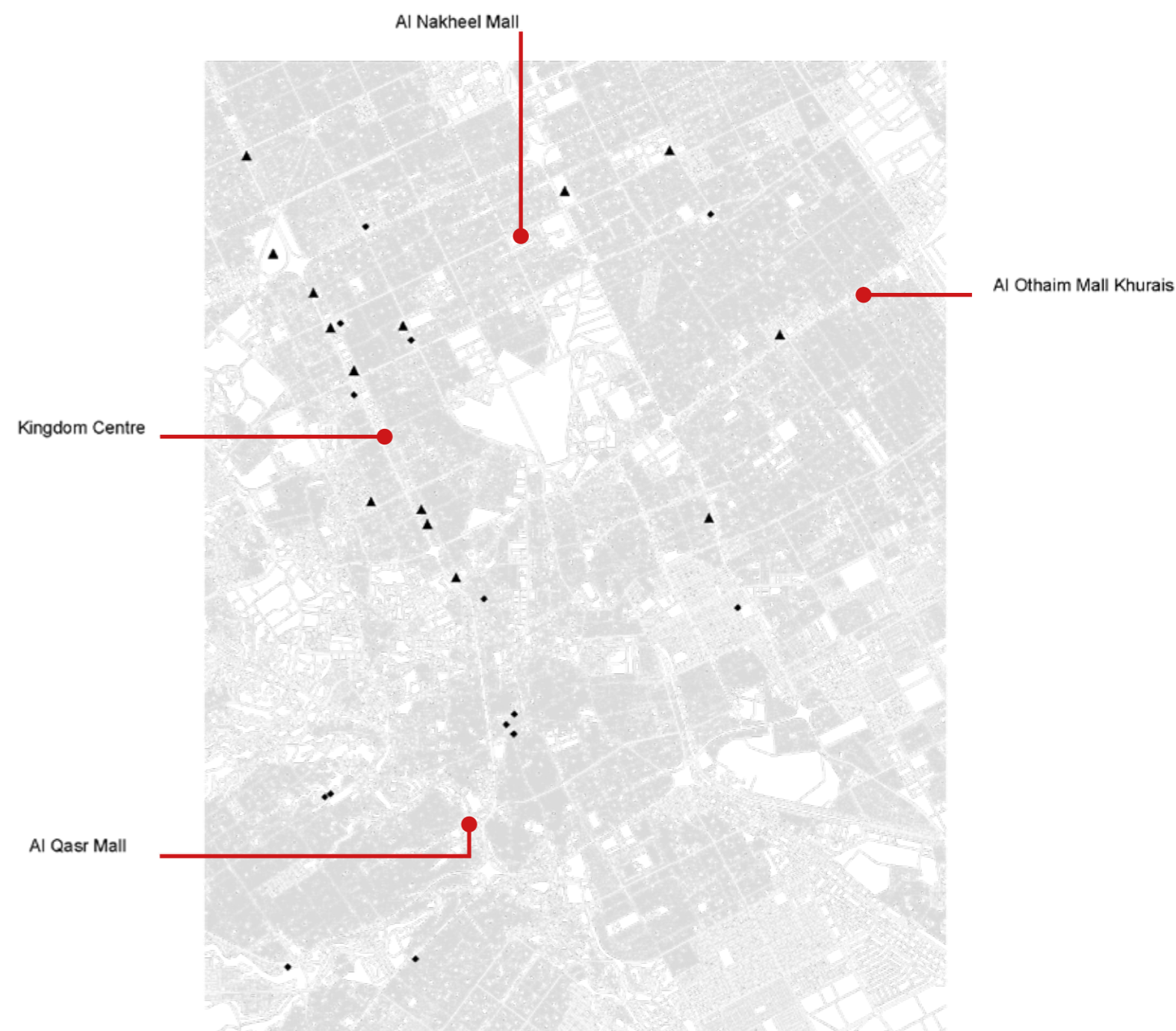
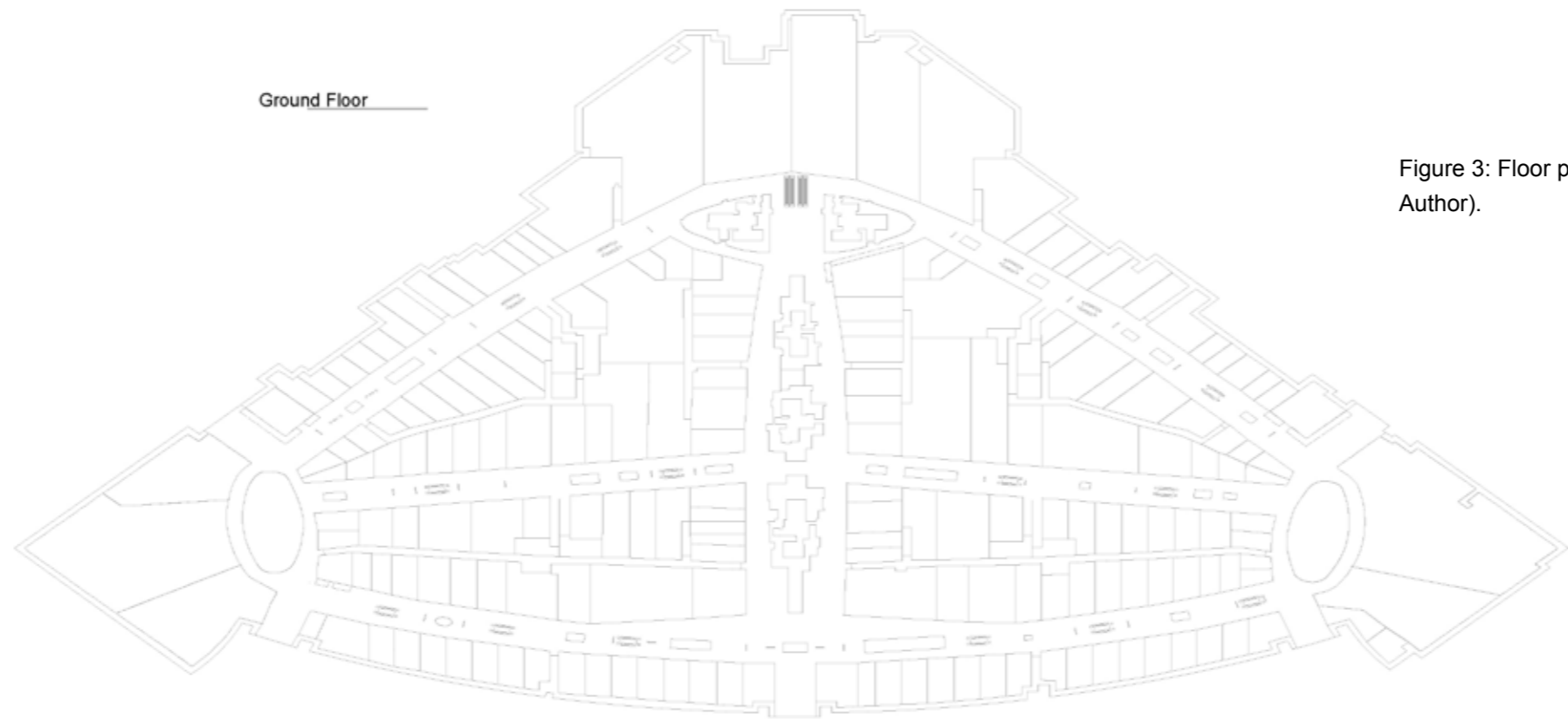
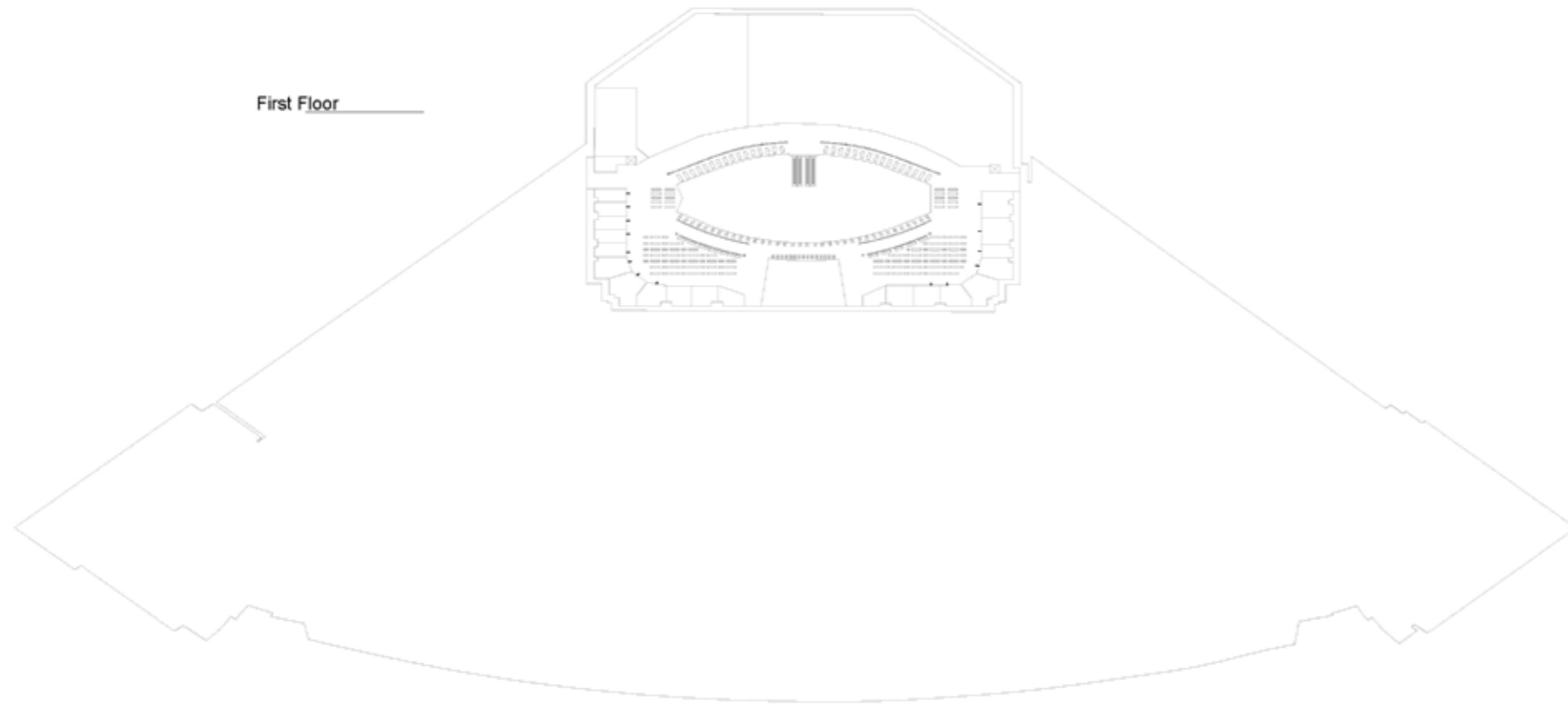


Figure 2: Location of selected cases (source: Author).

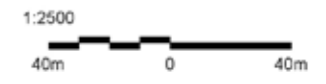


Ground Floor

Figure 3: Floor plans of Al Nakheel mall (source: Author).



First Floor





Case Study I
Al Nakheel Mall





Figure 4: Al Nakheel Mall is a free-standing structure that is cut off from its immediate urban environment and is only accessible by car. (source: Author).



Figure 5: Al Nakheel Mall as it appears from Uthman Ibn Affan Road; direction towards S. (source: Author).

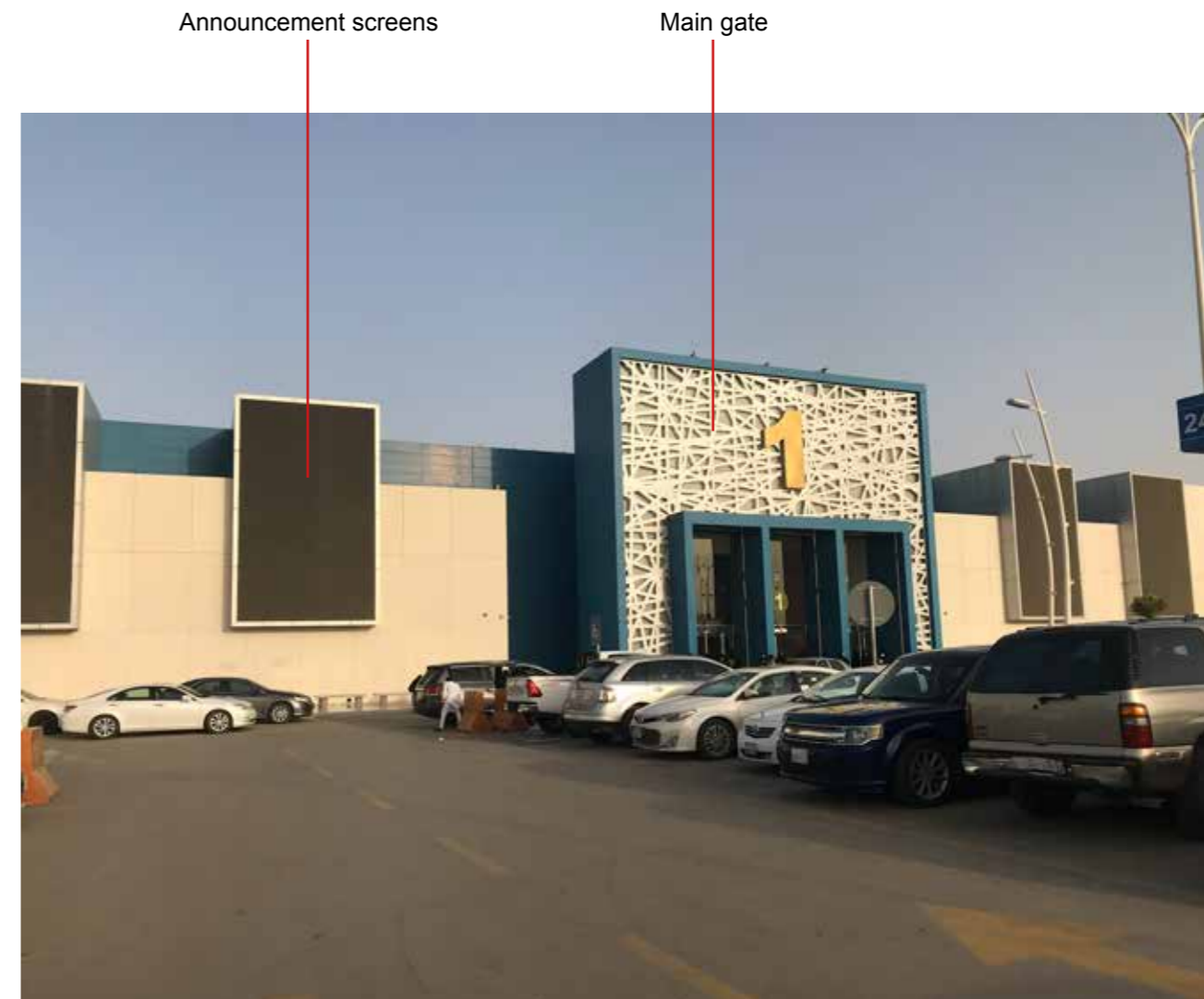


Figure 6: The design of Al Nakheel Mall's gates creates strong visual signals to oncoming traffic and announces the gates leading to the interior space of the mall (source: Author).

The urban context

Al Nakheel was selected as part of this study because it represents a classic mall typology; that is, a pod development that can be described as free-standing boxes cut off from their immediate urban environment. Its location, in the northern part of the city, constitutes another criterion for its selection. Moreover, the selection was based on the findings of the pilot study as it was revealed that it aims to present itself as an upscale themed mall which attracts regional as well as local customers. Al Nakheel Mall was selected on the assumption that it has increasing economic capital and symbolic value. It was also selected based on the assumption that its customers hold less conservative social values as opposed to malls located in the eastern and southern parts of the city.

Al Nakheel Mall is one of the most visited and prominent malls in Riyadh. It is situated in al Mughrizat district at the crossroads between Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road and Uthman Ibn Affan Road in a readily accessible area of the northern part of the city (fig. 2). Its dimensions and external architectural design function to visually attract oncoming car drivers, while the parking space located in the area at the junction of the main road axis offsets its curved main façade, increasing the mall's visibility and allowing drivers passing by to contemplate its design for a longer period of time. Moreover, the mall today — including its parking space — is bordered by deserted urban lots (fig. 4). Consequently, the open space around the mall plays a major role in increasing its visibility to oncoming traffic, an aspect which the developers have strategically exploited to increase the visual presence of the mall.

At the urban level, Al Nakheel Mall benefits significantly from being located on two principal commercial axes which cause the mall to remain coherent with its surrounding activities and architectural typologies. Furthermore, these axes provide strong links to the primary northwest-southeast commercial axis of the city and cause the mall to be in continuation with the city's commercial spatial logic. As part of two commercial strips (fig.12) , namely, Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road and Uthman Ibn Affan Road — the mall benefits from high visibility and ease of access by car (fig. 8, 9, 10). On

the other hand, pedestrian access to the mall is non-existent (fig. 11). The reason behind the lack of pedestrian access stems from the fact that the mall is located on fast traffic circulation axes that do not provide for non-vehicular circulation. As a result, the mall has been primarily designed to attract visitors travelling to and accessing the mall by car (fig. 8, 9, 10).

The external mass of the mall can be abstracted to an isosceles triangle shape, with the two equal sides each facing Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road and Uthman Ibn Affan Road consecutively, while its main curved façade faces the junction of these two roads. At the angle between the two equal sides, an elevated box signals the area of the mall that houses its second floor — in which the food court and the theme park are both located. Similarly, at the two angles between each of the equal sides and the main façade, the curve is broken first by lines parallel to the equal sides and then further by a geometrical design to reinforce the visual signal to oncoming traffic and announce the gates leading to the interior space of the mall (fig. 5). Moreover, the strong signal of the gates facilitates orientation towards and from the ample parking space surrounding the mall. The facade is marked by five gates that provide access to the mall's interior space. The main gate is located at the central point of the curved façade facing the crucial junction of the main roads, while two gates are distributed at each end of the curved façade, with two extra secondary gates located on each of the equal sides of the triangular mall (fig. 11). Each rectangular gate is signalled by blue panels that encircle an irregular mesh geometric design and is further divided into three rectangular blue entrances that comprise three-quarters of its width. The main gate is bordered by four screens, two on each side, while two extra screens are placed adjacent to each of the secondary gates located on the main façade (fig. 6). At the level of these screens, the external envelope of the facade is reduced by a quarter of its height, reinforcing the architectural signal of the screens — which as a result become highly visible from the main roads and function as additional signals that attract more customers to the mall. These screens display the horse logo of Arabian Centres — the owners of the mall — and occasionally display announcements such as promotional offers during the month of Ramadan.

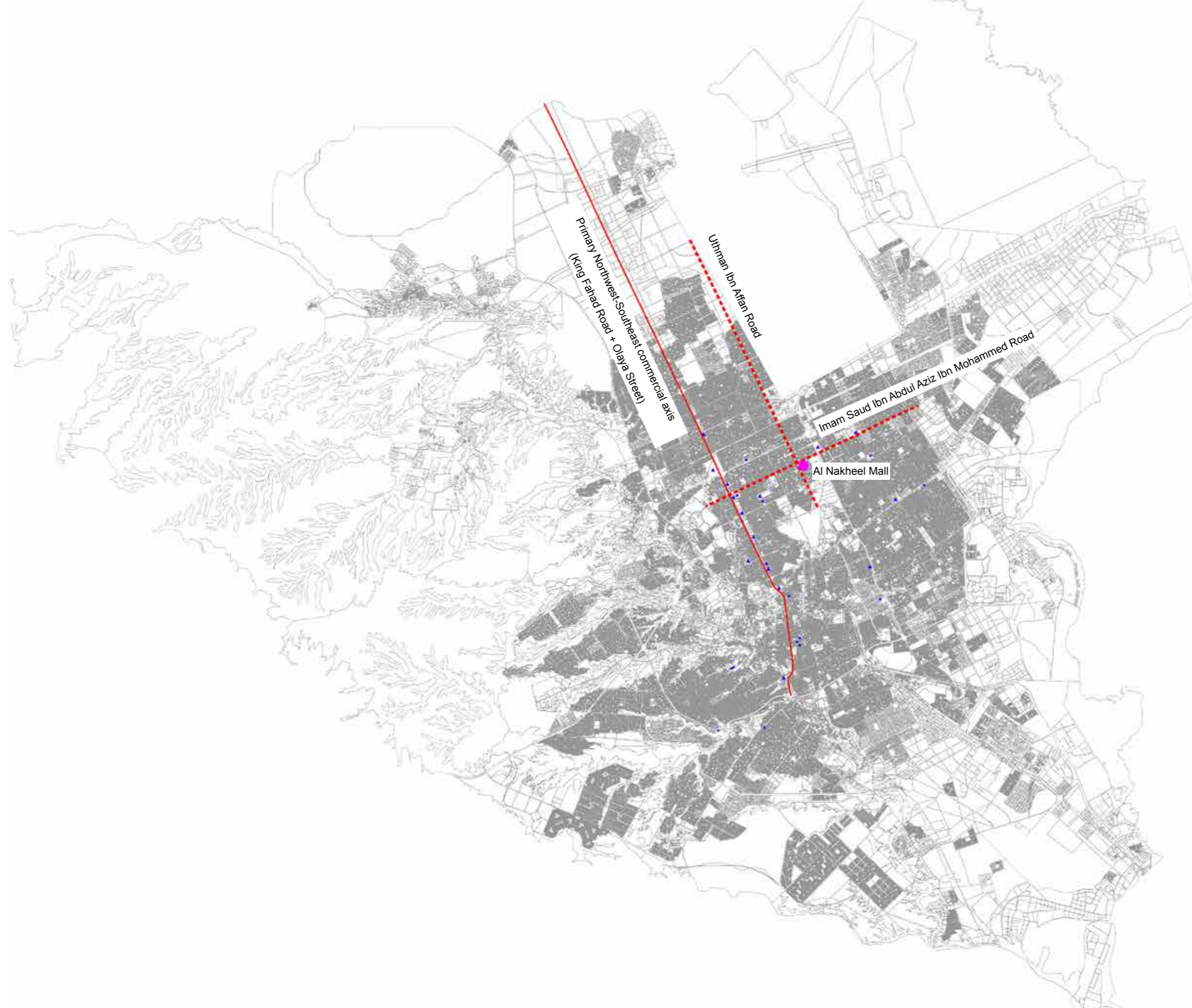


Figure 7: Al Nakheel Mall is well-integrated at the city level as it is located on two an important commercial axis: Uthman Ibn Affan Road; and Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road which is directly linked to the city's primary NW-SE axis (source: Author).



Figure 8: Al Nakheel Mall viewed from Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road; direction towards E. (source: Author).



Figure 9: Al Nakheel Mall viewed from Uthman Ibn Affan Road; direction towards N. (source: Author).



Figure 10: Al Nakheel Mall viewed from Imam Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Road; direction towards W. (source: Author).

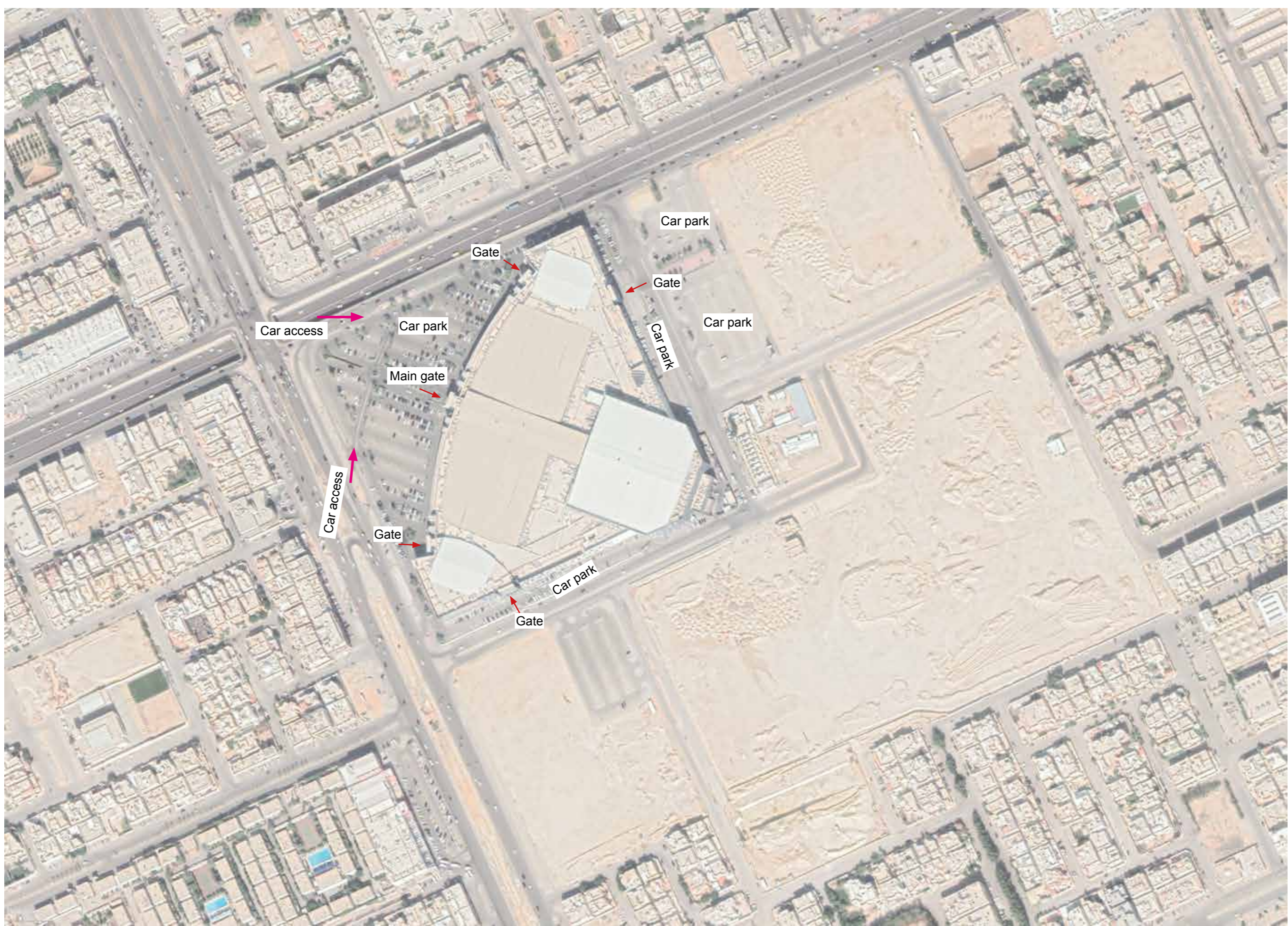
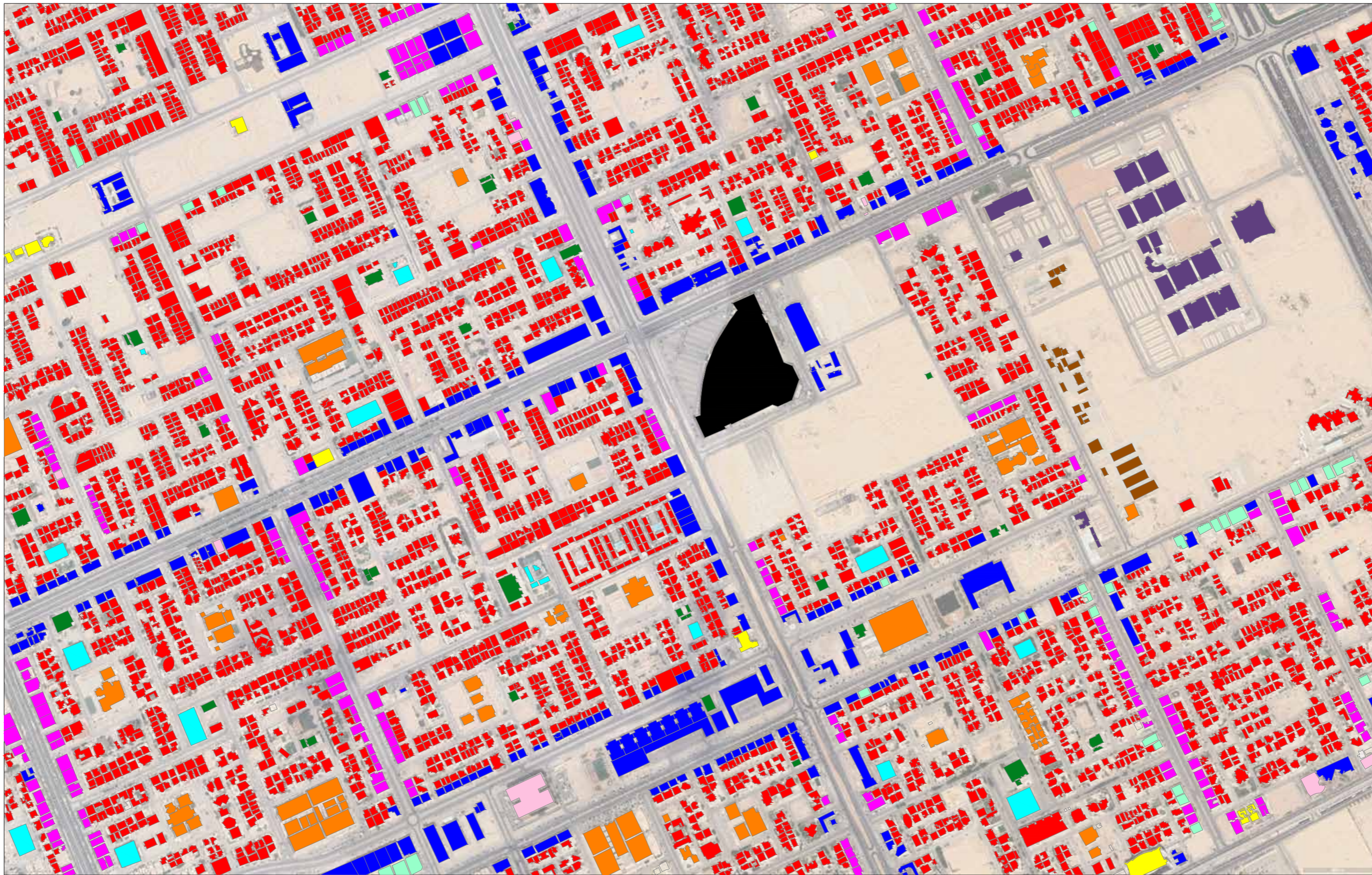


Figure 11: Distribution of gates and parking space in Al Nakheel Mall (source: Author).



- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Al Nakheel Mall | Residential | Mosque | Offices | Administrative |
| Commercial | School | Public Park/Facility | Hotel/Service apartments | Industrial |
| Mixed-use | Hospital | | | |

1:10000
 100m 0 100m 200m 300m 400m 500m

Figure 12: Figure-ground diagram of Al Nakheel Mall and its surroundings (source: Author).

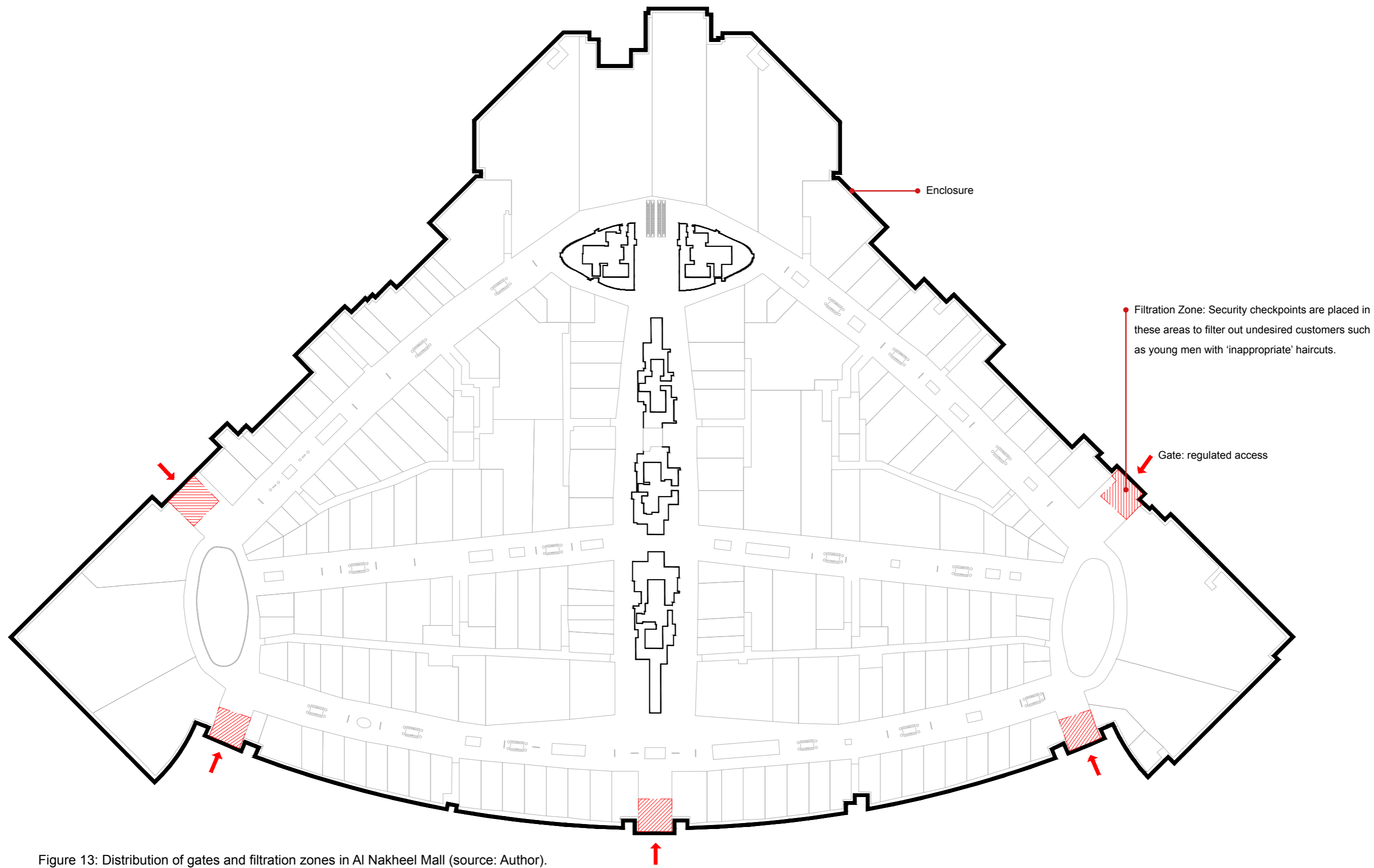


Figure 13: Distribution of gates and filtration zones in Al Nakheel Mall (source: Author).

Symmetrical distribution of access checkpoints

Al Nakheel Mall is marked by five main gates organising access to its interior space. At each gate, two entrances are signalled, each designated for one gender, and guide customers to the appropriate access point, to organise the incoming flow and facilitate control at the checkpoints located at each side of the entrance (fig. 14). It is important to note that going through the appropriate gender entrance is not enforced by security agents. Gender signs are only suggestive and signal the location of the proper sequence of access flow leading to the gender-appropriate checkpoint, one for men supervised by a male security gatekeeper, and other for women managed by a female gatekeeper.

However, going through the gender-appropriate checkpoint is compulsory. The checkpoints appear at first glance to be measures that are in place for security purposes only. In effect, they operate as filtration measures that are established to prevent ‘undesired customers’, such as young unaccompanied men, from gaining access to the mall’s space. The metal detectors and manual bag searches are mechanisms through which all customers are rendered naked to a disciplinary gaze that selects, marks, and grants access only to those deemed worthy of its space and are believed to refrain from disturbing its established order. These checkpoints, which function as filtration zones, reinforce the enclosure of the mall and operate through the power of normalisation allowing the disciplinary gaze — of security agents — to prevent or grant access based on justifications that derive from locally-formulated norms which are seemingly arbitrary, subjectively applied, and which can change given particular circumstances. As an example, during the fieldwork, young men were observed being denied access due to their ‘inappropriate’ clothing choices, while at other times, similar fashion choices were deemed acceptable. Thus, it is through the effort put into the organisation of well-defined checkpoints that the mechanisms of disciplinary power are disguised. Through what seems to appear as an effort on the part of the mall’s administration to ensure the security and comfort of its customers, arbitrary processes of filtration are performed discreetly and effectively as they are made to be misrecognised as such. During rush hours, the organisation of access extends beyond the checkpoints, with traffic agents placed outside the gates in order to regulate car traffic flow (fig. 15).

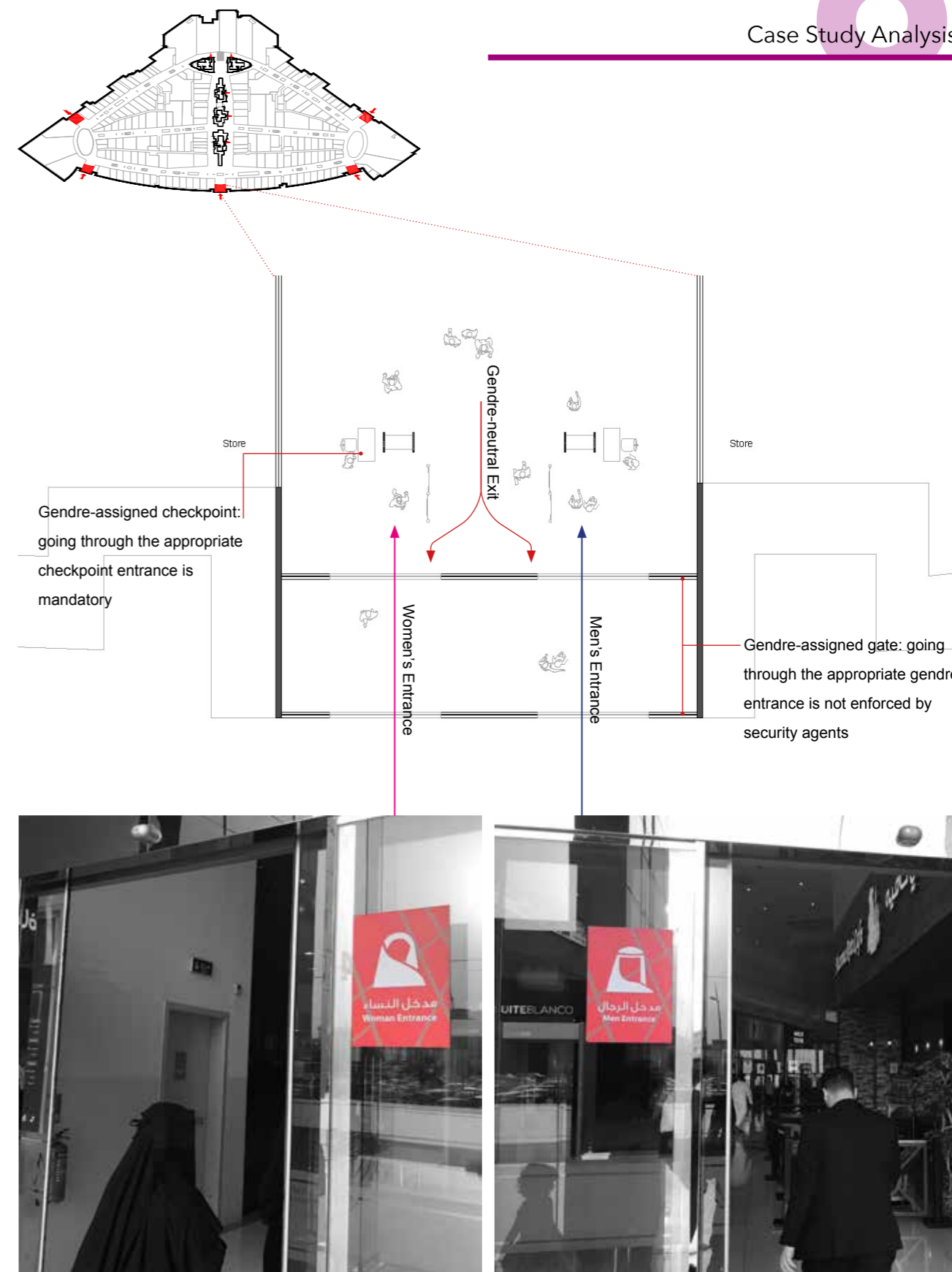
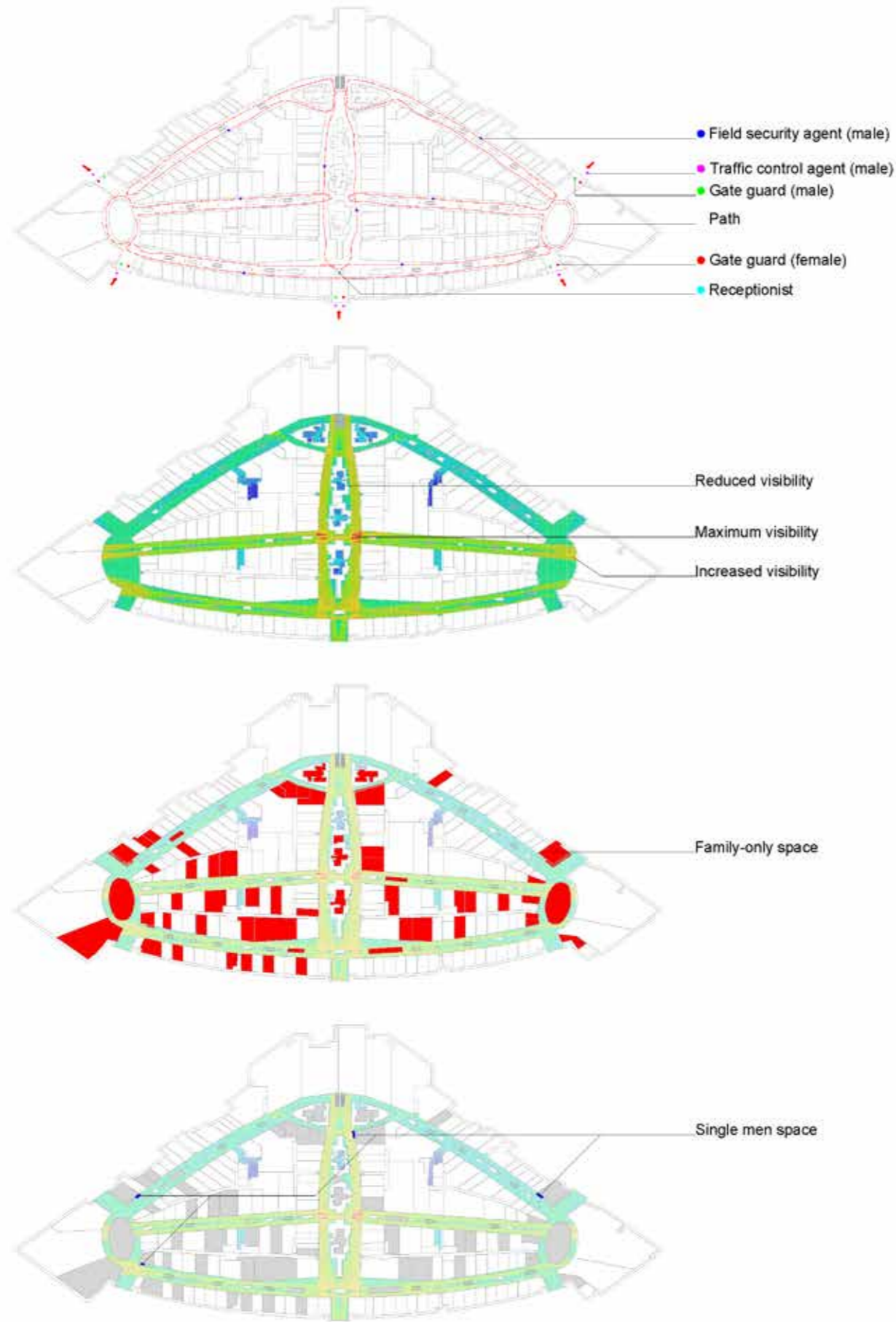


Figure 14: Diagram of gendered mall accesses and security checkpoints (source: Author).

Al Nakeel Mall - Ground Floor



Al Nakeel Mall - First Floor

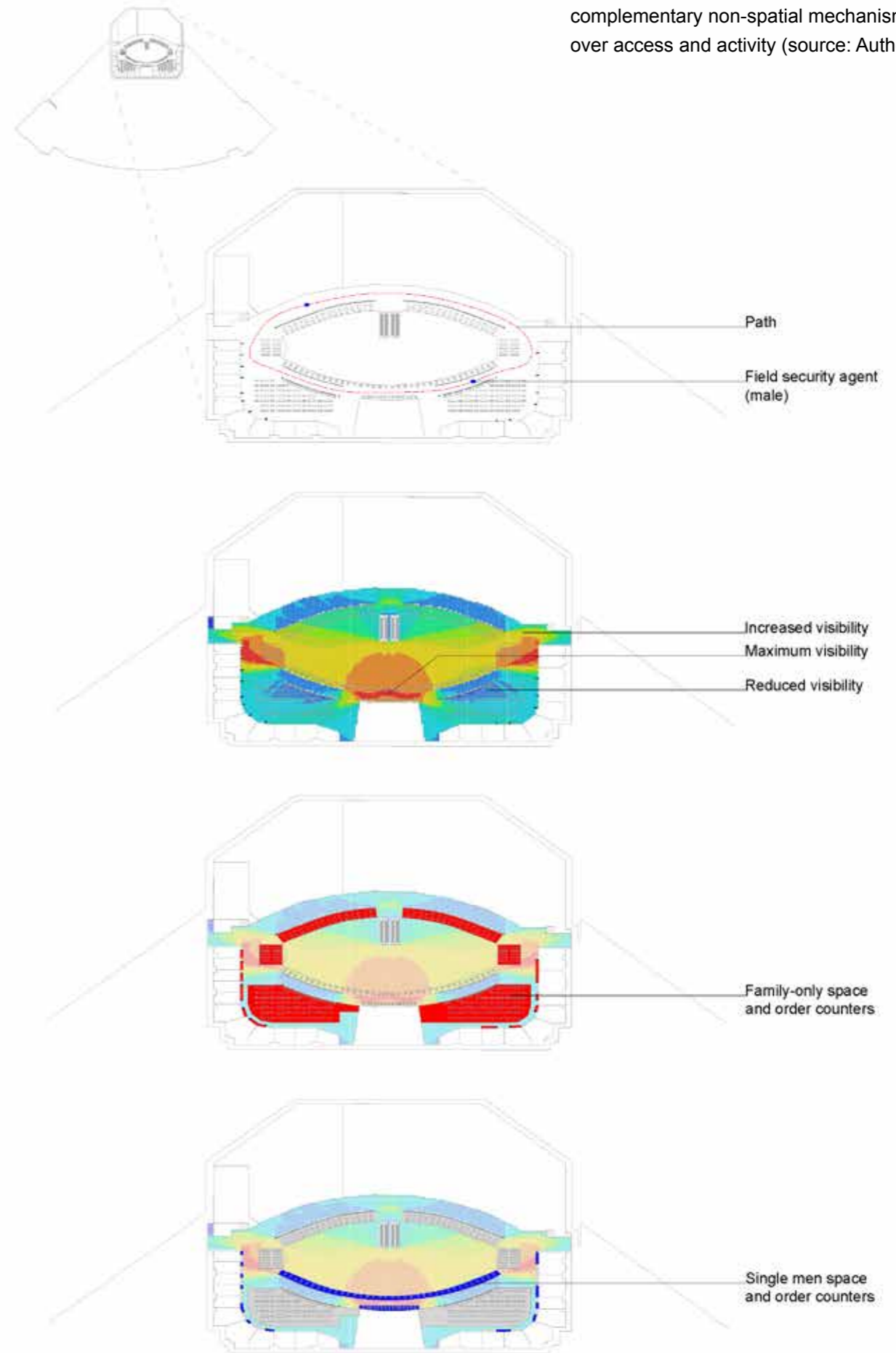


Figure 15: Analysis of spatial visibility and complementary non-spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

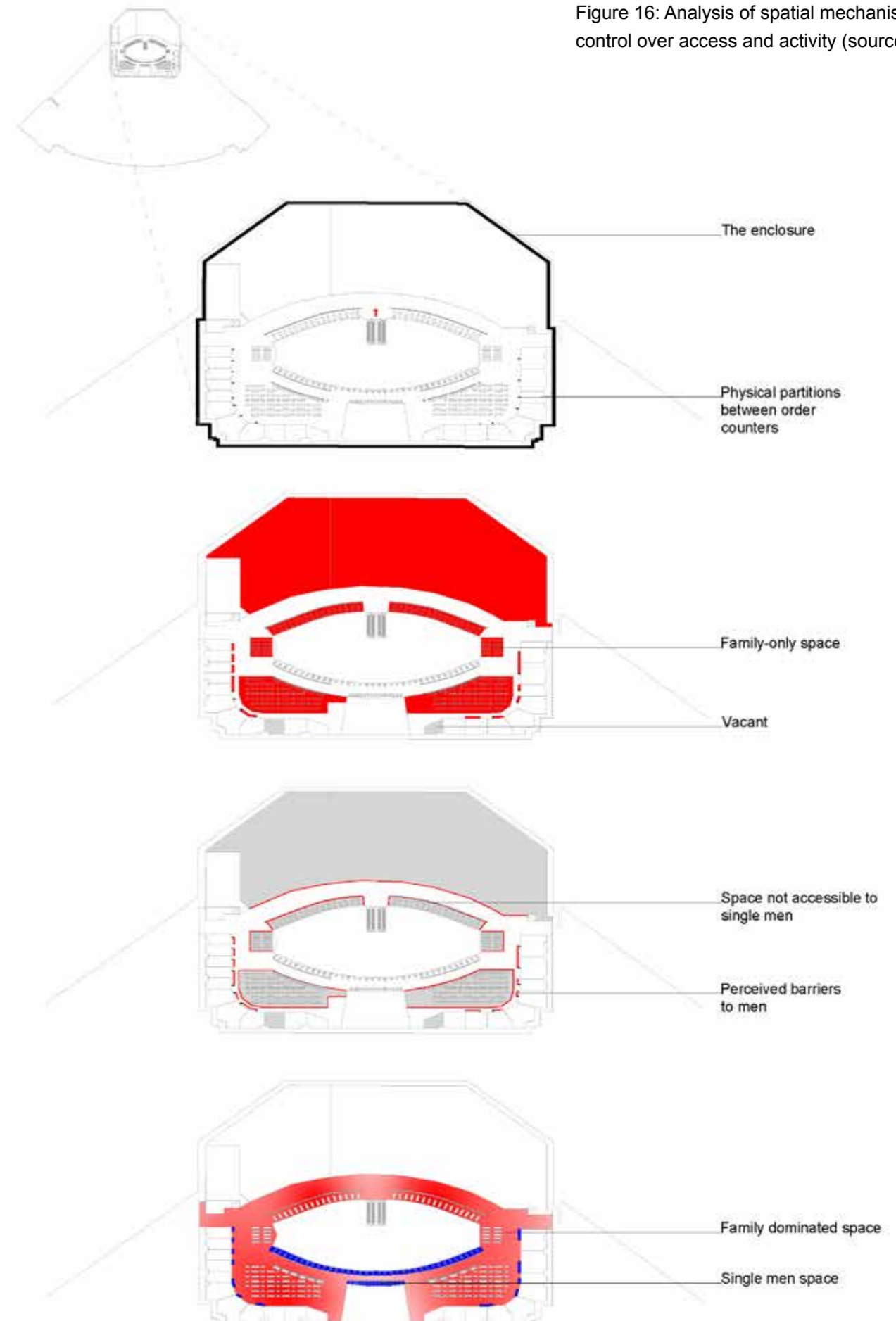


Figure 16: Analysis of spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

Figure 17: Distribution and activity of family-only stores in Al Nakheel mall — ground floor (source: Author).



Store name	Store activity	Store name	Store activity	Store name	Store activity	Store name	Store activity	Store name	Store activity					
1	Simit Sarayi	Coffee Shop	13	La Senza	Lingerie	25	Anotah	Womenswear	37	The Pizza Company	Restaurant	49	The Chocolate Bar	Coffee Shop
2	L'occitane	Cosmteics	14	Oxxo	Womenswear	26	Vivid Flair	Womenswear	38	Nebras	Cosmetics	50	Costa Coffee	Coffee Shop
3	Caffe Concerto	Coffee Shop	15	Merkaz Cafe	Coffee Shop	27	Khave Dunyasi	Coffee Shop	39	Wahat Al Jalabiya	Womenswear	51	Paul	Restaurant
4	Makeup Forever	Cosmteics	16	Simit Sarayi	Coffee Shop	28	Nine West	Womenswear	40	Black Fashion	Womenswear	52	Cosmetics booth	Cosmetics
5	Flormar	Cosmteics	17	Four Winters	Coffee Shop	29	Crepe Affaire	Coffee Shop	41	Dolce Regusa	Coffee Shop	53	DKNY	Womenswear
6	Suite Blanco	Bags & Accessories	18	Elisabetta Franchi	Womenswear	30	Girls on Film	Womenswear	42	Steve Madden	Shoes	54	Caffe Di Classe	Coffee Shop
7	Mamma Roti	Coffee Shop	19	Bershka	Womenswear	31	Women's Secret	Womenswear	43	Compans	Womenswear	55	Cavalli Class	Womenswear
8	La Vie en Rose	Lingerie	20	Adl	Womenswear	32	Pedro	Bags & Accessories	44	Camaieu	Womenswear	56	Skinfood	Cosmetics
9	Choice	Womenswear	21	Desigual	Womenswear	33	Quiz	Womenswear	45	Wojoooh	Cosmteics			
10	Undiz	Lingerie	22	Dynamite	Womenswear	34	Bebe	Womenswear	46	The Body Shop	Cosmteics			
11	Accessorize	Bags & accessories	23	Nayomi	Lingerie	35	Sutis	Restaurant	47	Guess	Womenswear			
12	Sephora	Cosmetics	24	Jennyfer	Womenswear	36	Life with Cacao	Coffee Shop	48	Kampas	Coffee Shop			

The gendered nature of the access points sets the tone for the experience of the mall and signals to customers the essential characteristics of its interior spatial modes of operation. Once access is granted, an implicit pact is agreed upon, in which those admitted are expected to respect the internal spatial codification in order to maintain the segregation announced at the entrances.

Spatial codification

Inside the mall, gender segregation continues to organise space. Particular shops (mainly cosmetics, womenswear and lingerie stores), coffee shops and restaurants (fig. 17) are marked by family-only signs that prevent single — or unaccompanied — men from accessing its space. It is important to note that ‘family-only’ is an umbrella term that also includes single women and women-only groups. It is to be understood as an exclusionary term that is specifically used to designate and mark single men.

During the fieldwork, it became evident that family-only signs are perceived as barriers not to be crossed by all men. Although men accompanying their families are technically allowed to access such spaces, many were observed refraining from accessing stores displaying such signs and preferred to wait for their families in nearby spaces. The significant number of spaces marked as family-only, which amount to a total of 30,028m² out of a total leasable area of 55,553m² renders the mall as being mostly dominated by families. Most illustrative of the dominance of families is the disproportion between family-only and single male seating areas in coffee shops; while 5,524m² are family-only, only 80m² are attributed to single men (fig. 18).

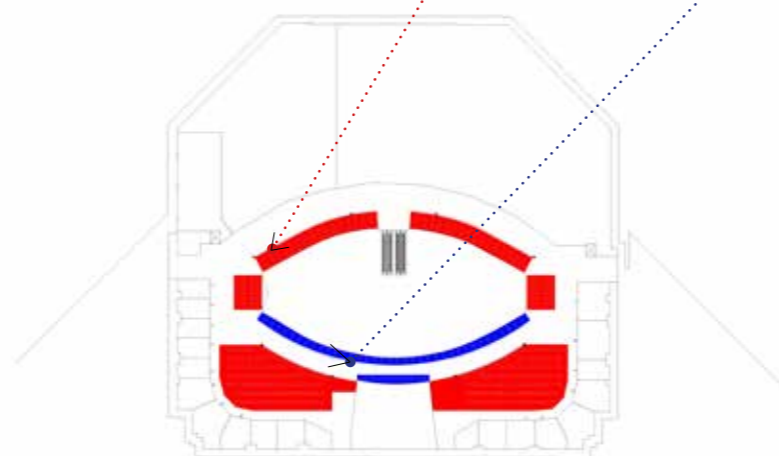
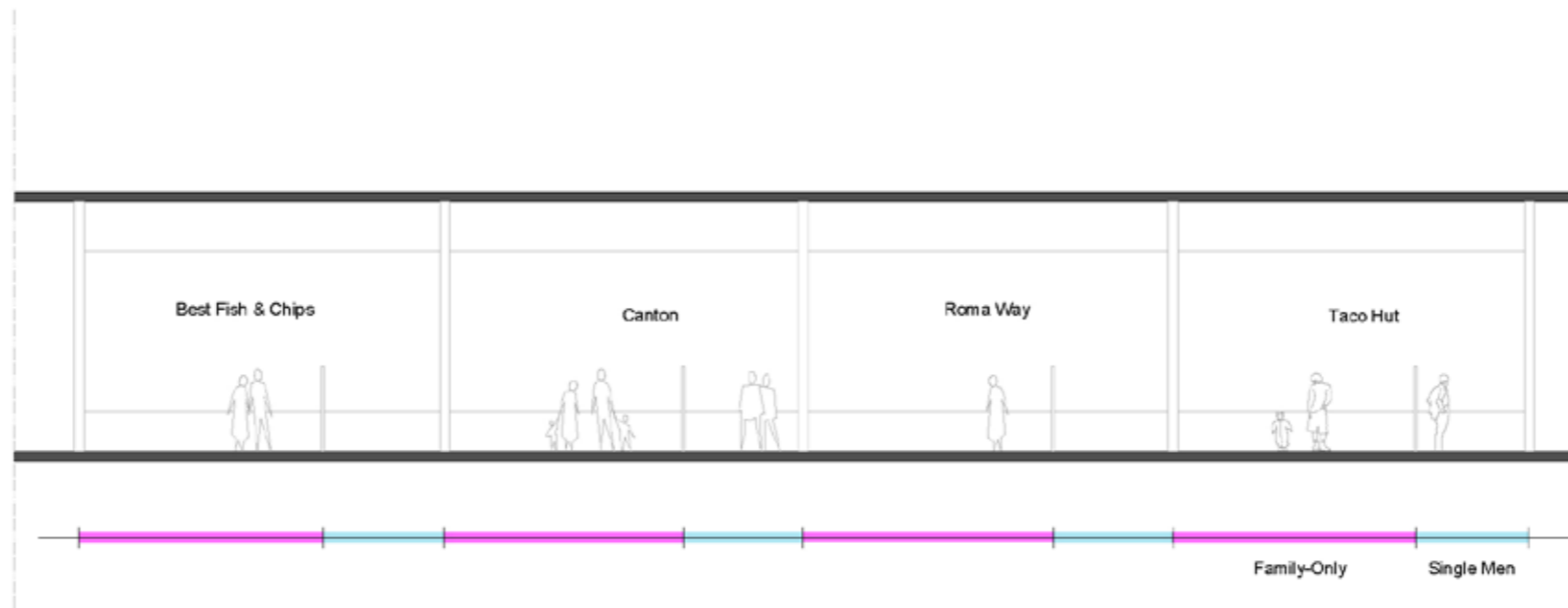


Figure 18: Allocation of family zones (unaccompanied women or men with their families — a female presence is essential for gaining access to the family zone) and single zones (single/unaccompanied men — men without a female presence) in the food court area — first floor (source: Author).



Figure 19: Illustration demonstrating physical barriers used to maintain spatial distances between restaurants' order counters (source: Author).



In addition to codified shops, coffee shops and restaurants, spatial distribution in the food court area is also organised using similar mechanisms and is mostly dominated by families. Seating areas in the food court are mostly attributed to families with a total allocation of 2,616m², while men only benefit from 411m² of seating area. Likewise, physical panels are used in front of restaurants' ordering counters to physically mark the separations between families and single men (fig. 19, 20). It is important to note that while these physical separations are in place, they do not follow a predetermined distribution sequence — which is an extra effort made in other malls to increase the effectiveness of

physical barriers and ensure that men do not come into contact with families at all times.

Spatial codification is not to be misrecognised simply as the provision of space for the comfort of women and/or the family unit. It is also a tool specifically aimed at keeping them away from single men by preventing single men from accessing and utilising such space. Perceived as a danger to the sanctity of the family unit, all spatial codification and distribution is aimed at controlling and marking visible single men, in order to ensure that they are incapable of disturbing the social order.

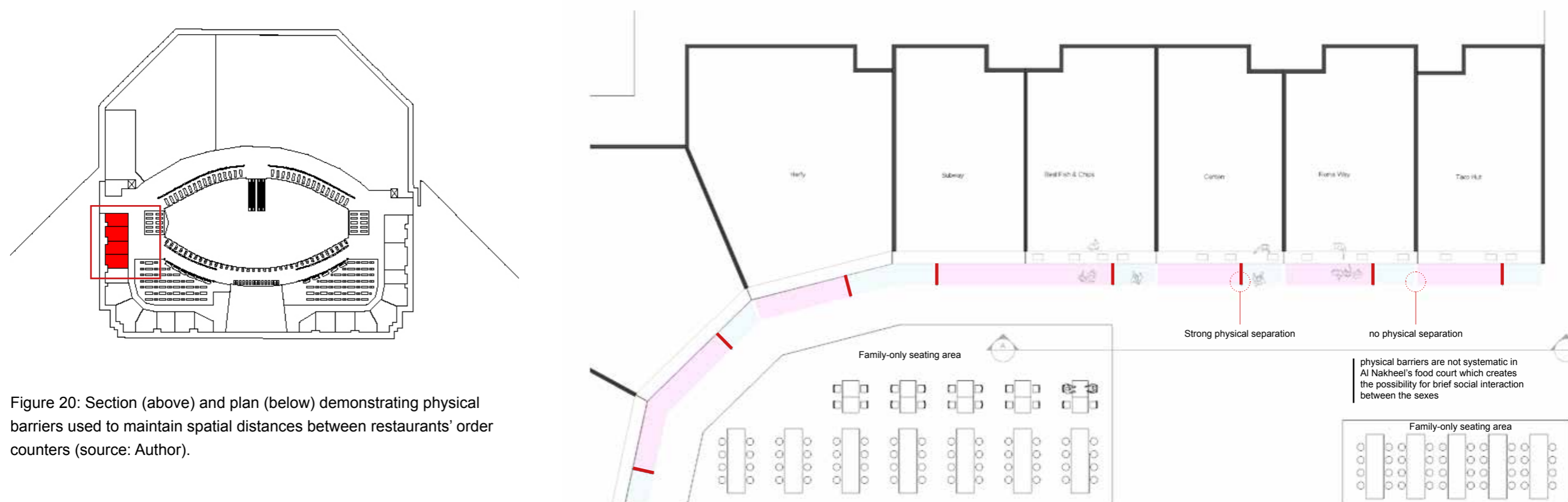


Figure 20: Section (above) and plan (below) demonstrating physical barriers used to maintain spatial distances between restaurants' order counters (source: Author).

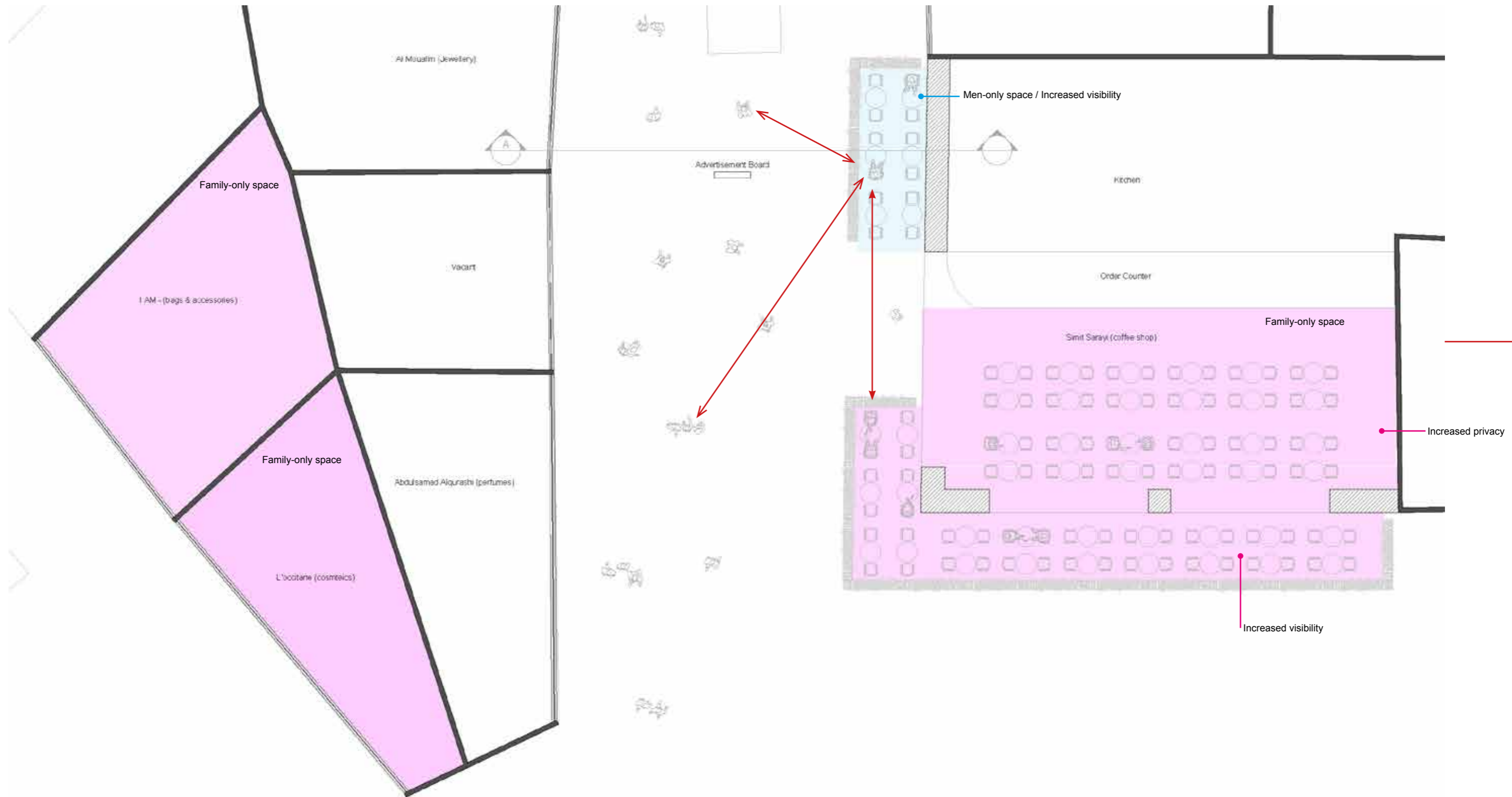


Figure 21: Section, plan and illustration demonstrating how single men are placed in corridors in spaces of increased visibility (source: Author).

Enforced control over single men

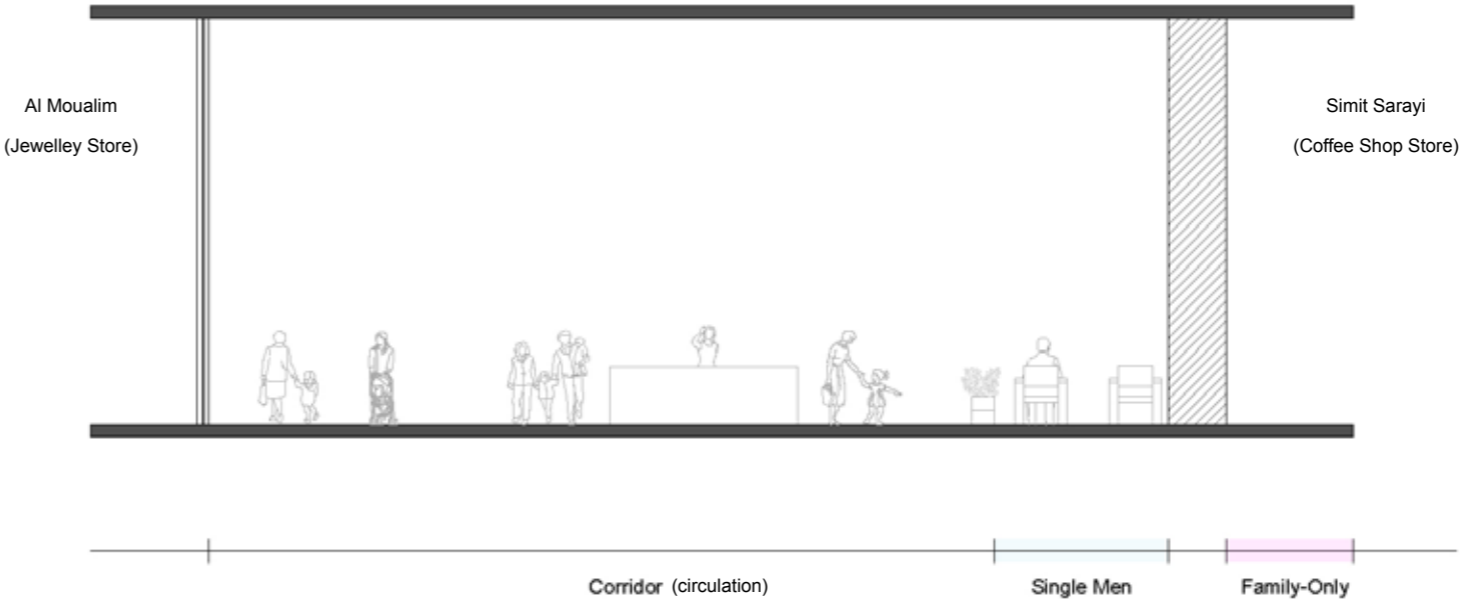
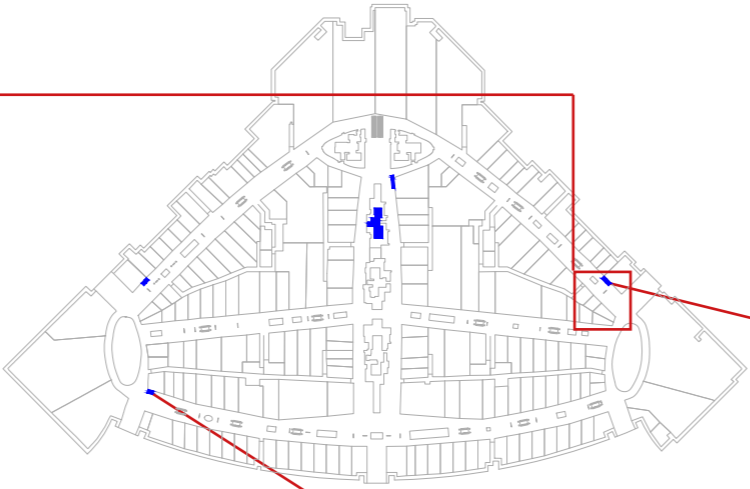


Figure 22: Section (above) and illustration (below) demonstrating how single men are placed in corridors in spaces of increased visibility (source: Author).



Spatial analysis and observations revealed that single male areas are always located in spaces of increased visibility. As a result, men are always placed under the permanent gaze of disciplinary power. In the ground floor, single male areas in coffee shops are located in the corridors in spaces of increased visibility and close to the family-dominated spaces. The spatial distribution of single male areas facilitates the work of security agents who enforce and complement the spatial mechanisms of control. By being strategically located in areas of increased exposure (fig. 21, 22), men are subject to the permanent gaze of disciplinary power, which can be equally exercised by security agents and fellow customers. This spatial organisation also has the effect of encouraging single men — who become aware that they are under constant surveillance — to exercise self-control and behave in a manner that would not cause them to be sanctioned or excluded from the mall.





Figure 23: Single male seating area in the food court. The strategic location increases visibility and multiplies the points from which a disciplinary gaze can be exercised over those located in its space (source: Author).

Figure 24: Longitudinal section of Al Nakheel Mall. The diagram demonstrates how single men are located in areas of increased visibility.
(source: Author).

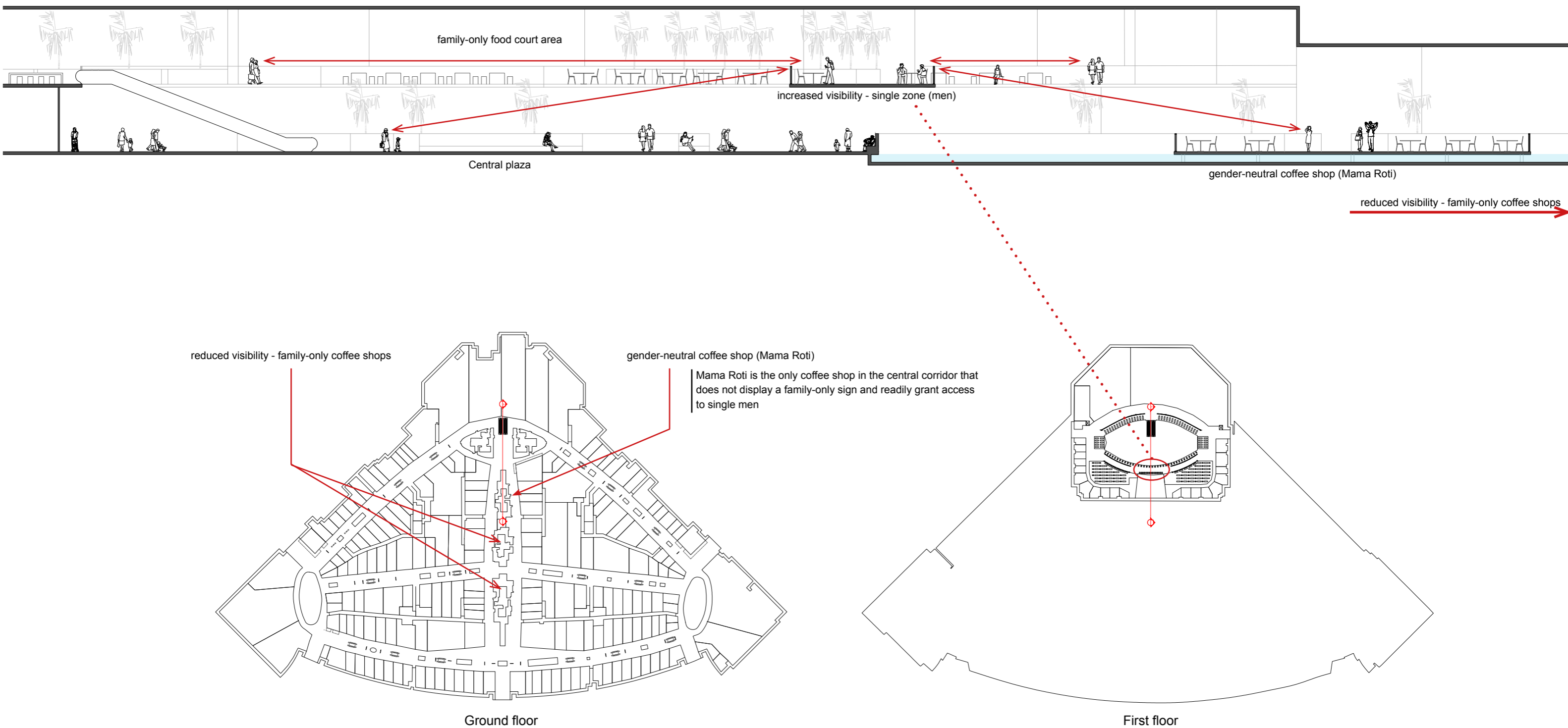




Figure 25: Women overtaking the single zone allocated to men (source: Author).

Similarly, the single male seating area in the food court is strategically located in the overpass to increase visibility and multiply the point from which single men are observed (fig. 23). The overpass offers a compelling view to the main piazza of the ground floor and the adjacent coffee shops; equally, it causes those seated in the overpass to be visible from such adjacent spaces (fig. 24). Also, the overpass is fully encircled by family-only seating areas, placing single men under the constant gaze of families surrounding its space.

However, as is the case with control over access to the mall, the spatial distribution is not always fixed, as the directions given to security agents and shopkeepers by the mall's administration varies depending on actual circumstances. For instance, it was observed that Paul, a French bakery and coffee shop, would transform the small seating area allocated to single men into a family-only area when families overwhelm the mall during peak hours in order to maximise its profitability.

This observation was confirmed by a respondent who confirmed that Paul would sacrifice single men customers in favour of families whenever family demand was increased.

R: ... and Paul sometimes might allow them.

I: Yes, in the corner area.

R: Yes, they get the corner or a particular place — if you notice there they have their own area.

I: Yes, but it seems like it's not for them all the time, sometimes I see families.

R: It's not fixed, they try, if it's not too crowded they would allow them into the family area, if it's crowded then they tell them that it's full, I mean, it becomes for families only.

I: The men's corner is not definite?

R: Yes, not all the time.

I: So, priority is for families?

R: True, they always have priority.

(Al Nakheel M01 2018, interview, 18 April)

Likewise, single male areas in the food court are sometimes overtaken by families, especially during prayer closures, in order to take advantage of the views overlooking the main piazza and the coffee shops of the ground floor (fig. 25).

All these dynamics render the mall a difficult space for single men to navigate. It is for this reason that male respondents' primary reason for being in Al Nakheel Mall was limited to their obligations in accompanying their families. Shopping constituted only a secondary reason, and was limited to when they were required to fulfil such family obligations.

Men who are not accompanying their families, and therefore faced with the possibility of not being granted access as well as the unease of being in a family-dominated space, would only shop in Al Nakheel when faced with the lack of alternatives. When forced to shop in the mall, they confirmed to have come for a precise purchase and immediately left when the shopping activities were completed. As one respondent stated:

If there something I need to get then I might come to purchase and then leave ... I don't like to stay for long in them [in shopping malls].

(Al Nakheel M04 2018, interview, 17 May)

Men overall seemed to be interested in features that would assist them in fulfilling their family responsibilities and thus reduce the time spent in the mall. As an example, the clustering of menswear shops was deemed a positive feature by one respondent, who confirmed that such spatial distribution facilitates shopping and reduces the time spent in the mall. Parking size and availability was another mall feature that was essential for male respondents, as it also reduced the time spent in the mall. As one respondent commented:

— When you go to malls it just takes time to park, now just to get inside the mall I need at least five to ten minutes ... if I'm unable to find anything except for those [items] inside shopping malls then, what are you going to do?

(Al Nakheel M03 2018, interview, 21 April)

Likewise, the availability and quality of waiting benches in the corridors and throughout the mall was deemed an important feature by one of the respondents as it assisted him in accompanying his family.

In addition to these activities, some men visit Al Nakheel to exercise and walk along its corridors. For them, the scale of Al Nakheel and the width of its corridors makes it an ideal space that allows them to perform their exercise without intruding on families and other customers, as exemplified by the following comment:

I walk alone, I don't look at people and no one looks at me. Sometimes it's annoying when there are lots of families. But I keep to myself, I don't get in people's way, and no one gets in mine.

(Anonymous 2018, personal communication, 20 May).

Moreover, men expressed a dislike for overcrowding, which they described as an inherent characteristic in all malls. Consequently, visiting Al Nakheel for entertainment was unanimously deemed inadequate by male respondents, who prefer coffee shops outside of the mall as well as private spaces for meeting with their friends. Such spaces make it possible for them to be comfortable and behave without reserve while malls — described by male respondents as a space for families — are deemed highly restrictive, overcrowded and inappropriate for such gatherings. Because disciplinary power in Saudi society is particularly enforced whenever opposite sexes are brought dangerously closer together, it can be argued that the reason for men's preference for alternative places is due to the absence of families, which allows them to be outside of the concentrated effects of the disciplinary gaze. As a result, they are able to behave without the need to adhere to the particular codes of conduct necessary for them to be admitted and have their presence tolerated in the mall.

In Al Nakheel, men unanimously confirmed the operation of constant surveillance. Asserting that the mall is a family-oriented space, and therefore not suitable for men's entertainment, most respondents claimed that the mall ought to be highly secure for the comfort and safety of the family. Therefore, it can be argued that continuous subjection to

disciplinary measures trained single men to the point of assimilation, making them partake in the very mechanisms aimed at controlling them, by exercising a disciplinary gaze over fellow men who could defy established norms and the codes of conduct.

Aware of being subject to strict surveillance measures, respondents explained that proper conduct and respectful behaviour would grant them access to the mall and allow them to avoid confrontations with its security staff. Only one respondent expressed negative feelings about security measures that he deemed unreasonable, arbitrary and inequally applied from one mall to the other. Nonetheless, he also claimed that such strict measures helped in eliminating 'undesired' behaviours, such as flirting, and rendered shopping malls a safer place for families.

Highly aware of the structural restrictions imposed upon them, male respondents in Al Nakheel seem to have assimilated the knowledge necessary for them to navigate its social space. For them, respect for prevailing norms is chiefly linked to the practice of proper behaviour and conduct. In other words, respect for security authorities, discretion and respect of gender segregation are required of men, who have to be compliant and demonstrate a willingness to adhere to these rules if they are to be admitted.

Discreet and disguised

The hard and architectural features through which spatial demarcations are achieved in Al Nakheel Mall are counterbalanced by theming strategies that soften them, turning mechanisms of spatial control into decorative elements that contribute to the visual experience of its users.

As an example, the coffee shops located in the central coffee shop and main piazza work as mini enclosures within the enclosure of the mall. Floating over water features and complemented by artificial vegetation and lighting schemes, these spaces — which are mostly marked as family-only — create a momentary disassociation with the corridor and prevent single men from approaching its protected space, and the coffee shops become more intimate spaces for the family to enjoy.



Figure 26: Instances of relative added privacy (blue) are created for families through the use of artificial vegetation and the division of the space into smaller visual segments (source: Author).

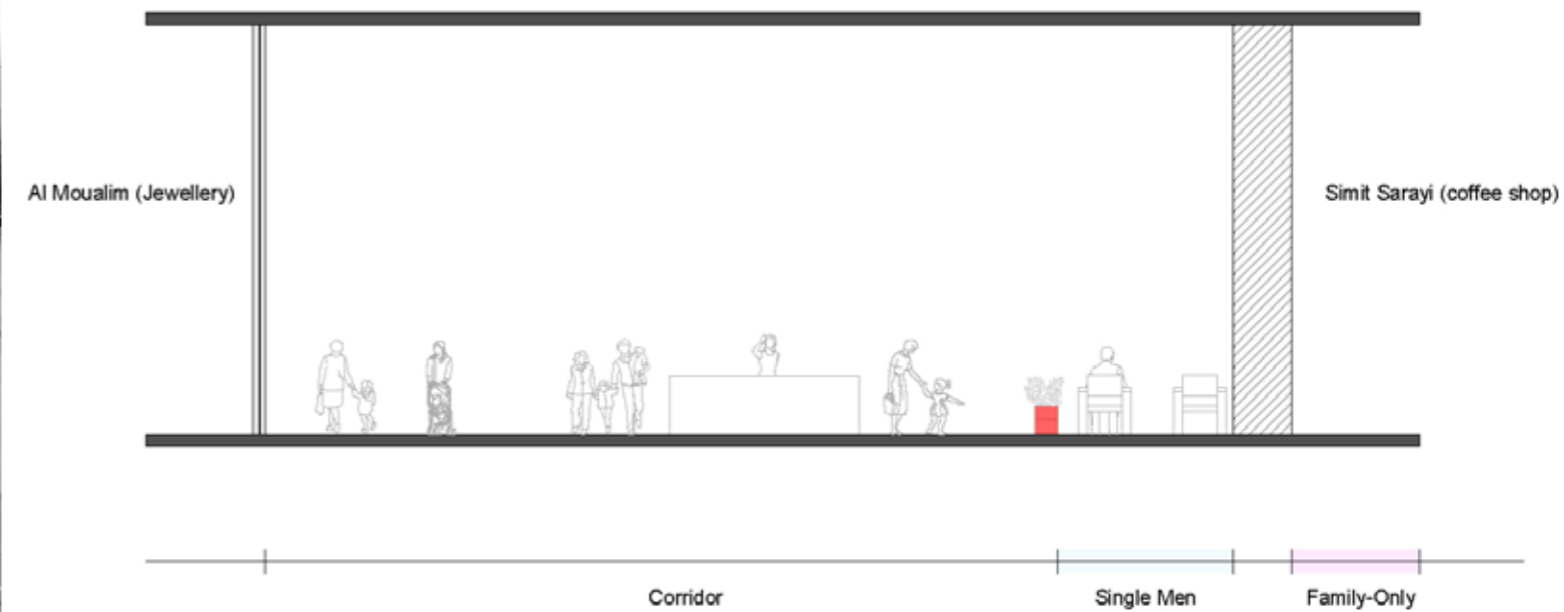


Figure 27: Artificial vegetation and decorative elements are used to delimit seating areas (source: Author).

Another illustrative example is the degree of privacy added by separating between waiting benches located in the corridors using artificial vegetation which, in addition to working as decorative elements, increase the visual and symbolic compartmentalisation of the mall's space. Similar strategies are observable in coffee shops located in the secondary corridors, particularly for male seating areas whereby subtle artificial vegetation is used to define, mark and enclose their allocated space (fig. 27).

Therefore, spatial codification and segregation in Al Nakheel are subtly disguised as decorative and theming features, causing them to be misrecognised as tools for spatial control. Similarly, the effects of the disciplinary gaze in family spaces are mediated by the theming features in the principal piazza and central-corridor coffee shops. The minor enclosure and the use of artificial vegetation divide the space into smaller visual segments and create instances of concealed spatial fragments, which serve to ease the feeling of being exposed and increase perceived intimacy (fig. 26).

Similarly, this visual division of space is achieved in the secondary corridors through the curvature of the corridors and is increased by the alternating order between kiosks, coffee shops and waiting areas. Finally, the visual order of family-only seating areas in the food court is achieved through fixed furniture divided into defined, coloured zones and delimitation by artificial vegetation. To complement these spatial strategies, reduced security agents during off-peak hours further alleviate the perception of controlling mechanisms (fig. 28). As a result, disciplinary power in Al Nakheel is made to be more discreet and be felt as 'less imposing' in order to render its space more 'welcoming' to its families and women customers.

Social norms as regulating mechanisms

While control through spaces was established to regulate and exclude men, women, on the other hand, are subject to the subtle gaze of fellow female customers — who expressed a tendency to negatively judge those who perceived as deviating from prevailing social norms.

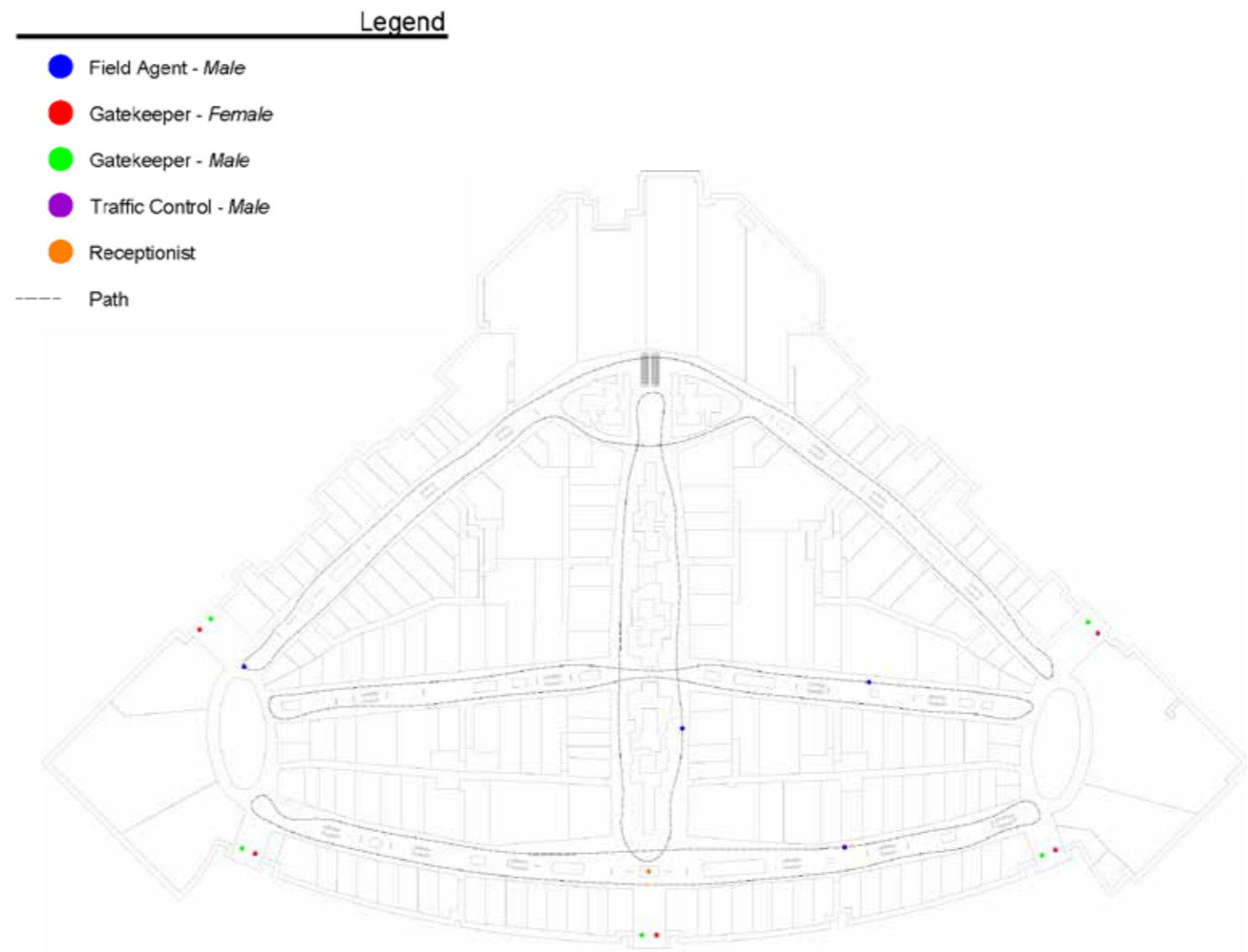


Figure 28.a: Off-peak distribution of security agents (source: Author).

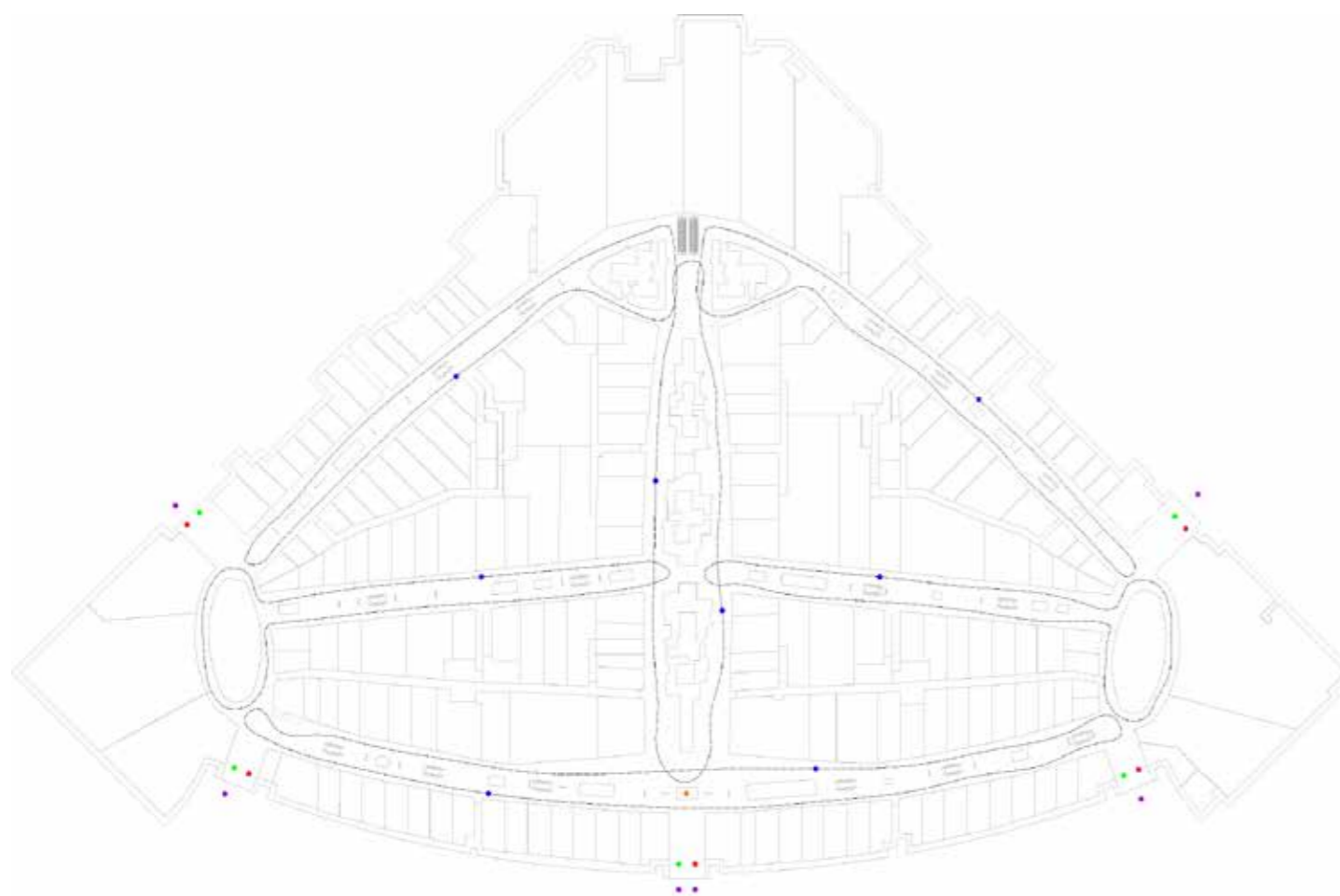


Figure 28.b: Peak-hours (below) distribution of security agents (source: Author).

When asked about surveillance, a split was observed between female respondents' positions. Three respondents did not think that they are subject to surveillance, and two acknowledged being watched and under constant surveillance. However, only one respondent expressed anxiety about being subject to the gaze of others, a feeling that is eased when she finds herself in a familiar shopping mall.

Two respondents mentioned the importance of correct behaviours in public spaces, such as not raising one's voice, in order not to attract undesired attention. These respondents not only adhered to such behaviour, but also asserted that such manners must be respected by all. Similarly, all respondents adhered to a unified dress code consisting of an all-black and plain *abaya* without any particular design features — an *abaya* that was mostly described as being 'normal'.

Moreover, most female respondents claimed that they do not actively watch other customers or partake in surveillance. However, they all cast negative judgement on women who challenge the wearing of the plain black *abaya* and dispose of the *niqab* or *hijab* (i.e. uncovering their hair and face). Some respondents externalised these social phenomena and attributed its proliferation to what they described as 'foreigners' and 'non-Saudis'. Notably, respondents described Al Nakheel customers as sitting midway between conservative customers who frequent malls in southern and western Riyadh and customers of malls located in Central New Riyadh who are described as 'open-minded'. It should be noted that 'open-mindedness' has strong negative connotations in Saudi society and is synonymous with profane permissiveness, considered to be a trait of a lower moral order. Thus, it can be argued that while claiming that they do not partake in surveillance, women implicitly self-regulate collectively, by assimilating and practising knowledge about the kinds of behaviour and appearance that would render them 'normal' (i.e. align them with the norm prevailing in the particular space in which they are located). Through conformity to dress and behavioural codes, women render themselves immune to the harsh judgment of fellow female customers, as they discreetly and implicitly perpetuate and uphold the norm in Al Nakheel Mall.

It is for this reason that the spaciousness and large scale of the mall plays a role in increasing its attractiveness, as it reduces the impression of perceived overcrowding. It is important to note that perceived overcrowding does not equate with the sheer number of customers present in a given space; rather, it is the combination of their number and the scale of the space in which they are located — which either augments or eases the impression of being in an overcrowded space. Therefore, the large scale of Al Nakheel Mall mediates between the presence of a large number of customers and female respondents' apparent preference for maintaining spatial, and therefore social, distance with strangers. Consequently, women are able to escape the effects of the normalising power exercised by other women through the ability — even if only momentary — to maintain spatial distance and reduce social interaction.

Accordingly, female respondents in Al Nakheel expressed a dislike of smaller-scale malls, describing the latter as 'confined', lacking diversity, and more importantly, suffering from perceived overcrowding. Noticeably, single women and one mother — who more readily expressed a dislike for overcrowding — preferred private spaces and coffee shops outside the mall for meeting with friends.

Interestingly, one female respondent expressed a preference for malls that are familiar and which facilitate orientation and ease of navigation. This constituted the basis for what she termed 'practicality' in the malls that she deemed better-suited for shopping purposes. For her, Al Nakheel Mall was an impractical mall due to her inability to navigate it with ease. It is possible to suggest that the large scale of the mall and the elaborate theming strategies — which are primarily perceived as positive features — in her particular case cause the mall to be perceived as alienating.

More importantly, she deemed the mall unsuited for shopping due to its 'extravagance' — reflected by the prices that fell above her financial capabilities. Contrastingly, Al Nakheel's constant renewal, which might have further caused the mall to be perceived as unfamiliar, was a positive feature for another respondent, who valued new spaces over stagnant

malls which she deemed unsuitable due to their lack of variety and inability to renew their spaces.

The primacy of the nuclear family

Al Nakheel proved to be a family-oriented space. While shopping remains the primary activity for female respondents, the availability and quality of coffee shops and theme park offerings are particularly valued by mothers who are provided with the opportunity to entertain and care for their children. Overall, the scale of Al Nakheel seems to be one of the main positive features that allows the mall to secure and increase its profitability. By virtue of its scale, Al Nakheel is able to bridge the gap between the mall's need to offer customers with a multiplicity of choice as well as to increase attractiveness, and its responsibility to ease the tension caused by bringing large numbers of strangers together by providing the necessary space for spatial and social distance to be maintained.

While young single women are able to limit their activity in the mall to shopping, which proved to be the universal and primary reason for visiting Al Nakheel Mall, mothers combine shopping with taking care of their children. For mothers, the shopping mall is a preferred choice due to the convenience of having combined activities in one unified space, which allows them to entertain their children while fulfilling their personal shopping needs. Some mothers also confirmed the possibility of enjoying coffee shops with friends or other adult members of the family as an additional reason for visiting the mall. The evidence confirmed that the diversity of choice in the mall is another primary quality that attracts female customers to its space. In addition to store variety, the availability of different options for coffee shops is a further factor increasing the attractiveness of the mall to those meeting with friends and family. More importantly, the mall includes two entertainment parks that cater to children of all ages, which further complements diversity for mothers and provides an additional reason for them to choose Al Nakheel over its competition.

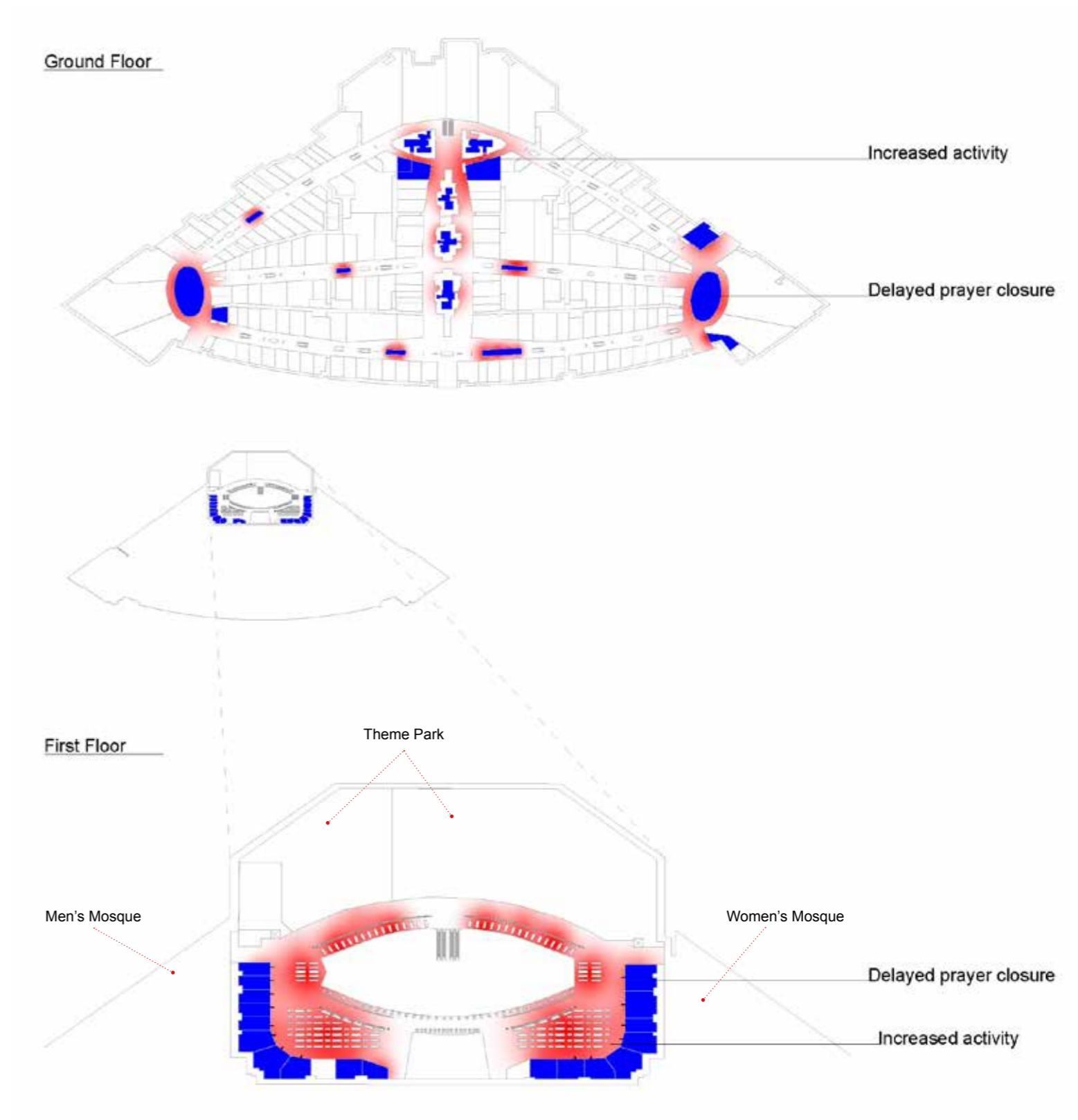


Figure 29: Mechanisms of temporal control over activity (source: Author).

Concluding thoughts

All the evidence in Al Nakheel Mall attests to the dominance of the religious apparatus and the privileged position of the nuclear family. This hierarchical domination is spatially embodied by the location of the mosque and the theme parks in the mall's second floor — a spatial organisation found in most of Riyadh's malls, where the location of the mosque and the entertainment parks are always to be found on the mall's highest floor. Interestingly, the dominance of the religious apparatus, which guides the operation of disciplinary mechanisms, is subsumed by the mall's predisposition for utilising all possible strategies to maximise profitability. As was observed equally in Al Nakheel and its competition, coffee shops and restaurants would delay closures imposed during prayer times¹ for an extra ten minutes, allowing customers to place final orders before ceasing all service. During these closures, coffee shops' and restaurants' blinds are closed, and customers are denied access. However, those who were able to gain access during the delayed closure window were allowed to remain seated behind closed blinds during the services' interruption. In effect, customers who, for one reason or the other, do not participate in prayers are enticed to consume in coffee shops while waiting for shops to reopen.

Moreover, the constant dialogue between the religious apparatus and the mall's inclination for increasing profitability is best exemplified in Al Nakheel by the effort put into the theming of the mall during the month of Ramadan (fig. 30). Likewise, during Ramadan's daytime, the mall stayed open, even while most of its shops — and all of the coffee shops and restaurants — remained closed, in order to allow customers who desired to utilise its wide corridors to exercise hours before breaking their fast.

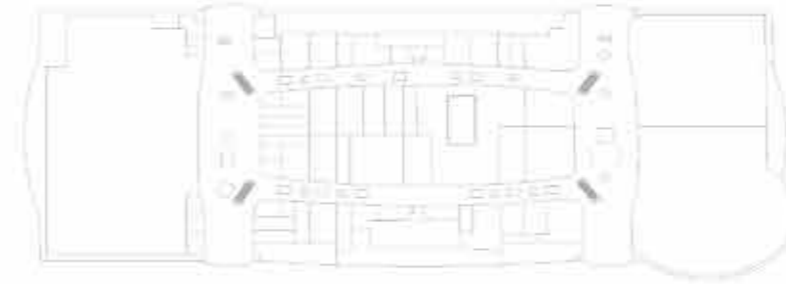
Overall, Al Nakheel Mall's favourable position stems from its ability to turn disciplinary requirements into positive features that appear to enrich the experience of its customers and ultimately cause disciplinary mechanisms to be misrecognised as such.



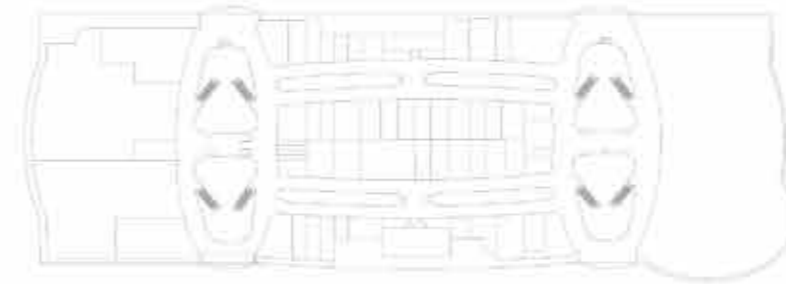
Figure 30: Theming for the month of Ramadan 1439H/2018AD
(source: Author).

Figure 31: Floor plans of Al Othaim mall (source: Author).

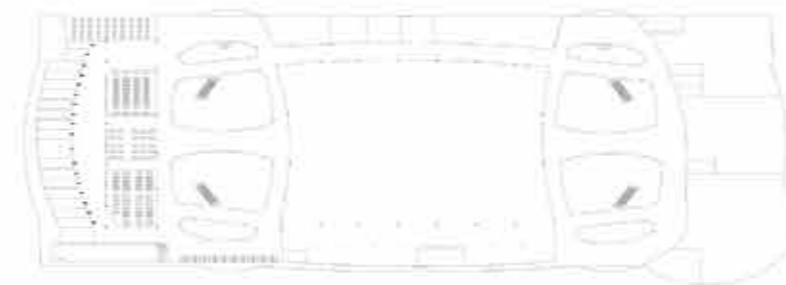
Ground Floor



First Floor



Second Floor



1:2500
40m 0 40m



Case Study II
Al Othaim Mall



Figure 32: Al Othaim Mall appears to be a free-standing structure that has been designed to be primarily accessible by car. (source: Author).



Figure 33: Al Othaim Mall as it appears from Khurais Road; direction towards W. (source: Author).



Figure 34: An important shift in geometry at the angle facing the junction of Khurais road and Hsasan Ibn Thabit Road creates a visual signal to oncoming traffic (source: Author).

The urban context

Al Othaim Mall was selected as part of this study because it embodies the classic mall typology, i.e. the pod development which is similar to Al Nakheel Mall in its urban logic. However, Al Othaim represents a new urban context in terms of its location, as it is situated in the eastern part of the city. Moreover, the selection was based on the findings of the pilot study, as the latter revealed that theming is attempted — but is less successful — in Al Othaim Mall Khurais in comparison with its competitors. Al Othaim Mall Khurais was selected on the assumption that it has decreasing symbolic value. It was also selected based on the assumption that its customers hold more conservative social values as opposed to malls located in the northern part of the city.

Al Othaim Mall is situated in An Nasim Ash Sharqi district, at the crossroads between the major Khurais Road and Hassan Ibn Thabit Road in a readily-accessible area of the eastern part of the city (fig. 32). Khurais Road is a fast-traffic circulation channel and a principal commercial axis that is linked to the city's primary northwest-southeast axis (fig. 35). At the urban level, Al Othaim Mall is well-integrated with the commercial activities of Khurais Road and profits from added visibility as it faces increased oncoming car traffic (fig. 33). On the other hand, Hassan Ibn Thabit Road represents a local commercial axis and integrates the mall with the slower car circulation at the neighbourhood and district level. As a result, the mall is readily accessible by car and follows the urban logic of commercial development in Riyadh. One of the commercial disadvantages of Al Othaim Mall is that it is further away from the primary commercial axis of New Riyadh.

The mall is a rectangular shape with slightly-curved sides that become more pronounced at the four entrances. Along with the noticeable curvatures, the gates are also signalled by an increase in height to accentuate the visual signal. Towards the angle facing the junction of Khurais Road and Hassan Ibn Thabit Road, a circular geometry intersects with the main structure of the building creating a visual signal aimed at attracting passing traffic (fig. 34). The aesthetic vocabulary is guided by a regular geometry and the use of aluminium

cladding and curtain walls. Importantly, the architectural language is in accordance with the prevailing visual order of Khurais Road (fig. 40); it is only by the shift in scale and its physical detachment from the immediate urban environment that the mall announces its presence and attempt to solidify its dominance over the urban landscape.

Besides, the mall has been designed to be readily accessible by car; although the outside parking area is relatively small in comparison with its competition, the mall still offers plenty of parking space in the main parking area that is organised at an underground level. Provision for pedestrian access is absent from the urban logic of the mall. Although pedestrian access from Khurais road is inconceivable, it is possible to imagine pedestrians accessing the mall from the neighbourhoods located south of Al Othaim as they are separated from the mall by local roads with slower traffic (fig. 39). However, this has not been taken into consideration, and the mall remains mainly accessible by car.



Figure 35: Al Othaim Mall benefits from being located on Khurais Road; an important commercial axis that links the mall with the primary NW-SE commercial axis (source: Author).



Figure 36: Al Othaim Mall as it appears from Hassan Ibn Thabit Road; direction towards S. (source: Author).

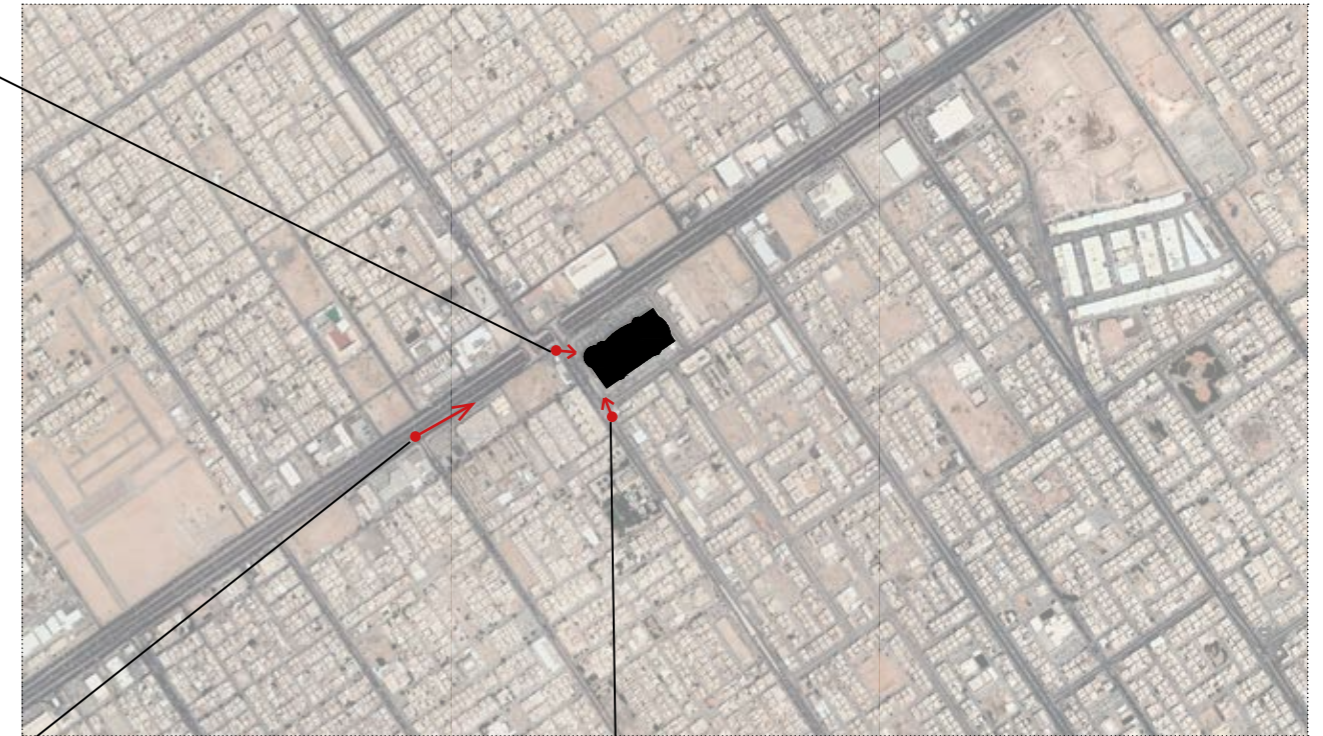


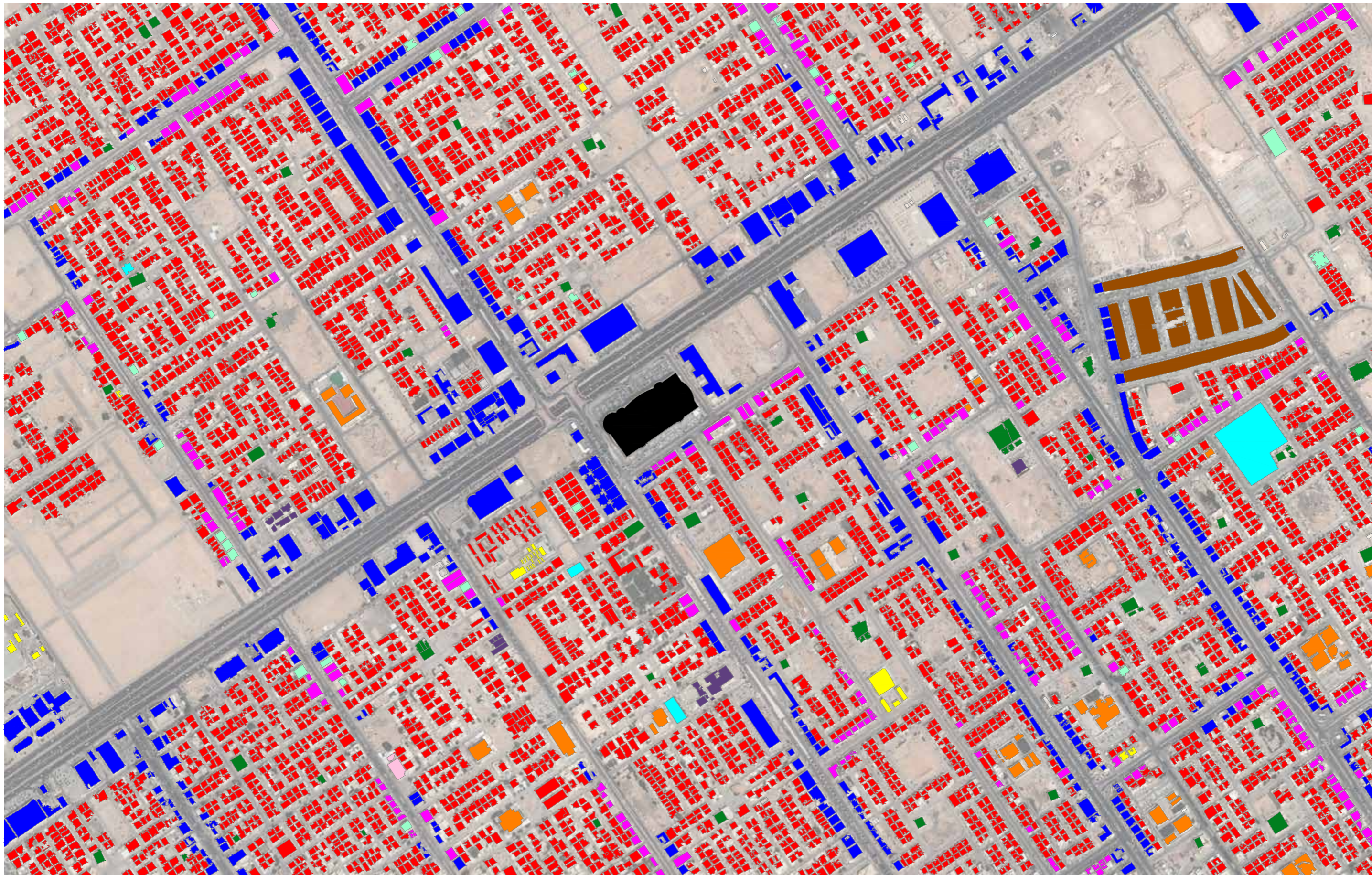
Figure 37: Al Othaim Mall as it appears from Khurais Road; direction towards E. (source: Author).



Figure 38: Al Othaim Mall as it appears from Hassan Ibn Thabit Road; direction towards N. (source: Author).



Figure 39: Distribution of gates and parking space in Al Othaim Mall (source: Author).



- | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Al Othaim Mall | Residential | Mosque | Offices | Administrative |
| Commercial | School | Hotel/Serviced apartments | Industrial | |
| Mixed-use | Public Park/Facility | Hospital | | |

1:10000
100m 0 100m 200m 300m 400m 500m

Figure 40: Figure-ground diagram of Al Othaim Mall and its surroundings (source: Author).

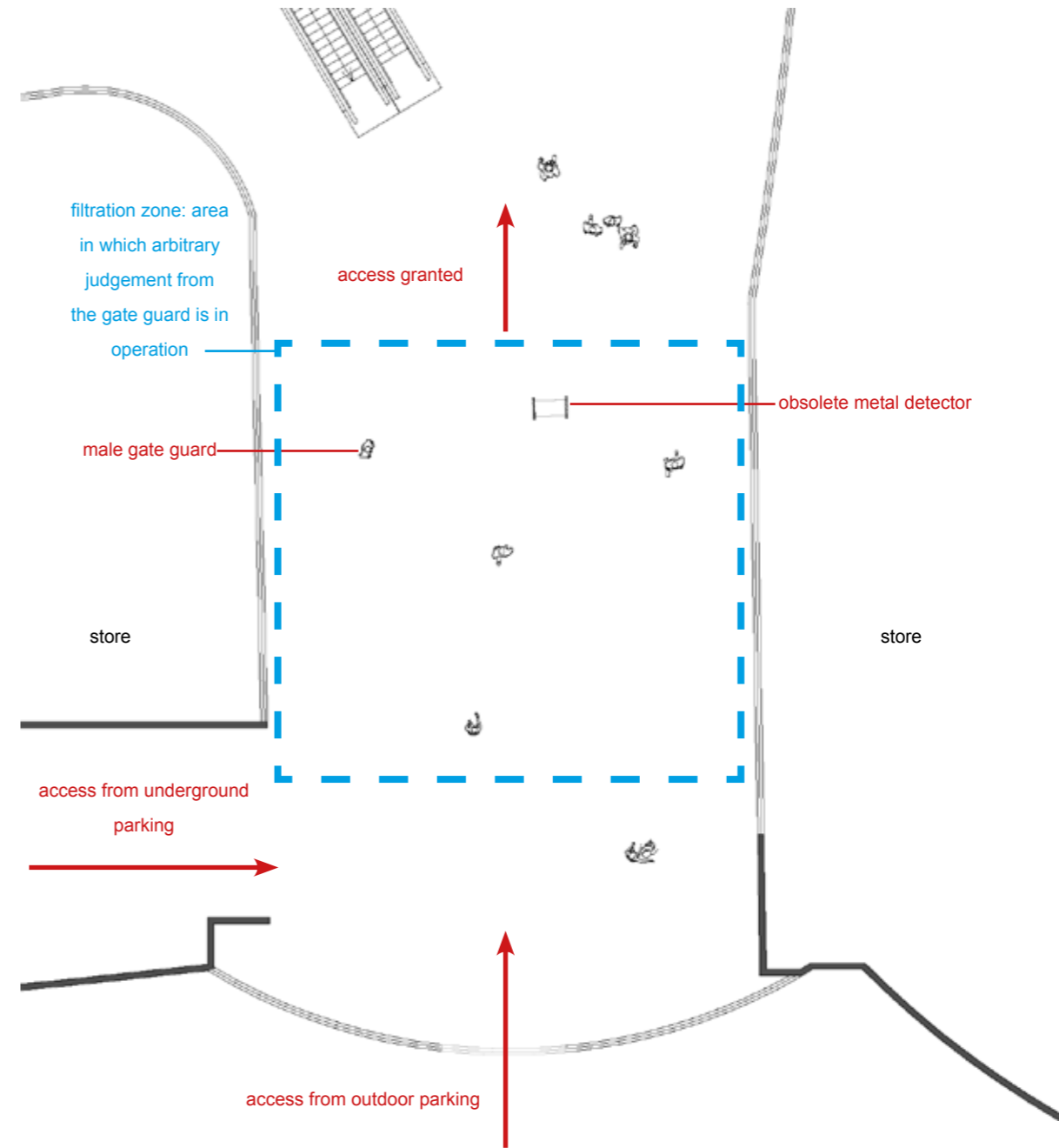
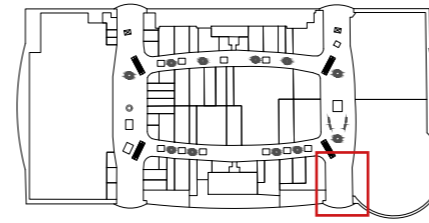


Figure 41: Spatial organisation of access in Al Othaim Mall (source: Author).

Unbalanced deployment of controlled access mechanisms

Al Othaim Mall is marked by four symmetrically-distributed gates that are located at equal distances on the longer sides of its rectangular shape. Unlike Al Nakheel Mall, the entrances at Al Othaim Mall are gender-neutral and lack formal checkpoints as well as female security agents (fig. 41). The lack of female security guards emphasises the fact that female customers are *de facto* granted access in Al Othaim Mall. In contrast, competing malls disguise the imbalance in the application of disciplinary measures over men and women by placing female checkpoints that are not necessarily aimed at filtering out 'undesired' female customers. The lack of formality and structure is further accentuated by the seemingly random distribution of obsolete and withdrawn metal detectors that are found at each entrance (fig. 42). The only measure that is effectively in place is the location of one male agent, who due to the lack of a formal checkpoint, roams the space of the entrance and only intervenes when it is deemed necessary (fig. 43). As a consequence, the application of disciplinary power to control access in Al Othaim is not uninterrupted and discreet but abrupt and overt. Observations and mapping revealed the arbitrary nature of security agents' interventions, as unaccompanied men were denied access based on justifications such as 'inappropriate clothing' on some occasions, and granted access on others with similar clothing choices. The arbitrariness of the norm was confirmed by a security agent, who stated:

... we don't have a clearly-defined set of rules. The instructions come from the administration ... for example during the weekend we see that families are overcrowding the place, so we contact the administration and tell them that families are overcrowding the mall, and ask them, do we let young men in or not? If they say let them, we let them in. If they say don't let them in, we don't.

(Anonymous 2018, personal communication, 26 May).

As a result, the effectiveness of disciplinary power in Al Othaim is compromised. This is because its effectiveness increases the more it is discreet and uninterrupted. Yet, Al Othaim mall's strategy seldom achieves these qualities as it makes it difficult for disciplinary power to be disguised as 'measures in place for the security and comfort of

its valued customers'. Men, being the primary target of the abrupt and overt control over access, perceive Al Othaim as a hostile environment in which accompanying their families constitutes the primary, and for the most part the only viable, reason for them to visit the mall. Interestingly, and based on female respondents' assertions of not being subject to any particular form of surveillance, the lack of formal checkpoints also had the counter-effect of eliminating all forms of perceived control for female customers, who were granted access regardless of any considerations.

While in Al Nakheel Mall, an effort is attempted to strike a balance between the need to establish controlling mechanisms and the desire to disguise their presence for all of its customers, a contrasting strategy is applied in Al Othaim Mall — through which such mechanisms are rendered invisible only to segments of its population. The elimination of formal checkpoints in Al Othaim Mall has two distinctive and complementary effects. On the one hand, it renders disciplinary power invisible to its female customers as it makes it possible to offer them direct access to the mall. On the other hand, it makes the use of power — necessary for control over access for single men — all the more visible as it is abrupt, discontinuous, and unequally applied. Therefore, an imbalanced power equation is in place; it is by concentrating the exercise of power over male customers that it becomes possible for Al Othaim Mall to appear more 'welcoming' to female customers.

Figure 42: Unused metal detector located at the entrance of Al Othaim mall (source: Author).

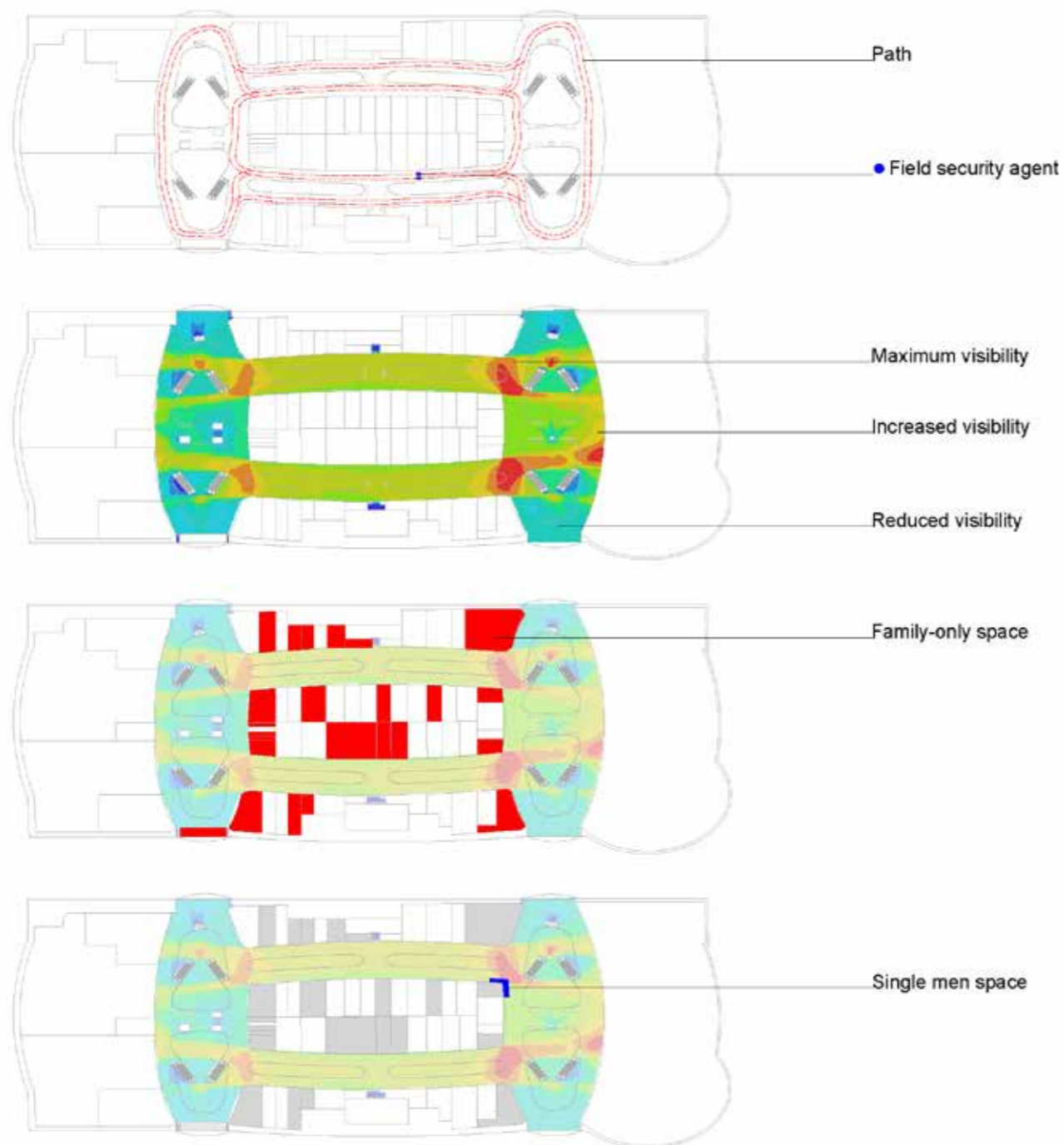


Al Othaim Mall - Ground Floor

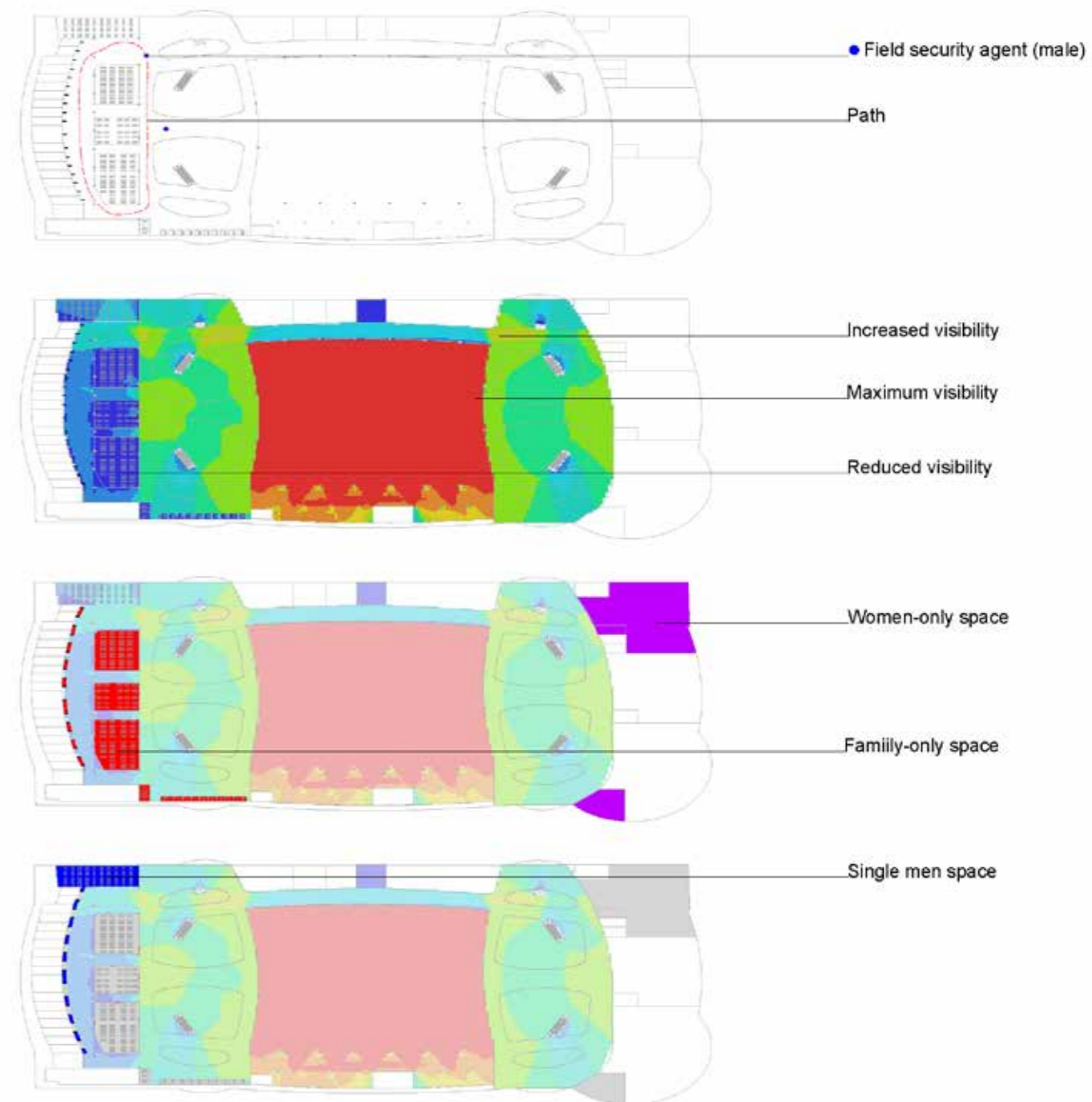


Figure 43: Analysis of spatial visibility and complementary non-spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

Al Othaim Mall - First Floor



Al Othaim Mall - Second Floor



Spaces of increased visibility are spaces that are visually connected with adjacent spaces. Customers in these spaces are observable from multiple viewpoints; they are more likely to be subject to the disciplinary gaze of security agents and other customers. Spaces of reduced visibility, on the other hand, have fewer visual connections and customers in these spaces are less likely to be subject to the disciplinary gaze of security agents and other customers. Spaces of maximum visibility are the spaces that are most visually connected with adjacent spaces.

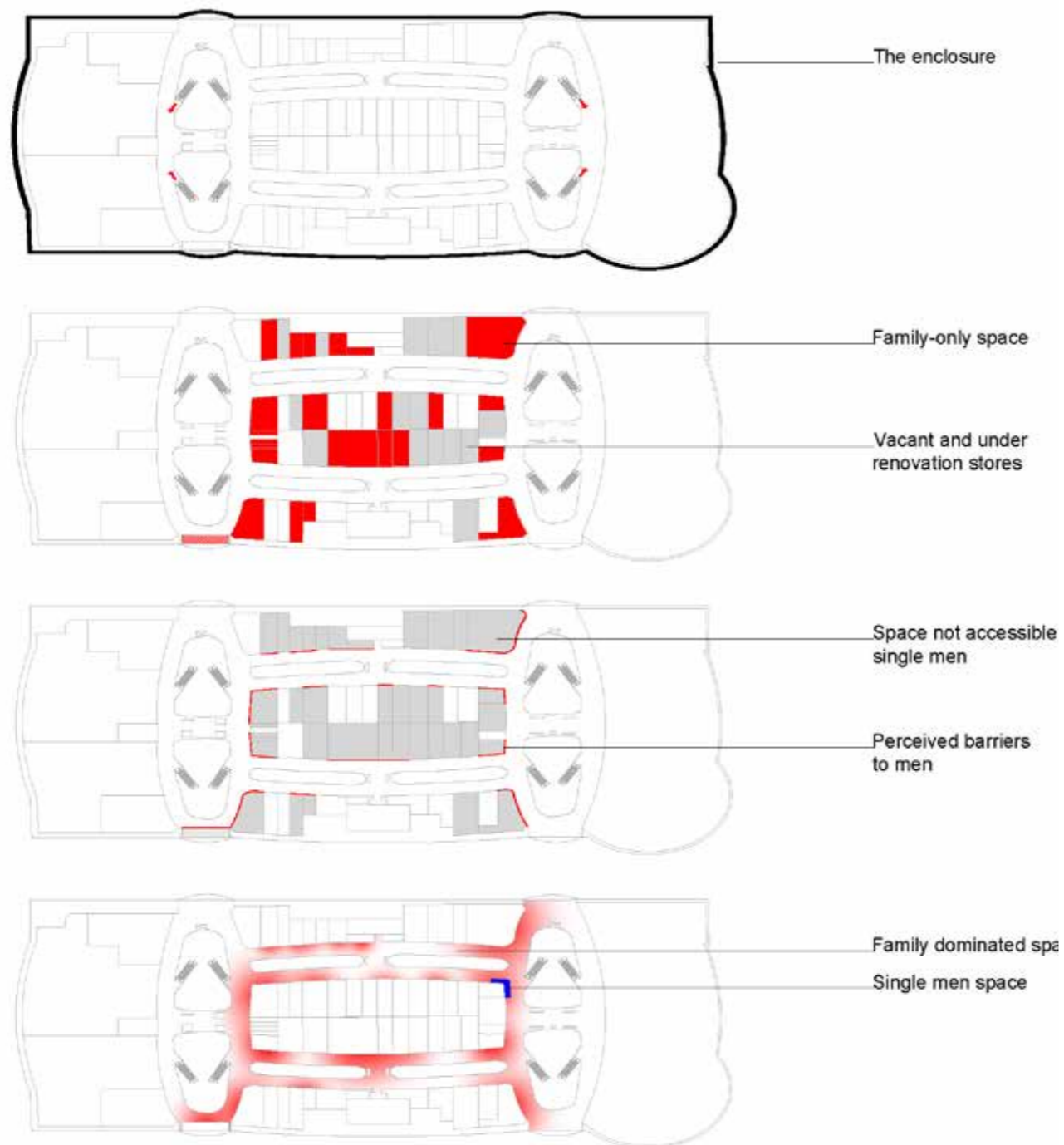
Al Othaim Mall - Ground Floor



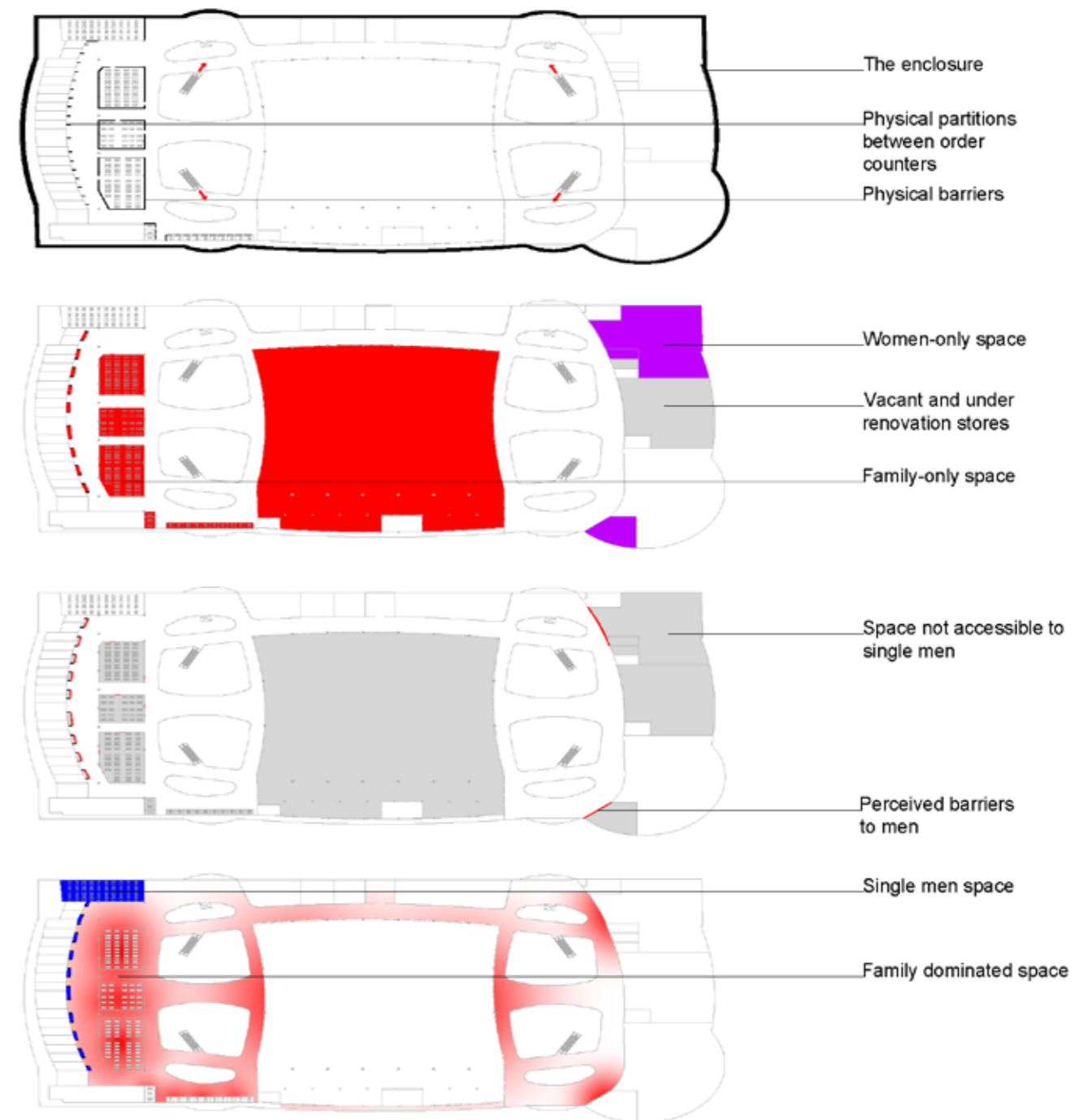
Figure 44: Families are unmistakably dominant in Al Othaim Mall (source: Author).

Figure 45: Analysis of spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

Al Othaim Mall - First Floor



Al Othaim Mall - Second Floor



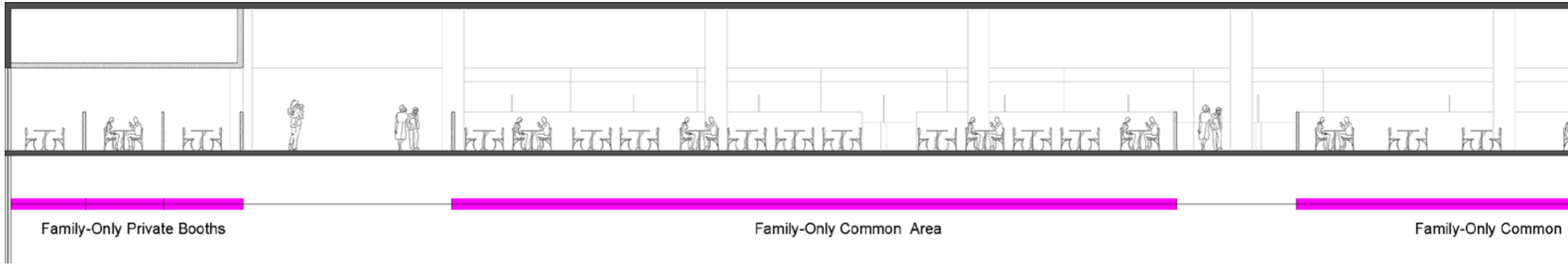


Figure 46: Section demonstrating spatial codification in the food court (source: Author).

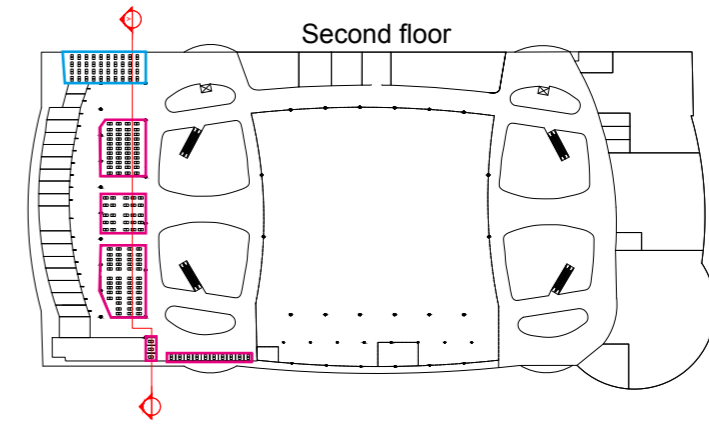
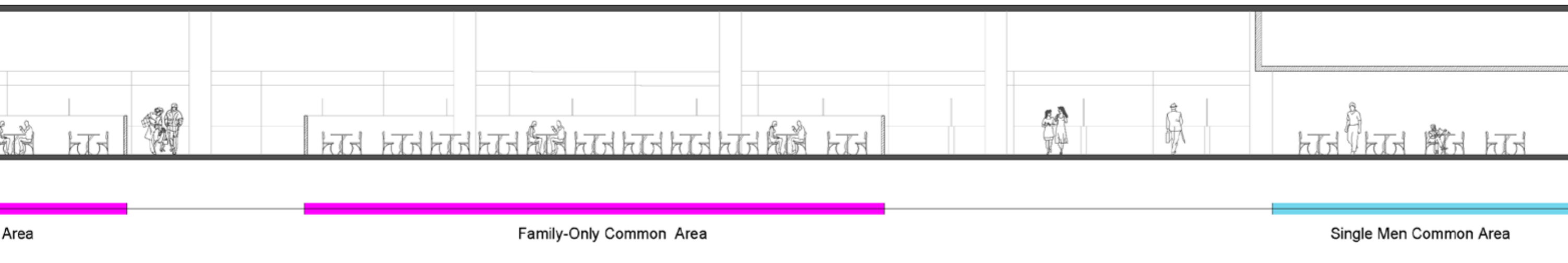


Figure 47: Distribution of single men area (right) and family common areas (left) in the food court (source: Author).



Spatial Codification

As in all of Riyadh's malls, gender segregation remains the main characteristic responsible for organising Al Othaim's interior space. A high concentration of family-only shops, coffee shops and restaurants is found on the ground and second floor of the mall; the second floor also contains one women-only coffee shop as well as one women-only shop. Strikingly, the mall suffers from a high rate of vacancy that is — along with family-causing it to be virtually inaccessible to unaccompanied men (fig. 45). With the exception of an anchor store located at each end of the mall, Al Othaim appears to be mostly dominated by families due to the fact that a significant number of the shops located in its corridors are marked as family-only, which amounts to a total of 5,698m² out of a total leasable area of 39,816m² (fig. 45). It is true that proportionally, the family-only stores do not seem to dominate the mall. However, it is their concentration in the mall's corridors (fig. 45), coupled with the number of vacant stores — which amounts to 3,302m² — that contributes to making the mall's corridors inaccessible to single men. Similarly, the mall houses eight coffee shops, of which only one offers men with a small seating area of 27m² out of a total area of 687m² in the coffee shops. On the other hand, female customers have the possibility of spending time in Eve's Cafe, a 225m² women-only coffee shop located on the second floor and visually isolated from the remaining space of the mall.

Similarly, spatial distribution in the food court area is dominated by families. Seating areas are mostly allocated to families, with a total allocation of 1,136m², while men only benefit from 351m² of seating area (fig. 45). Notably, family areas are divided into two categories: three enclosed common areas located in the main space facing the restaurants, and thirteen private booths placed parallel to the mall's envelope, at a distance in between the food court and the theme park for added privacy (fig. 50). The men's area, on the other hand, is enclosed and pushed further to the side, away from the main space of the food court (fig. 44). It is further marked by a conspicuous lower ceiling that delimits its spaces even more and separates it entirely from the space of the food court (fig. 47).

Moreover, panels are used at ordering counters to physically mark the separations between families and single men (fig. 48). In Al Othaim, the distribution of the panels follows a distinct repetitive and alternating pattern (women-only | men-only, men-only | women-only, women-only | men-only ...) in order to prevent any lapse in the spatial order and ensure that the separation is upheld at all times (fig. 48).

Observations also confirmed that men do not enter family-only stores when accompanying their families and prefer to wait for their families in nearby spaces. Interestingly, the only coffee shop that offers a male seating area is located on the first floor adjacent to the concentration of family-only shops (fig. 45). This strategic spatial location capitalises on men's self-imposed discipline and is suggestive of how profit can be generated out



Family common seating areas



Family common areas



Family-only private booths

Figure 49: Predefined and delimited family common area (source: Author).

Figure 50: Family-only private booths for added privacy (source: Author).

Private booths exemplify the tension between the shopping mall typology and local socio-religious requirements. They represent the mall's ability to subsume local practices and result in a reinterpretation of the typology's interior space that is essentially Saudi in character.

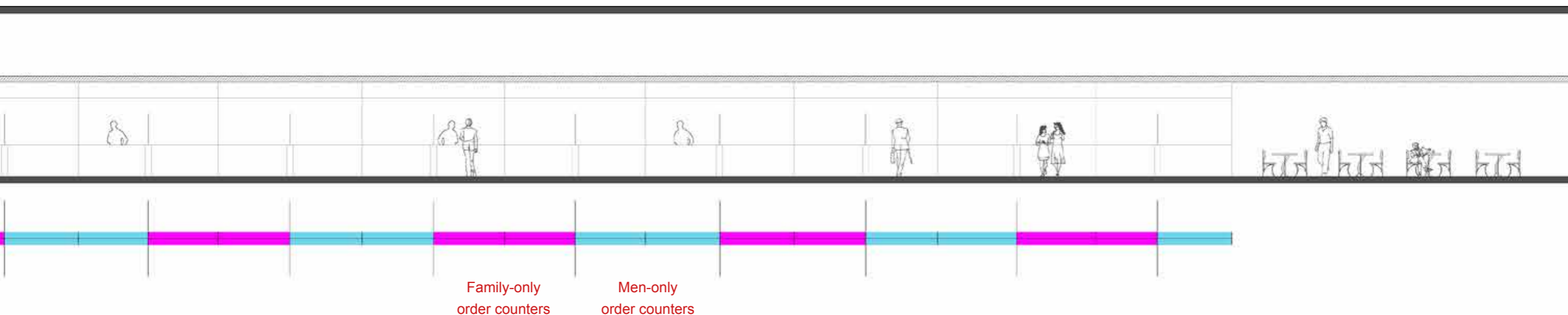


Figure 48: Section demonstrating how physical barriers are distributed in the food court (source: Author).

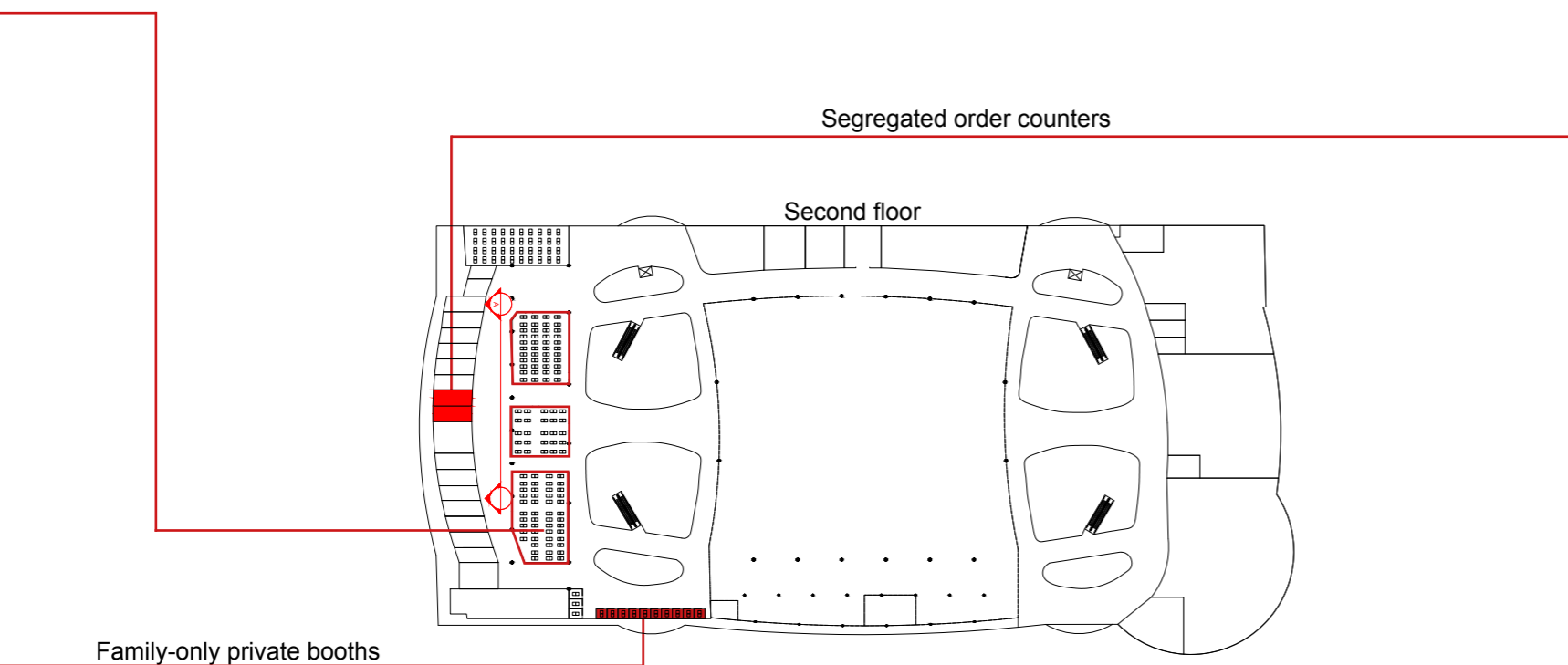


Figure 51: Physical barriers separating between order counters in the food court (source: Author).

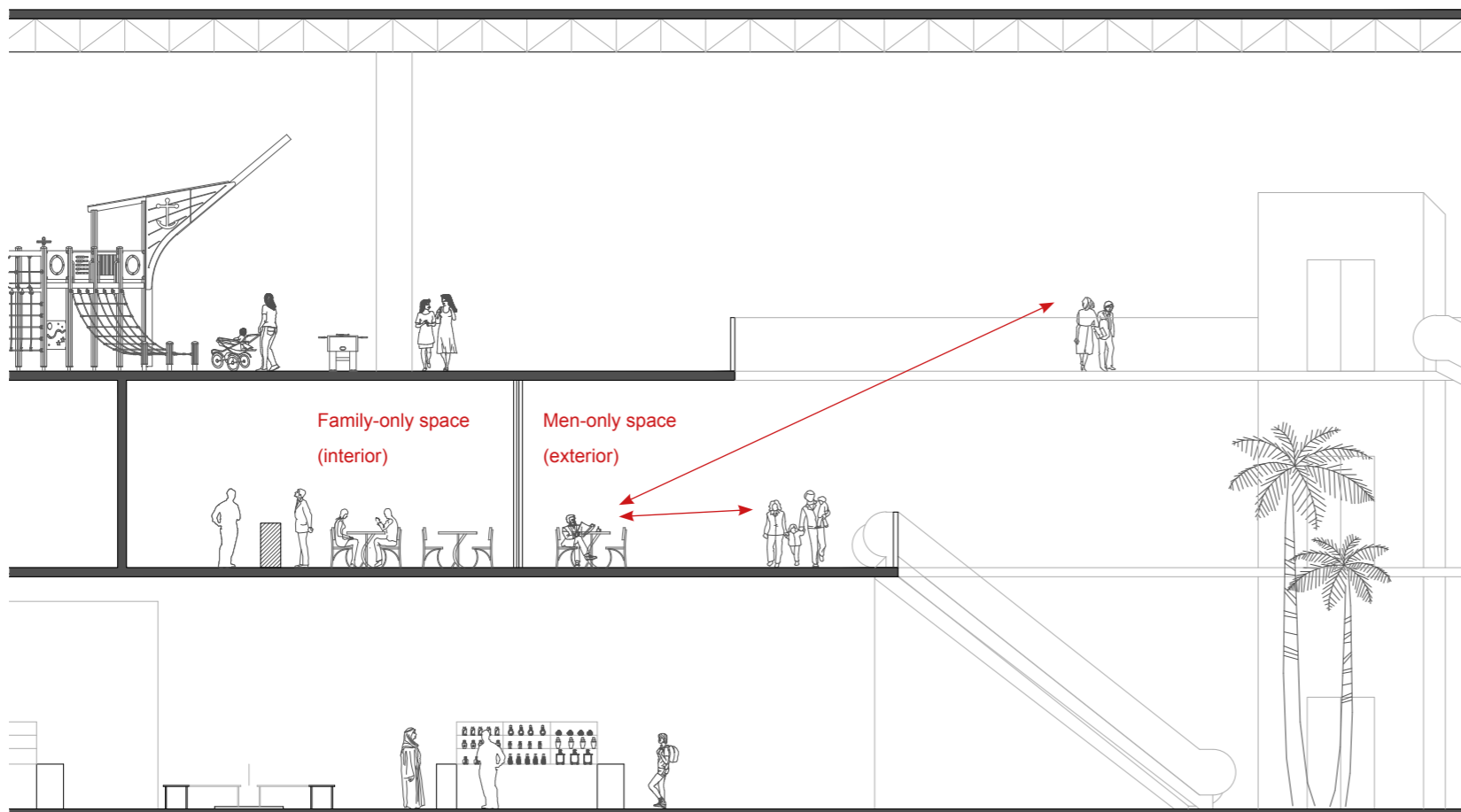


Figure 52: Section demonstrating how the male seating area is located in a space of increased visibility (source: Author).

of the structural limitations (i.e. socio-cultural requirements) imposed on customers. Nevertheless, this area is also strategically located in a space of increased visibility (fig. 52). By being located next to the atrium, the men’s area becomes highly visible from the first and second floors while the escalators facing it increase surrounding traffic, and as a result, multiply the effect of the disciplinary gaze.

Enforced control over single men

Male respondents in Al Othaim were highly aware of security measures and shared a common understanding of shopping malls being female and family-dominated places. Consequently, respondents tended to self-exclude from spaces with a high concentration of women, ensuring that spatial distances are respected within the mall. After observing that men tend to refrain from accessing family-only stores, one respondent was asked about the issue and confirmed that he prefers to wait outside the store. Aware of the imposed restrictions, male respondents demonstrated knowledge about the required and

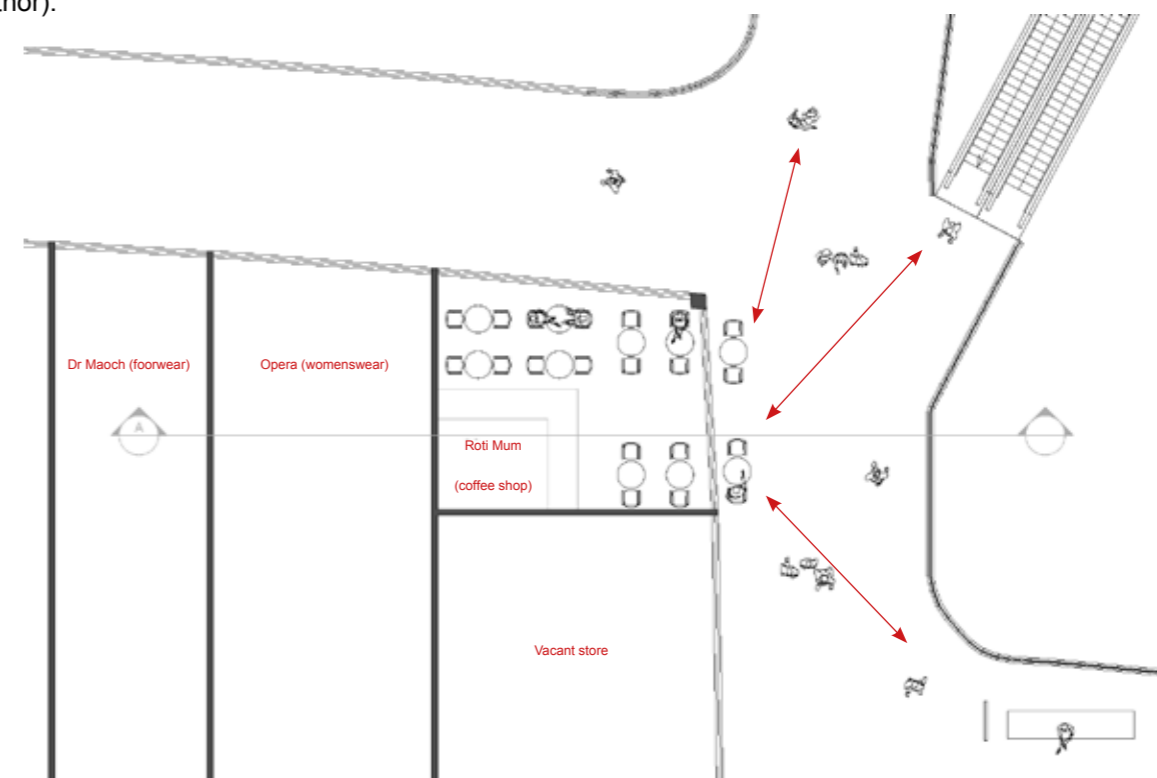
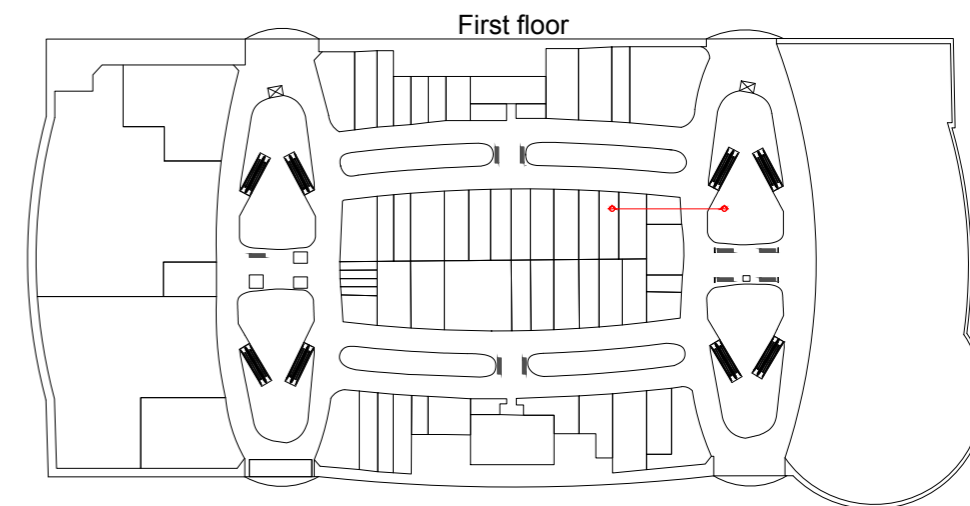


Figure 53: Plan demonstrating how the male seating area is located in a space of increased visibility (source: Author).

behaviours in the mall and explained that it is imperative for men to be respectful and courteous, and to respect public manners such as refraining from talking in a loud voice. From such descriptions, it is possible to conclude that respect of public manners translates into withdrawal and discreetness on the part of men in order to remain inconspicuous and to not disturb female shoppers who have expressed an apparent dislike for perceived overcrowding.

When retreating from family-dominated spaces, men are faced with the lack of seating options; the predominance of family-only stores and the small scale of the mall causes its space to be perceived as hostile and unwelcoming. When interviewed, all male respondents were located on benches or in the scarce male seating areas, waiting for their families to complete their shopping activities. Most respondents confirmed to prefer shopping outside of the mall and meeting with friends primarily in private spaces, such as houses and *istiraha*; outdoor coffee shops constituted a secondary alternative option. Interestingly, one respondent confirmed that he visits shopping malls for entertainment and meeting with friends. However, this activity was conducted in malls other than Al Othaim Mall — such as Al Nakheel Mall, Grenada Centre and Al Hamra Mall — that are located closer to his house and which, as he argued, offer better seating options to unaccompanied men (Al Othaim M01 2018, interview, 24 April). Yet, the respondent also acknowledged occasional difficulties when trying to locate adequate seating areas in such malls which might lead him to leave the space in favour of outdoor coffee shops. Evidently, respondents were *de facto* granted access to the mall as they were accompanying their families. However, it safe to assume that access restriction — coupled with the limited options offered to men — renders Al Othaim unattractive even for those men who express a preference for malls in general.

In contrast with the only respondent who expressed a preference for Al Nakheel's coffee shops, another respondent expressed critical views on Al Nakheel customers, claiming that flirting and vulgar behaviours in the mall render it inappropriate for families. He attributed the phenomena to the marked presence of youngsters in the mall — the absence of which

in Al Othaim was deemed a welcomed and reassuring aspect that rendered it comfortable and suitable for his family to visit without needing his direct and constant supervision.

R: ... To be honest, it's that new mall on Abu Bakr road, Al Nakheel mall — I think it's absolutely inappropriate, people are vulgar, they have no shame, and there are groups of young men, and groups of young women, I — you know what happens there.

I: —

R: I mean, how could a sane person take his family to such a place?

I: You mean because of flirting?

R: You know how it is, I don't want to go into details.

I: Ok — what about the choice of malls you visit, is it dictated by your family's wants and needs?

R: Look, honestly, all malls are alike, what we find here, we find there, but a mall like Al Nakheel, if I am forced to be there I would be with them, all the time from one store to the next.

I: Yes.

R: Here I think that, I mean — honestly, this mall makes me feel comfortable, I am at ease in here because you don't have any of these things.

I: So, you don't have to walk with her?

R: Yes, she can shop by herself, whenever she is done then she would find me here sitting comfortably on the chair, and then we would leave.

I: Aha.

R: But if, God forbid, circumstances force me to go to Al Nakheel, then I would be walking from one store to the next, I can't possibly let her be by herself, there are a lot of young men there, it's overcrowded — people, and — the mall is even very big and that's inconvenient.

I: Does it bother you when there's a lot of young men?

R: To be honest, one has to be fair, it's not just young men, but also young women, but it's generally young men that, make trouble — so here there aren't many young men, and so no trouble, and I really like malls that are this way.

I: Can you give some examples?

R: This one for sure, Al Othaim in Rabwa is also comfortable.

(Al Othaim M04 2018, interview, 26 May).

Unanimously, respondents expressed a preference for malls that are located closer to their houses. For those who visit Al Othaim more regularly, the close location of the mall is the main determining factor, due to the ease and comfort of shorter travel distances. Evidently, this bias is linked to their role as 'family men', and it can therefore be argued that the close location of the mall is favoured as it reduces the time spent fulfilling family duties.

Finally, walking for exercise was not observed in Al Othaim Mall. Certainly, its overall narrow corridors, the open layout of the upper floors — which further reduces the width of the corridors — along with the predominance of family-only stores, all reduce the possibility of conducting such an activity without intruding on shoppers. Subsequently, it is safe to assume that the smaller scale of Al Othaim, coupled with its lack of seating options, causes those who seek malls for exercise to relocate to larger spaces in which their presence can remain unnoticeable.

Practical shopping and failed entertainment in Al Othaim

In Al Othaim Mall, three female respondents expressed strong negative sentiments towards the mall and confirmed that 'necessity' was the main reason for their visit.

Claiming that visits to shopping malls are usually for self-entertainment (i.e. visiting coffee shops alone or with friends) and shopping, they expressed strong positive sentiments towards malls located in northern Riyadh. For these respondents, the malls that deserved their praise have qualities such as spaciousness, store variety and comprehensiveness

(i.e. the multiplicity of shopping options and the availability of entertainment choices that cater for the needs and desires of all members of the family). To elaborate, these respondents valued features that improved the entertainment experience in the mall, such as theming and the quality of coffee shop offerings. However, it is important to note that female respondents were unable to give specific accounts of the spatial qualities that they find attractive in shopping malls. For example, one respondent provided the following answers when asked about the spatial qualities of her favourite mall:

I: About the mall you have visited, which do you think is the best?

R: Al Nakheel.

I: Why?

R: I don't know, it's nice [laughs].

I: Is there something you feel is special about it that is not found in other malls?

R: [long pause] Its design is different from other malls.

I: Different?

R: Yes, the interior design is nicer.

I: Aha, and what is the worst mall in your opinion?

R: The one we are in [laughs].

I: [laugh] Al Othaim?

R: Yes, I don't like it.

I: Why don't you like it?

R: I don't know, just like that — I don't like it — no reason I just don't.

...

I: I would like to ask you about Al Nakheel, what attracts your attention in terms of its design?

R: The height of the shops is very nice. Of course, the organisation and the tidiness are very nice in terms of design and how it looks.

(Al Othaim F03 2018, interview, 23 May).

Of equal importance is the availability of international and recognisable brands and their variety — an essential factor for female shoppers, as it results in more exciting shopping and window-shopping experiences. In contrast, Al Othaim Mall suffers from a high vacancy rate and a perceived lack of desired brands and up-to-date merchandise, which might be perceived as a negative aspect that disincentivises potential customers from visiting the mall.

R: No, just if you notice the merchandise here is different than the one there. The merchandise in Al Hamra and Al Nakheel is always new compared to the one found in Khurais and Al Othaim.

I: Do you mean that the malls here have better products?

R: Yes.

I: Is there a mall that you find to be the worst?

R: The worst mall? This one [laughs]

I: Why?

R: Bad — I mean it's really — I don't come here at all but I'm here just to buy something specific.

I: So, you are here —

R: — Yes, a specific product. I'm here because I bought a specific product.

I: You don't come here to spend time and things like that?

R: No, no.

(Al Othaim F02 2018, interview, 28 April).

Moreover, the relatively smaller scale of Al Othaim — both in terms of overall size and interior proportions, in comparison with its competition — undermines the experiences of customers who expect more than mere practical shopping in Riyadh's shopping malls, and causes them to perceive Al Othaim as unfit for entertainment purposes. Another respondent, who limits her activities in the mall to shopping, expressed equally negative sentiments towards Al Othaim due to its relatively small size when comparing it to another

mall that she described as spacious. The only mother interviewed in Al Othaim echoed the responses of mothers in Al Nakheel. She confirmed that malls are 'adequate' as they allow her to complete her shopping activities while simultaneously caring for her children and accompanying them to the entertainment park. It is for this reason that she complimented another shopping mall in northern Riyadh for its comprehensiveness and spaciousness.

I: Which mall do you prefer to visit?

R: Hayat Mall, it's the one I prefer the most.

I: Why?

R: Because it has everything.

I: What do you mean by everything?

R: Restaurants — [long pause], it has a lot of things — the stores — then I just prefer Hayat Mall, its comfortable.

I: What makes it comfortable?

R: It's spacious and comfortable — I like to go there. And I always find all that I'm looking for.

(Al Othaim F04 2018, interview, 23 May).

As evident, spaciousness — which can be defined as sizeable interior proportions and overall mall dimensions — appears as a common positive feature in shopping malls valued by female respondents, as it mediates perceived overcrowding and is usually linked with the mall's ability to provide variety and options for both shopping and non-shopping activities.

Arguably, perceived overcrowding — caused by the small scale of the mall — is further accentuated by the numerous and large atriums that visually and auditorily connect all floors. Consequently, the sounds of machinery and children playing in the theme park resonate on all floors and compound the effects of perceived overcrowding (fig. 54). Likewise, the atriums create a porous vertical space that puts the theme park — located

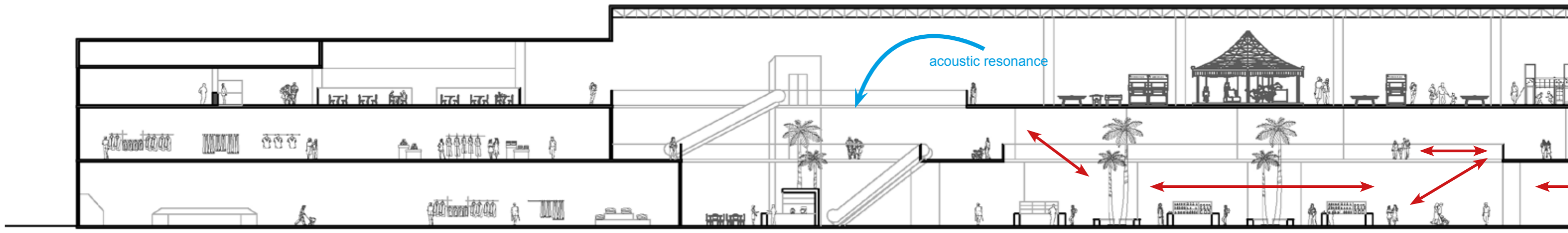
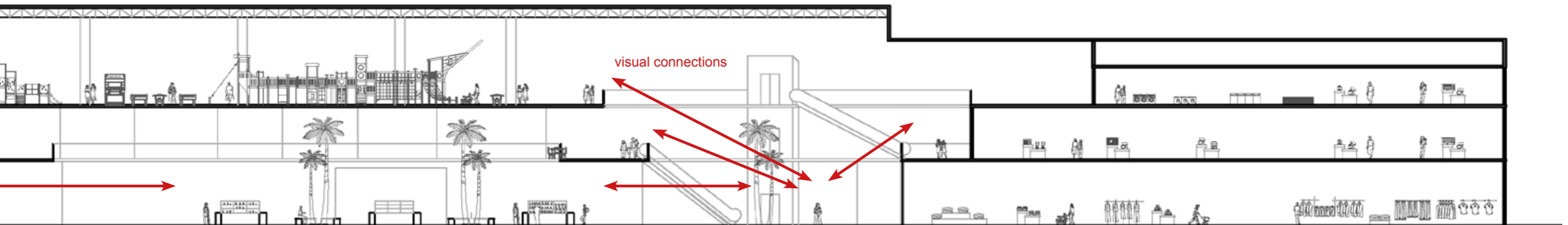


Figure 54: Longitudinal section of Al Othaim Mall. The effects of overcrowding are amplified due to the increased visibility and acoustic resonance caused by large atriums (source: Author).



at the top floor — within all surrounding shopping activities. As a result, the visual and auditory stimulation created by the theme park overwhelms the shopping experience in all of the adjacent spaces. This aspect is further accentuated by a mixture of white LED fixtures from the first two floors and the yellow fluorescent fixtures of the theme park which work to the detriment of the visual order of the mall (fig. 55). Moreover, the lack of theming and small-scale architectural features creates open floor layouts which increase the field of vision and accentuate the effects of perceived overcrowding. As observed in Al Nakheel Mall, the large scale of the corridors and the installation of spatial demarcations disguised as theming features both cause space to be divided into smaller visual segments. Consequently, the effects of perceived overcrowding are eased, and respondents express a preference for spending time in the mall. Contrastingly, the small scale of the corridors and circulation spaces, coupled with large atriums and the lack of theming features create a space that is visually non-divisible. Subsequently, space is devoid of visual stimuli, but the presence of other individuals causes visitors to perceive the mall as overly-crowded.

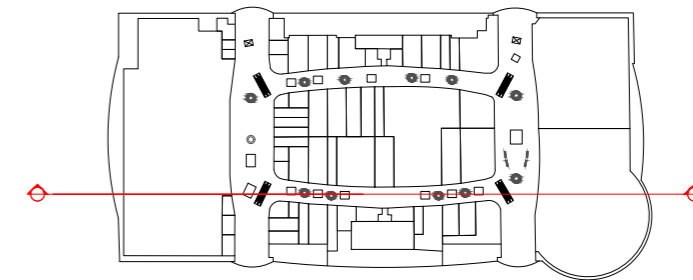


Figure 55: The mixture of lighting effects is accentuated by the design of large atriums (source: Author).

Tensions between spatial proximity, normalising judgement and the need for privacy in public space

As mentioned earlier, female respondents in Al Othaim did not feel that they are subject to any particular form of surveillance. Only one respondent claimed that she could be the subject of other people's gazes unless she is careful about her behaviour in public. It is for this reason, as she explained, that she feels uncomfortable in the mall and prefers to spend more time in women-only coffee shops.

Nevertheless, respondents mostly expressed a strong preference for coffee shops and restaurants outside of shopping malls and women-only coffee shops when meeting with friends. To clarify their views, respondents claimed that in such private spaces, it is possible for them to uncover their faces and be 'comfortable'. In other words, preference for such spaces is caused by the alleviation of social restrictions imposed on outer appearances and behaviours.

R: I like things for example that are private — like Hawwa's coffee shop, these kinds of things.

I: Aha. Women-only coffee shops?

R: Yes.

I: Do you prefer women-only coffee shops?

R: Yes.

I: Why do you prefer them?

R: I can get more comfortable.

I: How do you get comfortable? Can you explain this to me?

R: What I mean is I can uncover my face, take photos, and things like that.

I: Aha. I see.

R: If you do these things then they'd directly— I mean— I don't know how—

I: You mean if you do these things in other coffee shops here like the one downstairs?

R: Yes.

I: What do you mean if you do these things?

R: I mean that you have to be careful.

I: Do you mean careful about what you do?

R: Yes.

I: Do you feel that you are under surveillance?

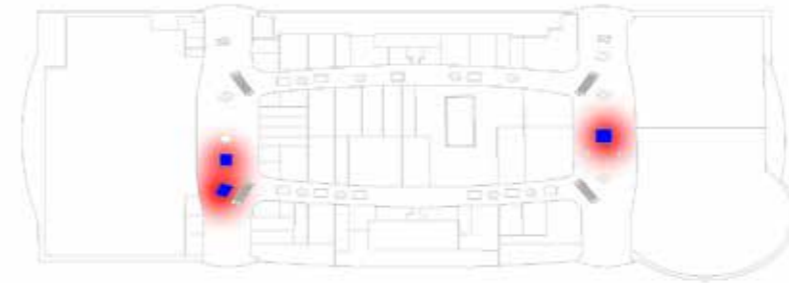
R: Yes, something like that, so I can't get comfortable. It's uncomfortable.

(Al Othaim F05 2018, interview, 25 May).

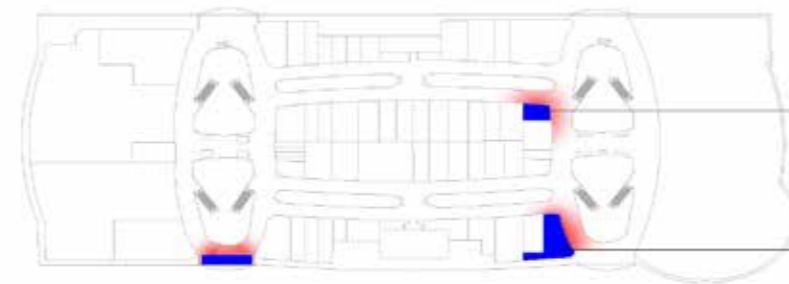
Accordingly, respondents explained that they default to practical black and plain abayas — which they described as a 'normal' abaya — when visiting the mall. Only two respondents confirmed that they might wear coloured abayas or abayas with particular designs; however, these choices were limited to when they meet with friends in more private spaces such as women-only coffee shops. Likewise, respondents explained that they do not notice conspicuous behaviours or appearances in Al Othaim and described its female customers as 'normal' and wearing modest and regular abayas. Contrastingly, some respondents expressed a strong opinion regarding Al Nakheel customers — in particular describing them as 'open-minded'. This judgement was based on outer appearances. Notably, respondents described women wearing coloured and designed abayas as well as full makeup. Likewise, women in Al Nakheel were criticised for uncovering their faces (*mohajabat*) and hair (*non-mohajabat*). Based on these accounts, it is possible to argue that the common position shared by Al Othaim customers aligns with its prevailing norm.

Contrasting with the men's situation — being subject to disciplinary power exercised by security agents — disciplinary power for women is exercised by the dominant group in the mall. To elaborate, non-conforming behaviours and outer appearances were not welcomed by female customers as they are considered as signs of immorality. Women that infringe

Ground Floor



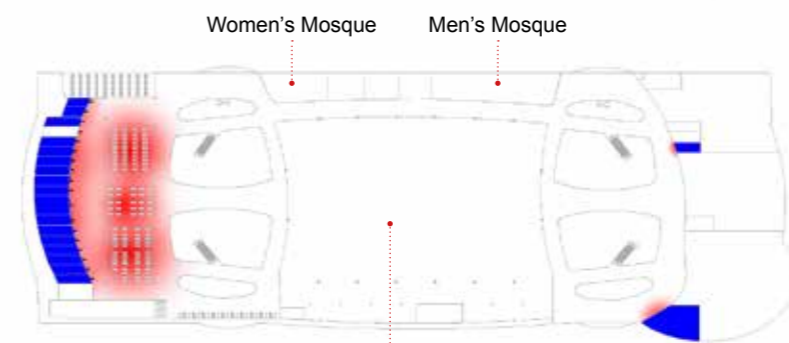
First Floor



Increased activity

Delayed prayer closure

Second Floor



Women's Mosque

Men's Mosque

Theme Park

Figure 56: Mechanisms of temporal control over activity (source: Author).

upon the established order by way of appearances that challenge the conventional black and plain — and therefore considered ‘modest’ — abaya, or by displaying behaviours deemed disrespectful of sensible public manners — such as ‘raising one’s voice’ — risk being the subject of exclusionary and disciplinary counter-forces exercised by other women in the mall. Therefore, while security measures are in place to control the access and activity of unaccompanied men, women in Al Othaim are subject to the discreet and constant gaze of the disciplines that operate at the micro-level — a gaze which is simultaneously exercised by, and applied on, all female customers.

The primacy of the nuclear family

Al Othaim Mall proved to be a family-oriented space. While shopping remains the primary activity for female respondents, the high vacancy rate and lack of desired brands and up-to-date merchandise causes female shoppers to limit their visits to Al Othaim for practical reasons. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the mall serves mostly a local population that chooses the mall for its location as well as its hypermarket anchor store for everyday shopping activities. On the other hand, leisure shopping and entertainment activities take place in malls located in the northern parts of the city.

Al Othaim Mall is a family space, as it provides mothers with the possibility of conducting shopping while caring for their children, and men are mostly welcome as long as they are fulfilling their family duties. The large scale of the theme park (8,402m² out of 29,536m² for the entire floor) and the spaces provided for families only attest to the dominance of the nuclear family in Al Othaim. This dominance is further confirmed by the minimal space provided to single men and the availability of a women-only coffee shop, as well as the lack of access control measures for women customers.

Concluding thoughts

Similar to observations made in Al Nakheel Mall, all the evidence in Al Othaim Mall attests to the dominance of the religious apparatus and the privileged position given to the nuclear

family. This hierarchical domination is spatially symbolised by the location of the mosque and the theme parks on the mall’s third floor.

In Al Othaim, the dominance of the religious apparatus is partly subsumed by the mall’s predisposition to utilise all possible strategies to maximise profitability. Coffee shops and restaurants delay closures imposed during prayer times for an extra ten minutes, allowing customers to place final orders before ceasing all service (fig. 56). During these closures, customers who were able to gain access during the delayed closure window are allowed to remain seated behind closed blinds while the services are interrupted. Therefore, customers who do not participate in prayers are enticed to consume in coffee shops while waiting for shops to reopen.

However, the deployment of disciplinary mechanisms is not fully disguised in Al Othaim. The lack of formal access checkpoints and spatial demarcation disguised as theming features causes segregations to appear as they are. Likewise, less effort is put into the theming of the mall during the month of Ramadan, when compared to Al Nakheel Mall.

Based on respondents’ criticism of competing malls’ populations, that they negatively described as ‘open-minded’, it is possible to argue that Al Othaim customers perceive themselves as agreeing with the dominant religious teachings. This aspect of Al Othaim Mall — coupled with the lack of effort made to disguise control mechanisms — further attests to the assumed predominance of the religious apparatus.

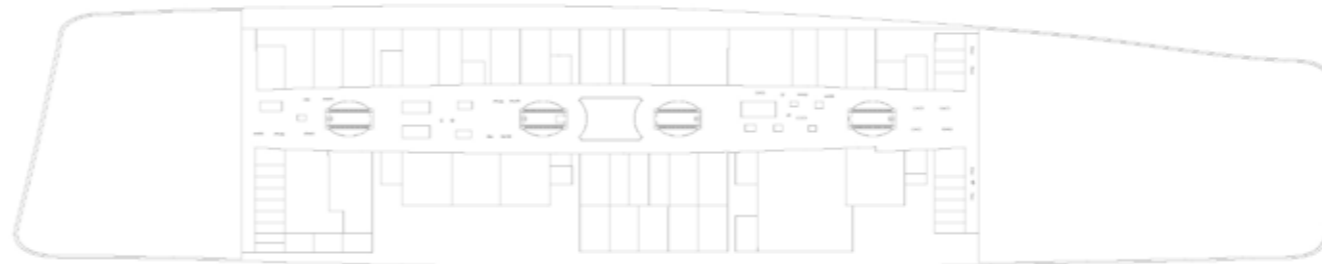
Overall, Al Othaim mainly serves its immediate local population and struggles to compete at the city level due to its lack of shopping and entertainment features. The mall’s slogan ‘*Al Othaim Mall, deserves the journey*’ is suggestive of the administration’s desire to attract destination shoppers. Yet, it is equally indicative of its disadvantageous location, which further detracts from the mall’s symbolic as well as economic value.

Ground Floor

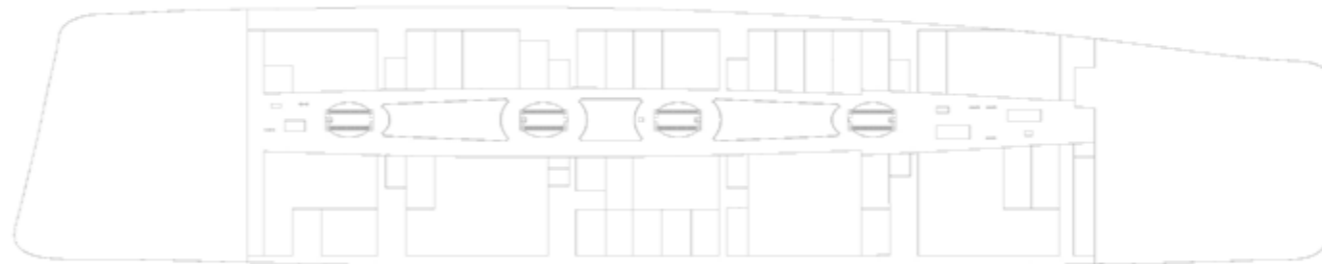


Figure 57: Floor plans of Al Qasr mall (source: Author).

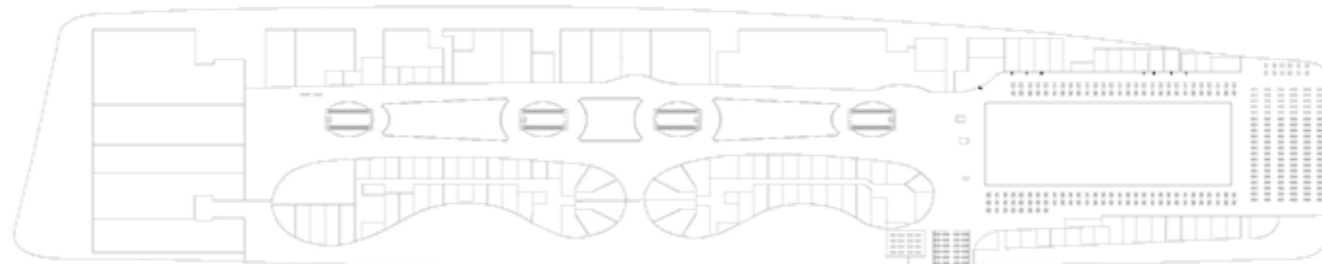
First Floor



Second Floor



Third Floor



1:2500
40m 0 40m



Case Study III
Al Qasr Mall





Figure 58: Al Qasr Mall is an elevated freeform curvilinear rectangle that is primarily served by car traffic at the neighbourhood level. (source: Author).



Figure 59: Al Qasr Mall as it appears from King Fahad Road; direction towards S. (source: Author).



Figure 60: The elevated structure of Al Qasr Mall stands out due to its scale and detachment from its surroundings. (source: Author).

The urban context

Al Qasr Mall was selected because it is part of a larger urban scheme. It is a free-standing mall that is urbanistically part of Parisiana Living, a housing project developed by Dar Al Arkan; the mall was designed to be the commercial heart of the development. Its location, in the southern part of the city, constitutes another criterion for its selection. As observed during the pilot study, the mall fails to attract customers other than the immediate local population, which visits the mall for shopping purposes due to convenience. Theming is also attempted in Al Qasr Mall; however, the mall fails to deliver as it arguably exceeds the potential of its geographical location. Thus, Al Qasr Mall was selected on the assumption that it has decreasing economic and symbolic value. It was also selected based on the assumption that its customers hold more conservative social values as opposed to malls located in the northern parts of the city.

Al Qasr Mall is situated in Ad Duraihimiyah district on As Suwaidi Al Am Road, which branches out from the major King Fahad Road (fig. 58, 61). Although closely located to the primary NW-SE commercial axis, the mall is withdrawn from the fast traffic of King Fahad Road. It is primarily served by car traffic at the neighbourhood level (fig. 58).

Consequently, the mall is located on a somewhat localised urban plot that is part of the larger Parisiana Riyadh project developed by Dar Al Arkan (fig. 65). The Parisiana Riyadh project includes villas and apartment complexes, as well as a gated community that was planned to be served by the nearby mall. However, the anticipated middle-class clientele that was targeted by the development did not invest in the project as expected, and the envisaged revivification of the entire neighbourhood has hardly materialised. The neighbouring projects can be described for the most part as deserted, with only a few buildings being partly sold to new owners. At the same time, outdoor spaces are deteriorating and remain in complete desolation (fig. 66, 67). Beyond Parisiana Riyadh, the immediate neighbourhoods house a working-class population that is unable to invest in such a development (fig. 68, 69); seeking to avoid being in the proximity of such

neighbourhoods, the targeted middle class is further disinclined from investing in the project.

As would be expected from shopping mall developments, the architecture of Al Qasr Mall stands out because of its scale and detachment from neighbouring structures. The geometry of the mall can be described as a freeform curvilinear rectangle marked by the linearity of the external seamless envelope (fig. 60). The envelope comprises blue and grey aluminium panels; meanwhile, LED fixtures — which can be programmed to change the colour and visual feel of the mall as desired — are placed along the entire envelope.

Although planned as part of an urban community, access to the mall has been designed with car traffic in mind (fig. 70). The structure of the mall is elevated to liberate space for the car park. Thus, access to the interior of the mall is organised in the centre of the car park, eliminating the possibility of direct pedestrian access. Such a spatial organisation leaves pedestrians with the only possibility of crossing the car park before arriving at the mall's gates. It would have been possible to create a direct pedestrian connection with the gated community located south of the mall. However, the mall remains mainly accessible by car, as is the case with most of the city's shopping malls.

The linearity of the envelope parallels the adjacent As Suwaidi Al Am Road. However, the mall remains outside the visual reach of King Fahad Road's traffic due to its removed location on a local road with less car traffic (fig. 59). Consequently, Al Qasr is forced to assume an ambiguous position; because the community of Parisiana Riyadh did not materialise, Al Qasr Mall is compelled to serve the existing local population that does not necessarily possess the capital to excessively consume in its space.

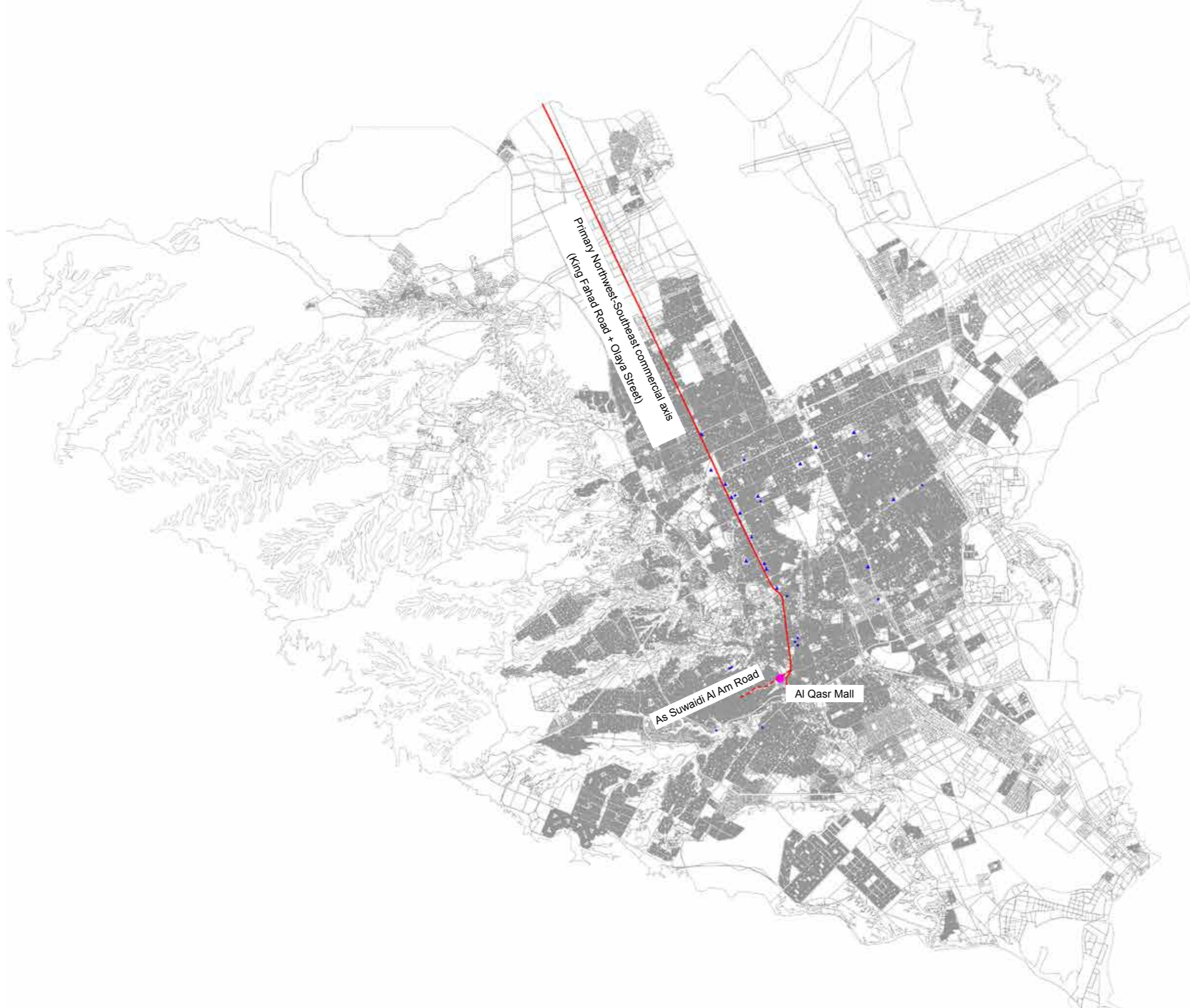


Figure 61: Al Othaim Mall benefits from being located on Khurais Road — an important commercial axis that links the mall with the primary NW-SE commercial axis (source: Author).



Figure 62: Al Qasr Mall as it appears from Sultanah Road; direction towards S. (source: Author).

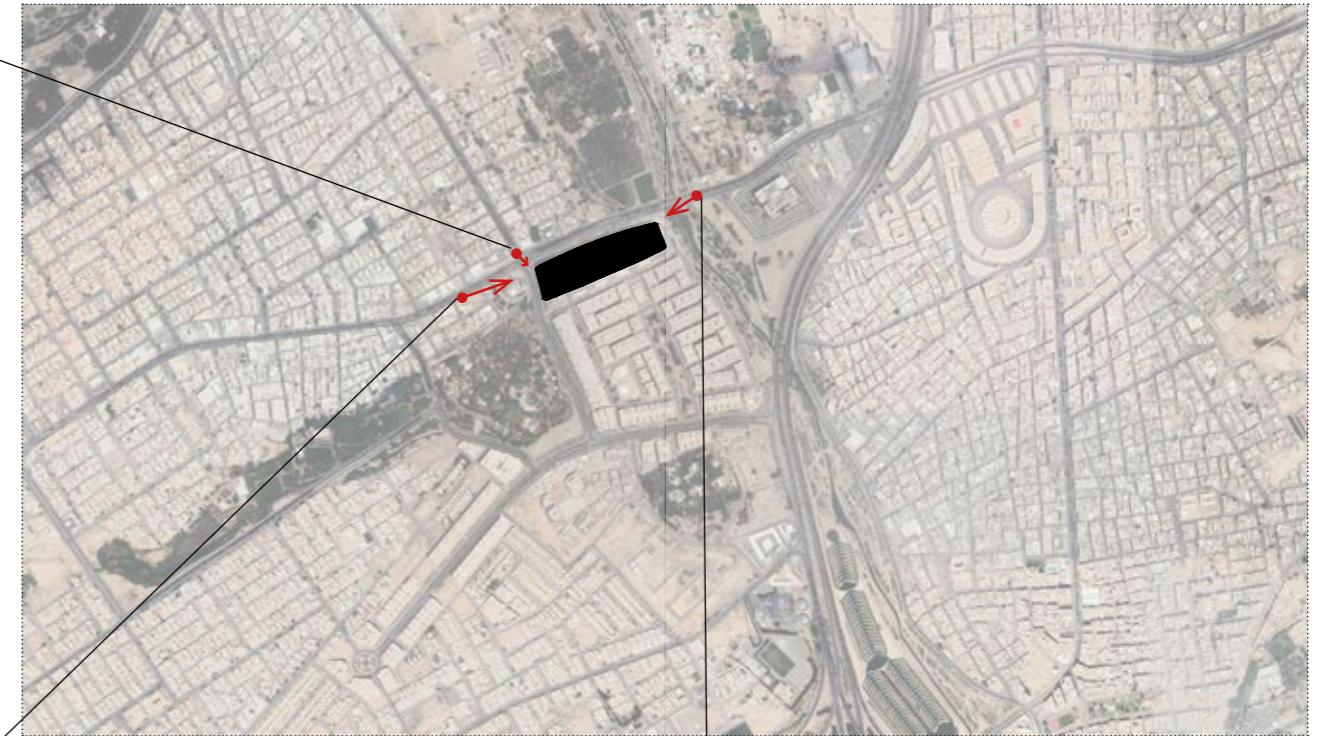
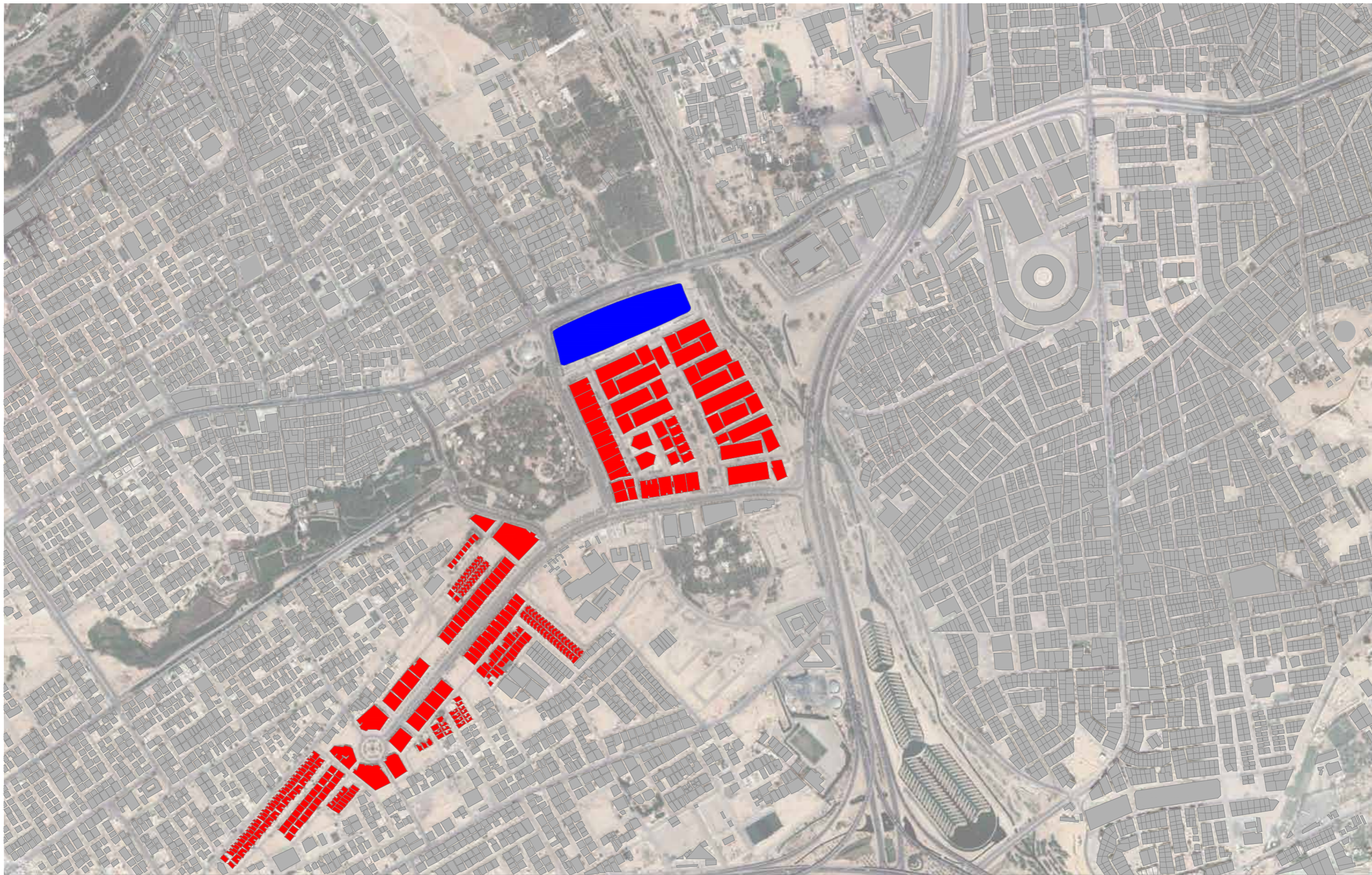


Figure 63: Al Qasr Mall as it appears from As Suwaidi Al Am Road; direction towards E. (source: Author).



Figure 64: Al Qasr Mall as it appears from As Suwaidi Al Am Road; direction towards W. (source: Author)



- Al Qasr Mall
- Parisiana Riyadh

1:10000
100m 0 100m 200m 300m 400m 500m

Figure 65: Figure-ground diagram of the Parisiana Riyadh project and Al Qasr Mall (source: Author).



Figure 66: Vacant Parisiana residential complex (source: Author).



Figure 67.a: Vacant Parisiana South flats units (source: Author).



Figure 67.b: Vacant Parisiana Living villa units (source: Author).



Figure 68.a: Streets of Sultanah neighbourhood (source: Author).



Figure 68.b: Streets of Sultanah neighbourhood (source: Author).



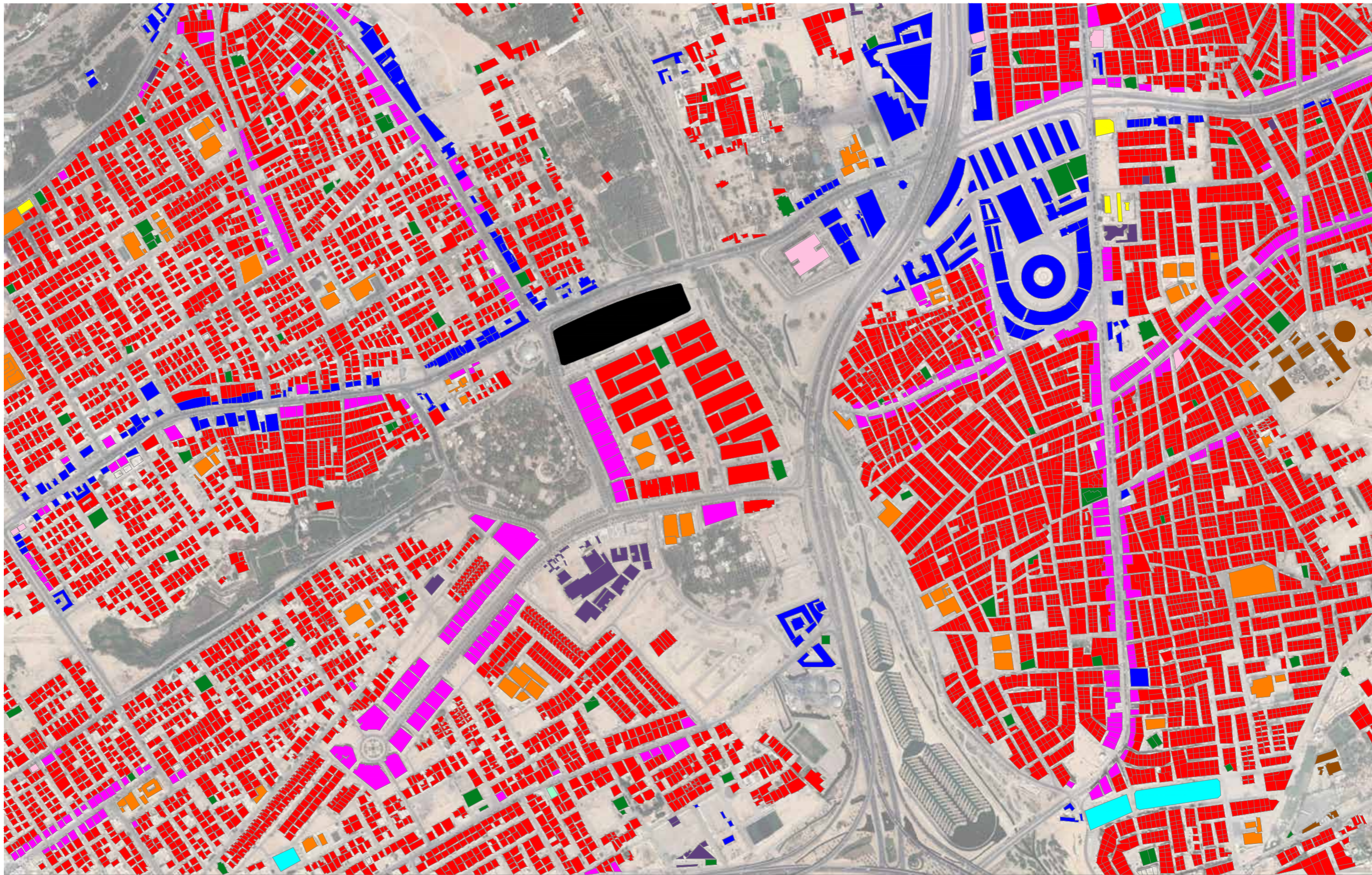
Figure 69.a: Streets of Atiqah neighbourhood (source: Author).



Figure 69.b: Streets of Atiqah neighbourhood (source: Author).



Figure 70: Distribution of car accesses in Al Qasr Mall (source: Author).



- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------|
| Al Qasr Mall | Residential | Mosque | Offices | Administrative |
| Commercial | School | Hotel/Service apartments | Industrial | |
| Mixed-use | Public Park/Facility | Hospital | | |

Figure 71: Figure-ground diagram of Al Qasr Mall and its surroundings (source: Author).

Unbalanced deployment of controlled access mechanisms

Al Qasr Mall is marked by six symmetrically-distributed gates that are located on the longer sides of its rectangular ground floor plan. The entrances of Al Qasr Mall are gender-neutral and only have one checkpoint for female customers managed by female security agents, at which manual bag searches are performed (fig. 72). It is important to note that the flexible position of this checkpoint, and the fact that it borrows a chair and table from the food court, strongly suggest that it is an ad hoc solution rather than an integral part of the mall's design — a dynamic that is replicated in the organisation of seating areas in the mall's coffee shops. Men, on the other hand, are subject to the direct control of male agents located outside of the mall's gates, who only intervene when they deem necessary (fig. 73). Similar to the application of power in Al Othaim Mall, the application of power on male customers is abrupt and overt. It is safe to assume that the application of power in Al Qasr is characterised by the arbitrariness of security agents' interventions, as unaccompanied men were observed being denied access on some occasions and granted access on others.

As already argued, the lack of formal checkpoints has the double effect of concentrating power on male customers and making it possible to liberate female customers from its perceived effects. However, the lack of formal checkpoints for male customers in Al Qasr Mall is coupled with the presence of formal checkpoints for female customers — which has the consequence of reintroducing the effects of disciplinary power and makes it possible for agents to oversee access for all customers.

Subsequently, the effectiveness of disciplinary power in Al Qasr Mall is revealed by the dual situation in which it operates: when applied to male customers, disciplinary power is compromised, as it cannot operate discreetly and continuously. On the other hand, it is made to operate discreetly and continuously on female customers. Therefore, it is possible to argue that control over access in Al Qasr is intentionally rendered visible to

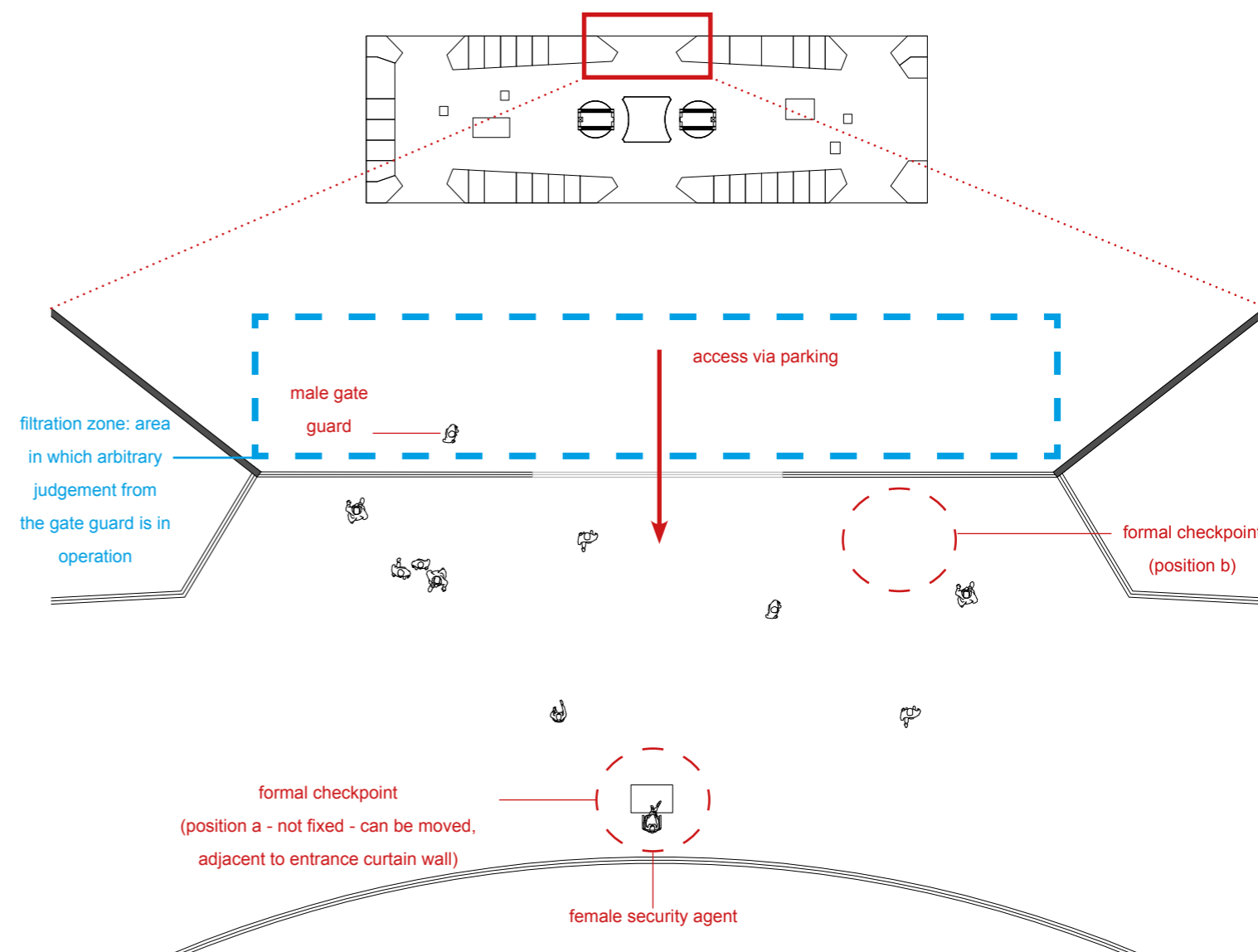
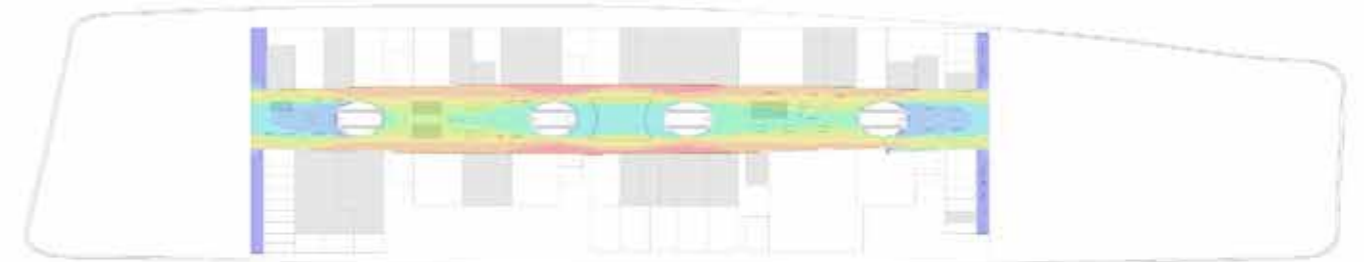
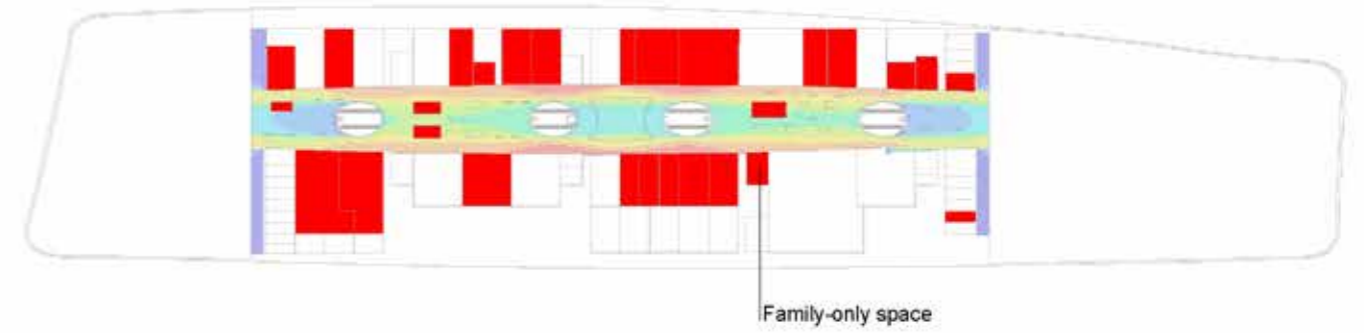
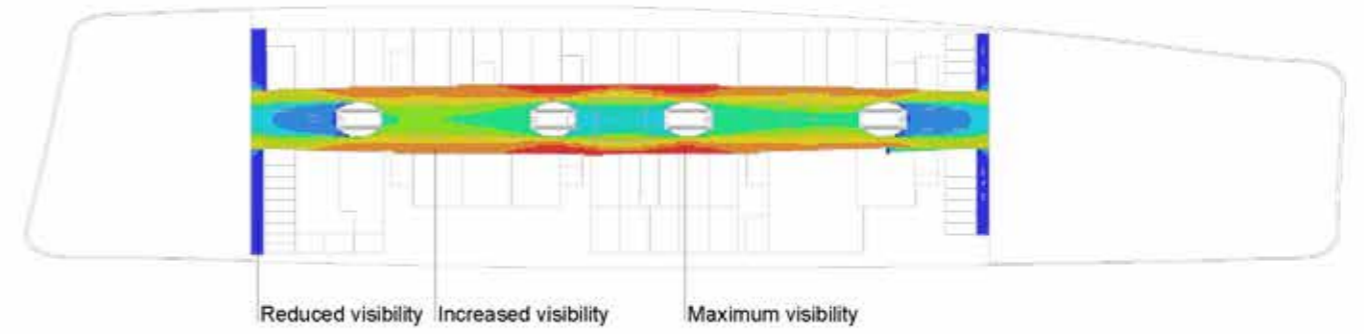
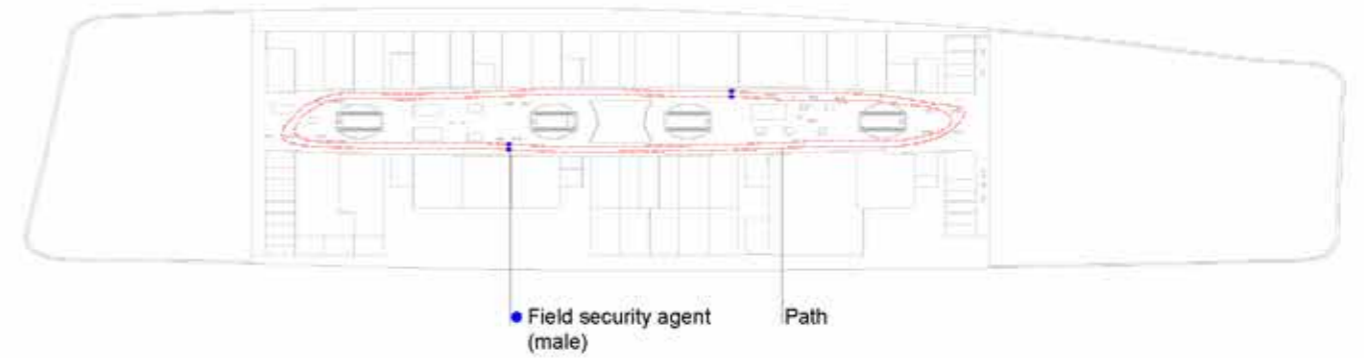
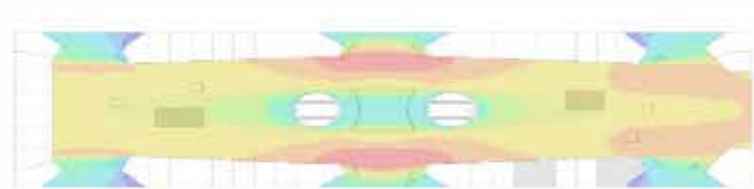
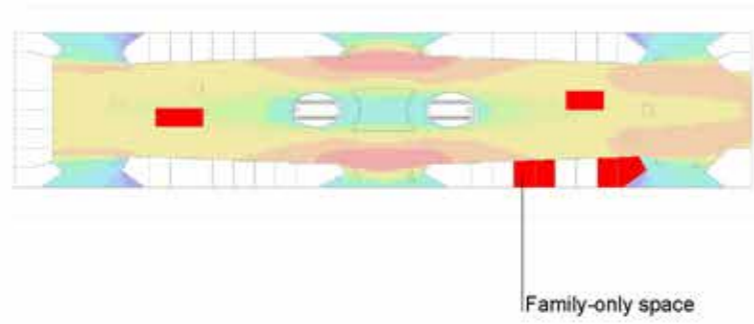
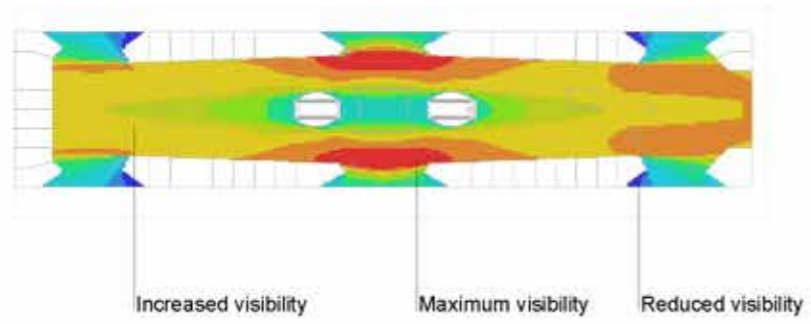
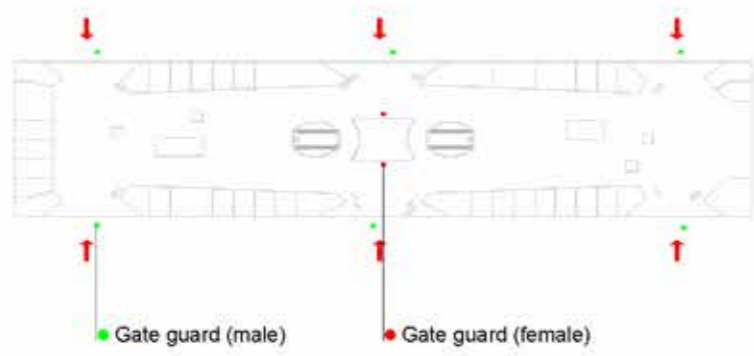


Figure 72: Spatial distribution of access security agents and checkpoints in Al Qasr Mall's entrances (source: Author).

all customers. Yet, its effects are partially eased for female customers, as access was observed to be granted unreservedly. It is important to note that the manual bag searches performed on female customers do not have any significant effect on control over access. Arguably, these measures are merely in place to convey a message of safety and security to incoming customers.



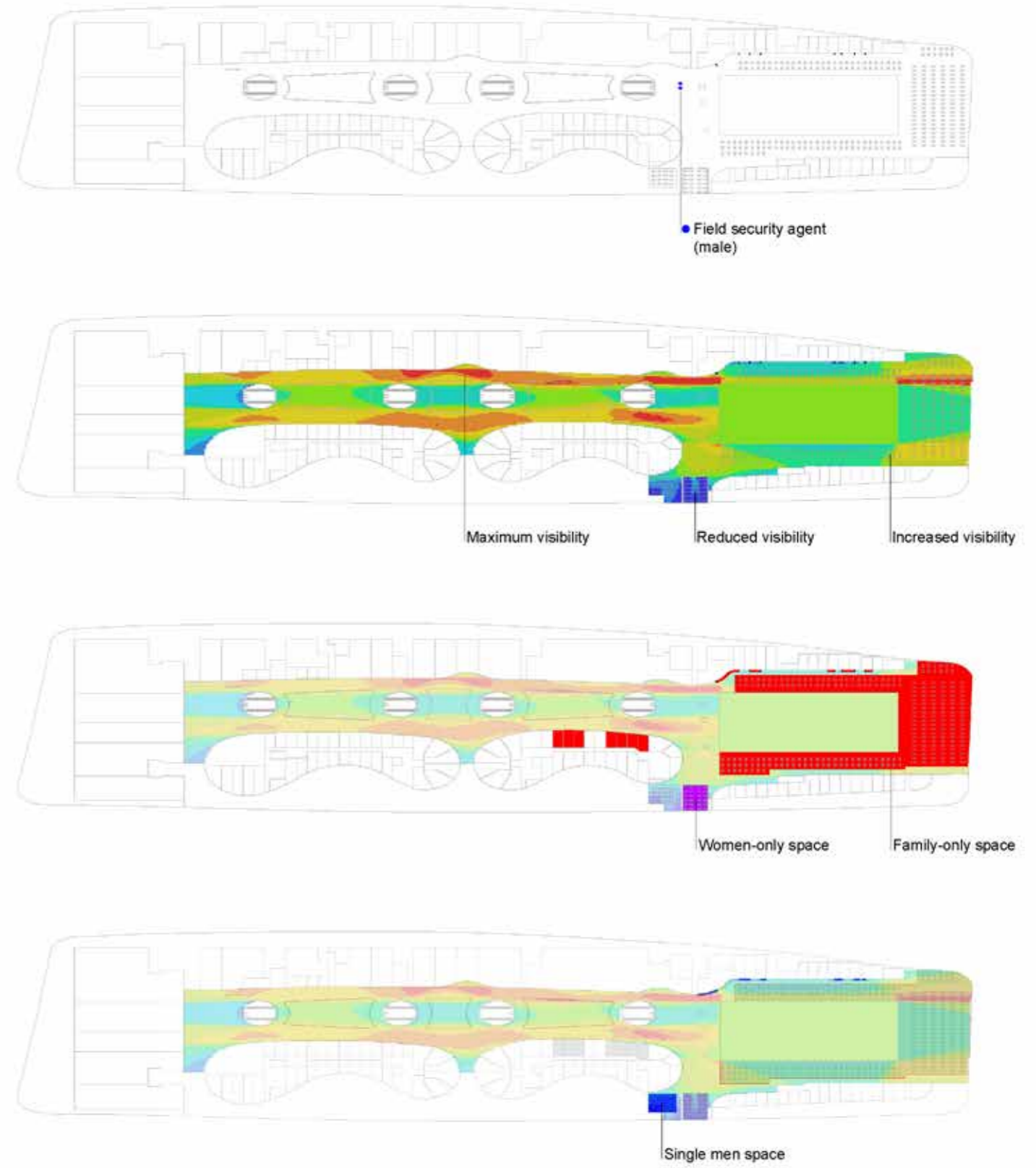
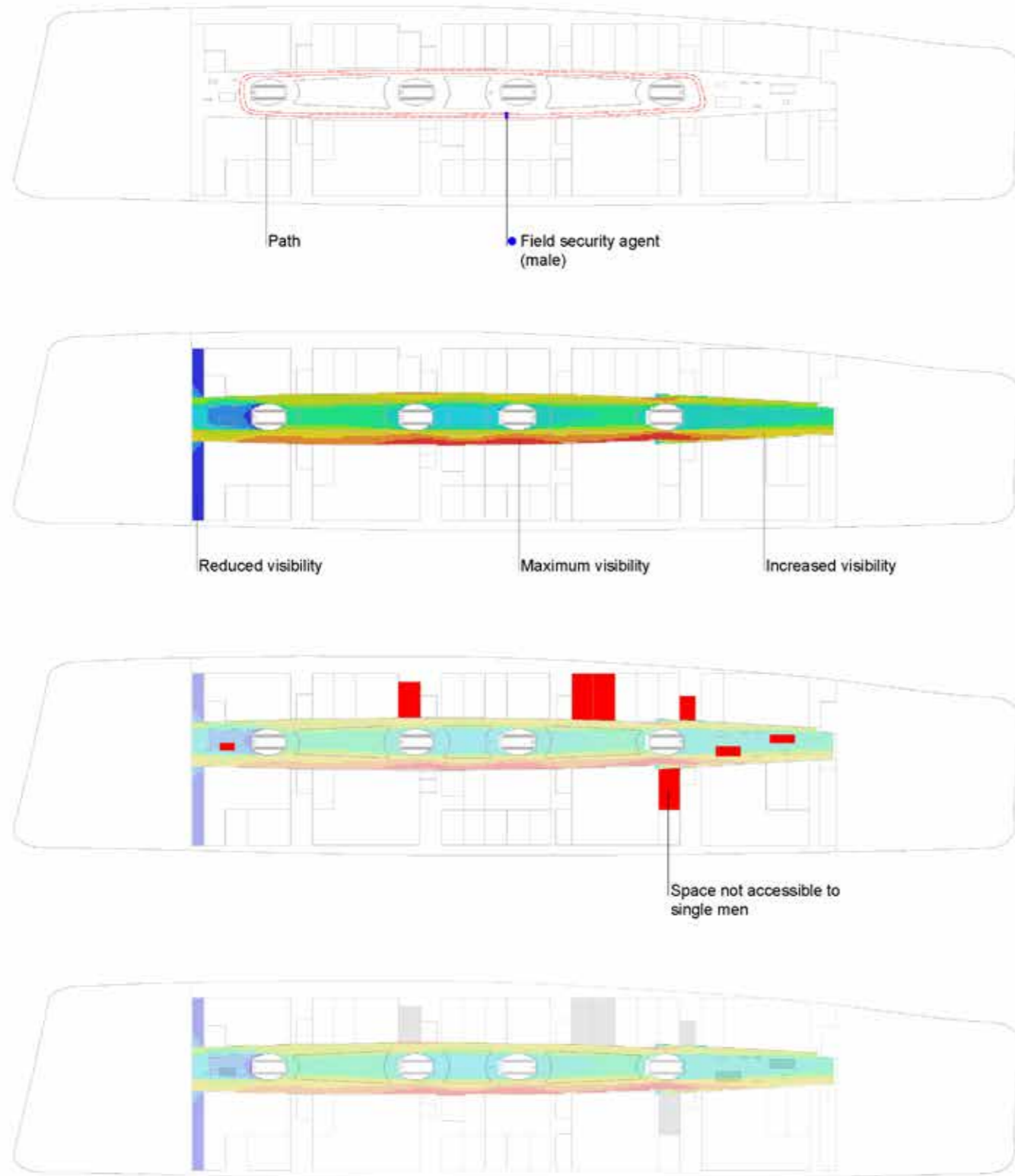


Figure 73: Analysis of spatial visibility and complementary non-spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).



Family area

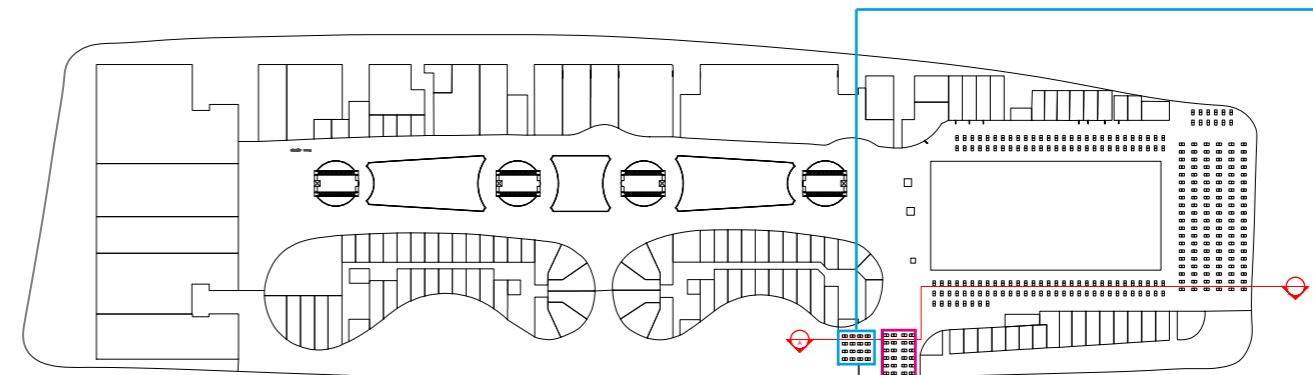


Figure 76: Women-only enclosed seating area (source: Author).

Figure 74: Section demonstrating the distribution of food court seating areas (source: Author).

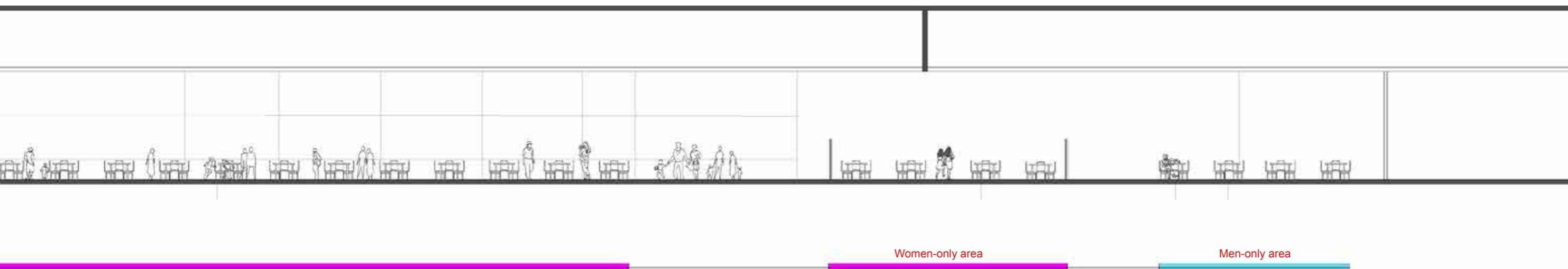


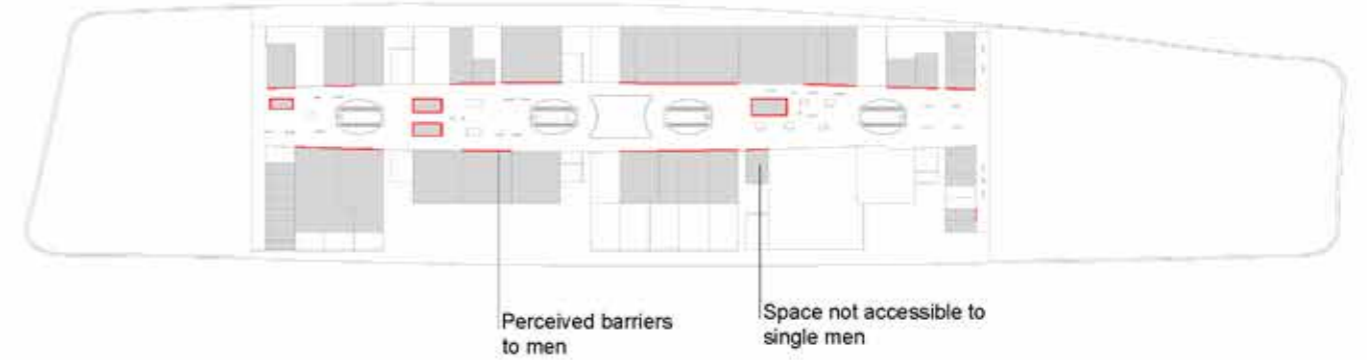
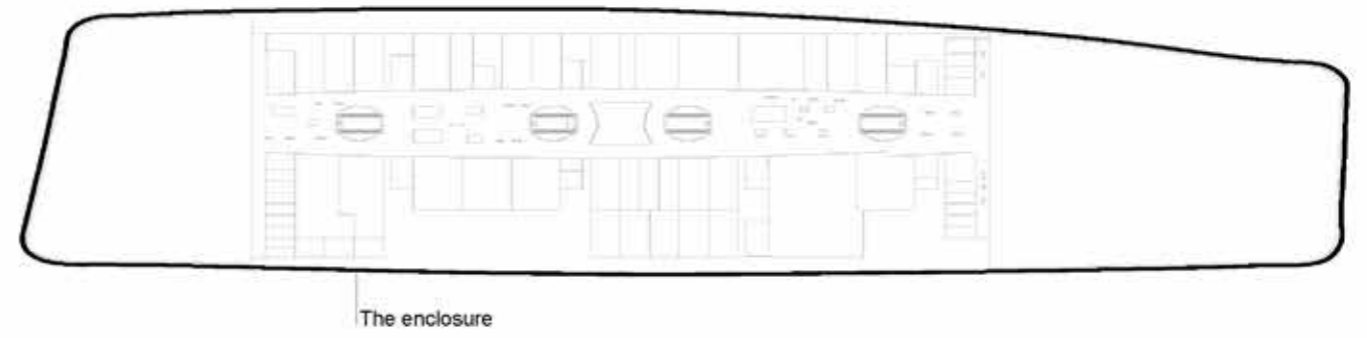
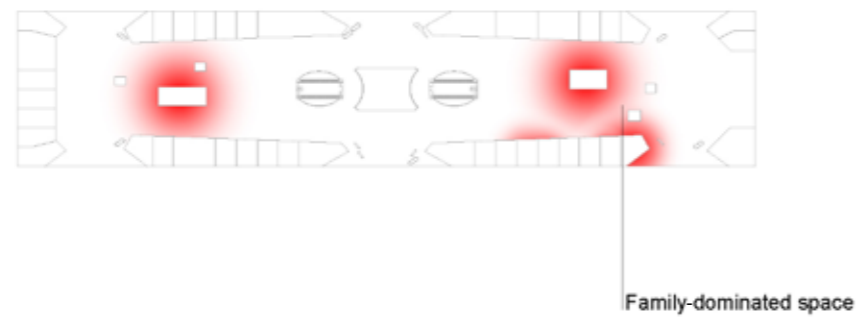
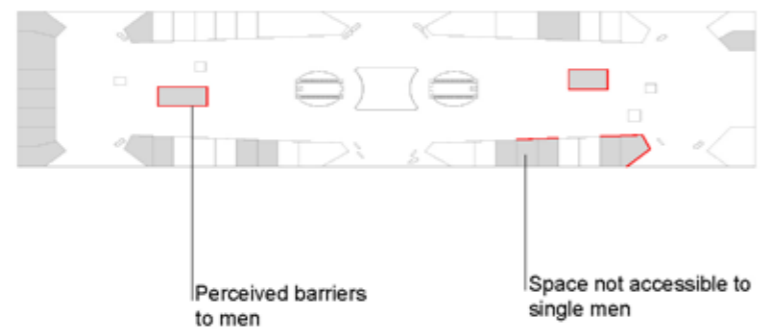
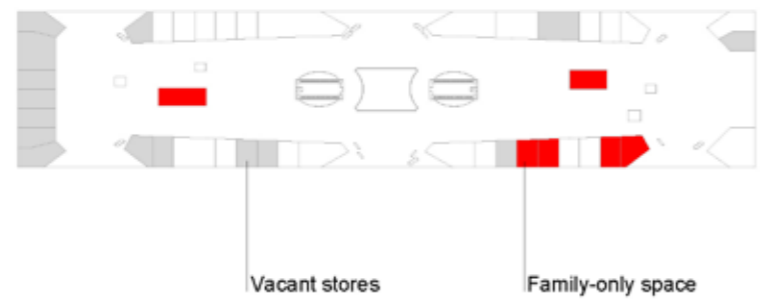
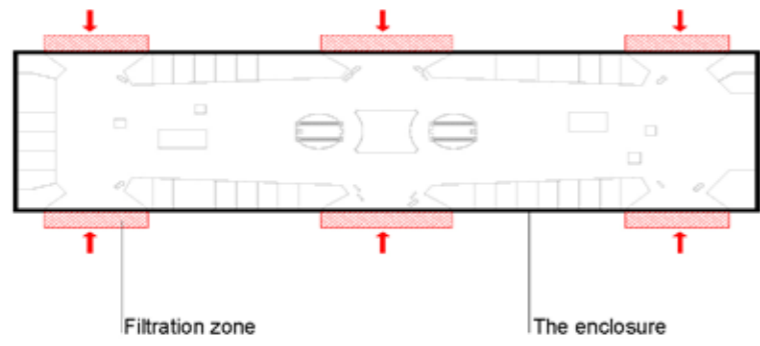
Figure 75: Men-only seating area sign (source: Author).

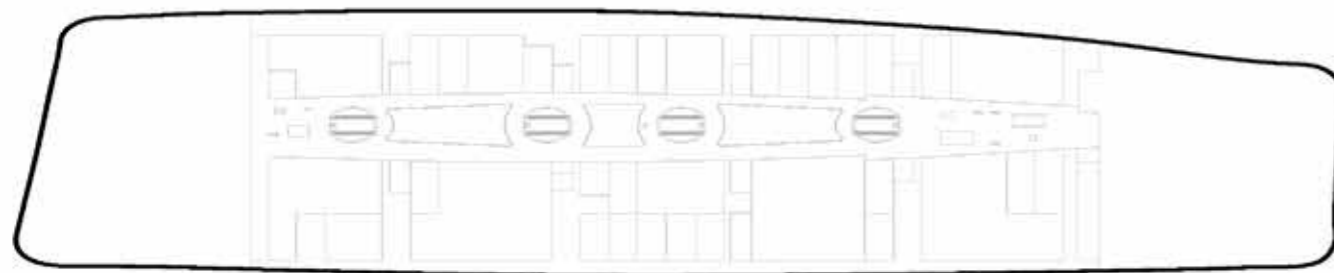
Spatial domination of the family unit

In Al Qasr Mall, gender segregation remains one of the primary characteristics organising its interior space. In addition to the mall's coffee shops and most of the food court seating area, a high concentration of shops marked by family-only signs is found on the first floor. In contrast, the only space allocated to single men is found in the food court on the third floor of the mall. Men's space amounts to 153m² of a total seating area of 4,147m² in the food court area. This disparity between spaces allocated to men and those allocated to families is further illustrated by the retreated location of the seating area for single men (fig. 74).

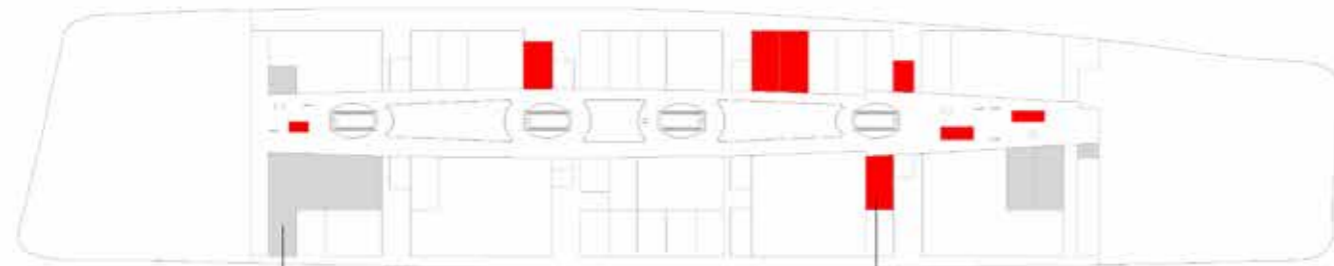
Al Qasr Mall appears to be a family-dominated space. This aspect is especially accentuated on the first floor due to the overwhelming distribution of family-only stores. The number of spaces marked as family-only amounts to a total of 12,174m² out of a total leasable area of 85,856m². It should be noted that the first floor of Al Qasr is the primary floor, that also functions in its entirety as the mall's main plaza. Consequently, the distribution of family-only stores and coffee shops on the first floor renders the plaza — one of the main non-shopping attractions — inaccessible to single men (fig. 77).

More strikingly, the third floor suffers from an exceptionally high vacancy rate. Overall, the vacancy rate in Al Qasr Mall amounts to a total of 17,629m² out of a total leasable area of 85,856m², of which 12,099m² is located on the third floor. The few open shops on the third floor are located near the food court area and mostly specialise in abayas and womenswear. High vacancy, coupled with the dominance of families and the retreated space allocated to men renders the third floor mostly inaccessible to the latter. Women, by contrast, have access to the aforementioned spaces and are also provided with an enclosed women-only seating area for added privacy and comfort (fig. 76). The women-only space is placed at a distance from the main space of the food court and the entertainment park to increase privacy. Conversely, it has also been placed next to the men's area, which can be perceived as negating the purpose of a private women-only seating area (fig. 74).



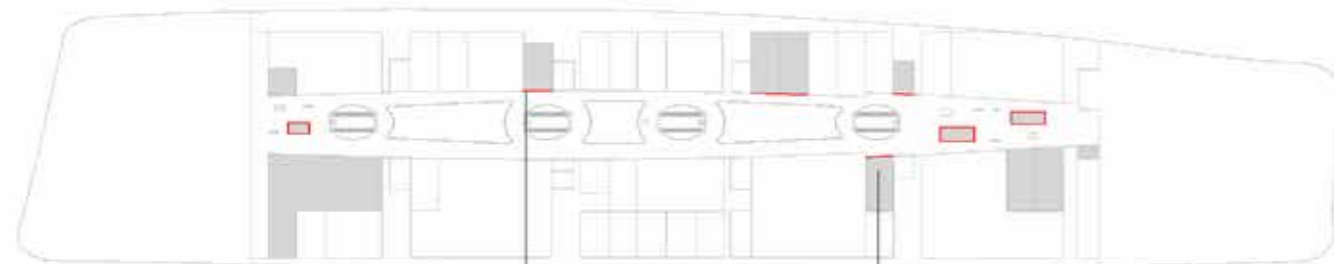


The enclosure



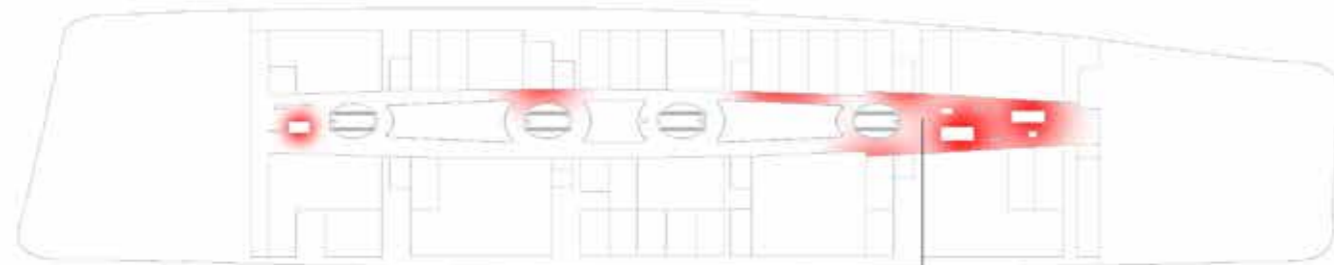
Vacant stores

Family-only space

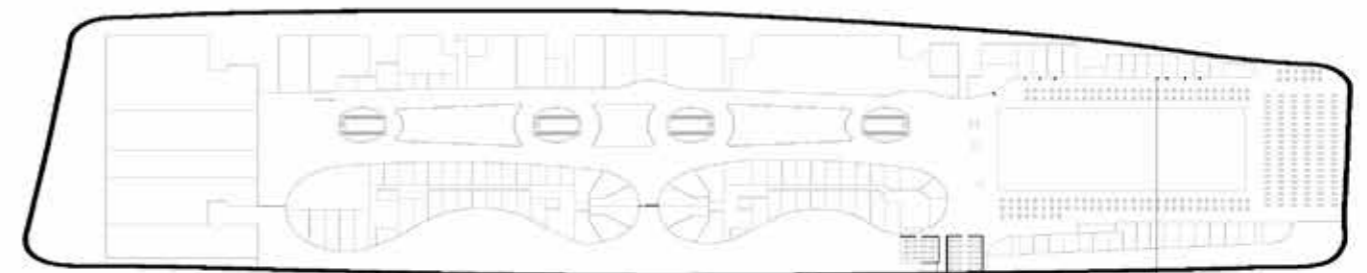


Perceived barriers to men

Space not accessible to single men



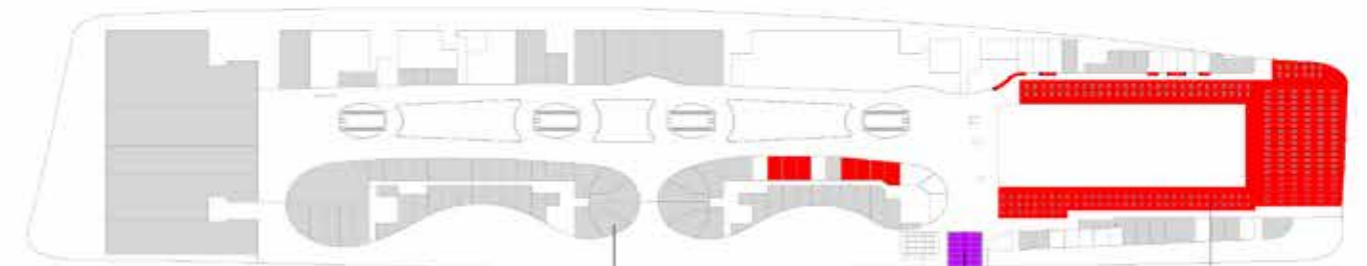
Family-dominated space



The enclosure

Physical barriers

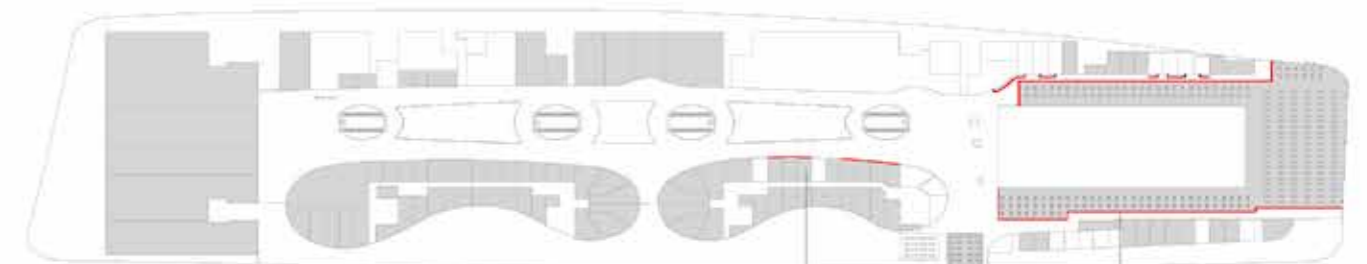
Physical partitions between order counters



Vacant stores

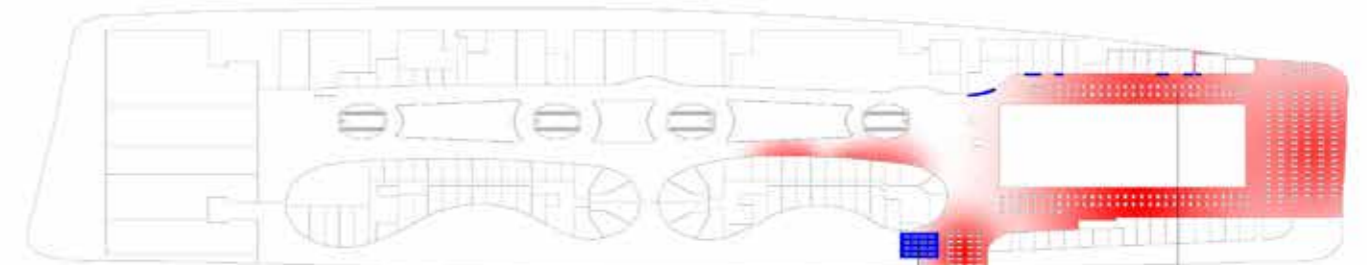
Women-only space

Family-only space



Space not accessible to single men

Perceived barriers to men



Single men space

Family-dominated space

Figure 77: Analysis of spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

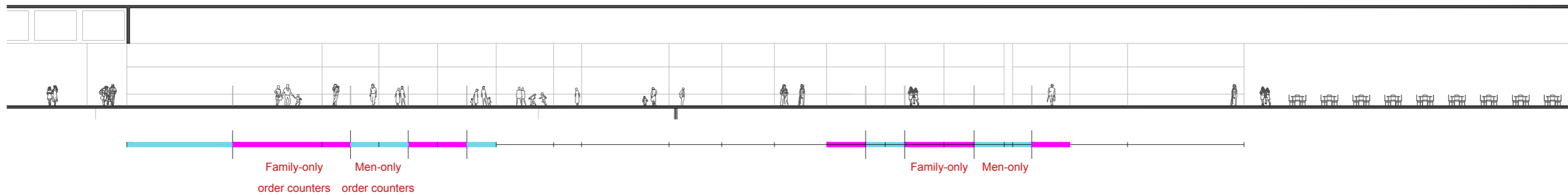
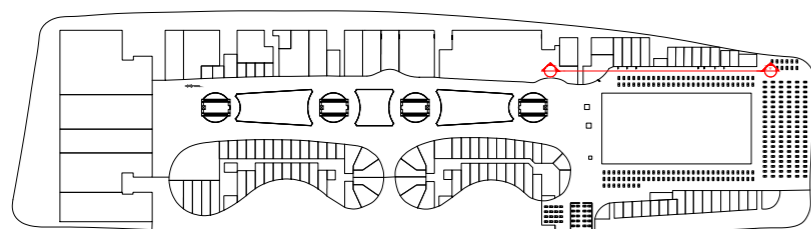


Figure 78: Section demonstrating how physical barriers are distributed in the food court (source: Author).



Physical panels are also used at order counters to demarcate the separations between families and single men (fig. 78). Similar to Al Othaim Mall, the order in which these panels are distributed in Al Qasr Mall follow a repetitive and alternating pattern, in order to ensure that the separation between families and single men is upheld at all times (fig. 78).

Overall, the above characteristics attest to the dominance of the family unit and render Al Qasr Mall a restrictive space in which men are only able to find purpose in accompanying their families.

Self-discipline and self-imposed exclusion

Resonating with the responses from Al Nakheel and Al Othaim, male respondents in Al Qasr are highly aware of security measures and share a common understanding of shopping malls being female and family-dominated places. Interestingly, one respondent claimed that because malls are female-dominated places, men spending time alone in shopping malls are to be viewed with caution and suspicion. Another respondent also approved of security agents denying access to young men.

Most respondents also confirmed confrontations with security agents and had been on occasion denied access to shopping malls when trying to gain access without their families. One respondent also corroborated comments made by a respondent in Al Nakheel, claiming that he was denied access on one occasion because of his haircut.

It is for these reasons that most male respondents in Al Qasr also confirmed that they were in the mall to accompany their families and asserted that they would not visit under other circumstances. When accompanying their families, men in Al Qasr tend to remain with their families, however, they refrain from entering shops that are family-only. When asked about accessing family-only stores, respondents confirmed that it would not be appropriate for them to access such female-dominated spaces — even though they are not prevented from doing so — and would rather self-exclude and wait for their families standing nearby

the shop. The scarcity of waiting benches as well as the lack of male seating areas in coffee shops caused men to mostly wait by standing in corridors.

Perceived as a space dedicated to families due to the lack of other options, respondents confirmed that the mall is not a viable choice for personal entertainment and meeting with friends for single men. Evidently, *istiraha* and outdoor coffee shops are the favoured choices for men to conduct such activities. Personal shopping in the mall was possible only as a secondary activity alongside being with one's family. Male respondents likewise confirmed their preference for closely-located malls, as well as the availability of parking space and waiting benches in corridors. Such comments suggest that men value features that assist them in fulfilling their family duties and mirror the comments expressed by men in Al Othaim and Al Nakheel.

Nevertheless, one respondent stated that he visited malls for personal shopping and entertainment, and expressed a particular interest in Al Nakheel Mall for its store variety and quality of restaurants. However, he also acknowledged that such possibilities are limited due to the fact that malls are family-dominated. Consequently, he claimed that outdoor coffee shops and restaurants offer better options for men and represent the preferred choice for meeting with friends.

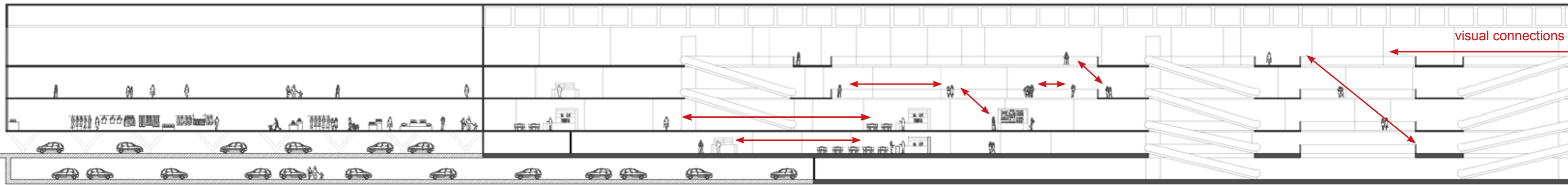
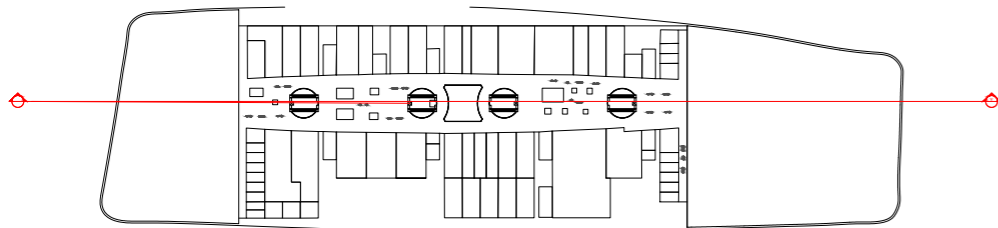
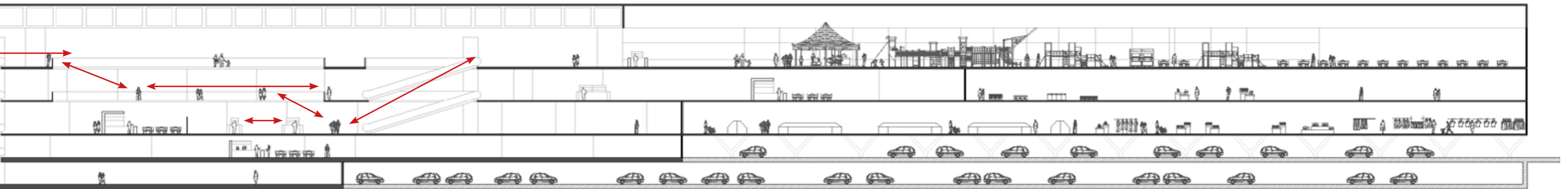


Figure 79: Longitudinal section of Al Qasr Mall. Increased vertical visibility caused by large atriums, and horizontal visibility caused by the linearity of the corridors amplify the effects of perceived overcrowding (source: Author).





Inescapable visual exposure

When asked about surveillance, a split was observed between female respondents' positions. Three respondents did not respond to comment about being subject to surveillance, while two asserted that they were watched and under the constant gaze of other people. One of the latter respondents claimed that it is for this reason that they felt uncomfortable in all malls, while the other explained that this feeling was accentuated in Al Qasr Mall. When challenged about her negative comments about Al Qasr's overcrowding and her consequent preference for Hayat Mall (a well-frequented mall in northern Riyadh), the respondent offered the following comparison:

... It's not that it's less overcrowded [In Hayat Mall], it always is. But it's not like here [In Al Qasr Mall] where everyone is coming and going and going up, in all directions and such — there, people keep to themselves — here, I just don't like it ... Here, I feel that everyone is looking — young men — even the security guards ...

(Al Qasr F05 2018, interview, 02 June).

Observation confirmed that the open layout of the mall atria, which exposes most of the malls' corridors to the gaze of customers and security agents located on different floor levels, contributed in accentuating her feeling of being constantly watched by others (fig. 80). The central atrium visually connects between all floors while the peripheral atriums connect between the first, second and third floors of the mall.

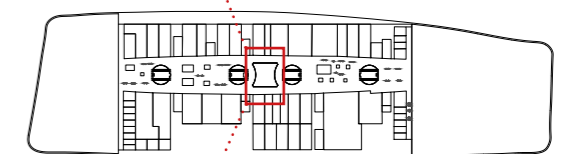


Figure 80: Central atrium (source: Author).

It is important to note that Al Qasr Mall lacks theming features and artificial vegetation, as opposed to competing malls that use such features to reduce space into smaller visual fragments. Both the verticality accentuated by the large atriums and the horizontality accentuated by the lack of theming features and artificial vegetation cause the entirety of the Al Qasr Mall's space to be visually interconnected (fig. 80).

The lack of theming features is particularly observable in the mall's coffee shops. Some items are used in certain coffee shops to delimit the seating area; these include panels and artificial vegetation. However, they are not an integral part of the mall's design and appear to have been placed as an afterthought. Thus, the demarcation between the coffee shops and the corridors and circulation spaces are often porous, and the transition from one to the other is made abruptly. More importantly, these demarcations do not offer total or partial privacy as most coffee shops are exposed to higher floor levels due to the large scale of the atriums. As a consequence, the number of gazes is multiplied in the corridors and coffee shops, and the feeling of being observed is accentuated. Additionally, the atriums and the scarcity of theming features result in an amplification of the effects of perceived overcrowding — an aspect always negatively experienced by mall customers.

In describing Al Qasr, some respondents found the mall to be unpleasantly overcrowded and noisy, while no positive comments were made as to its spatial and non-spatial features. Contrastingly, malls located in northern Riyadh received positive comments about their store variety, spaciousness and the availability of desired and up-to-date merchandise. To elaborate, one respondent commented negatively on the mall's merchandise, which she described as often being outdated. As she explained:

... when I said I prefer Grenada, I prefer Grenada because it has everything I need. But if I am to compare Grenada with — with — Al Qasr Mall — Even though let's say for example "Clair's" and "H&M" are located in both. But the goods that are found here are different from the goods that are found there because there they have — what they call — let's say that the customers there are more abundant and are higher ... And given that the demand is higher, so they will make goods readily available there,



Figure 81: The overscaled atrium visually exposes coffee shops' seating areas (source: Author).

in large quantities. It's different from the "H&M" and "Clair's" or any other store that we have here.

(Al Qasr F02 2018, interview, 02 May).

This observation suggests that retailers' distribution of merchandise and the concentration of recent collections in more prominent malls compound class differentiation at the urban level and detract from the value of southern Riyadh's malls — already perceived as inferior in comparison with competing malls in the northern parts of the city.

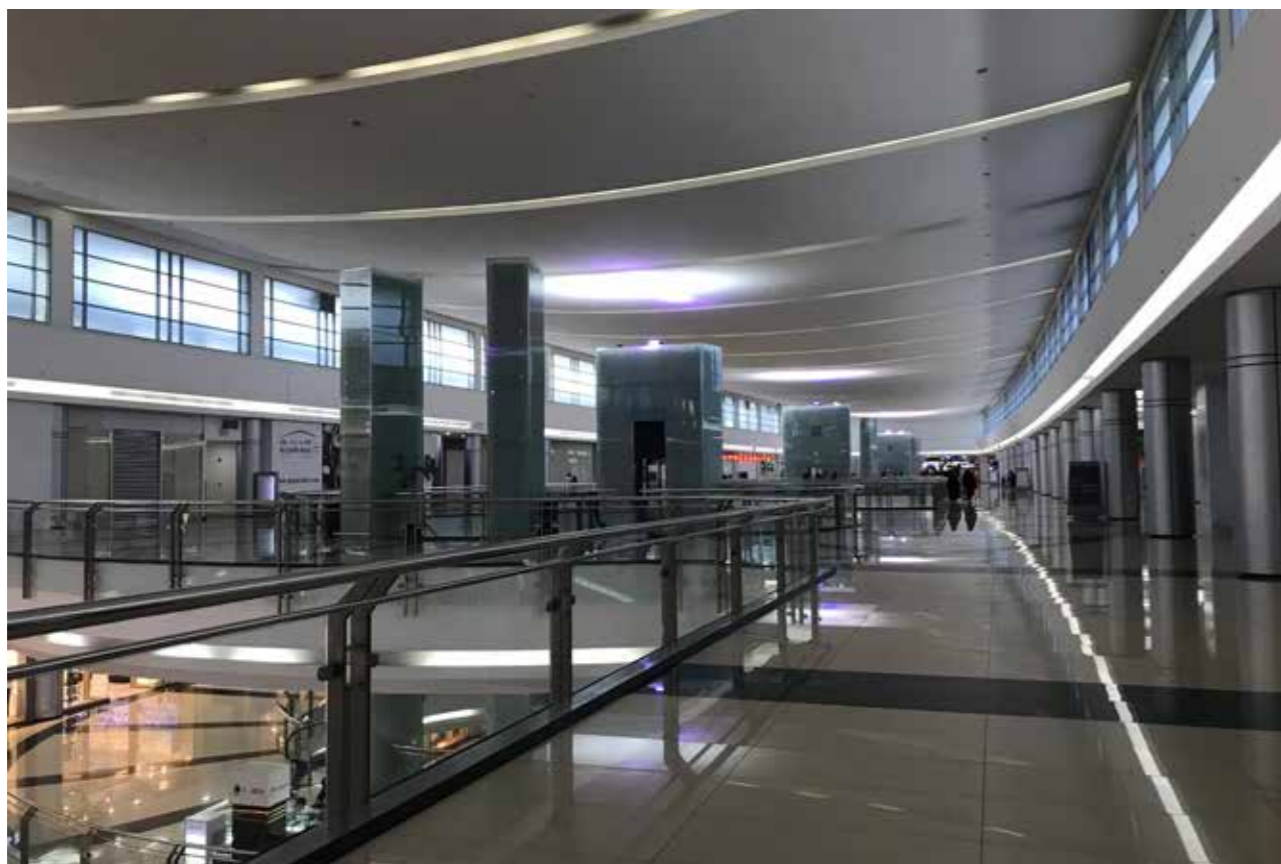
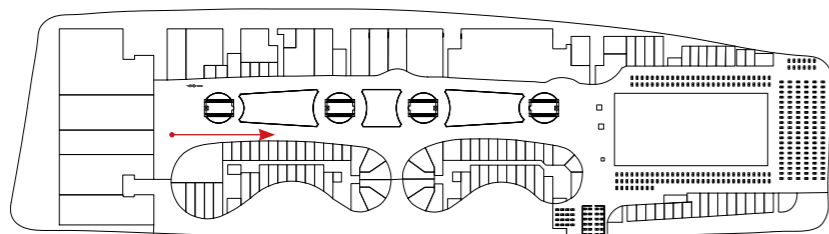


Figure 82: Third floor corridor. The linearity of the mall's corridors coupled with the lack of theming features accentuate the effects of perceived overcrowding (source: Author).

Echoing female respondents in both Al Nakheel and Al Othaim, Al Qasr customers confirm that spaciousness and store variety are highly-valued features that increase malls' desirability and attractiveness significantly. Equally, the negative response to perceived overcrowding and the preference for coffee shops outside of the mall further confirm the relief associated with being in spaces where social limitations are eased or alleviated.

Avoiding negative judgement through conformity

Female respondents in Al Qasr Mall opted to wear conventional black and plain *abayas* which they described as 'normal', respectable, neat and comfortable. Accordingly, respondents strongly criticised women who deviate from the conventional *abaya* and deemed those who uncover, wear coloured garments, and put on full makeup both unacceptable and inappropriate. Respondents claimed that such choices coupled with inadequate manners risk attracting undesired attention and defy conventions as to how women ought to comport themselves in public.

Nevertheless, two respondents also confirmed that their choice of appropriate *abaya* depends on the mall they choose to visit, and one explicitly stated that extra care is taken when visiting such malls as Kingdom Centre.

It is important to note that respondents expressed comments that hinted at the perceived class distinctions between different parts of Riyadh. Notably, respondents commented about northern Riyadh mall customers, describing them as fancier, more elegant and more affluent. While some explained their views by affirming that these differences are observable mainly in outer appearances, others asserted that class differences exist yet refrained from providing further clarifications.

Overall, respondents were unable to clearly formulate what constituted class distinctions between different areas of the city; however, these were clearly felt and expressed. It should also be noted that basing such arguments on outer appearance, notably on *abayas*, is arguably a self-reinforcing perception as customers might dress up for malls

perceived as classy. Surely, class distinctions based on economic and social factors exist between northern and southern Riyadh. Nevertheless, without additional contributing factors, outer appearances cannot solely constitute a robust factor of differentiation and be associated with real class affiliations. More accurately, malls project particular images that customers associate with such distinctions and either behave so as to align or distinguish themselves from these perceived class affiliations.

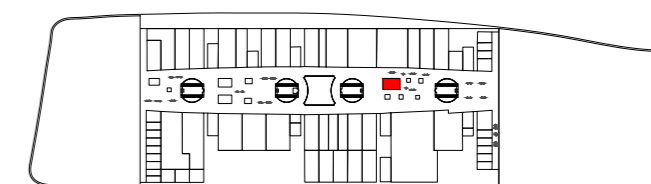
The primacy of the nuclear family

Al Qasr mall proved to be a family-oriented space. For some female respondents, shopping constituted the primary reason to visit the mall. Family and personal entertainment, such as accompanying children to the theme park and enjoying the mall's coffee shops and restaurants, constituted another important factor. Single women also confirmed the possibility of meeting with friends in the malls' coffee shops and enjoying group shopping and window shopping. However, respondents expressed a strong preference for coffee shops and restaurants outside the mall when meeting with friends. Men, on the other hand, only visit the mall to fulfil their family duties.

As in competing malls, Al Qasr Mall is a family space as it allows mothers to shop while at the same time care for their children. The size of the amusement park (7,100m² out of a leasable area of 19,920m² for the entire floor) and the space given to families (15,314m² out of a leasable area of 88,303m²) both attest to the primacy of the family unit in Al Qasr. This is additionally affirmed by the negligible space gave to single men in comparison with the numerous family-only stores and coffee shops, and the added privacy given to women in the food court area.



Figure 83: Increased activity in coffee shops during following stores prayer closures (source: Author).



Concluding thoughts

Similar to observations made in previous malls, all the evidence in Al Qasr Mall attests to the dominance of the religious apparatus and the privileged position given to the nuclear family. This hierarchical domination is spatially symbolised by the location of the mosque and the theme parks on the mall's top floor (fig. 84).

Once more, the dominance of the religious apparatus is partly subsumed by the mall's predisposition for utilising all possible strategies to maximise profitability, with coffee shops and restaurants delaying closures during prayer times (fig. 83).

More importantly, power in Al Qasr Mall is unable to operate discreetly due to the lack of theming features and security measures. Eventually, this causes disciplinary intervention — both spatial, such as enclosing the women-only area, or non-spatial, such as denying access to undesirable customers — to operate directly and be more easily identified.

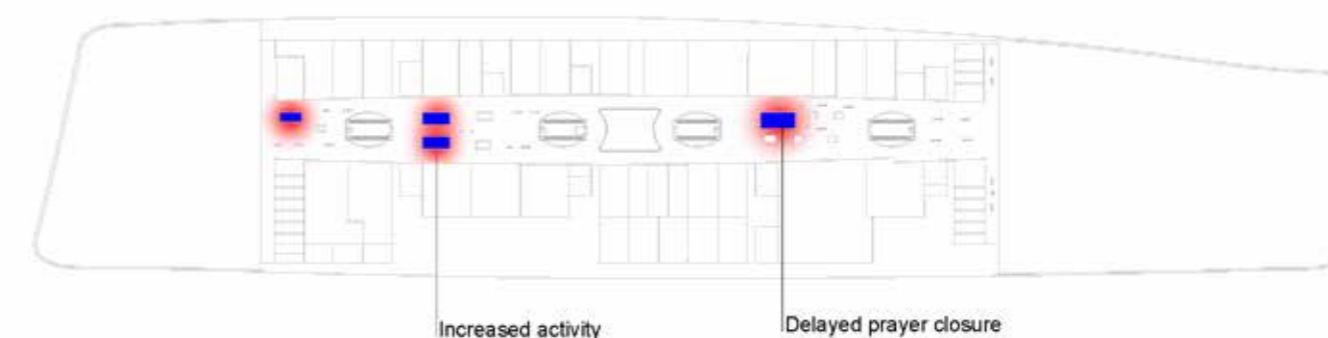
Overall, Al Qasr proved to serve its immediate urban population and was unable to attract distant customers, notably from the northern parts of the city. Al Qasr's disadvantageous location — caused by its remote urban location in relation to nearby major circulation axes — results in urban isolation and causes the mall to become a local shopping centre for the non-existent community of the Parisiana project, of which the mall is an integral part. Unfortunately, the unrealised potential of the Parisiana project significantly undermines Al Qasr's interior as it is unable to sustain the mall's need for continuous customer flow. In addition, the mall's inability to attract customers from urban neighbourhoods farther afield is mirrored by its inability to attract desirable retailers. As a result, compared to the three competing malls included in this study, Al Qasr suffers from the highest vacancy rate, which ultimately detracts from the mall's economic and symbolic value.

Ground Floor

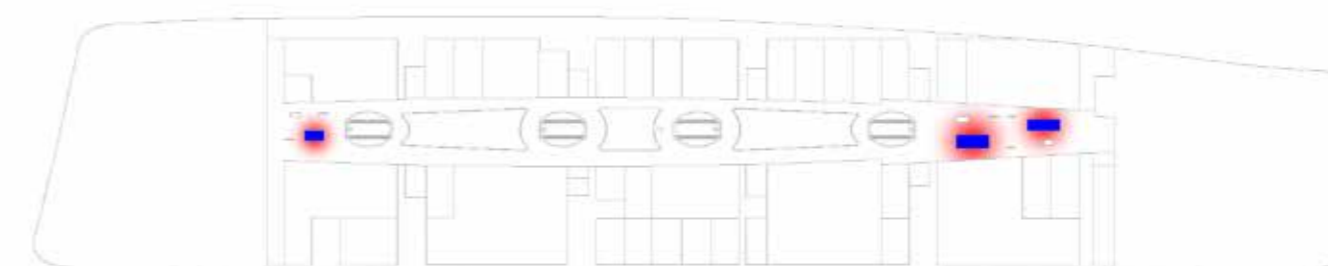
Figure 84: Mechanisms of temporal control over activity (source: Author).



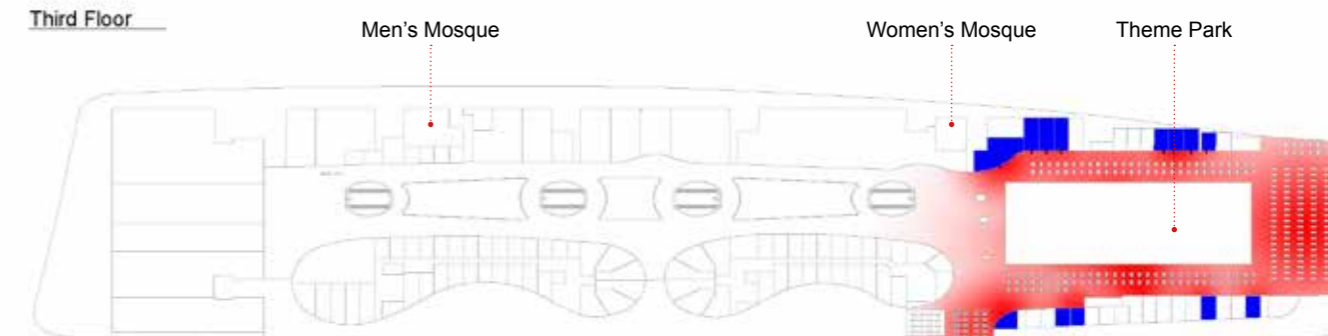
First Floor



Second Floor

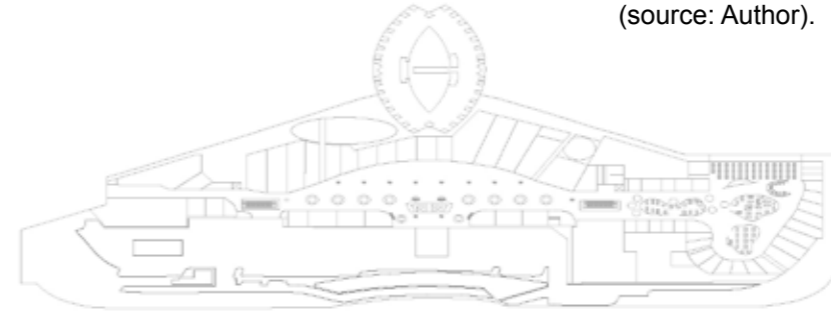


Third Floor

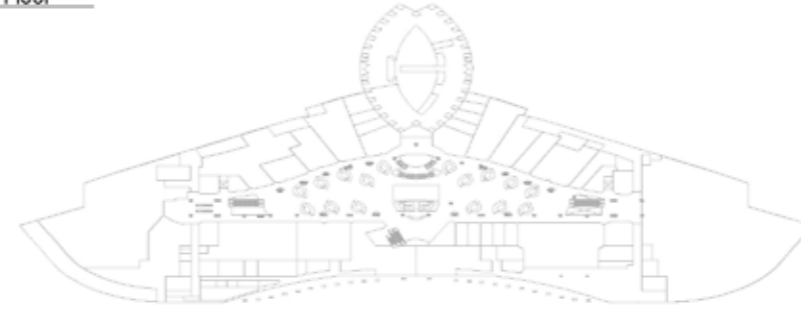


Ground Floor

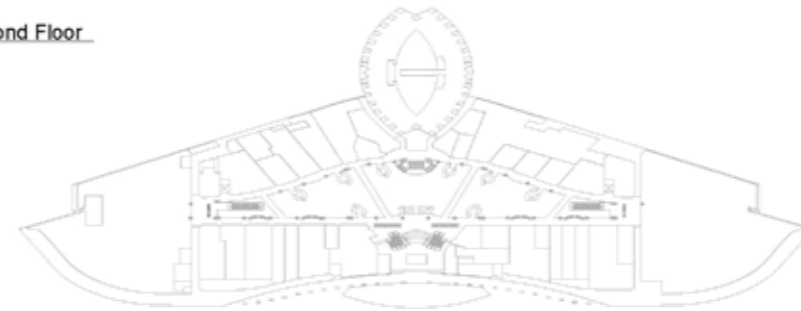
Figure 85: Floor plans of the Kingdom Centre
(source: Author).



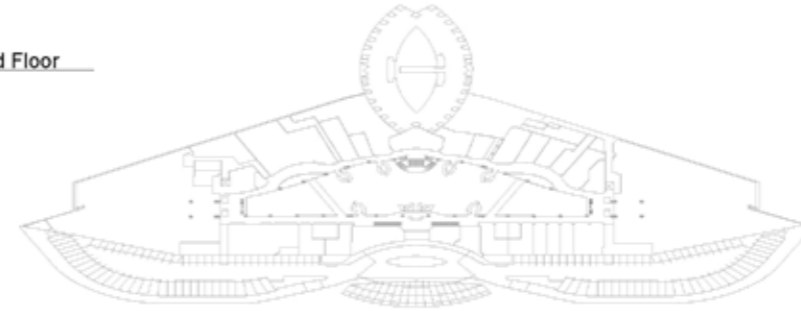
First Floor



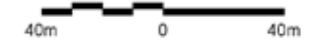
Second Floor



Third Floor



1:2500





Case Study IV
Kingdom Centre



Figure 86: The Kingdom Centre was developed as a podium to the Kingdom Tower complex and benefits from its prime location on King Fahad road and Al Olaya Street. (source: Author).



Figure 87.a: The Kingdom Tower as it appears from King Fahad Road; direction towards S. (source: Author).



Figure 87.b: The Kingdom Tower as it appears from Olaya Street; direction towards S. (source: Author).

The urban context

Kingdom Centre was selected because it is part of a larger urban scheme. It is part of the Kingdom Tower complex and was developed as a podium over which the initial tower project was erected. The complex, which includes Kingdom Centre, is located in the central area of New Riyadh in Al Olaya District. It occupies an isolated urban block that is bordered by King Fahad Road and Al Olaya Street (fig. 86). Therefore, the geographical location was an important factor in choosing the mall — which, at the heart of the city's commercial activity, is located on the primary northwest-southeast commercial axis of Riyadh (fig. 88). The complex also benefits from being in continuity with the commercial activity of Al Urubah Road, another important road in northern Riyadh. It was also selected based on the assumption that its customers hold less conservative social values as opposed to malls located in the eastern and southern parts of the city. Paradoxically, Kingdom Centre was the only mall in Riyadh containing an entire floor dedicated to female shoppers. Overall, the mall relies on promoting a luxurious lifestyle and exclusiveness to attract its customers. Accordingly, Kingdom Centre was also selected on the assumption that it has increasing capital and significant symbolic value.

The first car access to the mall is present on Al Uruba Road and leads to the underground car park and the third floor, which used to be the 'ladies kingdom' (a floor dedicated only to female shoppers). Another car access point is located on Olaya Street, which leads to the underground car park and a gate located on the mezzanine level giving access to the mall's first and second floors. Finally, pedestrian access is provided on Street Number 94; this gate leads to the ground floor of the mall. As a result, the mall is equally accessible by car users and pedestrians. It benefits greatly from its prime location in New Riyadh, and is well integrated at both the city level and the local neighbourhood level.

As part of the tower complex programme, the mall is concealed and prevented from having a distinct urban presence. Rather than establishing exterior architectural features to attract customers, the mall relies heavily on the powerful visual signal of the entire complex (fig.

87a, 87.b). The Kingdom Tower was able to solidify its image over time and has come to represent the image of New Riyadh. Moreover, the verticality of the tower contrasts heavily with the horizontality of the urban fabric of Riyadh. As a result, Kingdom Tower asserts urban dominance over the adjacent environment (fig. 87a, 87.b). Also, as one of the first malls established in the city, Kingdom Centre was able to associate with the collective experience of Riyadhis. Correspondingly, while the mall is concealed within the programme of the tower complex, it can attract its customers due to the high visibility of the tower and its deep association with the contemporary image of the city.

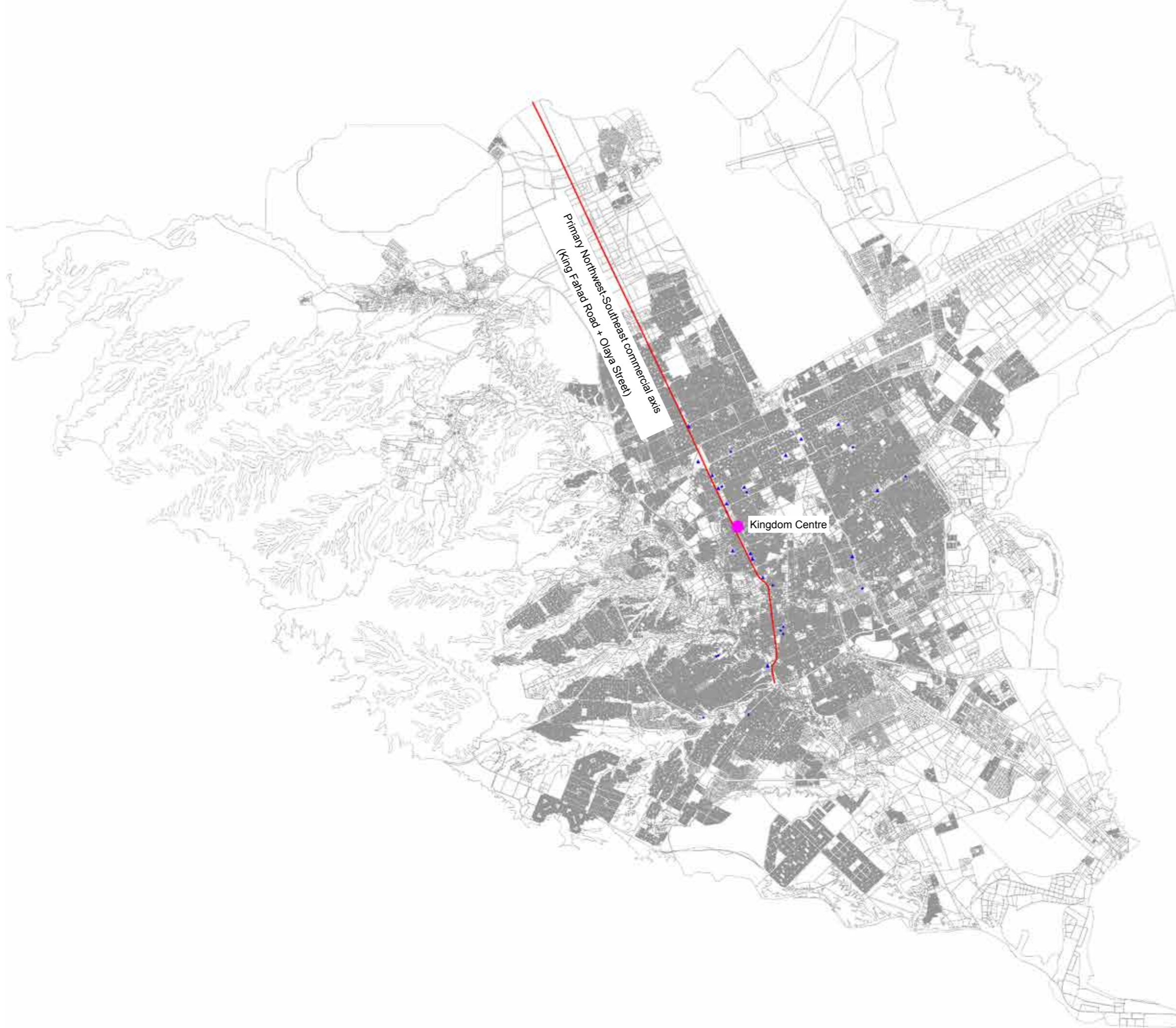


Figure 88: The Kingdom Centre benefits from being directly located on Riyadh's primary NW-SE commercial axis (source: Author).



Figure 89: Distribution of gates and accesses in Kingdom Centre (source: Author).

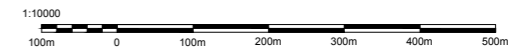
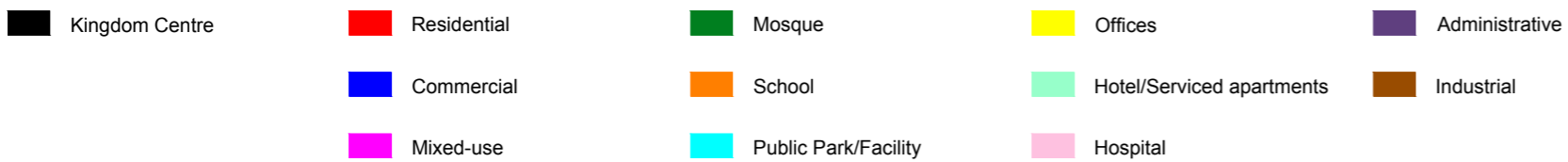
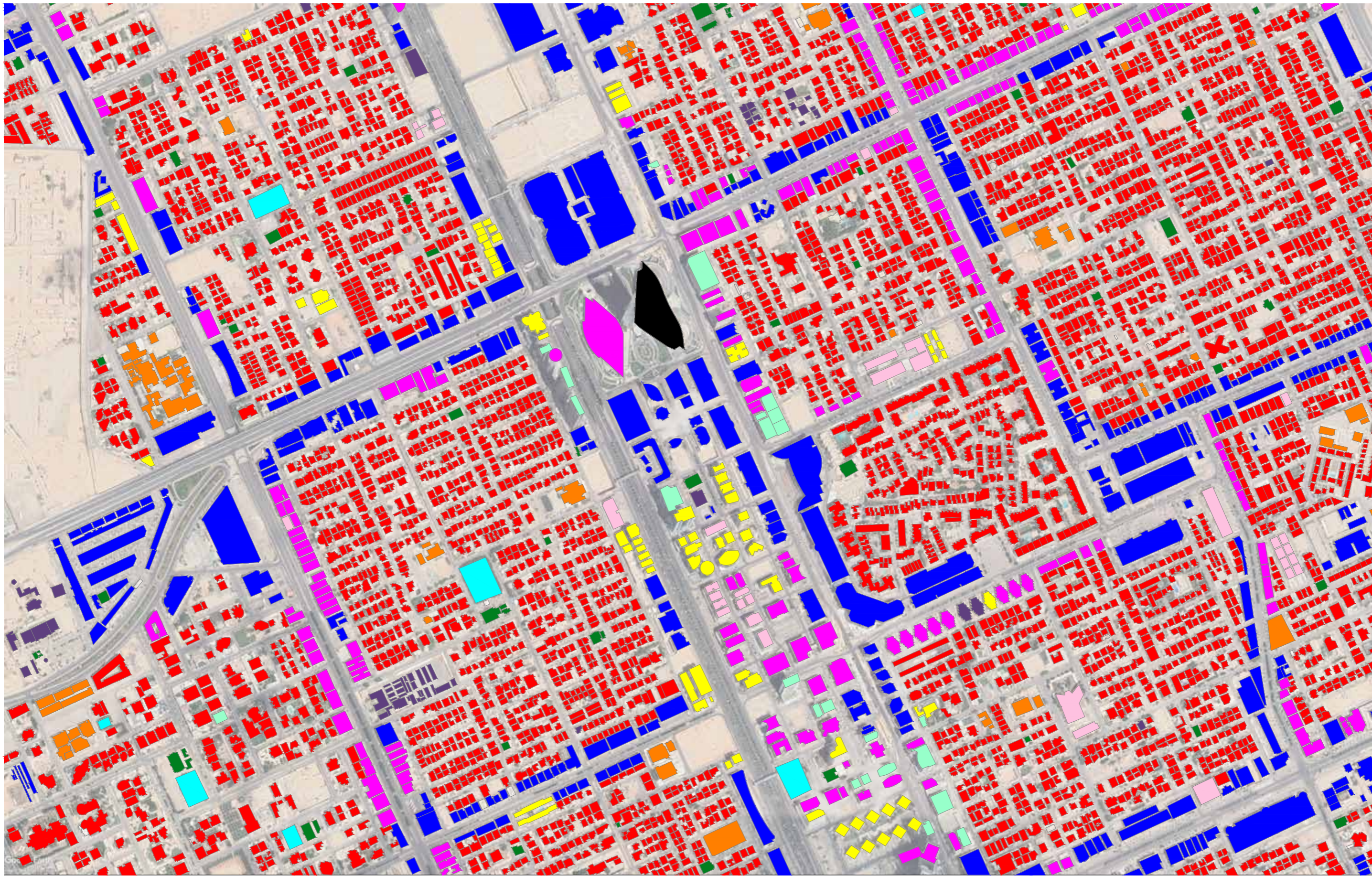


Figure 90: Figure-ground diagram of Kingdom Centre and its surroundings (source: Author).

An alternative approach to access regulation

Access in Kingdom Centre is organised through a subtle system of layered security measures that are complementary and result in a progressive transition to its interior space.

Pedestrian access is provided at the ground level through a peripheral gate located at Street Number 94. The entrance is gender-neutral; however, two security agents, one female and one male, organise access to the mall through two formal gender-specific checkpoints equipped with metal detectors, at which systematic security procedures are performed.

A second central entrance gives access to the ground floor via the parking space. At this entrance, two male agents oversee access without formal checkpoints or systematic procedures. It should be noted that car drivers are subject to formal inspections at car access points to the Kingdom Tower complex. It is at this initial stage that security agents perform the screening process before granting access to the mall via its parking space. Subsequently, the agents located at the central gate act as an additional security measure to counteract any potential lapses at the initial screening stage.

A third entrance is provided at the mezzanine level, giving direct access to the first and second floors of the mall. This entrance is car-oriented and is mainly accessible via a car drop-off area. Similar to the aforementioned parking access, one male security agent oversees this access without a formal checkpoint or systematic procedures. This is because access to the drop-off area is also regulated by an initial car security checkpoint located at Olaya street — where the initial screening process occurs.

Finally, the mezzanine access configuration is identically replicated for the mall's third floor. It is important to note that the third floor of Kingdom Centre used to house 'Ladies Kingdom', a women-only floor accessible through a dedicated car entrance located at



Figure 91: Distribution of the Kingdom Centre's entrances and checkpoints (source: Author).

at Urubah Street that gives access to its dedicated drop-off area. From within the mall, access was possible via a dedicated lift and controlled escalators. These interior access points used to be regulated at the second floor of the mall by male security agents, while a female agent would be stationed at the gate of the third floor. Nevertheless, because the third floor was recently made accessible to men, all interior access points were removed, and the gate guard of the third floor was replaced by a male security agent. However, the third floor still benefits from an isolated and dedicated access that is indicative of the level of privacy and ease of access once provided specifically for the customers of 'Ladies Kingdom'.

Overall, the elaborate system of layered access points makes it possible for disciplinary power to operate discreetly and continuously, and therefore more effectively than elsewhere. At first glance, customers of Kingdom Centre appear to be offered with multiple choices, direct access to any desired level, and added degrees of privacy and comfort that are tailored to different wants and needs. In reality, this elaborate system multiplies the points at which disciplinary power can be exercised. By organising access through multiple stages and complementing car checkpoints with gate agents and strategically-distributed CCTV, it becomes possible to diffuse the points at which disciplinary power is applied. As a result, the perceived effects of disciplinary power in Kingdom Centre are reduced while its efficacy is increased.

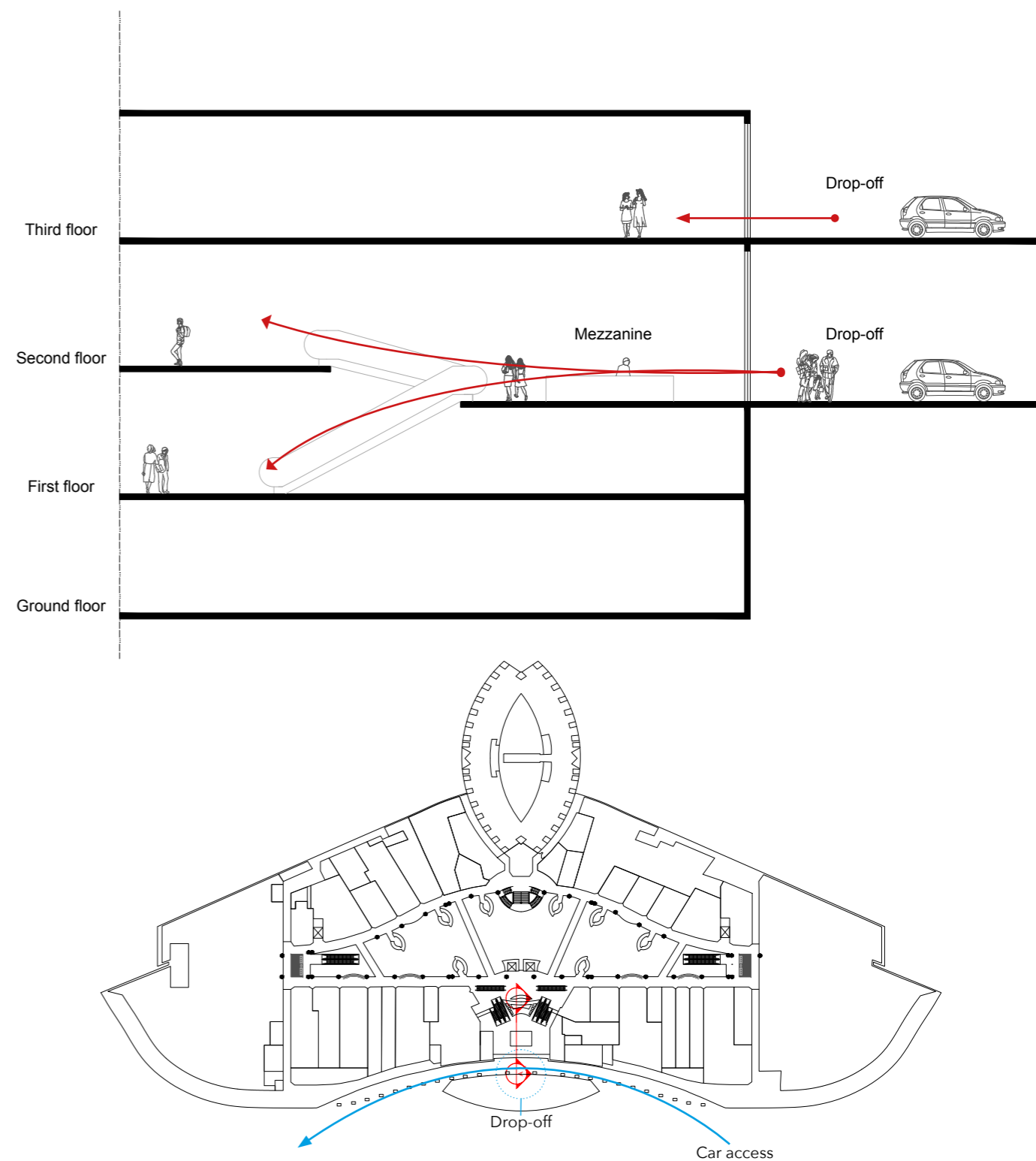
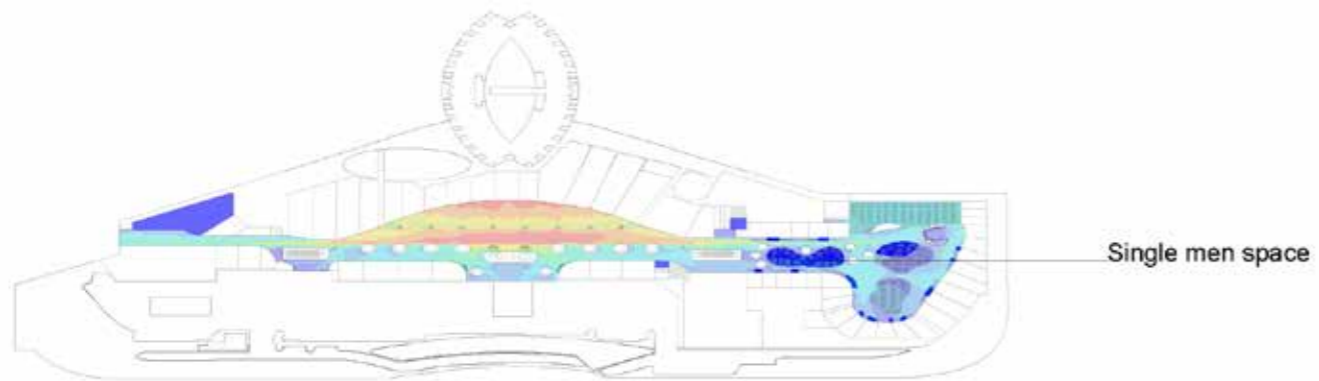
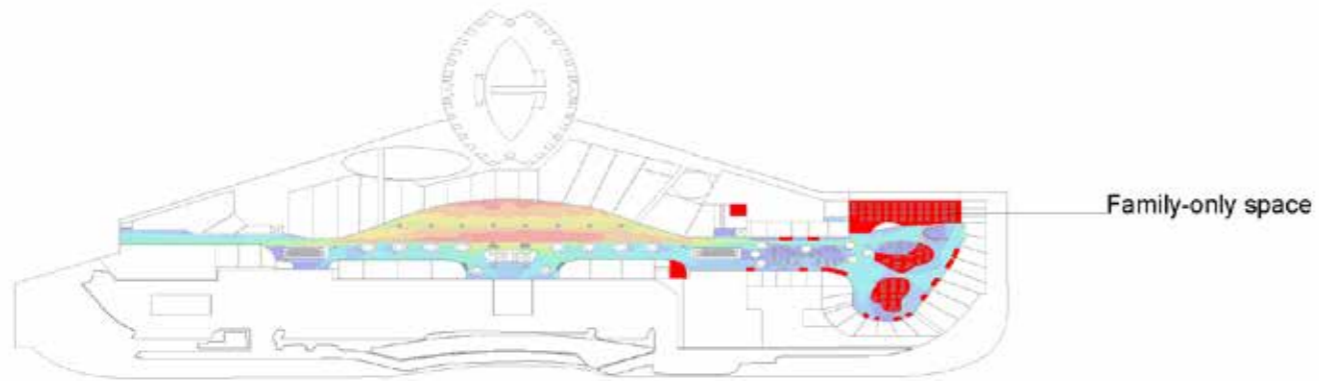
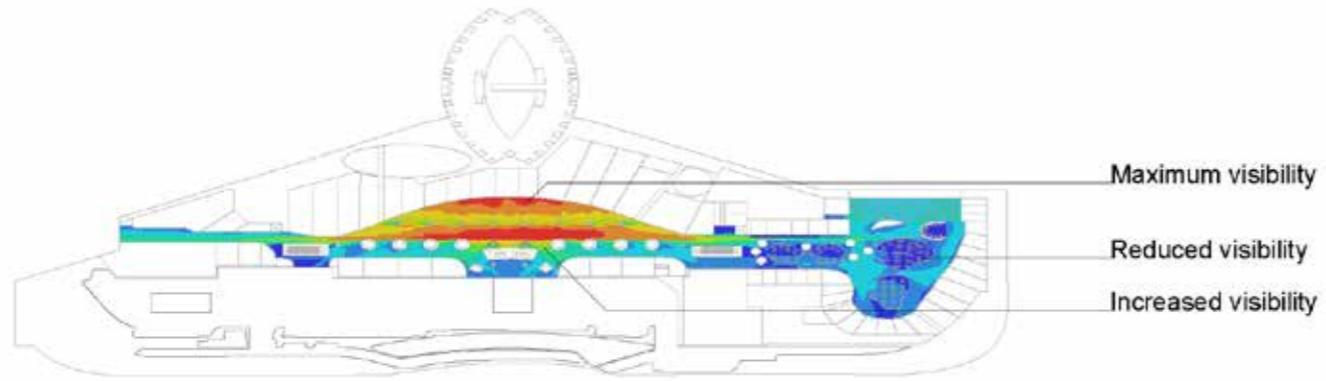
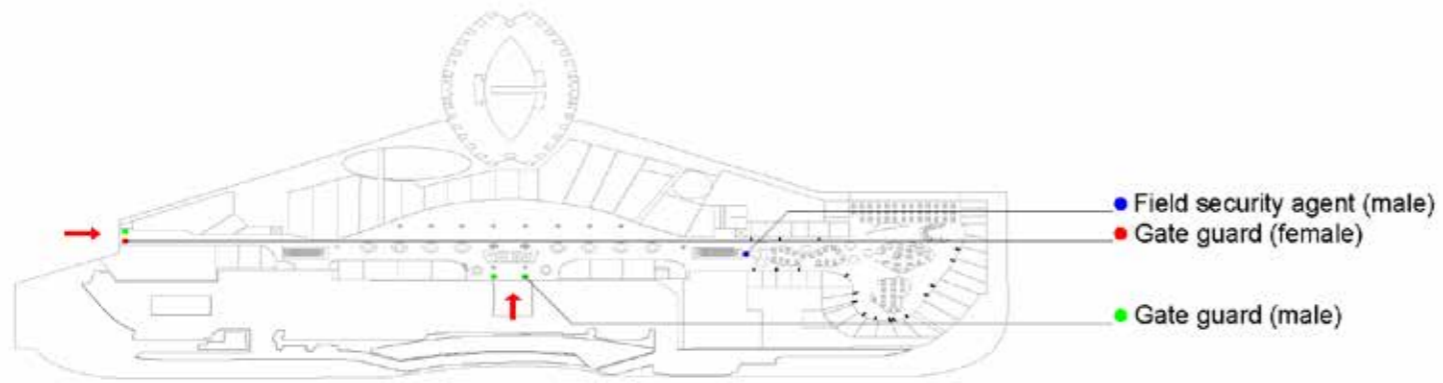


Figure 92: Section demonstrating how access is organised in Kingdom Centre (source: Author).

Kingdom Centre - Ground Floor



Kingdom Centre - First Floor

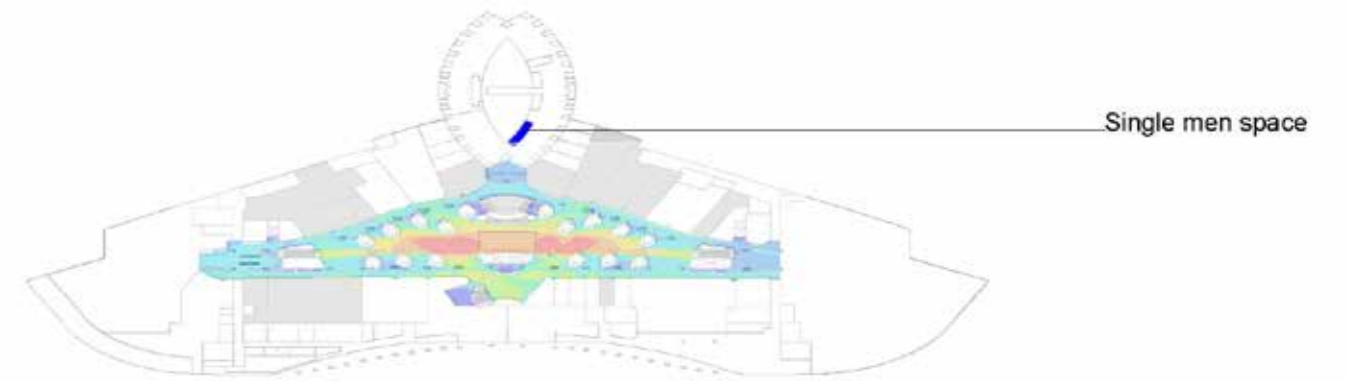
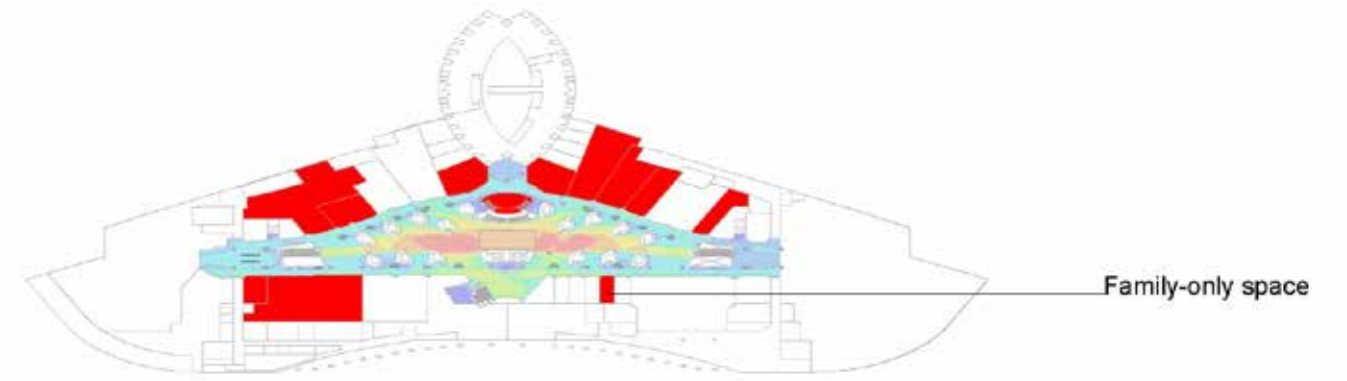
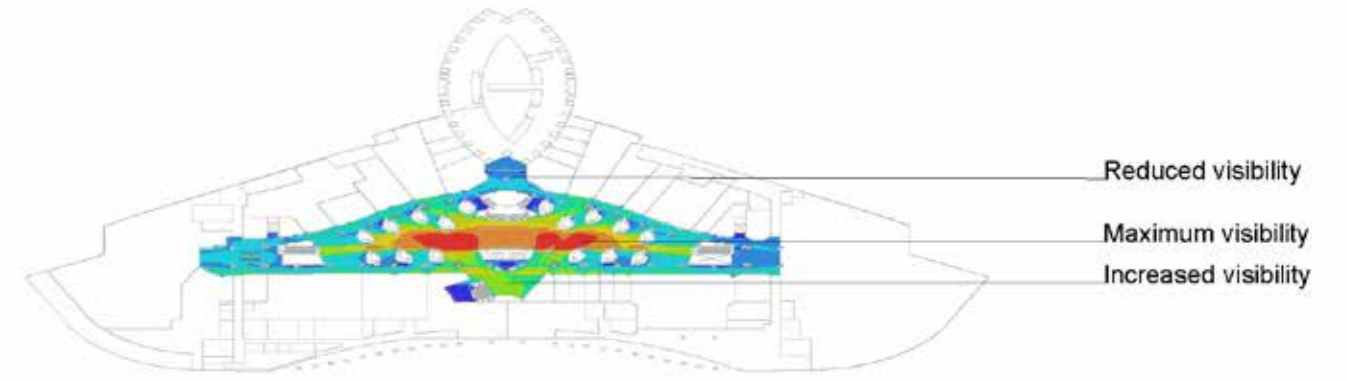
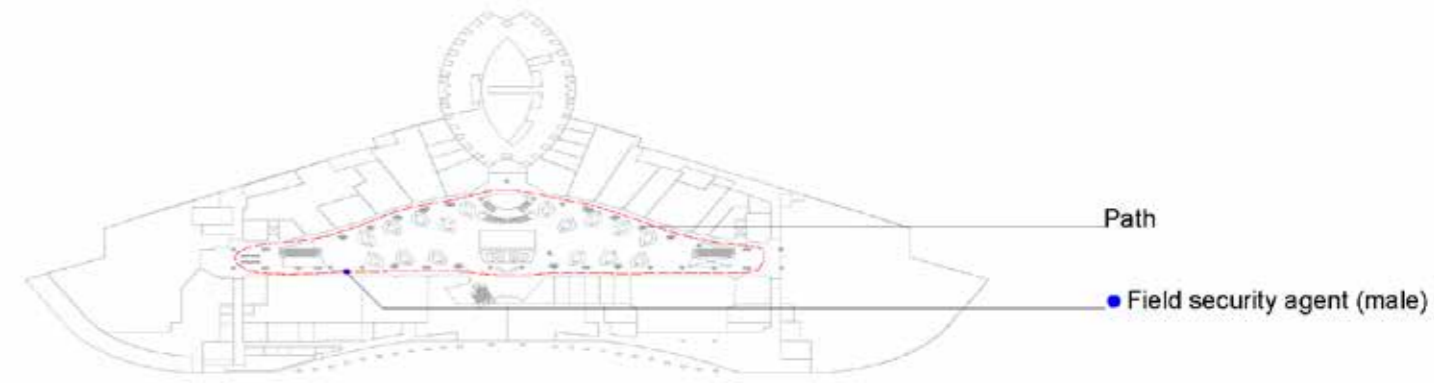
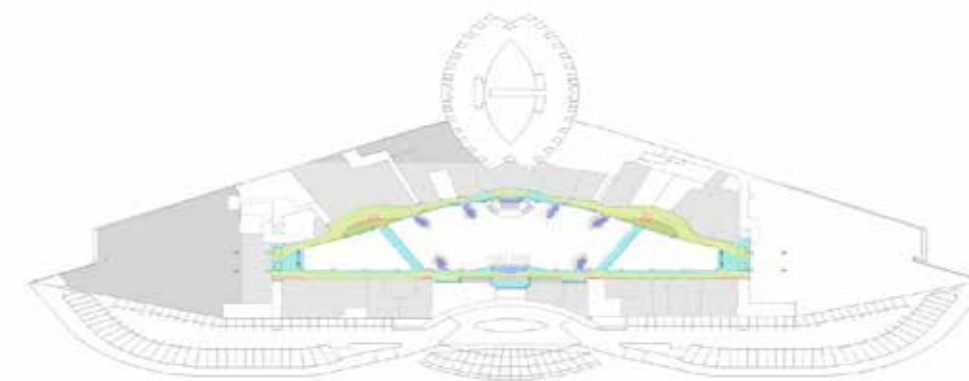
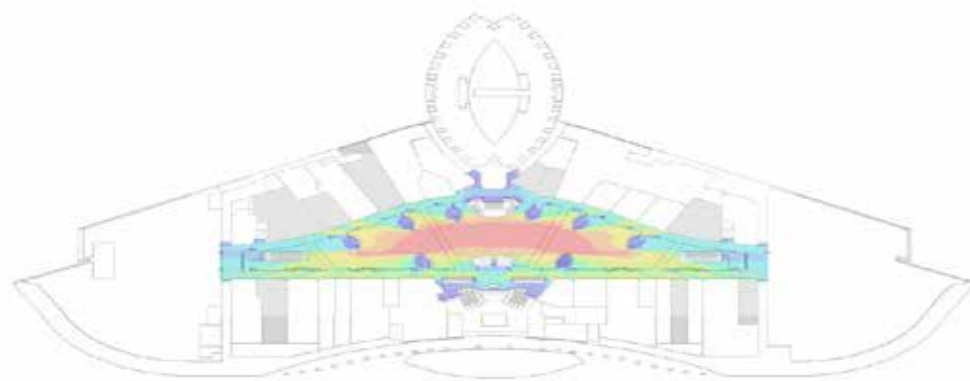
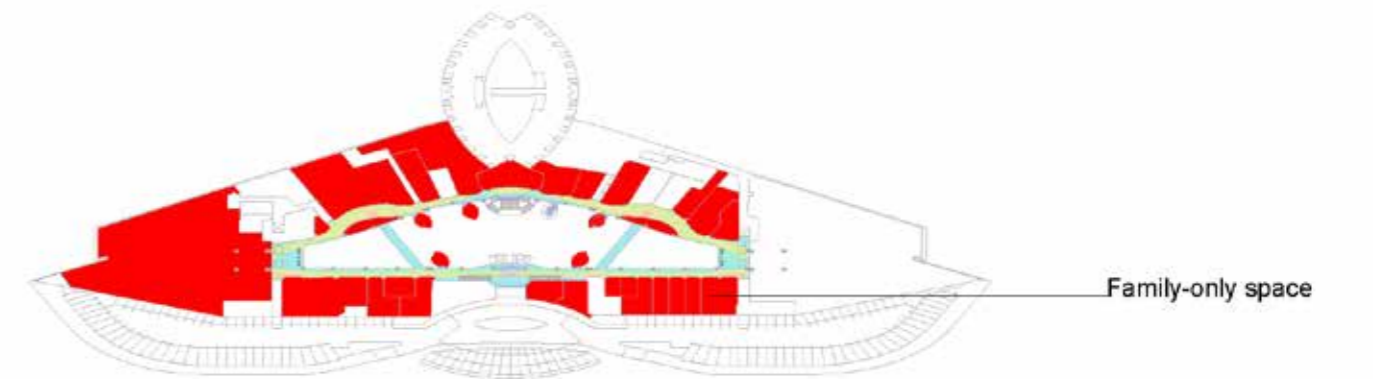
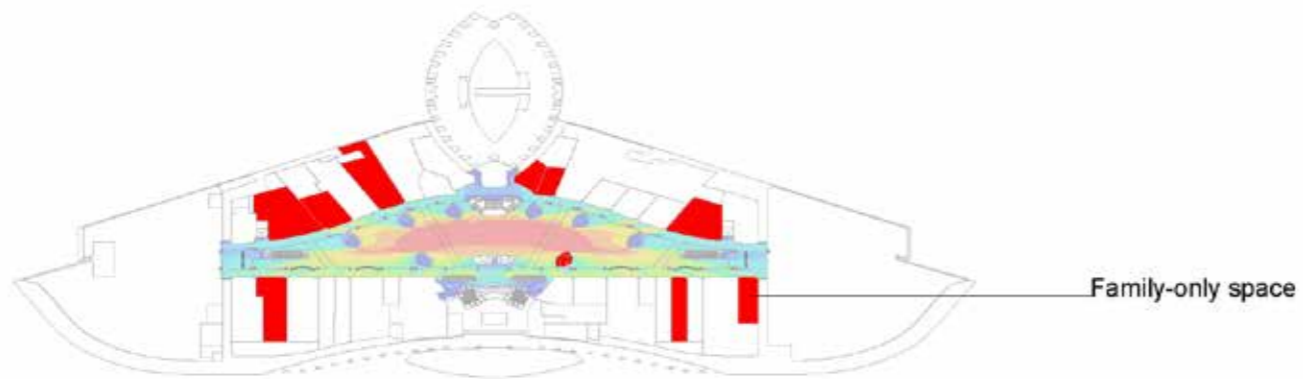
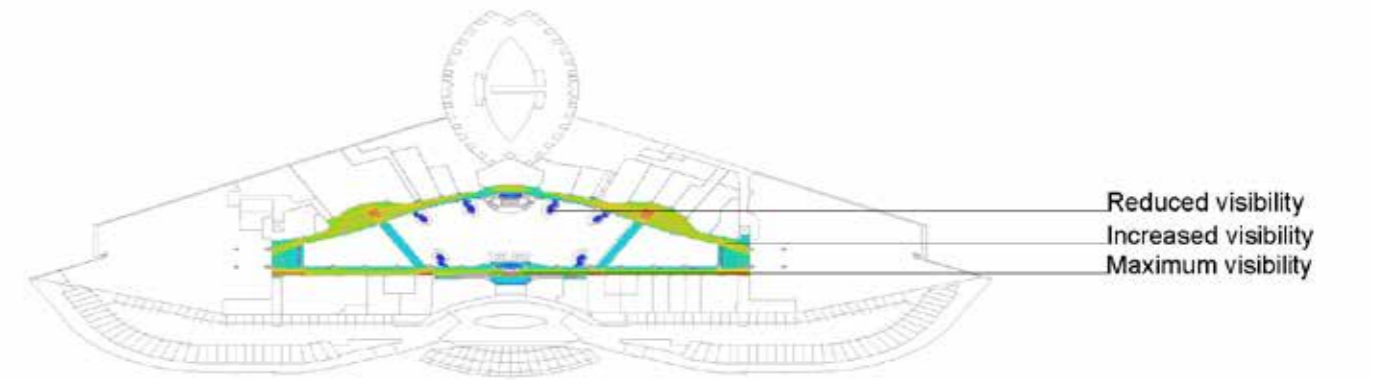
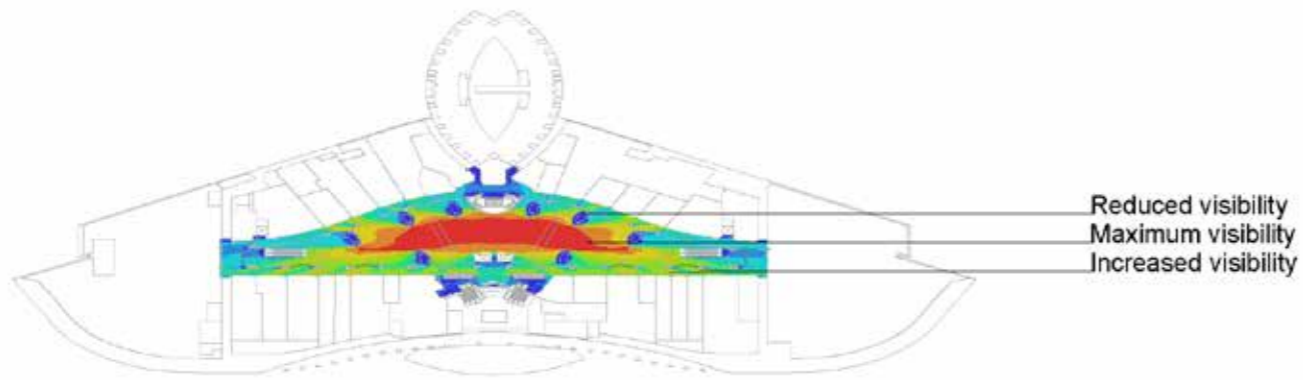
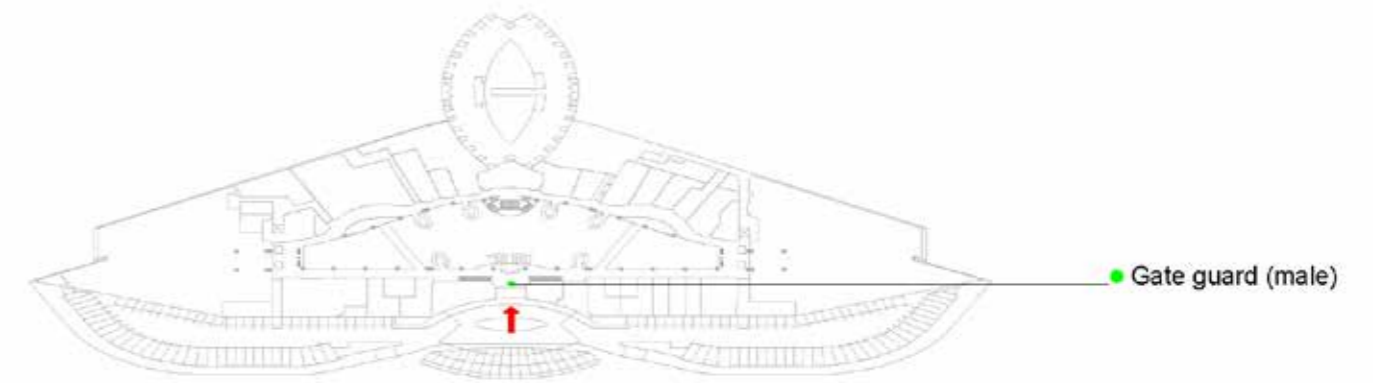
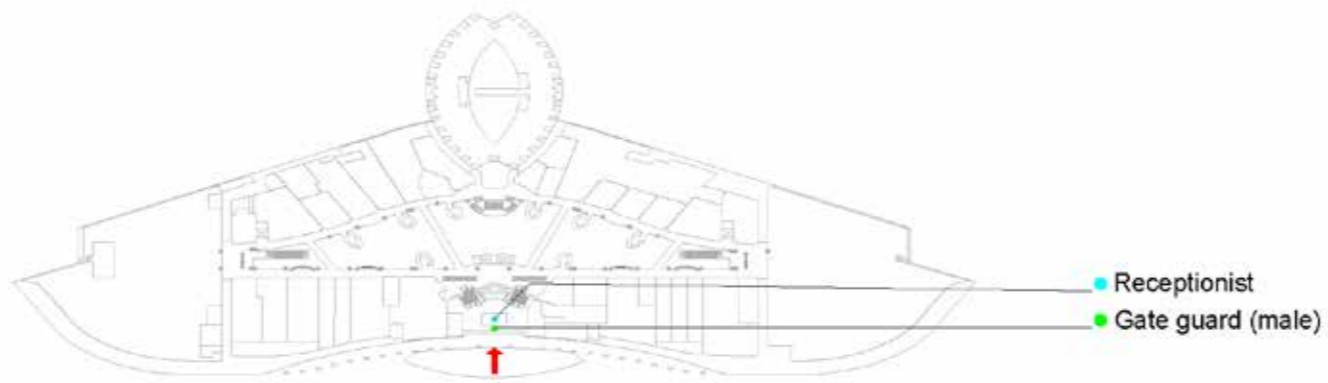


Figure 93: Analysis of spatial visibility and complementary non-spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

Kingdom Centre - Second Floor

Kingdom Centre - Third Floor



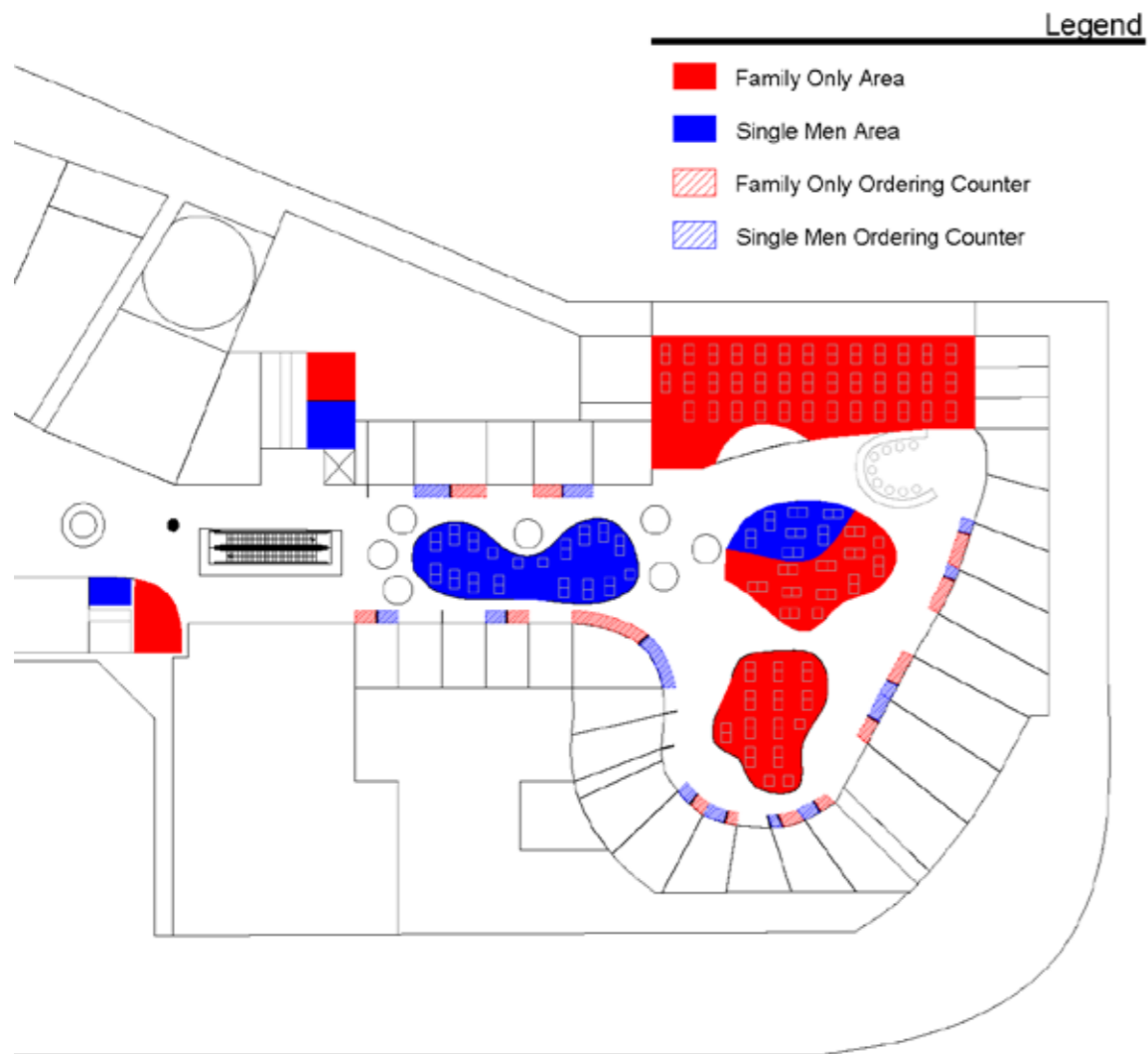
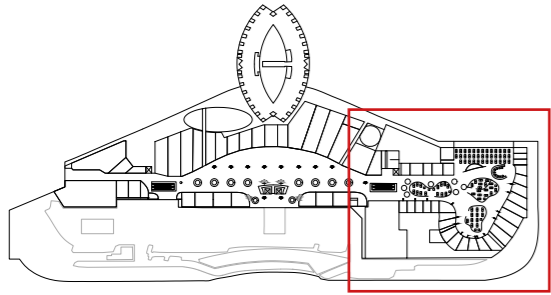


Figure 94.a: Off- peak spatial codification of the food court area (source: Author).

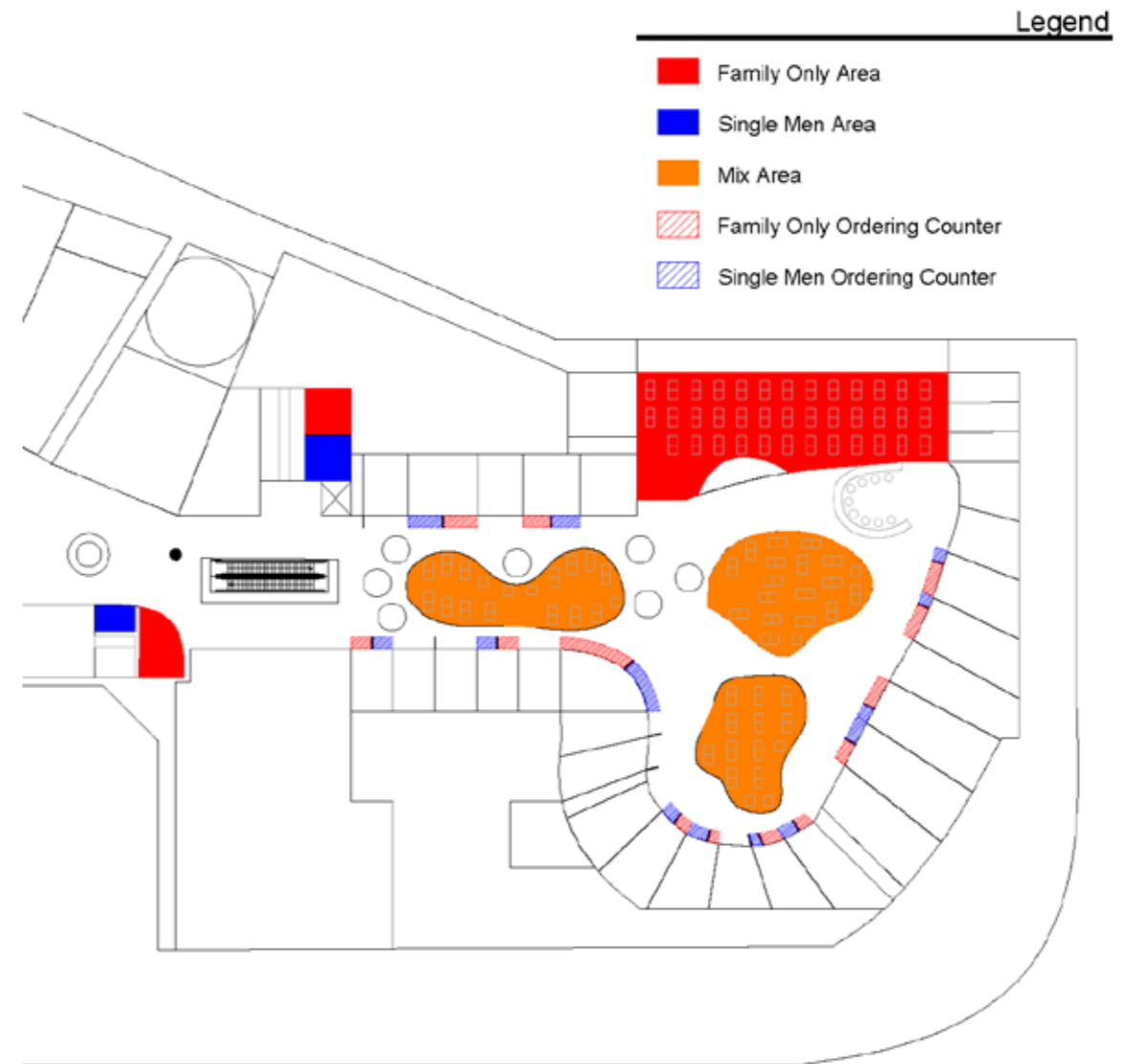


Figure 94.b: Peak hours spatial codification of the food court area (source: Author).

Permissive segregation?

Once more, gender segregation remains one of the primary vehicles for organising the mall's interior space. Family-only shops are found on the mall's first, second and third floors, while significant areas have been allocated to families in the food court area. Notably, the shops on the third floor which used to house 'Ladies Kingdom' are entirely marked as family-only, rendering the floor virtually inaccessible to single men. To illustrate this, a total of 17,621m² out of a total leasable area of 31,841m² is defined as family-only space — of which 14,055m² is found on the third floor of the mall.

Interestingly, spatial codification in the food court area is flexible. The family-dominated food court becomes largely a mixed space (fig. 94) during lunchtime, as employees working in the Kingdom Tower offices were observed spending lunchtime in the food court. More importantly, outside of lunch peak hours, the demarcations appear mostly suggestive, as signalling panels — observed in all competing malls — have been taken out to back corridors. This suggests that demarcations are not upheld by security agents and are mostly the result of customers' self-regulation. Likewise, physical panels used to separate ordering counters are not placed in all restaurants. Moreover, they do not follow any particular order, and careful consideration has been given to their aesthetic design — which mirrors the aesthetics of Kingdom Tower — rather than to their spatial distribution (fig. 95).

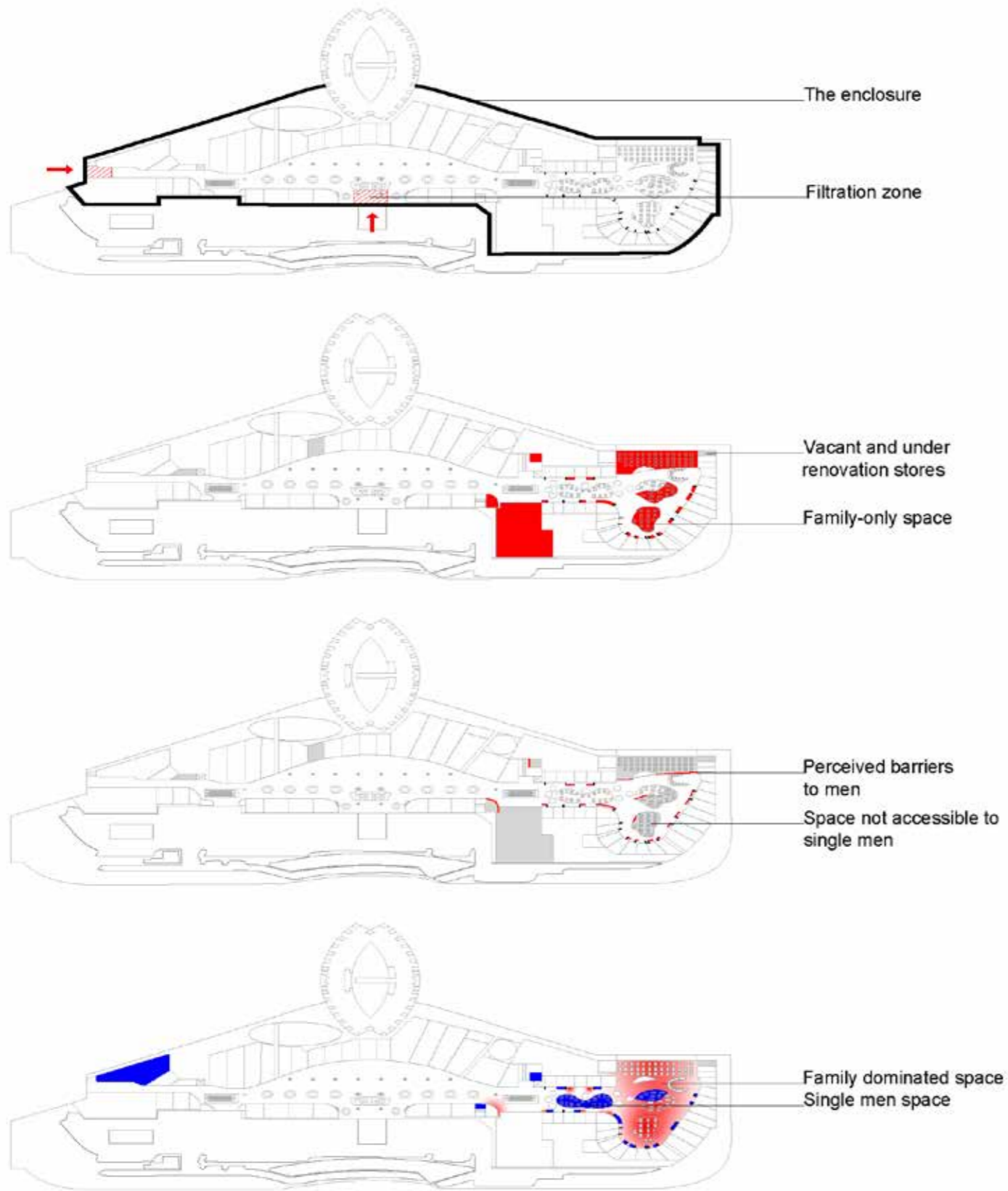
Notwithstanding all the effort made to allocate and define space, the evidence proved that Kingdom Centre is a space in which single men can benefit from ease of access and circulation.

Male respondents' comments in Kingdom Centre contrasted significantly with counterparts in Al Nakheel Mall, Al Othaim Mall and Al Qasr Mall. With most confirming that they visited the mall for personal entertainment, male respondents expressed a strong preference for Kingdom Centre and claimed that it is an adequate place for its privacy and exclusivity.

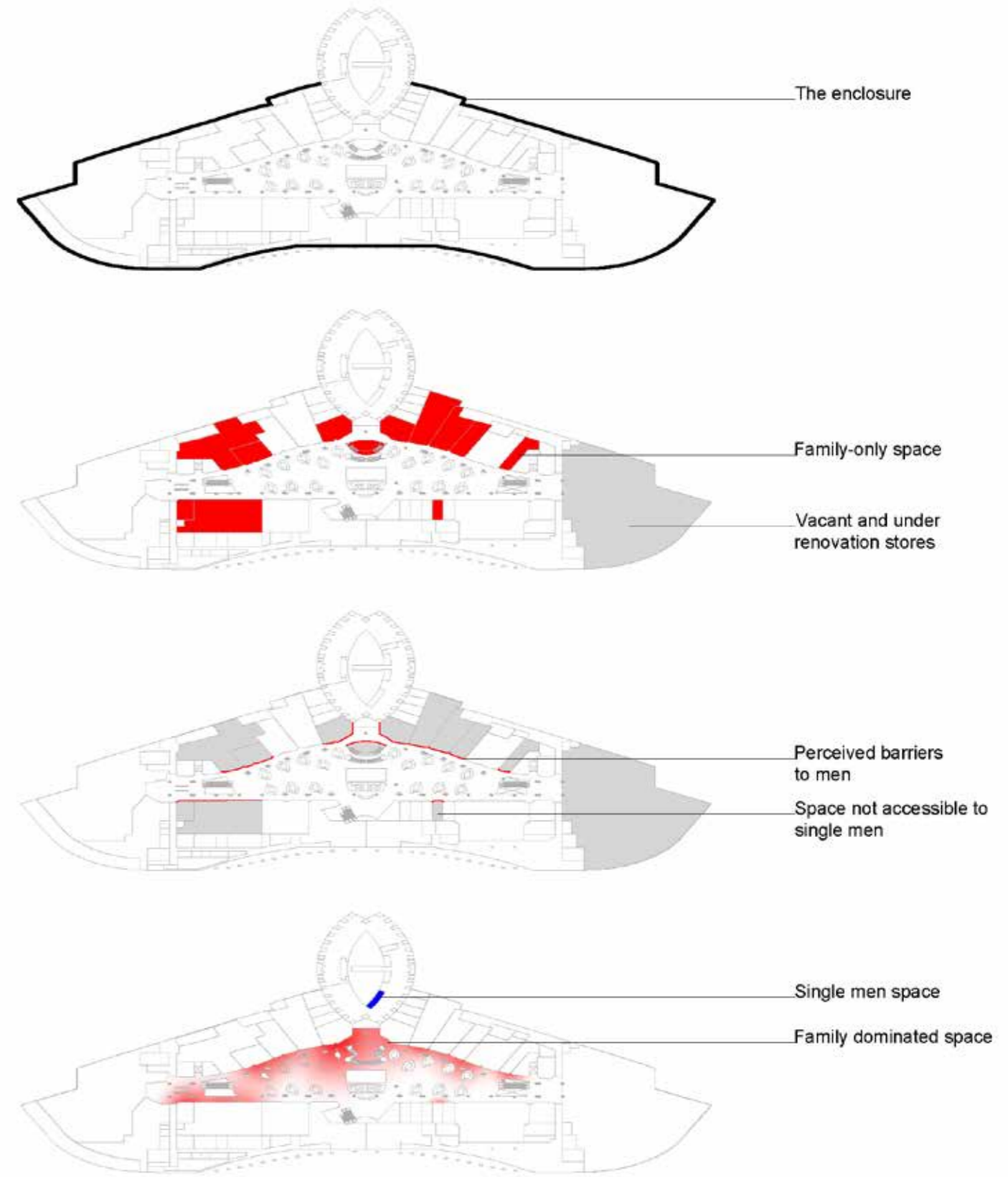


Figure 95: Physical panels separating between order counters. The design of these panels mirror the design of the Kingdom Tower (source: Author).

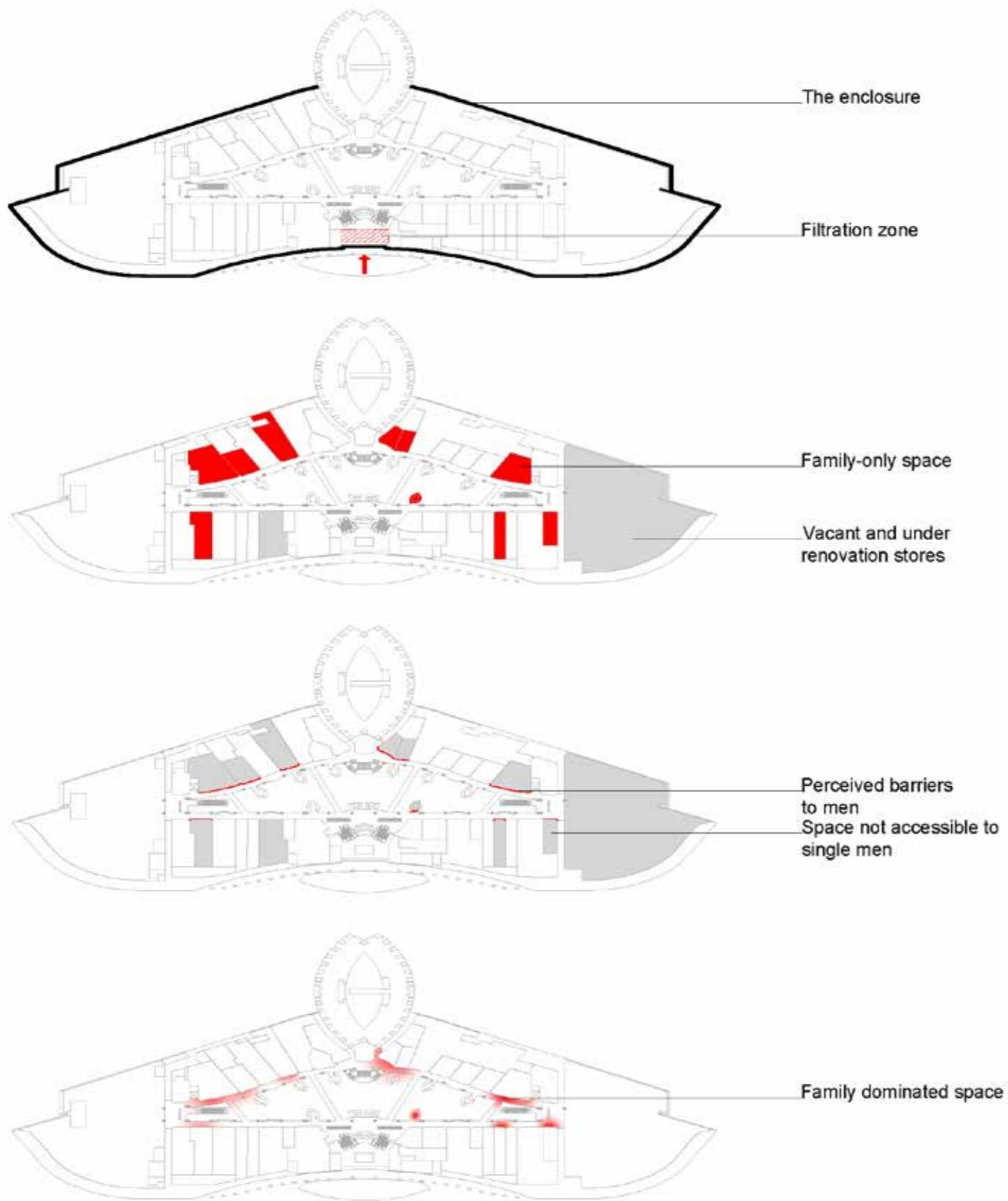
Kingdom Centre - Ground Floor



Kingdom Centre - First Floor



Kingdom Centre - Second Floor



Kingdom Centre - Third Floor

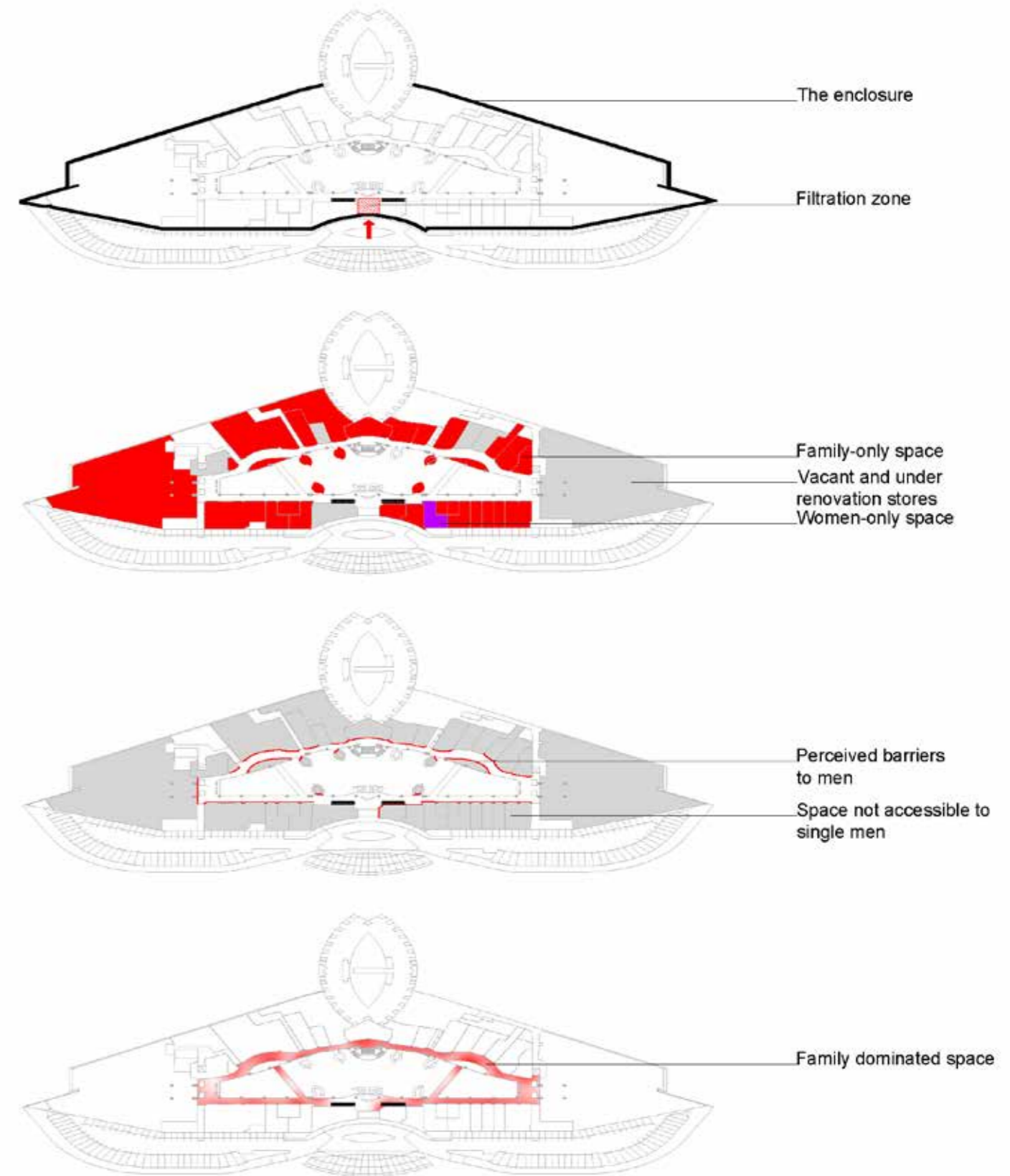


Figure 96: Analysis of spatial mechanisms of control over access and activity (source: Author).

Stating their preference for places that are deemed private and luxurious, some respondent equally expressed negative sentiment towards malls that are characterised as dated, popular and overcrowded. One exception was observed in one respondent who was visiting the mall to purchase a particular item. He asserted that visiting shopping malls was a last resort, expressing his preference for outdoor coffee shops for entertainment and meeting with friends. For him, store variety and the availability of shopping options for men constituted the primary features in malls that he sought out — qualities which he claimed are particularly observable in Al Nakheel.

The evidence strongly suggests that the ease with which men have access to the mall is a result of their ability to align with prevailing social norms. Evidently, respondents in Kingdom Centre demonstrated predispositions that allow them to navigate the social and spatial space of the mall with ease and comfort. They denied having any difficulties with mall security and demonstrated knowledge as to the correct and acceptable behaviour necessary to avoid confrontation. Equally, some provided comments about spatial codification and explained that female and family-dominated areas should be avoided in order to prevent attracting undesired attention. Implicitly, a social contract by which men in Kingdom Centre had to demonstrate a willingness to avoid any contact with the opposite sex was a prerequisite for them to be tolerated in the mall. To illustrate, a respondent provided the following comment when questioned about his preference for Kingdom Centre:

I: Do you mean that as a young man this is a place in which you can be comfortable?

R: No just as a young man I mean, not, not — it's not about, like the general idea that people have, that it's because of girls, because there are lots of girls here, no, I like it, there are a few stores here that I like to visit, I like the desserts in the stores downstairs, the restaurants, coffee shops, at the same time I walk around, the place's strategy is nice, you know.

(Kingdom M01 2018, interview, 09 May)

Equally observable in the Al Othaim Mall and Al Qasr Mall interviews, potential flirting seems to be the primary issue that causes young men to be denied access to shopping malls. Contrastingly, Kingdom Centre appears to provide young men with a space in which their presence is not subject to similar judgment — as opposed to other malls in which young men's presences seems to be *de facto* associated with flirting and desiring to come into contact with the opposite sex. When asked about his dislike of shopping malls, a respondent commented:

R: I avoid overcrowding, and I avoid the — you know, generally speaking, when you come, when you go out you like to be well dressed and so on, so they say — someone will see you and say he's in the mall by himself — I mean —

I: Will they think that you're here to flirt?

R: Yes! Yes-yes.

(Kingdom M04 2018, interview, 09 June)

It is important to note that none of the respondents were in the mall with a family and that families were not dominant in Kingdom Centre, as opposed to its competition. Based on observations and respondents' comments, it is possible to argue that Kingdom Centre is primarily an entertainment outlet that provides young men with protection from critical judgment and affords them the opportunity to spend time in a space of perceived exclusivity and privilege. By the same token, it can be argued that Kingdom Centre is an exclusive space, as it filters out those who are unable to demonstrate knowledge about, and alignment with, the prevailing norms — a judgement which ultimately relies on the arbitrary gaze of security agents.

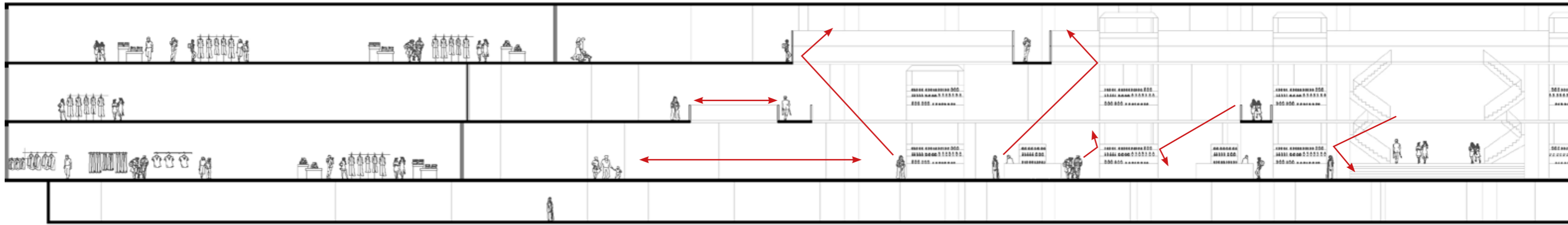


Figure 97: Analysis of visual connections in the Kingdom Centre (source: Author).

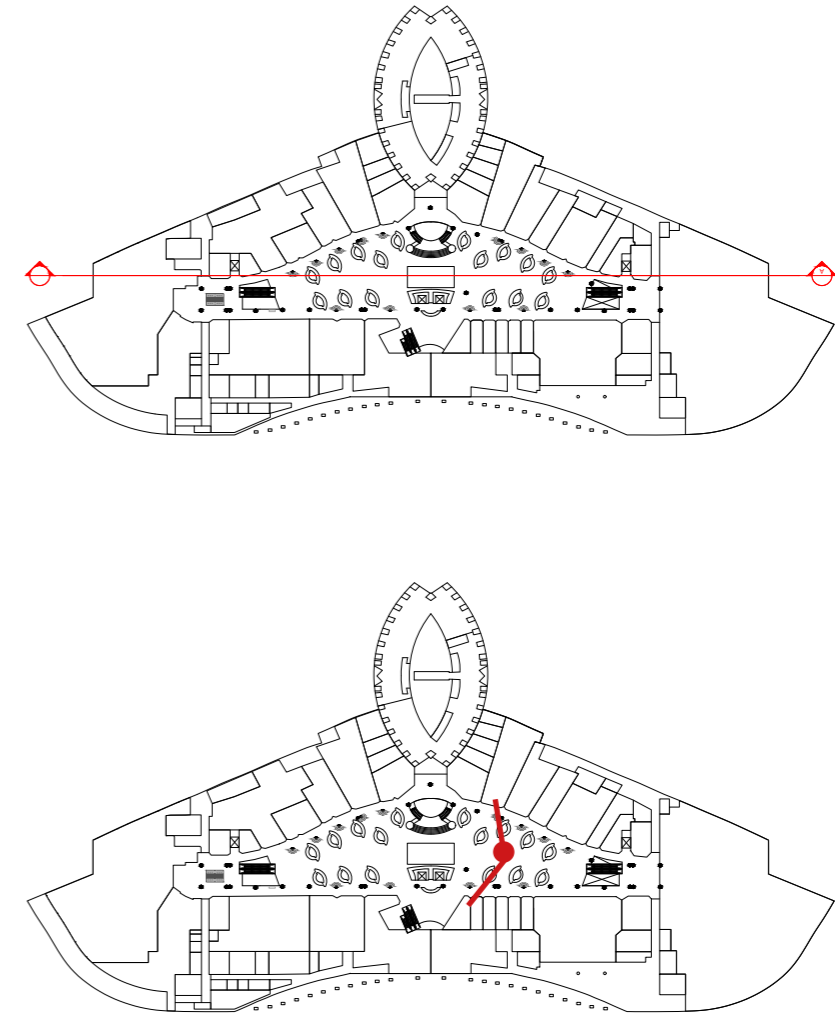


Figure 98: The central plaza located in the first floor is highly visible, while the upper floors benefit from added privacy caused by the multiplication of aesthetic elements that divide space into smaller visual segments (source: Author).



Subtle control

The evidence suggests that order in Kingdom Centre is maintained through subtle strategies that entice customers' self-imposed discipline. In contrast with competing malls, this research's observations revealed ease of access to Kingdom Centre for single men. Yet, the overwhelming distribution of CCTV is made visible in its interior space. Therefore, it is possible to argue that these two aspects act as counter-balancing forces that make it possible for the mall to appear as welcoming, while ensuring that the prevailing order is maintained by reminding customers that they are under the continuous influence of a disciplinary gaze. This has the double effect of creating an illusion of free access and circulation while simultaneously causing men to be highly alert to potentially 'offensive' behaviour or 'obtrusive' presences in some areas of the mall. Subsequently, single men have been observed to avoid areas in which family-only spaces are dominant. Notably, the third floor was entirely avoided as well as the second floor, for the most part. As a result of this strategy, men were observed to remain mostly on the first floor or in the food court area. The spatial analysis proves that the first floor of the mall is the most visible (fig. 98); this observation corroborates the analyses made in Al Nakheel Mall and Al Othaim Mall, in which men were mostly observed to remain in spaces of maximised visibility.

Disguised means of controlling behaviour are further found in subtle theming features, such as the decorative elements installed on the edges of water features, which are

essentially aimed at preventing customers from utilising these edges as resting benches (fig. 100).

Moreover, the kiosk design is one of the main theming features in Kingdom Centre, which proved to have functions complementing its aesthetic qualities. That is to say, these seemingly floating elements (fig. 99) divide the space of the mall into smaller visual segments and increase the effects of perceived privacy and intimacy. Subsequently, the effects of perceived overcrowding in competing malls are mediated in Kingdom Centre due to its spatial organisation that relies on visually segmenting its space. This spatial strategy is deployed both horizontally and vertically in the mall, making it possible to develop a vertical spatial hierarchy of increasing privacy. While the first floor's plaza remains the most exposed area of the mall (fig. 98), the second and third floors benefit from the added privacy created by the distribution of kiosks. In addition, the third floor is visually isolated from lower floors as translucent panels are placed along the edges of its corridors. Because the third floor used to house the women-only 'Ladies Kingdom', these panels were utilised to provide customers with maximised privacy. Today, they function as a subtle reminder of the third floor's past, and along with the dominance of family-only stores, work as subtle exclusionary devices that have the overall effect of fending off unaccompanied single men.

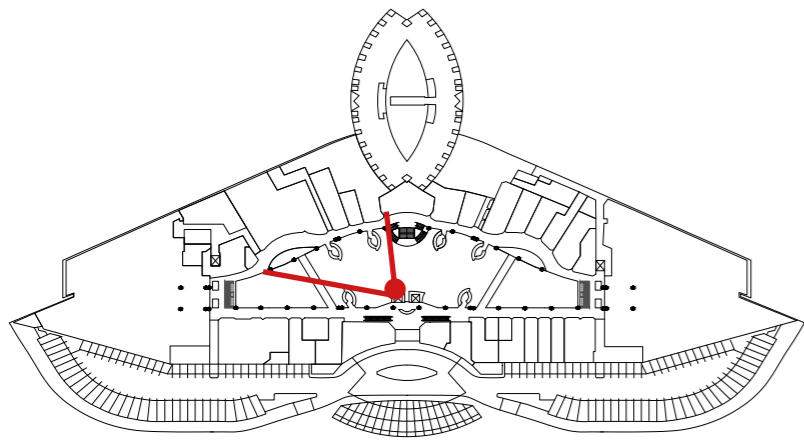
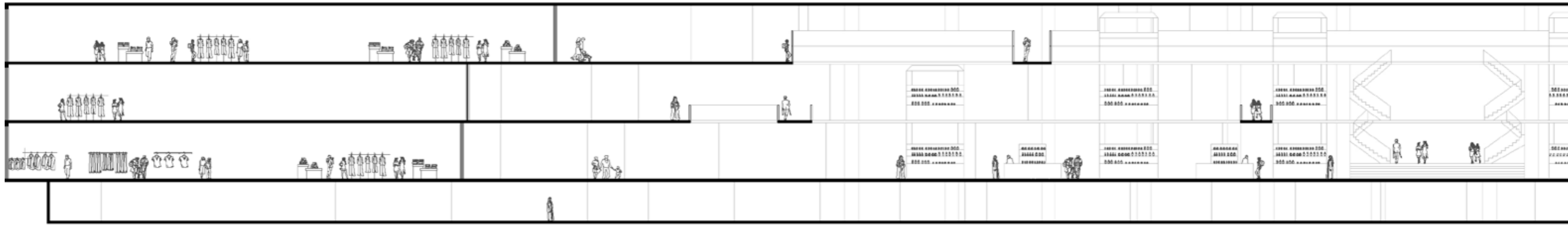
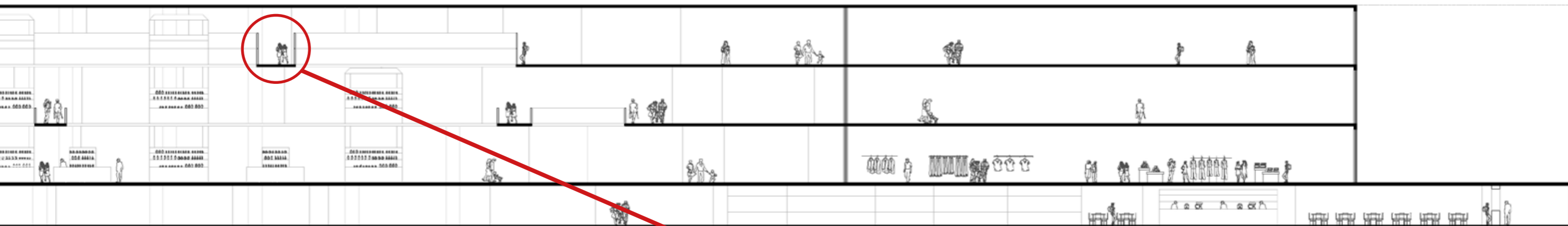


Figure 99: Floating Kiosks divide the space into smaller visual segments (source: Author).



Figure 100: Decorative elements are meant to prevent customers from utilising the edges as resting benches (source: Author).





Although the third floor has retained most of its original qualities, the official closure of the 'Ladies Kingdom' and the subsequent official tolerance of single men's presence has been received with criticism and discontent from the mall's female customers. As one respondent confirmed:

R: ... we used to come here and used to love to be here because this was a women-only place ... we used to uncover our hair, security were women walking around without abayas, it was very nice ... we were happy. When they opened the place to all, they thought it would be better, but look around, it's empty!

(Kingdom F04 2018, interview, 08 June).

These comments were further confirmed by another respondent, who stated:

R: ... they [women] used to come here to uncover their faces and get comfortable with their friends.

(Kingdom F05 2018, interview, 08 June).

Arguably, the subtle means of control and suppression of single men's presence on the third floor are ineffective in relieving the social pressure imposed on women in public spaces. As noted in competing malls, respondents in Kingdom Centre also expressed a preference for women-only spaces in which social norms are further alleviated. Surely, Kingdom Centre has proved to achieve these qualities in comparison with competing malls, yet these comments also prove that these qualities — even in Kingdom Centre — are equally unachievable in absolute terms.

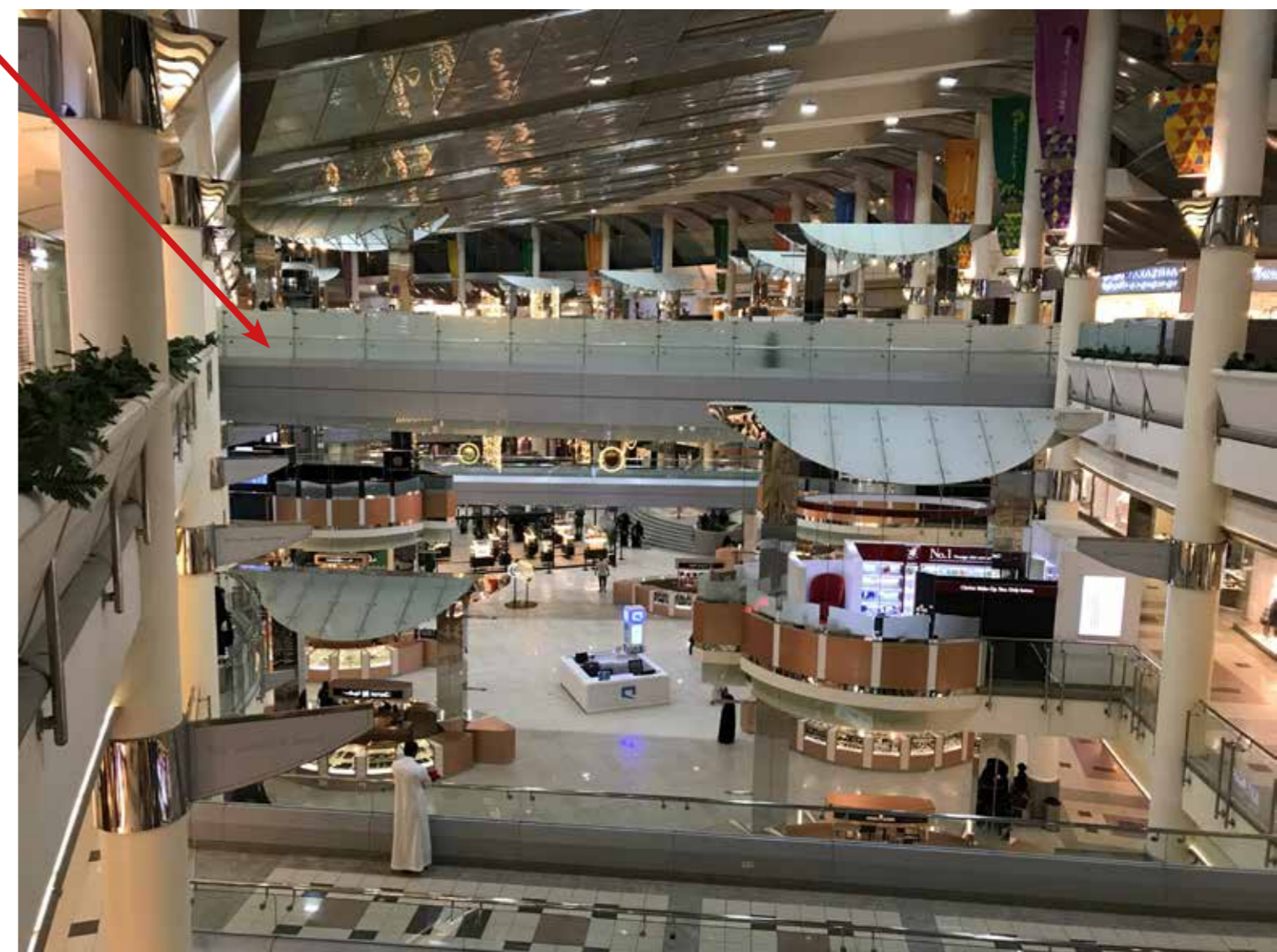


Figure 101: The central plaza of the first floor is highly visible, while the third floor remain visually protected by translucent glass panels installed alongside its corridors (source: Author).

Seeking privacy and exclusivity

Female respondents in Kingdom Centre stated that personal entertainment was the chief motivation for visiting the mall. Window shopping, coffee shops and meeting with friends all constituted good reasons to spend time in Kingdom Centre. Generally, respondents also expressed a preference for shopping malls with features such as quality lighting, wide corridors and high ceilings that create spaces that are spacious and welcoming. These comments align with some respondents' dislike for overcrowded spaces. Moreover, store variety was mentioned as a positive feature that renders malls more attractive. More importantly, female respondents expressed strong positive sentiments towards Kingdom Centre, describing its space as quiet, relaxing, refined, and intimate.

Whilst Al Nakheel Mall avoids perceived overcrowding by virtue of its scale, Kingdom Centre achieves it through added privacy which it realises through the visual and spatial division of its interior space. As a result, the effects of perceived overcrowding are eased and replaced by a sentiment of being in an exclusive and intimate space (fig. 102).

Interestingly, one respondent stated that she mainly visits malls to accompany her husband, who walks in corridors for exercise. She claimed that spaciousness, especially in Al Nakheel Mall, renders the mall an adequate place for her husband to perform such activity. Her comments support those made by male respondents in Al Nakheel Mall. As she explained:

R: The corridors are wide. The ceiling is high. It gives you the impression — it's spacious, like that.

I: Aha. You noticed the height of the ceiling?

R: Yes no, it's that the corridors are nice for walking that's what I meant.

I: Yes.

R: Because the wider the corridors the better it is for walking, you know?

I: Yes.



Figure 102: Added privacy is turned into an asset utilised to increase the mall's appeal and symbolic value (source: Author).

R: It gives you the opportunity to walk at the centre, on the edges, without disturbing anyone, just by yourself — Same thing for Hayat Mall it's spacious — Hayat Mall has many corridors so you can come and go and whatever you want.

(Kingdom F04 2018, interview, 08 June).

By the same token, it is possible to conclude that the qualities that mediate the effects of overcrowding in Kingdom Centre equally render its space adequate for walking and exercising. Curiously, this study's observations also proved that exercising is used as a pretext for single men to be in the mall without attracting undesired attention. This is due to the fact that the only coffee offering men with a seating area (fig. 103) has isolated their space from the mall by placing their space in the main tower. Consequently, young men have been observed primarily buying take-away coffee and walking around the corridors of the first floor. More importantly, young men have been observed to perform these activities individually or in groups of two. It is therefore possible to argue that whilst single men's presence is tolerated in Kingdom Centre, predefined roles and limitations are in place to

ensure that their presence does not undermine the apparent exclusivity and privacy — and therefore comfort — of female customers.

Seeking distinction

Overall, female respondents stated that Kingdom Centre appealed to customers that belong to particular social classes towards which implicit affinities were expressed. As opposed to the previous malls included in this study, all female respondents in Kingdom Centre did not cover their faces; one also uncovered her hair, and all expressed a strong stance against male guardianship. As a result, respondents expressed negative sentiments towards malls in which opposing values were strongly upheld, such as in Riyadh Gallery and Grenada in particular. More broadly, respondents expressed negative sentiments in relation to the opposing values of other malls located in eastern Riyadh.

As opposed to comments made about Kingdom Centre's customers — who were described as elegant, sophisticated and respectful — two respondents hinted at class distinctions between Kingdom Centre and other mall customers. As one respondent stated:

People who come here are more sophisticated — I mean, respectful — in other malls no — you sometimes feel that you're in a zoo —

(Kingdom F05 2018, interview, 08 June).

Two other respondents also claimed that they do not feel comfortable visiting these malls, as they become subject to negative comments from the part of some customers who deem their outer appearances as 'inappropriate'. As one respondent explained:

... So that is why I categorise Kingdom Centre as one where people who come here don't think this way about women. They respect freedoms. They respect women ... That's why I categorise it this way. When I go to Riyadh Gallery No — I find that those who are uncovered are only the non-Saudis ... because I went to Riyadh Gallery, and uncovered my hair and I felt that [imitate side looks], like this you know? That's why ... So I put something over my head just out of respect for the people there ... because the kind of people are different so out of respect I decided to do so — to avoid, you know, the staring — some women, especially the

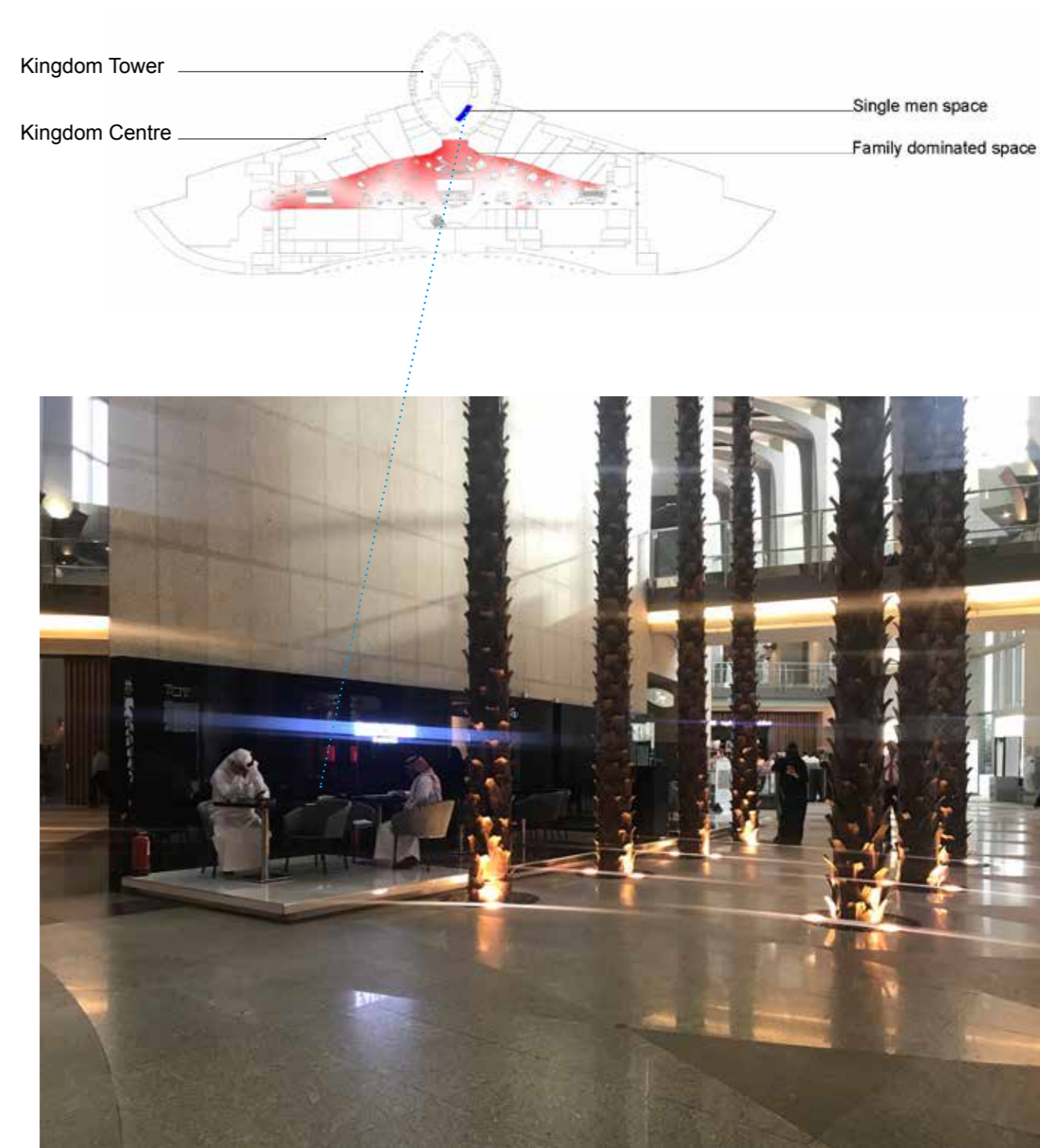


Figure 103: Isolated men-only seating area located in the Kingdom Tower (source: Author).

elderly — they stare — they say “damn you” and such [laughs]

(Kingdom F03 2018, interview, 06 June).

This evidence suggests that Kingdom Centre is primarily a refuge for women whose predispositions and values are significantly in opposition with contrasting social norms in Riyadh’s shopping malls. It is important to note that these opposing values — which constitute the basis for the class differentiations expressed by respondents — have the conventional abaya as its primary subject of concern and are not necessarily accompanied by economic factors exemplified by disparities in purchasing power. As observed in Kingdom Centre, respondents did not conduct any significant shopping in the mall and were mostly contented with consumption in coffee shops and restaurants. Taking into consideration the availability of similar coffee shop and restaurant possibilities in other competing malls, it is possible to argue that by accommodating and protecting opposing societal norms, the mall creates and perpetuates perceived class distinctions that differentiate between the customers in Kingdom Centre and its competition. Therefore, Kingdom Centre seems to have adopted a strategy that cultivates the illusion of exclusivity and privilege by appealing to social groups that have been excluded through the power of normalisation from Riyadh’s shopping malls.

The primacy of the individual

While shopping malls in Riyadh are usually known for being family-dominated spaces, observations revealed that Kingdom Centre is primarily an individualistic space in which female customers remain dominant over their male counterparts. Such observations corroborate respondents’ comments in Kingdom Centre — which contrasted significantly with their counterparts in Al Nakheel, Al Othaim and Al Qasr. Mostly confirming that they visited the mall for personal entertainment, respondents expressed a strong preference for the Kingdom Centre and claimed that it is an adequate place due to its privacy and exclusivity. Demonstrating their preference for places that are deemed private and luxurious, some respondent equally expressed negative sentiments towards malls that are characterised as dated, popular and overcrowded. For example, only one male respondent

confirmed visiting the mall to purchase a particular item, while all others were visiting the mall for personal entertainment.

This one respondent confirmed men’s general view of shopping malls and asserted that shopping in malls was a last resort. He expressed his preference for outdoor coffee shops for entertainment and meeting with friends. As a result, store variety and the availability of shopping options for men constituted the primary features in malls that were sought after, and which he claimed are particularly observable in Al Nakheel Mall.

Strikingly, the nuclear family was the exception rather than the rule in Kingdom Centre. As confirmed by a store employee:

... Here the mall is considered to be more accommodating for youngsters. I see more youngsters buying and shopping here. In Al Nakheel the mall is more accommodating for families, most customers are families. So Al Nakheel is more social in that sense, and it’s very noticeable.

(Anonymous 2018, personal communication, 09 June).

It is probable that the dominance of the individual is the main condition allowing for the unobtrusive presence of single and unaccompanied men. More importantly, the primacy of the individual creates a space of alternative social norms in which individuals — notably women — appear to be liberated from the prevailing power of normalisation that is exercised in competing malls. Subsequently, the power of normalisation is turned into a commercial strategy deployed in Kingdom Centre to distinguish it from its competitors. To elaborate, it is by creating a rupture from prevailing norms in competing malls that Kingdom Centre is able to appeal to particular social groups and individuals that perceive themselves as progressive and fundamentally different from Riyadh’s larger society.

Concluding thoughts

As argued above, the Kingdom Centre represents an alternative space in which social norms are challenged. The predominance of the family unit and the religious apparatus found in competing malls — symbolised spatially by situating the mosque and the theme park on the highest level — is here reversed. In Kingdom Centre, it is the individual woman that benefits from the highest position in the spatial hierarchy. Equally, the mosque and the theme park are placed in the mall's lowest level, tucked away from the main activities of the upper floors. It should also be noted that the vertical hierarchy is reflected in shops' distribution, as designer brands are located in higher levels, while more accessible brands and stores that are deemed more regular are found on the ground and first levels. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the adopted spatial strategy appears to challenge and reverse hierarchies found in competing malls. Subsequently, the Kingdom Centre appears as a 'unique' and 'progressive' social space. However, the female respondents' negative comments about the closure of 'Ladies Kingdom' and the predefined roles men have to assume in order to be tolerated in the mall may attest to the contrary. Such comments and observations prove that a fundamental reversal of social structures has not been achieved in Kingdom Centre. Rather, the apparent individualism and freedom remain superfluous and constrained. Essentially, these strategies serve a precise commercial function as they become norms that can attract groups and individuals who are predisposed to align with them. In Kingdom Centre, the conspicuous power of the religious apparatus is replaced by subtle and more precise forms of disciplinary power. Ultimately, the power of normalisation remains an exclusionary force that renders the malls inaccessible to large segments of society, causing Kingdom Centre to appear as one of the most exclusive spaces of Riyadh.

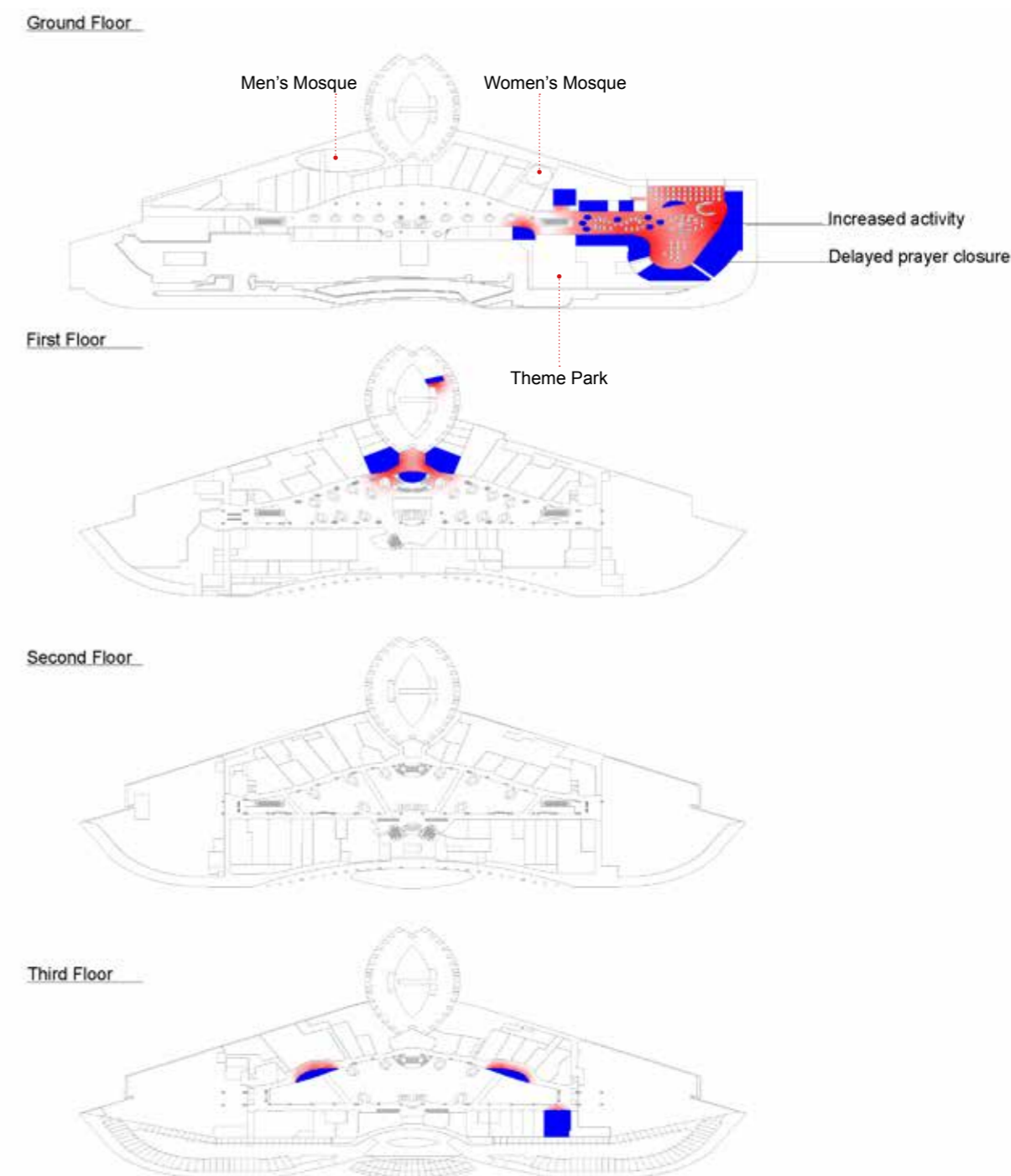


Figure 104: Mechanisms of temporal control over activity (source: Author).

Notes

1 Prayers are performed five times a day. However, prayer closures are performed four times a day from *Dhuhr* to *Isha'a* prayers — excluding *Fajr* prayers, during which shopping malls are closed.



Chapter VII
A cellular public life

Findings and results

7

The power of normalisation

The original hypothesis under which this research was developed was that shopping malls offered Riyadh — which suffers from serious urban sprawl and extreme climate conditions — adequate public spaces that accommodate the needs and desires of the local population. More importantly, the overrepresentation of female shoppers in Riyadh's malls was believed to support the idea that malls constituted for women a newfound space of relative freedom and enjoyment. However, the analysis of the underlying mechanisms that operate in Riyadh's malls offers a very different perspective and proves that such conclusions can be erroneous and should be received with great caution.

First, it is imperative to note that the entire social and architectural system upon which the Saudi iteration of shopping malls is built assumes that women are more compulsive — and thus, better consumers — than men. This may not be unique to the Saudi context; however, it is possible to argue that the emergence of this prejudice towards women in Saudi society coincides with the social and economic shift brought about by the development of the oil-based economy and accelerated by the oil boom of the 1970s. As discussed in earlier chapters, the development of the oil-based economy had significant social repercussions, as the local economy in Riyadh suddenly shifted from agricultural production to one primarily based on consumption. Such a development, along with economic abundance, caused the double exclusion of women from both the public and domestic spheres, as men were able to be sole breadwinners while families were able to afford domestic help. Furthermore, the family structure and religious obligations in Saudi society place economic responsibilities on men. As a result, women excluded from the public sphere and freed from domestic responsibilities, found themselves equipped with purchasing power, free time, and limited options to be out in the city. As a result, the mall typology became an ideal solution to exploit such a surplus. In a gender-segregated society, it is safe to assume that the shopping mall developers realised the economic potential female shoppers represent in Saudi society, and decided to focus all efforts to attract women at the expense of male shoppers who — while they hold the necessary

purchasing power — might spend less time in malls due to their professional and personal obligations.

This prejudice against women has been the essential ideological position on which have been based a whole set of mechanisms and tools deployed by the mall in order to guarantee and protect intrinsic processes of profit accumulation — processes that will always constitute the concealed justification for all the disciplinary measures that have become the mall's *de facto* mode of operation.

As Foucault explains (1977), disciplinary mechanisms are informed by observable processes. This means that the disciplinary mechanisms that have been uncovered in Riyadh's malls are not imposed on Saudi society from without; they are deeply informed by local practices that proved useful and were thereafter made part of the malls' mechanisms.

Therefore, the norms that the Foucauldian disciplines are meant to fix arise from within the structures inherent to the society in which the disciplines are implemented. Thus, it is important to understand, for the specific analysis of the mall typology, the importance of maintaining spatial distance between sexes in public spaces in Riyadh; it is a fundamental aspect of the urban development of the city finding its first manifestation in the segregation between men and the women in the *suq* during Riyadh's early history. By ensuring that gender segregation is maintained within its space, the mall is able to secure and increase its profitability in Riyadh in two distinct ways.

The first way in which the mall secures profitability through gender segregation is by appearing as a secure space in which women and the sanctity of the family are protected at all time. Constant control and surveillance over space causes women to default to shopping malls as they face no resistance or significant restrictions; this is due to the fact that mall security, family men and official authorities are happy for women to be in such a protected space. By the same token, family men are more likely to accept the female members of their families venturing into a shopping mall, as they know that gender

segregation will be upheld at all times. Thus, it is the perpetuation of the private patriarchy in the public sphere that causes the mall to align with the social structures of Saudi society. As a result, the mall appears as non-threatening to — and perhaps even as defending — the morality of Saudi society. This leads us to the mall's second way of securing profitability by enforcing gender segregation: by appearing as non-threatening to the morality of Saudi society, the mall is able to avoid being associated with the moral threat of 'Westernisation'. Despite being a commercial typology that can be easily identified with the 'modernisation and 'Westernisation' of Saudi society, the mall mediates such tensions by incorporating the disciplinary mechanisms that have been directly enforced by the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice up until the early-2000s. Today, these mechanisms continue to be upheld directly by Riyadh's malls even though the CPVP has lost the power to directly intervene in the public sphere. As a result, shopping malls consolidate Saudi social structures as they continue — at least, for the duration of this research — to perpetuate gender segregation at the urban level.

Therein lies the contradiction that the mall is compelled to overcome: that of opening up its space to the maximum number of customers in order to increase its profitability, and the societal need to maintain distinct separations between men and women.

The segregation that the mall perpetuates is ingrained in the dynamics of Saudi society. This is why most men and women respondents confirmed that they prefer to be in places that are more exclusive — such as coffee shops located outside of shopping malls — in which the segregation is even more pronounced. Because the disciplinary gaze of the opposing sex is eased or even disappears in such spaces, men and women are able to act with fewer constraints; self-discipline is no longer required, and customers can thereafter have a moment of spontaneous enjoyment. Thus, the mall is forced to address this contradiction; it has to balance between the need to bring both genders in closer spatial proximity and simultaneously instil disciplinary measures to maintain adequate distances while alleviating the tension caused by bringing men and women into close spatial proximity with one another.

Due to the fact that women are the Saudi mall's 'privileged customers', all disciplinary measures are in place to provide a space in which men are kept from causing the slightest obstruction to women's consumption. Men are only allowed to consume in the mall to the extent to which their activities do not, under any circumstances, have the effect of preventing or reducing women's activities in the mall. For example, family-only signs prevent single men from having access to certain stores that tend to target female shoppers, while women-only stores prevent all men — including those who are accompanying their families — from accessing the space. Most noticeable is the disproportionately larger space allocated to families and women in coffee shops and the food court, and the much smaller space allocated to single men. These single male areas are always strategically located in spaces of increased visibility, in order for men to remain under the constant gaze of disciplinary power. Men in the mall find themselves in a contradictory situation: they have to remain constantly visible and supervised to ensure that they do not deviate from the norm, and simultaneously, they are required, through self-discipline, to render themselves invisible by adhering to the implicit code of behaviours set by the prevailing norms to escape punishment and be tolerated. Most male respondents confirmed that their visits to malls find their justification in family obligation, whereby they are required to accompany female members of the family to the mall. The limitations imposed by the disciplinary gaze makes the mall, in most cases, an undesirable and uncomfortable space. When forced to shop in the mall, male respondents confirmed that they prefer to buy what they need and leave the space immediately.

Another contradiction stems from the tension created between the limitations imposed by the local law — which stipulates that all malls are required to grant access to all citizens without reservations — and its need to filter out 'undesirable' populations that might obstruct the processes of profit accumulation. The increased presence of single men in the mall can cause it to be perceived as threatening by women and family men who might prefer to be in a space in which single men are restricted or less visible. To this end, access for men is in practice limited and only granted to those either accompanying their families or those who have passed the screening process by having the dispositions that

are best in accordance with the norms of the mall they happen to visit. The norm — which is by definition extra-law — allows the mall to overcome structural limitations imposed by the law, making it possible to deny access to those who are perceived as a threat by families.

The norm also makes it possible for the mall to cater to the particular image that it seeks to cultivate. In other words, the norm is formulated differently from one mall to the other in order to welcome or filter out particular appearances and dress codes that are associated with different social groups in Saudi society. As an example, it was observed that male customers wearing the *thawb noom* — an iteration of the traditional Saudi *thawb* that is commonly worn in the private sphere, usually as a pyjama — were given access to Al Othaim Mall while they were unquestionably denied access in Kingdom Centre. It is important to note that wearing a *thawb noom* in public is associated with lower income groups in Saudi society, in Riyadh in particular. Contrastingly, male customers wearing ‘western’ style clothes such as jeans and t-shirts were particularly visible in the Kingdom Centre, while in Al Othaim Mall such clothing choices might attract the attention of mall security agents. Similar observations were made for female customers. In Al Othaim Mall, female customers predominantly wore the full traditional abaya in all black and covered their faces with the burqa. In contrast, many female customers in Kingdom Centre uncovered their faces and the presence of customers uncovering their hair was neither shocking nor uncommon. The observations made by female customers in Al Qasr Mall are comparable with those made in Al Othaim Mall, while those made in Al Nakheel Mall are more in alignment with those made in Kingdom Centre.

Thus, it is safe to assume that the Kingdom Centre cultivates its image by catering to customers who perceive themselves as ‘modern’ and ‘sophisticated’ and filter out those who are deemed to be of a lower social status. Al Othaim Mall, on the other hand, cultivates its image by accommodating customers who identify with more ‘conservative’ values and perceive those who wear ‘Western’ clothes or those who do not wear the burqa as ‘Westernised’ and ‘immoral’. Consequently, by readjusting the norm in order to appeal

to particular social groups, the shopping mall typology perpetuates preconceived notions that reflect the deep class stratification of Saudi society.

This is how normalising judgment in Riyadh’s malls disciplines and trains individuals through exclusion. Thus, the mall effectively produces ‘docile bodies’ and makes it possible to perpetuate and reinforce existing social structures in Saudi society such as class segregation and segregation between the sexes. In contrast to its possible perception as a space that creates opportunities for individuals to come together in public spaces, the mall trains individuals so that social distances, notably between the sexes, are sustained whenever spatial distances are reduced to the necessary minimum. It inflicts punishment, principally through exclusion, upon those who deviate from the norm, namely those who act and behave inadequately, whose appearance is deemed inappropriate for the kind of mall they find themselves in. Depending on the prevailing norm in a given shopping mall, single men who become more visible as they display ‘abnormal’ behaviours — such as a group of young men talking loudly near a family-only area — or appearances — such as those wearing shorts, torn jeans, or long hairstyles in conservative shopping malls — are more likely to be perceived as threats and become excluded. Thus, delinquents who are perceived as a threat to the dominant social order — those who disobey by coming dangerously close and infringing upon the social and spatial distances required to be upheld — are either brought back to order or expelled and cast out.

Overall, gender segregation is a constant that was mapped and observed within all of the selected study cases. However, it was unequally applied, and malls differed in how much proximity is tolerated between the sexes. As the evidence suggests, spatial proximity was particularly avoided in Al Othaim Mall and Al Qasr Mall, while Al Nakheel Mall created instances in which men and women were brought into closer spatial proximity; this was particularly noticeable in the irregular distribution of separation panels in the food court area, and the provision of a coffee shop in the central corridors that equally welcomes families and single men. Interestingly, unaccompanied single men were most visible in Kingdom Centre; it is also the mall with the most flexible spatial codification in the food

court area as many of its areas become non-gender assigned during peak hours. These aspects of Kingdom Centre strongly suggest that spatial proximity is highly tolerated in its space.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that spatial proximity is more tolerated in malls that seek to be associated with less conservative values; accordingly, it is less tolerated in malls that associate with more conservative values. Furthermore, spatial mapping proved that it is in the malls associated with less conservative values — Al Nakheel Mall and Kingdom Centre — that more spaces were allocated to single men or unassigned to a specific gender (i.e. spaces that can be equally used by single men, women and families).

The values and social groups that malls desire to be associated with correlate with their geographical location. For instance, Al Othaim Mall is located in al-Nasim in the eastern part of Riyadh, an area which was subdivided and auctioned to low-income groups in the mid-1970s (see Chapter 6). Similarly, Al Qasr Mall is located in the southern part of Riyadh, which has historically been associated with low-income groups (Chapter 6). Accordingly, the data points to the prevalence of conservative values in these shopping malls, which strongly suggests that they reflect the predominance of conservative values in the urban areas in which the malls are located. In contrast, Al Nakheel Mall is located in the northern part of the city, which has been historically associated with high-income groups (Chapter 6). Likewise, Kingdom Centre is located in New Riyadh at the heart of the commercial activity of the primary NW-SE axis of the city. In both of these malls, the data reflects the prevalence of less conservative values, which strongly suggests that they reflect the predominance of less conservative values in the urban areas in which the malls are located.

Thus, gender segregation is intertwined with class stratification and becomes a measure of morality and/or differentiation between competing groups. At one end of the spectrum, tolerance of gender proximity is considered a symbol of modernity and sophistication, while at the other end of the spectrum, enforced segregation is viewed as a sign of a

higher moral order. These competing values reflect underlying class differences that are reinforced by shopping malls through the power of normalisation. Consequently, the shopping mall typology plays an important role in consolidating class stratification in Riyadh.

Along with gender segregation, shopping malls create class segregations that operate at the city level. The interviews proved that shoppers usually default to malls that are closer to their houses for practical reasons. As a result of providing enclosed and somewhat homogenous spaces — at least in terms of overall spatial formula — in most parts of the city, the mall typology reproduces spatial class segregation at the urban level, as different social groups are less likely to come in contact with each other. Subsequently, social homogeneity is re-established at the level of the individual mall, and contact between opposing views is eliminated as each group is provided with its own pseudo-public space. At the city level, the shopping mall typology stabilises society and mediates social conflicts by preventing direct contact between heterogeneous groups with opposing moral values.

On perpetuating social structures

Contrary to the presumption that the mall constitutes a favoured place of entertainment, shopping proved to be the primary reason for women to visit the shopping mall. Another recurring justification was the desire to take one's children out to the theme park in the mall due to the practicality of having the needs of both the mother and children met in the same space. Similar to men's responses, women for the most part also confirmed their preference for coffee shops and restaurants located outside the shopping mall for their increased freedom and comfort related to being in a space with decreased male presence. Thus, the tension created by bringing sexes closer together, coupled with the increasing competition of other entertainment outlets has led female customers to mostly reduce their activities in shopping malls to shopping in recent years.

Interestingly, women shoppers unanimously default to the mall typology when it comes to shopping. The manner in which shopping in the mall takes the form of the natural, and thus the taken-for-granted order of things — due to the absence of alternative narratives — proves the extent to which the mall typology is entrenched within the structures of Riyadh's society. This accords with the relative ease with which some men are willing to leave their female family members to shop in the mall without feeling compelled to be present at all times, as it is assumed — and taken for granted — that the mall will ensure that their families remain protected from all undesired social contact. Hence, private patriarchy is replaced by discreet disciplinary mechanisms which cause the mall to appear as a space in which women are freed from social constraints; at the time, the patriarchal structures of Saudi society remain in operation and unchallenged.

The power of normalisation, by which men are disciplined in the mall typology, is the very mechanism that causes them to be comfortable with the idea of leaving their families without their supervision in the mall. Accordingly, some male respondents did not seem too upset by the existing regulations and some even claimed that such disciplinary measures should be augmented. This is because such limitations cause the private patriarchy of the traditional family to be discreetly perpetuated in the public sphere. At first glance, it may seem that these mechanisms are in place for the sake of women's comfort. This is partly true, but the power of normalisation is what renders inoffensive men who would otherwise be perceived as a threat by family men — who in turn would prevent their female family members from being in the mall without direct supervision. As opposed to the unpredictability of outdoor urban spaces, the familiarity and predictability of the mall typology are created by disciplinary mechanisms that perpetuate gender roles and stereotypes, and as a consequence define the mall as the only viable option for women to go out 'for shopping' in the city.

Thereafter, it becomes possible to uncover the direct link between the typology's insistence upon sustaining norms and its intrinsic need to generate profit. Through the process of normalisation, the mall conveys a message that is essentially addressed to family men. It signals safety and security, the comfort that will be attributed to their spouses, and the

privileged position their families are guaranteed in its space. Underlying this message is the fact that for those men who do not wish to remain with their families in order to supervise them, the mall will benevolently fulfil this task on their behalf. It will ensure that no infringing upon societal norms will be tolerated, that the privacy of the family unit will be preserved, and that only minimal and utilitarian communication between the sexes will be excused. It is by this elaborate sleight of hand that the mall secures its vital processes of accumulation by being perceived as the protector of the Saudi way of life. In appearing to respect the particularities of Riyadh's social norms and values, the mall alleviates social resistance by men who would otherwise endanger the typology by not allowing their families to shop in its space.

Local social norms and values and the shopping mall typology are mutually reinforcing. It is possible to argue that the mall's survival depends on the maintenance of contemporaneous social structures in Riyadh. It is also safe to conclude that at the present stage of its history, the mall in Riyadh has been able to integrate the structures of society to the point that it is in the best interest of the typology, in its current state, to maintain the status quo indefinitely.

Moreover, the inextricable link between the possibility of being in public space and the consumer role individuals have to assume is characteristic of Riyadh's urban environment. Yet, the creation through disciplinary power of a space that unmistakably privileges women places the mall in a dominant economic position. This is achieved by limiting women's shopping options to the mall by demonstrating how supervision can operate effectively at an urban scale, and as a consequence, rendering inconceivable the possibility for women of being in uncontrolled outdoor open spaces wherein individuals can escape the effects of disciplinary power and infringe upon the upheld societal norms. Moreover, the mall typology in Riyadh perpetuates gender stereotypes by encouraging ever-more consumption by women shoppers while limiting shopping options for men. This is achieved through the provision of a wide variety of shops that specifically target female shoppers, such as womenswear, fashion accessories and cosmetic stores — all of which are readily available in the study's selected cases.

It is important to note that store variety in shopping malls focuses essentially on goods that can be loosely described as non-durable goods. Thus, the strategy that the mall typology develops relies on continuous purchases of products such as clothes and makeup that can be frequently made by women shoppers. On the other hand, the so-called 'big ticket' items such as furniture are mainly available in primary shopping streets and dispersed around the city which means that — up until the recent lifting of the ban on women driving — such purchases had to be facilitated by male members of the family. As a result, the mall typology in Riyadh consolidates gendered shopping trends and causes the taken-for-granted gender stratification to be perpetuated at the urban level.

In addition to being safe, predictable and controllable spaces, shopping malls offer a good excuse for women for leaving the private sphere, as shopping becomes an adequate justification to be out in the city. The role of the 'shopper', which women are required to assume, deters resistance and/or denunciation from the religious apparatus as women venture in the city to satisfy their 'needs'. Likewise, 'shopping' or 'consuming' can be utilised by customers as an excuse for being in spaces of increased proximity between the sexes. This dimension was most noticeable in Kingdom Centre, in which single male customers adopted specific strategies to loiter in the mall without attracting too much attention. Most single men who desired to remain in the mall for an extended visit were observed buying take-away hot drinks at the outset of their visit — an act through which the category of customer/consumer is guaranteed. Then, they proceeded to walk around in circles on the first floor of the mall and window shop, while a significant number were observed to be busy talking on the phone whilst walking. Two important objectives are herein achieved: the first is that of having a constant justification that detracts from being perceived as loitering or seeking spatial proximity with the opposite sex. The second objective is that of placing oneself in the space of increased visibility in order to eliminate suspicions; as discussed in the previous chapter, the first floor of Kingdom Centre is the most visible floor, and the one in which customers come more readily under the gaze of disciplinary power. Thus, the evidence points to the fact that being in spaces that create instances of spatial proximity between the sexes just for the sake of being in such spaces

is unacceptable in Saudi society. Justifications — such as 'consumption' — have to be specified in order for individuals, both men and women, to avoid being subjugated by the power of normalisation.

However, the 'shopper' role that mall customers — women in particular — have to assume raises the issue of 'the right to the city' as it imposes significant limitations on those who do not have the ability to consume in the mall constantly. As exemplified by an interview conducted in Royal Mall¹ with a female shopkeeper, shopping and consuming in shopping malls is beyond the capabilities of many, and some find themselves excluded for lack of financial means. As she explained:

I: And what malls have you visited in Riyadh?

R: Royal Mall and Riyadh Gallery – and small shops.

I: Other malls?

R: No, I've never been to other malls.

I: And do you spend a lot of time when you visit Royal Mall and Riyadh Gallery?

R: Yes, in the Royal Mall because I work here.

I: Since when have you been working here?

R: About a year now – circumstances have changed – life requirements – so I kind of have to, you know.

I: I understand. And when you shop for yourself, do you come here or go someplace else?

R: No, we go to Centre Boy, Bahr Al Asa'ar – shops like that.

I: Why these in particular?

R: Because – I mean, prices are reasonable there – they are within our financial means.

I: Are they close to your place of residence?

R: They were but we had to move lately, and they became far away.

I: Do you still shop there even though they are now located far away?

R: Yes, even though it far from our place, but it's more beneficial for us.

I: You mentioned you visited Riyadh Gallery, how was your experience there?

R: Look – the prices – I won't lie to you, it's very expensive – but how it looks –

I: You mean its appearance and design?

R: Yes! Yes! – I mean, it's like when you go there you just want to walk around and see the entire mall.

I: Do you like to hang out there?

R: Yes, I spent time walking around and watching – but I didn't shop.

I: How often do you go to Riyadh Gallery?

R: I only went there once, about a month ago – during Ramadan, we went there to break our fast.

...

I: What about meeting with your friends?

R: My friends, they don't go to malls – I don't have a lot of friends – I don't socialise that much – to be honest, when I go to malls or other places, I am with my mother and sister – and most often we don't go to malls if we don't have to – we come here to work – so I don't really know about malls, and which are the good ones and which are the worst.

(Interviewee 07 – Royal Mall 2017, interview, 11 August).

Another male respondent in Al Othaim, who regularly visit shopping malls with his family for entertainment, expressed the financial burden that is caused by constant consumption.

As he stated:

R: Honestly, I thinks it's — I can say about once a week, at least once a week, at least once a week.

I: What is the reason for these visits?

R: You know, in Riyadh there aren't many ways for you to be entertained

other than shopping malls — I mean, markets, for the family, my wife shops, the kids go the theme park, and at the same time they'd have restaurants so it's the most convenient place for entertainment. In Riyadh there isn't much else to be honest, we don't have beaches for example.

I: True — So, if I understand correctly, you're mostly here with your family?

R: Yes, of course.

I: Do you come here by yourself?

R: No, no, I don't come here alone, never!

...

I: Have you heard of these new places like the Boulevard² or the Plazas like Rubeen Plaza and such?

R: The Boulevard, to be honest, I heard about it but I've never been there.

I: Some have been mentioned to me that is why I am asking.

R: I've heard that it's something classy, a classy place, there are coffee shops and restaurants and such but I've been there, to be honest, because — I wouldn't go there to have coffee, for me it's the — the coffee shops are just a waste of time, in my opinion, to be honest.

I: A waste of time —

R: Yes, let's say I want to sit with my wife and go out, honestly, we can sit at home and have coffee and get more comfortable, it's much better than going out just to take some pictures — that's what it's all about I think, taking pictures and posting them.

I: You don't think it's about enjoying it?

R: Even if it was about enjoying yourself, we have places that are closer to our house, good restaurants, classy, it's not important that we to go to such places, especially that are in central Riyadh, where it is overcrowded.

I: Are you talking specifically about the Boulevard?

R: No not necessarily — I won't deny it, sometimes my wife pressures me.

I: Yes.

R: I mean, sometimes she pressures me so that we go out to a restaurant for example, so at least once every two to three months — but you know, one has financial obligations and — so like —

I: I understand.

R: And these restaurants are very expensive, so I can only afford it from time to time, two to three months, I'll take my wife and kids out, we'll go and have lunch in a classy restaurant, two to three hundred riyals, I'll spend them and look the other way at once [sighs].

(Al Othaim M03 2018, interview, 25 May).

As the evidence suggests, the inevitable association between the possibility of being in public space and the consumer role individuals have to assume in Riyadh's urban environment imposes great financial limitations on individuals and families. It also causes a significant part of the population to be excluded and denied the right to be out in public, due to their inability to assume such a role. As a result, access to Riyadh's urban environment — up until the conclusion of this research — remains, for the most part, a privilege, rather than a right given to all regardless of gender and class. However, rather than suggesting the 'death of public space' in contemporary Riyadh, it would be perhaps more sensible to argue that the 'public space' has yet to be born in the city's contemporary urban environment.

On resistance

The mechanisms inherent in the mall typology serve two primary functions that are equally geared towards the maximisation of profit. Firstly, control over space is essential for the mall to secure the perceived safety, security and comfort of women who are deemed the typology's privileged customers. Secondly, additional disciplinary measures are in place to train individual shoppers, notably women, to increase consumption and therefore maximise as much as possible the mall's economic output. This means that consumers in the shopping mall inevitably come under the influence of disciplinary power. Nevertheless, the determinism and hegemony of the mall typology should not be assumed. Consumption

should not be narrowly understood as imposed power; it can equally represent a source of empowerment (hooks, 1984). Similarly, through consumption, consumers have the possibility to exercise power that is of significant economic and social impact (hooks, 1984).

At the cornerstone of the entire socio-ideological and economic edifice on which the shopping mall relies — along with similar consumer-led typologies in Riyadh — is the unchallenged and predefined consumer role assigned to women. As a result, the frequent and recurring small purchases which translate into the vast profits upon which the mall typology feeds become an effective tool by which consumers are able to exercise power. Consumers, women in particular, have the ability to challenge these predefined notions and refuse to assume the roles and characteristics attributed to them. By refusing to consume, women can exercise power that has the potential of impeding the mall typology, and by extension, decelerate capital growth. Therefore, the very mechanisms by which shoppers are subjugated can become the channels by which they strategically exercise power to induce changes deemed desirable and necessary. It is evident that the mall typology incorporates particular social structures and values to increase its appeal and consequently increase profits. Accordingly, it is possible to envisage a change in the mechanisms of the mall typology in Riyadh — such as limited access for single men — if these prove to repel potential customers and hinder profits. This potential for change reflects the dynamic nature of the relations of power in which the mall is set. It explains how the mall typology is indifferent to the norms it perpetuates, as it continues to propagate them because they are useful to protecting and/or increasing profits — such as the continued limits imposed on access for single men, despite the official lift on the ban in 2012 — regardless of their wider socioeconomic and urban implications.

The effective exercise of power from individual customers can have implications that extend to the urban realm, causing changes in the structures of power, and consequently, causing the urban environment in Riyadh to be altered in order to reflect such changes.

Therefore, far from being powerless victims under the uninterrupted hegemony of the mall typology, consumers benefit from the capacity to exercise impactful power and are always in a state of negotiating power relations. A Foucauldian analysis of such relations makes it possible to reveal the points at which power can be strategically exercised to induce the changes that are most desirable. To elaborate, this research demonstrates the extent to which the mall typology, informed by the fluidity of global capitalism, is flexible and able to accommodate local socio-cultural norms and values. These norms and values are consequently turned into the tools of control and supervision employed by disciplinary power, and therefore deeply influence how disciplinary measures spatially determine the mall typology in Riyadh. This means that changing local socio-cultural norms and values can become the means by which new changes to the typology are introduced at the local level. Presumably, local changes in the structures of power will be subsumed by the mall typology, creating new spatial and social conditions under which the disciplines operate.

This is why freedom is not understood in a Foucauldian framework as an ultimate state to be achieved, but rather something that is always to be exercised. The analysis of the operation of disciplinary power in the mall opens up the possibility of alternative realities that can be achieved through the continuous exercising of such freedom.

A resilient typology?

Far from reaching a saturation point and realising the prophesied death of the shopping mall, a global, non-American perspective proves the extent to which the mall is a resilient typology that is able to operate effectively in radically different contexts. The mall typology in Riyadh demonstrates its compatibility with the local urban environment and its aptitude for subsuming local socio-cultural requirements, in order to subvert them and effectively render them part of its processes of capital accumulation. This emerges as an inherent characteristic of the typology and is informed by capitalism's capacity to remain neutral towards the ideology which sustains it (Zizek, 2015). For the mall typology, this is most exemplified in its assimilation of gender segregation. However, there remains a degree of

flexibility in how local socio-cultural requirements are incorporated, as the evidence has proved that the social sphere in Riyadh is far from homogenous and includes groups with contrasting practices and moral values.

Thereafter, it would be erroneous to assume that the mall typology, and by extension the urban fabric in Riyadh, is the product of directly-imposed Western modes of production that are incompatible with Saudi particularities. Such arguments, concluding with the alienation of *the local* and its detachment from and resentment towards the urban environment are not only based on a romanticised idea of the traditional city; they also further imply the powerlessness of local tradition and the victimhood of local socioeconomic and political agents. In reality, as this research demonstrates, local tradition and agents exercise significant power and have an active role in shaping the contemporary urban environment. To elaborate, as opposed to the direct imposition of a culture defined as universal and which might provoke local upheaval and open resistance, under global capitalism — to which the mall typology is integral — the strengthening of local norms and practices is the means by which capital eliminates all potential local counter-forces (Zizek, 2018) by aligning its mode of operation with the interests of the dominant local culture. Thus, the mall typology has the effect of augmenting and magnifying socio-cultural norms and practices. Hence the role of dominant socio-cultural norms and practices in shaping the urban the environment; they set the limits (or the rules of the game) to which typologies, such as the mall, have to adhere. This leads to the creation of iterations that are essentially Saudi in character, but nonetheless remain true to the function and spatial formula of the imported typology. It also means that both imported typologies and socio-cultural norms and practices are not predetermined; they are always in tension and dialogue with each other, co-constituting the social, the architectural, and the urban of Riyadh.

An opportunistic typology

The inextricable link between the mall typology and global capitalism, which causes the mall to benefit from such resilient characteristics, equally causes the mall to inherit contradictions to which it has but a few viable solutions for overcoming. To ease the tension between the influx of capital and the rigidity of the architectural form, the mall is forced to frequently modify tenants, add spatial features and services (temporary or otherwise), as well as intervene spatially to keep up with market dynamics and meet demands for continuous renewal. Although these interventions are small in scale and do not offer any substantial innovations to existing structures, they nonetheless mask (if only temporarily) the inherent tensions and portray the mall as a space of renewed discovery and experience. A good example is the prevalence of Ramadan decoration in certain shopping malls in Riyadh, a strategy by which the mall eases tension through the commodification of local culture. Nevertheless, the study reveals that these strategies require the mall to be in areas of pre-established commercial activity for it to have the capacity to deploy them effectively. This is the case for Al Nakheel Mall and Kingdom Centre, which benefit from prime commercial locations; contrastingly, Al Qasr suffers from its location in an area of local commercial activity. As part of the larger Parisiana Riyadh, the mall — along with the commercial programme of the project — did not rely on any pre-established commercial activity but was supposed to create it at the neighbourhood and urban level. As the project's predictions failed to materialise, the mall became stagnant, creating a situation in which its inability to support the illusion of renewal sustains unsatisfactory customer demand.

Urban location is a fundamental aspect that shopping malls depend on to stimulate profits and cultivate their symbolic value. Not only is it necessary for the mall to be located in areas of pre-established commercial activity; the location also affects how the mall is perceived by the public, as popular opinion about the value of the area/neighbourhood in which a given mall is located is mirrored by their judgment of the value of the shopping mall. Overall, contrasting views were expressed by respondents — however, female

respondents in Al Othaim especially detached themselves from the mall and associated more readily with malls in the northern part of the city. On the other hand, female respondents in Al Nakheel Mall valued malls in northern Riyadh for the most part and seemed to be less knowledgeable about malls in the eastern and southern parts of Riyadh. Contrastingly, female respondents in Al Qasr mall expressed views that highlight their awareness of class differences between Riyadh's malls and expressed positive opinions about the quality of malls in the northern parts of the city. Finally, female respondents in Kingdom Centre enthusiastically identified with the mall, which they associated with social status. They also appeared to have less information about shopping malls located beyond New Riyadh and were particularly unaware of Al Qasr Mall and other malls located in the southern parts of Riyadh.

This sort of judgment about the symbolic value and status of a given shopping mall was better observed amongst female respondents, as male respondents were more interested in practical aspects that related to their duties as family men. Male respondents in Kingdom Centre proved the exception, as they identified with the mall in a fashion similar to their female counterparts; they were equally unaware of shopping malls located in the southern parts of the city.

Observations also point to the fact that high-end and international brands appear to be concentrated in malls of that are given higher status, such as Al Nakheel Mall and Kingdom Centre, while local retailers are more present in malls such as Al Othaim and Al Qasr. Furthermore, one respondent stated that retailers located in malls around the city seem to make newer collections and in-demand products more available in their branches located in northern Riyadh, where demand is usually higher (Al Qasr F02 2018, interview, 02 May).

Thus, the north-south class divide in Riyadh was not created by the mall typology; however, it is possible to argue that malls benefit greatly from such class differentiation and create an environment in which those differences are cultivated. A self-reinforcing

loop is here created; malls located in valued areas are given higher status, which attracts more customers and allows such malls to increase profits and support the positive image generated in the minds of Riyadhis. In contrast, profits of malls that are located in less valued areas suffer, as they attract local customers who limit their visits to practical reasons — which limits the mall's ability to renew and sustain its space, causing the already-negative image created in the minds of Riyadhis to be perpetuated.

Therefore, the mall typology in Riyadh is perpetually in tension; it has to continually strike a balance between the global and the local, its fixed architectural form and the fluidity of market dynamics. Thus, it is not determined; it is, on the contrary, set in a network of power relations in which it has to mediate between contradictory forces. It is this position that simultaneously accounts for the mall's resilience and its vulnerability. If change is desired, then it is the indefinite nature of the typology that makes it possible to alter its modes of functioning; change can be produced top-down by significant changes in the structures of power, or can arise at the capillary level from local norms and practices.

The carceral city

The mall in Riyadh generates layers upon layers of segregation that operate at different levels of resolution. These are to be understood as disciplinary measures geared towards the augmentation and increased effectiveness of the mall typology's output. They are mechanisms that underlie the economic ends of the typology — tools necessary for the processes of accumulation to operate uncontested and uninterrupted, regardless of their socioeconomic implications.

At the architectural level, gender segregation is the primary and most observable phenomenon by which spatial measures are implemented to regulate access and circulation, and define gendered spaces that shape how customers navigate and experience the typology. Ultimately, the mall typology plays a fundamental part in the crystallisation of gender roles in Saudi society.

At the urban level of the local neighbourhood, the mall appears as a detached urban entity that compounds the existing issues of urban discontinuity and fragmentation. Set within the existing fabric of Riyadh, shopping malls are not the main cause and effect of the fragmentation characteristic of Riyadh's urban environment. Equally, they do not contribute to the urbanity of Riyadh — unlike in Hong Kong, for example, where malls have become a unit of urban development. The mall's vital need for architectural differentiation and its inward-looking programme ultimately undermine the urban coherence of the whole, causing already-existing urban discontinuities and fragmentation to consolidate. More importantly, they do not generate any significant urban activity that can spill out to adjacent urban areas, other than increased car traffic during rush hour (during evenings, and most particularly, during the weekend). Contrarily, malls in Riyadh are opportunistic; in other words, they require areas of previously-established urban activity and of significant catchment upon which the typology can feed. In cases where roles were reversed — in which the mall was believed to deliver the necessary attraction to support the infrastructure of the immediate urban area — the results were profoundly disappointing; Al Qasr Mall is a case in point.

At the urban level, the mall results in the ossification of spatial class and gender segregation. It would be erroneous to conclude that this aspect of the city is the direct result of the introduction of the mall typology. Because the mall is set in a larger network of power relations to which it contributes — and as with the issue of urban discontinuity — the mall solidifies and supports already-existing forms of urban class and gender segregation, compounding the urban fragmentation of the city and its underlying socioeconomic dimensions. Interestingly, the evidence points to the unequal application of gender segregation as the mall mirrors the norms and values of the dominant social group of the area in which it is located. Thus, it is possible to argue that gender segregation is inflected by social class and becomes a measure of the ideological struggle between 'modernisation/Westernisation' and the 'conservative' moral values that characterise Saudi society. On one end of the moral spectrum, decreased segregation and mixing is observed in malls and amongst individuals that identify with 'modern' and 'open-minded'

values. On the other end, strict gender segregation is observed in malls and amongst individuals that identify with ‘conservative’ moral values. Despite the persistence of gender segregation in all of Riyadh’s malls, the assumed positions between permissiveness and strict application translate into a systematic transubstantiation whereby morality and the power of normalisation become symbolic tools utilised to express social distinction and differentiation.

While offering consumers largely-similar services and options, malls differ in their definition of norms and maintenance of disciplinary measures. As mentioned above, such norms and measures are not only informed by prevailing societal norms in Saudi Arabia; rather, they also equally (and more importantly) reflect the processes of normalisation that are most in accordance with the norms of the dominant social group of the immediate urban area. Notwithstanding the practicality attached to having the mall in such close spatial proximity, the more significant effect of this strategy relates to having different social groups and classes identify more readily with certain shopping malls and disassociate more easily with others. As simultaneous defensive mechanisms and instruments of attraction, they enable malls to operate in their respective urban neighbourhoods with minimum friction and resistance. When such measures are added to perhaps more discernible economic dimensions — related to the purchasing power of consumers — the ultimate result is a city in which social groups and classes are incentivised to remain within the bounds of their local urban area. Effectively, Riyadh is turned into an amalgamation of urban archipelagos in which people with opposing norms are encouraged to refrain from coming into close proximity with one another. The collision of opposing views, which risks causing moral conflicts to disturb the current order, is prevented. Thus, the social order is preserved, and the mall secures its dominant position by maintaining the tension between the need to uphold prevailing norms at the neighbourhood level and the need to prevent opposing norms from coming dangerously closer at the city level. Thereafter, the mall typology is able to operate at the most effective cost; by subsuming local moral values, it is able to accelerate processes of accumulation, and by the same token, reduce local resistance to

a minimum, resulting in the creation of a new breed of shopping malls that are essentially Saudi in their modes of operation.

Returning to the concept of the panopticon: the analysis reveals the underlying grim reality of what at first glance appears to be an adequate response to the limitations imposed by the local climate and the aridity of the urban context. The mall is a typology that functions as a concealed disciplinary institution that appears to be at first glance a neutral and indifferent space. It occupies an important position in the disciplinary network that runs throughout the social body and operates at different levels of resolution that range from the interior space of the individual mall to the urban scale of the city as a whole. The synthesis of disciplinary mechanisms, from specific and localised measures, to Riyadh’s urban policies, culminates in what can be termed a ‘carceral urbanity’ — wherein disciplinary power takes hold and public space is usurped by the mall typology and transferred to a ‘publicly-used’ private space.

Another misunderstanding would be to associate the multiplicity of mall offerings and their divergent modes of operation with increased individual freedom of choice. Indeed, the panopticism of the typology does not equate to absolute determinism; this research argues that subjectivity in Riyadh’s malls is not negated but constrained. The path of least resistance will always be the one in which individuals are set within the urban area that is most in accordance with their interiorised dispositions. Nevertheless, individuals are not bound to their immediate urban environment; in order to break with and disassociate from it, they are required to exercise power more forcefully — an exercise which will inevitably be faced with countermeasures from the part of the mall typology. It is only when significant power is deployed to counter disciplinary measures — or in this case, when important changes in the existing structures of power occur — that changes in mall mechanisms can start to develop. The purpose of a Foucauldian framework is to understand how to operate within such dynamics.

Yet, the accelerated technological advances of the last decade have posed a significant challenge to such urban strategies. Progressively, the system of spatial segregation is pushed to its limits in an age of digital hyper-connectivity. While in the past, a strong correlation could be drawn between social and spatial distances, now, with the proliferation of social media and other communication technologies, distances in public space have been significantly reduced, bringing different and perhaps competing social factions — some might argue dangerously — close together in virtual space. It is perhaps too early to assert the implications of such developments; however, it can be safely assumed that they are currently affecting how Saudi society is being re-shaped. Other than the moral conflicts that they might engender, the pressures of economic stratification and the implicit and uninterrupted push towards ever-increasing consumption, are already being felt by those who find themselves in less favourable positions in social space, as is evident in some respondents' accounts.

Another outcome of the proliferation of social media and other communication technologies is the accelerated formation of trends — especially amongst younger generations — to which the city constitutes the permanent backdrop (if not the direct arena) of social competition. This means that areas of the city can become, for one reason or another, the current trend, the place to be, and the area in which much of urban activity becomes concentrated.

The increasing obsession with 'the new' and the trendy at the city level is another consequence of the complex situation caused by the triad of accelerated urbanism, processes of globalisation and the proliferation of communication technologies. This is so much so, that newly-introduced typologies of open commercial centres — characterised by their rather small scale (when compared to shopping malls) and central open plazas bordered by restaurant and coffee shops — are increasingly diverting customers purely in pursuit of entertainment away from shopping malls. This obsession with newness has led to another accelerated phenomenon by which the ruthless competition between speculators and developers is producing massive quantities of new developments

without proper analysis regarding their longevity, and more importantly, the long-term consequences of such urban speculation.

It is possible to suggest that the fascination with the new partly stems from the desire to exploit new spaces in which efficient disciplinary measures are still developing. This creates opportunities — especially amongst the younger generation — that can be exploited to defy social norms and experiment with spatial transgressions. As an example, a male respondent stated that young men faced serious measures when transgressing gender segregation in Rubeen Plaza, a new open-space commercial typology located in northern Riyadh. In contrast, he confirmed that such transgressions do not occur in shopping malls, as strict surveillance and control deters from such actions.

I: I would like to go back to the subject of being observed — as a young man do you feel that security is focusing on you in order to make sure that you are not flirting or has that changed now?

R: No, I don't notice this lately — it's true that they are a bit strict but I don't notice this — because, I have confidence in myself, I am going to get my thing and leave, so it's the one looking for such things who gets scared.

I: Such intentions become noticeable on that person?

R: Yes, you can tell because most malls have cameras everywhere and thus the place is under surveillance from everywhere — every point is under surveillance, the securities I see them distributed everywhere — here is one [point at CCTV], two at each gate —

I: Aha.

R: So, I don't think so lately, no.

I: You mean that they rely on the fact that young men know that the place is under surveillance and so they behave themselves?

R: Yes, they won't do anything because they get scared from this — because they know that the repercussions are very serious —

I: Were these activities relocated elsewhere?



Figure 1: Enforced spatial control over single men in Rubeen Plaza (source: Author).

R: Yes, to the new places like The Boulevard and Rubeen Plaza.

I: So, flirting happens there?

R: Yes, a lot!, it's very common, [laughs]

I: [laughs]

R: To the point that for some time in Rubeen Plaza, a police truck was stationed there.

I: A police truck? This is new information to me.

R: Yes, and it gets packed, no it gets packed

I: Oh! you mean they take youngsters into custody?

R: Yes, they take those who flirt because they are numerous and they can't control the centre.

I: This is interesting.

R: [laughs], go there on weekends and you'll see.

I: It's a police truck, not Hai'a³?

R: No Hai'a doesn't go there — police, police truck — police truck and three SUVs.

I: Do they come in large numbers?

R: Yes, I mean, a great many.

I: Do they catch those who are flirting for sure — I mean those caught in the act, or just anyone they might suspect?

R: No, if they see certain behaviours — or if he starts to mess around with them, then 'please come with us' [laughs]

I: And such behaviours are not to be found in malls?

R: Yes, not anymore, they disappeared — disappeared, the place is more secured now, it became safer for families in malls.

(Al Nakheel M01 2018, interview, 18 April).



Figure 2: View of the central plaza. As with the new breed of commercial typologies in Riyadh, Rubeen Plaza is characterised by its central open space that is bordered by shops, coffee shops and restaurants. (source: Author).

It is important to note that Rubeen Plaza is an open commercial typology. It is composed of a central open plaza bordered by restaurants and coffee shops (fig. 2). Thus, the lack of a completely-defined enclosure — such as in the shopping mall — facilitates access, causing youngsters to experiment with spatial transgression. Once such incidents occur, the practices of youngsters inform disciplinary measures that gradually assimilate new strategies to prevent them from repeating their actions. After the interview, a visit to Rubeen Plaza proved that surveillance and control over access and movement had been implemented to regulate young men. Once benefiting from free access, security agents have been placed at the entrances to prevent those who appear as defiant or ‘ill-intentioned’. More strikingly, loitering in the central plaza has become inadmissible for unaccompanied men (fig. 1). The central plaza has effectively become a circulation space for men as they are now required to promptly walk towards or out of a determined destination (i.e. restaurants and coffee shops that allocate spaces to single men).

With the development of alternative commercial typologies, it would perhaps be all too easy to conclude that the death of the Saudi mall is imminent. Yet, it is evident that the propagation of disciplinary measures in new commercial typologies points to the continuation of the spatial control that has been advanced by the mall typology. Moreover, the fact that shopping malls are becoming increasingly shopping-only destinations after only two decades since their introduction indicates that the pressure caused by current market dynamics will certainly have consequences on the typology that are far-reaching and that extend to the qualitative realm, affecting the urbanity of the city and the everyday life of its citizens. Interestingly, and despite the significant number of existing malls as well as the shifting behaviours of their customers, malls are still being constructed in various locations in Riyadh. In some cases, the old mall formula is being instinctively replicated, while in other cases, the formula is being supplemented by new programmatic and spatial iterations — such as the inclusion of cinemas — made possible by sudden changes in the structures and relations of power that resulted in lifting bans and opened new avenues for Saudi and international capital to operate. After the fieldwork was completed, Al Qasr Mall and Kingdom Centre have converted part of their space to include a cinema to their

programme, while Al Nakheel Mall announced a new expansion that would add a cinema to its programme and increase its leasable space by another 39,036m². Evidently, malls in Riyadh continue to seek new avenues for accumulation and are yet to reach their saturation point.

Perhaps the most significant development is exemplified by Najd Mall — developed by Arabian Centres, the owners of Al Nakheel Mall — in which the mall typology is being opened up and inverted in the same manner that the new competing typologies are constructed, but at a much larger scale. It can then be argued that the new open centres represent the first exploratory stage by which capital, through smaller urban interventions, is testing market responses in order to introduce a new breed of shopping mall to the city. It is, therefore, more likely that the Saudi mall is not dying, but that we are witnessing the processes by which it is reborn. Through capital’s creative capacity to subsume local resistances in order to increase and accelerate its internal processes, the competing typology might become the model on which future shopping malls are built, and by virtue of their size and ability to mobilise significant economic resources, overwhelm such competing typologies as well as the urban environment of Riyadh. If this prediction materialises, then the shopping mall, in the larger sense of the term, survives. Nonetheless, the question remains about the failed ventures and the function of the old iterations of the typology that are thereafter rendered obsolete. What is evident is the fact that the growing grip that commercial typologies have on the urban environment — along with all the deeper socioeconomic and urban implications that such development entails — is increasingly overwhelming the city. It is causing further socioeconomic fractures to form and consolidate. If unaddressed, purely market-driven developments will have permanent negative urban effects. A timely re-evaluation of urban policies is imperative in order to rethink the city if such outcomes are to be alleviated or even reversed.

Notes

1 Royal Mall is a shopping mall located on King Fahad Road, on the primary NW-SE commercial axis of the city. It is situated in an attractive commercial location in Ar Rahmaniyyah district in the northern part of the city. However, the mall was unable to compete with other shopping malls in northern Riyadh and was therefore deteriorating. As informed by one shopkeeper during the pilot study, the activity of the mall has been radically transformed in recent years, focusing on traditional womenswear, notably abaya stores. This strategic transformation has altered the situation of the mall, as it has become in direct competition with surrounding modern *suqs* and markets, rather than with competing malls.

2 The mentioned plazas, such as The Boulevard and Rubeen Plaza, are new commercial developments mostly located in northern Riyadh. They are open-space commercial typologies with a central plaza and are surrounded or bordered by coffee shops and restaurants. Some include shops in their programme. However, these developments are primarily known for their high-end cafes and restaurant offerings.

3 Hai'a is short for *هيئة الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر* [*Hai'a Al-Amr b' Al-Ma'rouf Wa Al-Nahyi 'an al-Monkar*], that is: The Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice.

Chapter VIII
Conclusion

This study was driven from the very beginning by a desire to address the issue of public spaces, which is believed to be one of the primary causes of the experienced aridity of Riyadh's built environment and its hostility towards pedestrian and non-motorised urban activity. It was decided that the investigation would begin with a process of identification and classification of conventional urban typologies that qualify as public spaces. Following this step, a process of elimination culminated in the definition of precise typologies that would thereafter become the object of study. To this end, investigatory fieldwork was initiated in early 2016 to explore Riyadh's urban environment and define the scope of the research. After thorough investigation, it became evident that the initial stage of the investigation could not be completed due to the lack of adequate urban spaces. The absence of active squares, plazas, piazzas, pedestrian pathways and open-air recreational spaces — caused by urban sprawl and the overwhelming domination of car-centric planning — resulted in the inevitable divorce between the outdoor urban environment and public life.

Principally, public space typologies in Riyadh are reduced to open green public parks scattered around the city and planned as isolated green islands only capable of generating inconsequential sedentary activity. As observed during the initial investigation, parks were mostly frequented by families who, having arrived by car, would establish an area in which most members — except for children — would remain seated for the duration of their visit. In less common instances, individuals would visit parks in order to walk along pathways for exercise. Nevertheless, having been the object of previous research (Bahammam, 1995), and unable to generate significant and diverse everyday urban activity, the focus on public parks shifted in favour of informal and neglected urban spaces that proved capable of generating important everyday urban activities. This development was guided by a desire to focus on the study on active spaces in order to thoroughly investigate the interaction between urban typologies and public social life. Thus, the definition of public spaces was revised to include informal urban spaces located in the centre of the historic core of the city. Unlike public parks, these spaces are an integral part of the everyday life of the

community of immigrant workers who have re-appropriated the historic core following its abandonment by the local Saudi population.

However, it became evident at an early stage of the research that spatial organisation is actively being implemented in Riyadh's urban spaces today, and that such informal activities are being subdued. Progressively, the evidence pointed towards the domination of the shopping mall typology as the primary urban space in which public life occurs in the city. Accordingly, the scope of this research was extended beyond conventional open urban spaces to include the enclosed and publicly-used space of the shopping mall. Imported amid the power struggle between accelerated modernisation and the religious apparatus, the enclosure of the shopping mall typology soon became integral to the urban disciplinary environment of Riyadh. It offered spaces of increased spatial control and predictability, contrasting significantly with the informality and seemingly chaotic urbanity of central Riyadh. In these sanitised spaces, it became possible to maintain the morality and social order prescribed by the religious project. As the typology assimilated the required spatial and non-spatial disciplinary mechanisms, morality soon became a tool for commercial differentiation and competition that shopping malls were able to exploit through the power of normalisation. Nevertheless, within the limitations set by such regulated spaces, the evidence points towards the possibility for personal expression, as users demonstrated their awareness of spatial limitations and their ability to actively negotiate the norms and regulations of specific malls in Riyadh.

From an urban perspective, this study demonstrated the extent to which shopping malls contribute to the fragmented urbanity of Riyadh. As urban enclosures, shopping malls are unable to generate activities that extend beyond the limits of their interior spaces. Indeed, malls are dependent on being located in areas of pre-established urban activities to ensure their viability and secure their profits. Moreover, the detached and 'big' architecture of the mall typology further consolidates the urban sprawl that is characteristic of Riyadh's environment. Nonetheless, new changes in the structures of power in Saudi Arabia are creating opportunities that can be capitalised on to re-think and re-shape its urban spaces.

Continued efforts and ongoing research are necessary if genuine public spaces are to be reintroduced in Riyadh. In the remainder of this chapter, the findings of this research and their implications for future research are discussed in further detail.

The need for spatial organisation

Spaces in the historic centre of Riyadh, notably Al Batha and its surrounding areas, epitomise the forms of petty urban illegalities which escape the grasp of disciplinary power. Overtaken by a working-class immigrant population, the urban spaces of Al Batha were reclaimed by pedestrians who turned the streets into informal markets. The amalgamation of these minor urban acts of disobedience — which take effect at the capillary level — have the incidental effect of propagating and consequently consolidating forms of urban resistance, causing disciplinary mechanisms to be unable to take control over the structuring and organisation of these spaces. In a city deeply marked by the incessant hold of the disciplines over its urbanity, the close spatial proximity and dangerous bringing together of the central area's 'disordered' spaces have troubled the state apparatus. The central area's hectic informal activities mark the impotence of the disciplines and disturb Riyadh's established order. These acts of disobedience are most illustrated by street vending and informal stalls that have taken over the central core of Riyadh and re-appropriated its streets.

Street vendors organise themselves on the sidewalks facing formal shops, locating themselves strategically around main activity and circulation channels. Along with informal stationary stalls — constructed out of recycled materials, such as cartons and plastic food containers (fig.1) — are moving vendors, or what can be termed as 'vendors on wheels'. These are vendors that utilise food and gardening carts to roam around the streets and are very visible on primary circulation axes. They often take over the junctions between main streets. Police raids have been very frequent during the past years, often targeting moving vendors as they locate themselves on the streets and obstruct circulation. These vendors are mobile and can easily disperse in nearby neighbourhoods leaving the few police

patrols — hindered by the use of formal and less mobile vehicles — unable to prevent them from conducting their daily businesses (fig.2). In addition, walking vendors are heavily present on the streets, particularly on weekends. They take advantage of the arid weather conditions of the city and offer customers with cold water and sodas. They keep their drinks cool by using thermos bags or simply by filling plastic bags with ice; others use cooler boxes that they leave at a nearby stall. All the aforementioned vendors have an illegal status and the spatial organisation of their stalls escapes formal regulations. As a vendor holding a perfume stall located on the periphery of the north side of *al-Batha* confirmed:

None of us is in a legal position, we have no authorisation to install our stalls — however, the main problem for the police is the moving vendors because they obstruct the circulation. Here it is calm, I have installed my stall far from the congestion area, and therefore I am fine. Generally, the raids are in the central area so if something happens I have time to take my goods and take off ... we don't pay rent to anyone, there is no organisation, you just chose an empty spot and start vending, and that's all ... I tend to be in this part of the street ... (Anonymous 2016, personal communication, 26 May)

In a capitalist economy that necessitates the control over the distribution and circulation of wealth, the parallel economy of informal stalls can only be perceived as profoundly problematic. The number of vendors and the amalgamation of petty illegalities overpower local authority. More importantly, they illustrate the possibility of overtaking the disciplines at the capillary level through collective everyday practices. Forming a web of consolidated informal activity, the parallel economy is enabled by the spatial characteristics of its urban area, which is characterised as porous, interconnected, and which resists demarcation, delimitation, codification and regulation. As a result, the panoptic and spatial mechanisms necessary for the proper operation of disciplinary power is rendered impossible.

Paradoxically, the frantic and incessant activity, which appears as chaotic and amorphous, culminates in particular instances in the complete reversal of the disciplinary infrastructure,



Figure 1: Street vendors recycle materials to create their stalls (source: Author).



Figure 2: Vendors escaping a police raid (source: Author).



Figure 3: Abu Ayyub Al-Ansari street taken over by pedestrians during a Friday market (source: Author).

forcing local authorities to turn Al Batha Main Street into a pedestrian-only zone during the informal Friday market. Overpowered by the class of immigrant workers, official patrols are assisted by non-police trucks hired to block principal accesses in order to divert and ease traffic. Moreover, localised interventions by street vendors cause car drivers to recognise particular areas within Al Batha and its surroundings as 'pedestrian-only' zones.

The reversal of power relations is all the more dangerous to the disciplines, as it proves that the aggregation of localised forms of petty illegalities and everyday individual practices located in close urban proximity have a consolidatory effect that can cause the disorganised activity to form resistances capable of competing with the top-down determinism of official institutions.

The historic core of Riyadh in its current condition is therefore perceived as deeply problematic for the disciplines as it embodies the forms of urban disobedience and resistance that risk hindering the mechanisms that organise the city's urban and social life. The local press has identified security and safety as the main challenge of the area, speculating that the randomness and lack of structure creates an environment propitious for criminality and anti-social behaviours (Hudhaifi, 2013). Likewise, official institutions have identified the area as requiring significant urban intervention necessary for the restructuring and reorganisation of its space (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2012). Illustrative of the unease with the disciplines' inability to regulate Al Batha and its surrounding areas, an urban regeneration proposal was approved by the High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh which — if fully implemented — would result in the erasure of all forms of informality and illegality in the area.

Re-introducing spatial organisation in Central Riyadh

Any effort aimed at the structuring and control of the central core of the city necessitates the atomisation of the immigrant class and the implementation of an urban strategy facilitating spatial codification, regulation and urban zoning. As evident in the Action Area Plan for Transit-Oriented Development developed by Albert Speer & Partner in 2014, the

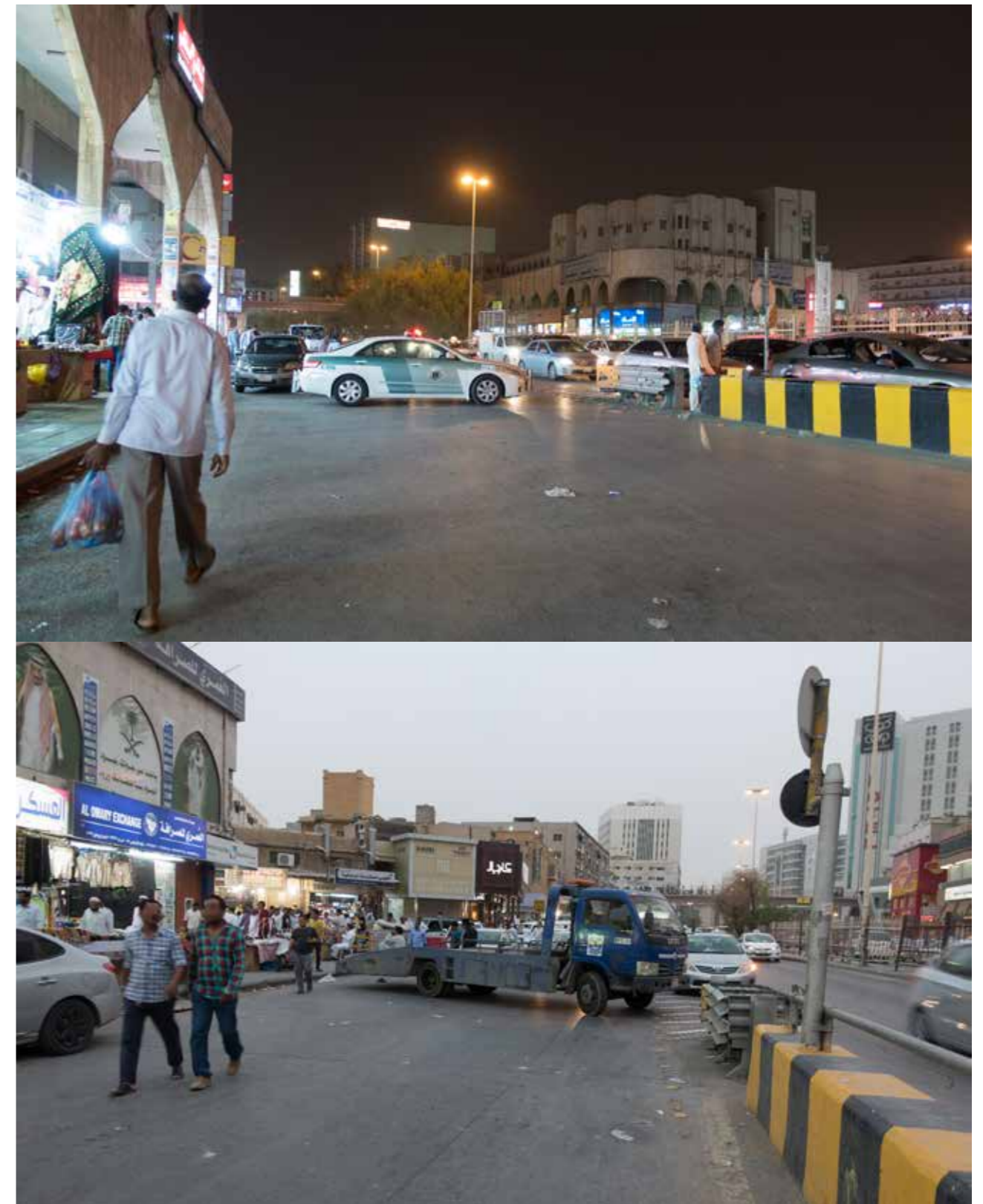


Figure 4: Authorities are forced to take measures on Fridays and during weekends to ease congestion and divert traffic, turning streets into pedestrian zones (source: Author).

High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh has accurately identified space as the crucial point of intervention that would lead to the reversal of power dynamics and restore control over the distribution and circulation of wealth and individuals to the disciplines.

Described as ‘a progressive conversion of the existing sensitive urban fabric of Riyadh’s historic center towards a Metropolitan “Transit Oriented Development” within the next 25 years.’ (Albert Speer & Partner, 2014), the project’s objective is to redesign the public realm and introduce new circulation corridors to facilitate the reorganisation and reintegration of the historical core into the wider urban strategy of contemporary Riyadh. It is true that the project emphasises the necessity to reintroduce the pedestrian scale in the streets of Riyadh to ensure the success of the Metro project. However, the project also envisions the central area as encircled by a circular highway (representing an urban enclosure) and accessible by identifiable major junctions (representing primary access points). Such a spatial organisation causes the space of the central area to become delimited and facilitates its spatial codification through zoning and the distribution of functions. The process of codification is further reinforced by the organisation of public transport and the infusion of green spaces as they, act as structuring elements and buffer areas that better mark delimitations between functional zones. Finally, the gentrification of the central area caused by the introduction of conventional commercial typologies alongside new housing projects will supposedly reinstate ‘social equilibrium’ and reinforce ‘urban security’ (High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh, 2012).

As the evidence suggests, the project follows a panoptic determination aimed at establishing control over space and the distribution and circulation of individuals. This is what Foucault has termed ‘bio-politics’, whereby disciplinary power operates at the level of the population in order to ‘incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces under it: a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them.’ (Foucault, 1978: 136). Therefore, the regeneration project is justified as an attempt at

administrating and ordering life in the historic area by way of integrating it into the network of power relations that define Riyadh’s urban and social life.

Malls are integral to Riyadh’s disciplinary urban environment

Refusing to let urban spaces escape its influence, disciplinary mechanisms prove to be the condition of impossibility usurping the city’s spontaneous urban public life. In a city that requires continual oversight over public life, shopping malls — although not proper public space typologies — become adequate and favoured public space alternatives as they allow the disciplines to operate with maximum efficacy.

As the evidence progressively revealed, the controversial position that shopping malls hold as public space alternatives — or as publicly-used spaces — and the growing unease with informal space that escapes formal administration, it became evident that any attempt at studying public space in Riyadh must start with investigating the struggle over its control and organisation. Thereafter, the focus of the research shifted to shopping malls as the primary object of study, in an attempt to shed light on the dynamics that shape and control Riyadh’s public life. As Mitchell argues:

Ignoring the ways in which the end of public space is always a tendency (though definitely a contradictory one) within capitalist urban economies leads to a too-easy set of assumptions about possibilities for cosmopolitan or egalitarian encounters in urban space rather than an analysis of the constraints that might make such encounters unlikely. It often leads to an untenable idealism that assumes the rather full malleability of space (as well as the irrelevance of law, the state, or property owners to shape that space). It risks being unable to understand how the tendency towards the end of public space (and opposition to that tendency) shapes the ends of public space, historically, in the present, and in the future. The end of public space is, in other words, an ongoing history. (Mitchell, 2015, p1–16: 6).

Accordingly, this study shifted its focus to unveiling the constraints that objectively render inconceivable such 'cosmopolitan or egalitarian encounters in urban space' in Riyadh.

The urban domination of the mall typology in Riyadh, and the findings of the initial exploratory fieldwork, inevitably resulted in the shift towards the mall becoming the focus of this research. As established in Chapter One, the shopping mall typology has contrasting urban and social effects depending on the context in which it is implemented and/or imported. As an example, it has been presented as the antithesis of the city in its original American context, while in China, the mall has been an integral part of the urbanisation process. Accordingly, the mall typology had to be qualified in its Saudi context and adequate tools had to be developed for a proper investigation of its social and urban implications.

Therefore, this research represents a substantial and original contribution to existing literature, as it fills a gap in the literature on the shopping mall typology by situating the investigation in a new and understudied context. Most studies on shopping malls are focused on cases in European, North American and East Asian contexts, while in the Middle East, Dubai has been the primary case for investigating the mall typology. Accordingly, understandings of the mall typology are based on the urban and social effects produced in such contexts. However, as this research argues, contrasting effects are produced by the mall depending on the context in which the typology is imported. Therefore, the particularities of Riyadh's context represent a compelling case for uncovering a new iteration of the mall, complementing the established literature on the typology. This research also contributes to the current 'death of the mall' debate by demonstrating how the typology is presently thriving in certain contexts, such as in Saudi Arabia. Likewise, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, it develops new arguments that contribute to the 'ends of public space' debate and the disputed negative urban and social effects of the typology.

One of the intentions of this research was to bridge the gap between the purported determinism of the mall typology and the possibility for subjectivism in its space. Another intention was to develop an approach that would make it possible to simultaneously analyse the space of the mall as well as everyday social practices and uncover the effects that one might have over the other. Guided by these intentions and informed by the findings of the pilot study, Foucault's 'analytics of power' became the study's theoretical backbone as it offers the tools necessary to uncover the constraints placed on public life in Riyadh. It was also utilised because it allowed for a balanced investigation that would account for the spatial and non-spatial structures of the mall typology without negating the agency of individuals who can negotiate and affect such structures. A complementary typomorphological approach supported the 'analytics of power'. This is because the study of the mall typology in Riyadh necessitated the development of a multi-disciplinary approach, in order to account for the object of study in its complexity and multiple spatial and social dimensions. Informed by Foucault's theory, the multi-disciplinary methods — developed in Chapter Four — demonstrate how panopticism can be spatially and socially investigated. Equally, the established methodology contributes to the literature on typomorphology as it explores new avenues for the application of its proposed methods for the study of Riyadh's contemporary fabric. Thus, the multi-disciplinary framework provided adequate tools for exploring the panoptic mechanisms of the mall typology and investigating the historical developments of the city which created an environment ready to absorb the mall and make the latter its primary typology in public spaces.

The historical investigation of the urban development of Riyadh and the historical development of the structures of power revealed the degree to which public life in Riyadh has been subject to the incessant determinism of political and religious power. Constant control and supervision historically developed to form the social condition characterising public life in the city. The element of spatial control was illustrated by the separation between the women's suq and the main suq in traditional Riyadh. Likewise, the suq's location between the imposing structures of the Royal Palace and the Grand Mosque symbolised political and religious power's hold over public life.

In Chapter Three, Part Two, the changes in the structures of power that made the realisation of the shopping mall possible in Riyadh were discussed. The most significant event in the history of Riyadh was the development of capitalism and the emergence of a local economy enmeshed in global market dynamics. Since then, political legitimacy and economic power became intertwined with processes of ‘modernisation’ that were perceived as unsettling within the religious sphere. The incessant ideological struggle destabilised society and caused disciplinary power to overtake public life. As discussed in earlier chapters, the granting of power to the religious sphere over the social body was the solution adopted to allow the processes of modernisation to persist.

The elite’s relentless push towards urban modernisation, despite the growing conflicts it caused with religious power, attests to the predominance of the real estate market, which became the primary mechanism for urbanisation, surpassing the control and supervision of state institutions. The result was a city caught in ideological and power struggles which prevented any thorough consideration of public interests, part of which is having adequate public spaces in the city. Whilst private interests fuelled and accelerated processes of urban modernisation, state institutions struggled to control the accelerated growth of the city, and religious power struggled to protect society from what it perceived as the moral threat of ‘Westernisation’. The primacy of private interest in Riyadh culminated in the privatisation of public life through the introduction of the mall typology. Introduced late in the history of the city, the mall came at a time during which the mechanisms of spatial and social control were already in operation at the urban level. As urban enclosures, they were adequate spaces for precise social and spatial regulation — a characteristic feature of Riyadh’s urban environment. As stand-alone structures, they emerged in accordance with the prevailing urban sprawl of the city.

Shopping malls as tools to maintain social and moral order

As exemplified by the struggle against the street life of Al Batha and its surroundings, public space typologies — both formal and informal — in which subjectivities are fully expressed represent a danger to the hierarchical and patriarchal order of Saudi society.

Regulated spaces, on the other hand, such as the shopping mall, are regarded as adequate spaces in which social and spatial order can be easily maintained. In such spaces, a prescribed moral order can be imposed upon individuals through exclusionary disciplinary mechanisms.

Upon its introduction, the shopping mall in Riyadh became an urban heterotopia in which the religious apparatus was able to engineer a sanitised social model that it aimed to replicate at the urban level. Conceived as an inverted prison in which ‘the world is kept outside, and not the individual inside’ (Foucault, 2015: 84–85), the mall in Riyadh is a protected space in which women — the bearers of Saudi morality — are sheltered from the perceived dangers of unregulated outdoor spaces.

Through the mall typology, morality and social order are maintained by only admitting those who appear willing to submit to and uphold the social model fashioned by the religious apparatus. As a result, the mall has become a pedagogical space in which adherence to prescribed social norms grants access while deviations lead to social exclusion. Gradually, through processes of reward and punishment, access and exclusion, recognition and negative judgement, individuals have been trained to internalise and propagate such norms. Accordingly, malls have become vehicles through which different and sometimes opposing ‘sanitised social models’ are fashioned — each of which corresponds to the views of those who are most dominant in a given mall.

The internalisation and propagation of spatial regulation and social norms had the adverse effect of causing the mall typology to perpetuate gender segregation and control over access by the time the power of the religious apparatus was reduced by the state. Despite the fact that access is to be granted to all citizens without reserve since 2012, as well as the reduction of the powers given to the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice in 2016, malls have continued — up to the fieldwork conducted from April to June 2018 — to regulate access and uphold gender segregation in their internal space.

The commodification of morality

The fact that spatial control continues to be in operation strongly suggests that profits are to be made by upholding the social order prescribed by religious power. With gender segregation taking root at the capillary level of everyday practices, and individuals identifying with the norms and regulations that organise public life in Riyadh, the mall typology has been reluctant in adopting the changes advanced by the state for fear of undermining its profitable operation. Paradoxically, it is the in typology that is arguably representative of the processes of ‘modernisation/Westernisation’ that the prescribed moral order has been preserved in the post-CPVPV era. This development is characteristic of how disciplinary power operates; once the utility of the set norm was identified in Riyadh’s mall, the norms became an integral part of the mall’s mechanisms to augment and protect its profits. Thereafter, morality and the power of normalisation became an intangible commodity deployed by the typology to cultivate an image resonant with local values of family, moral purity and piety. Moreover, as has been discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, morality became a tool for social distinction and differentiation, which operates to conceal the real class and gender stratifications characterising Riyadh’s environment. For Riyadh’s malls, class distinction through morality and the power of normalisation have become part of the logic of competition as malls mirror the moral order of the dominant groups with which they seek to identify.

The infusion of disciplinary power through the shopping mall caused the typology to appropriate and consolidate it. It derived its strength from appearing as the only typology of public space in which disciplinary power can be fully exerted, while simultaneously offering the religious apparatus with a pretext — caused by the potential for spatial proximity between the sexes — to intervene in order to regulate the public sphere. Once religious power over public spaces was made inconsequential by the state, it became evident that maintaining social order in the mall served private interests. This recent development in the history of Riyadh proves that the commodification of morality is one of the mechanisms through which capital accumulation is secured and accelerated. As was posited

in earlier chapters, the logic of the market remains indifferent to the moral order which sustains it. Nevertheless, by the time that this research has been undertaken, the evidence points to the fact that gender segregation and spatial control serve the mall typology and are important to the operation of commercial typologies in Riyadh.

Therefore, it would be erroneous to argue in favour of the duality between conservatism and modernity in Saudi Arabia. As this research proves, conservatism and modernity are intertwined and form a unified ideological edifice. It is this hybrid which characterises the urban, socio-political and economic conditions of Riyadh (and by extension, all Saudi cities). This is how the shopping mall overcomes the tension between the need for capital accumulation and the prevailing system of values in Saudi Arabia. As Žižek has written:

Since, in Europe, modernization was spread over centuries, we had time to accommodate ourselves to it, to soften its shattering impact, through *Kulturarbeit*, through the formation of new social narratives and myths, while some other societies — exemplarily the Muslim ones — have been exposed to this impact directly, without a protective screen or temporal delay, so their symbolic universe has been perturbed much more brutally: they have lost their (symbolic) ground with no time left to establish a new (symbolic) balance. No wonder, then, that the only way for some of these societies to avoid total breakdown was to erect in panic the shield of ‘fundamentalism’ (Žižek, 2015)

As a protective shield that is erected to mediate the effects of accelerated ‘modernisation’, ‘fundamentalism’ and ideological struggle have become an integral part of the dynamics of urbanisation in Riyadh. In a city where the logic of the market dictates urban development, including the formation and formulation of public spaces, the ideological struggle over the morality and piety of the nation is made part of the logic of consumption of and in space. Across the moral spectrum, which ranges from values of ‘modernity’ and ‘open-mindedness’ to ‘moderation’, ‘conservatism’ and ‘piety’, one’s assumed ideological position determines the public spaces one frequents in the city. Subsequently, social and spatial fragmentations operate at the urban level as urban enclosures — exemplified by the mall typology — and contrasting ideological positions are multiplied and dispersed all around the city.

Subjectivities are expressed

In reviewing the analyses and findings of Chapters Six and Seven, it becomes evident that knowledge of the prevailing ‘norms’ and ‘moral values’ of given malls informs how individuals negotiate the spatial strategies of discipline and control at the level of everyday practice. For example, family men have demonstrated how they refrain from accessing family-only spaces in the shopping mall; this is despite the fact they are not prevented from accessing such spaces by the mall’s administration when they are with their families. Knowledge about how to navigate the space of the mall is also illustrated by one male respondent who said:

whoever respects [the prevailing ‘norms’ and ‘moral values’] gets respected, you know ... and I am one of those who doesn’t offend anyone [who doesn’t deviate from such ‘norms’].

(Kingdom M01 2018, interview, 09 May)

Another example is how some women might change their appearance according to the mall they are visiting in order to align with its prevailing ‘norms’ and alleviate the effects of disciplinary power. To illustrate, one female respondent stated that when she visits malls that are perceived as ‘conservative’, she would ‘put something over [her] head just out of respect for the people there’ (Kingdom F03 2018, interview, 06 June) to avoid negative judgement from other female shoppers. These examples attest to how individuals carefully navigate the mall both spatially and socially, and adjust their practices to mediate between the different effects of disciplinary power.

Fragmentation and urban enclosures

The propagation of spatial control and the overt reliance on commercial typologies as ‘public spaces’ (discussed in Chapters Six and Seven) — coupled with urban sprawl and the dominance of vehicular circulation in Riyadh (discussed in Chapter Five) — leads to a fragmented urban environment that can be described as exclusionary and constraining.

The reliance on commercial typologies in Riyadh should be regarded as problematic, as it reduces the possibility of being in public spaces to an ability to consume. In addition to the limitations that are imposed by the gendered nature of Riyadh’s malls, individuals are faced with further restrictions as the right to public space — or publicly-used spaces — becomes tied to one’s purchasing power. Subsequently, and as discussed in the previous chapter, an entire segment of the population is excluded by default due to the financial restrictions that are imposed in such spaces.

Moreover, the enclosure of the mall also intensified the sprawling urban environment of the city and added to the fragmentary nature of the urban landscape. Once public space was privatised through the mall typology, the city became an amalgamation of private enclosures set in a sea of fast-traffic circulation axes in which the human scale was utterly disregarded. Yet, despite the issues that developed from the processes of accelerated modernisation, it is imperative to note how such seemingly adverse outcomes were also detrimental to the maintenance of control and social order in the city.

The fragmented and dispersed urban environment of Riyadh, which is composed of an endless number of meticulously distributed enclosures, effectively turned the city into what can be described as an amalgamation of urban archipelagos. Such an urban organisation facilitates the creation of simulations of parallel worlds in which spatial proximity between genders is easily avoided. Moreover, such an urban organisation of space serves an important socio-political function as it makes possible the maintenance of apparent social homogeneity, and thus social order, in what is, in reality, a deeply fragmented social space.

By organising public space through the intermediary of controlled urban enclosures, it becomes possible to infuse contrasting norms and values in spaces around the city. As a result, each social group is provided with its own public space reflecting its predominant moral code and is subsequently incentivised to remain within the bounds of its urban areas. This has the effect of mediating social conflicts that could arise from a direct confrontation between such contrasting norms and values. However, this also causes

social class stratification to be consolidated at the urban level as the distinct northwest-southeast divide is furthered through the spatial and moral discontinuities between such urban enclosures.

New opportunities?

During the past two years, the state's forceful shift towards modernisation has been accompanied with a push towards greater homogenisation of norms and values which align with the values of 'open-mindedness' discussed in the previous chapter. However, it would be accurate to speculate that the changes desired by the state apparatus cannot materialise without a period of adaptation and gradual transition. The evidence suggests that opening up the public space of Riyadh remains a hesitant process. This hesitation is exemplified by the reluctance of shopping malls to lift restrictions on access — even though the state lifted the ban in 2012 — because of narrow commercial interests. Thus, it is conceivable that developing inclusive, non-commercial and unrestricted public typologies is an important step in the opening up of the social sphere that is currently being advanced by the state apparatus. Conversely, if commercial typologies — exemplified by the shopping mall — continue to dominate as the primary 'publicly-used' urban spaces of Riyadh, then it is conceivable that a transition to a more inclusive Riyadh may not materialise. This is because commercial interest will cause mechanisms of control to be perpetuated in the — privately-owned/publicly-used — space of the mall to increase profits, regardless of their social implications. By the same token, the state's current desire to open up the social sphere, and in case inclusive public spaces are introduced in future developments, shopping malls may continue to operate as exclusive commercial typologies. As a typology geared towards the maximisation of profits, it is possible to argue that exclusive mechanisms will remain in operation in the shopping mall as long as they prove to be profitable.

Amongst the announced proposals of MEDSTAR, it is perhaps the redesigning of the public realm through the initiative of the Metro Urban Design & Streetscape Manual (UDM) — which is presented an integral part of Riyadh Public Transport Network (RPTN) — that

has the potential of creating strong and continuous links between the current archipelagos of Riyadh. The redesigning of the public realm might provide the opportunity to rethink the urban spaces of the city, and as such can be utilised to reverse the fragmentary nature of Riyadh's urban environment. It is possible to argue that the success of the UDM and the redesign of the public realm mostly lies in countering the urban fragmentation consolidated by the shopping mall typology in Riyadh. Nonetheless, planners and decision-makers should be wary of the possible dismissal of the UDM, as the history of the city has proved that the common good tends to crumble under the weight of narrow private interests. An optimistic projection would advance notions such as increased inclusivity and the opening up of public spaces in the city, accompanied by increased autonomy of women and the subsequent attenuation of the private patriarchy in the nuclear family. A contrasting reading would speculate that disciplinary power is becoming more efficient by becoming more discreet in its modes of operation in public spaces, and the reduction of private patriarchy coincides with the intensification of public patriarchy under capitalism.

The latter speculation can be confirmed by the proposed project for the redevelopment of central Riyadh discussed in Chapter One, whereby unregulated and unpredictable spaces are replaced with controllable urban spaces. In the case of contemporary Riyadh, the debate on the 'end of public space' (Mitchel, 2015) gains a new dimension, as public spaces have been neglected from the beginning. Since the 'death' of the traditional suq, which — as discussed in Chapter Five — represented the public space of Riyadh, the city was unable to generate public life in its urban spaces. Conversely, it was market-driven development and the propagation of the shopping mall typology that filled the gap and privatised public life. Riyadh's ongoing history with the mall strongly suggests that the typology will continue to represent one of the city's primary urban spaces. Currently, the city is witnessing significant growth in the number of its commercial spaces. If the city fails to provide its inhabitants with adequate alternatives, then it becomes possible to suggest the 'end of Riyadh's public space' as a significant portion of the population becomes increasingly excluded — financially and otherwise — from the city's pseudo-public spaces.

Spatial shifts and the changing dynamics of power relations

As demonstrated in this study, struggle over public space in Riyadh is undetermined.

Power shifts occurred historically and caused major transformations that profoundly affected the urban and social spaces of the city. When the shopping mall was introduced in the late 1990s and early 2000s, spatial control in public spaces deeply informed how the Saudi iteration of shopping malls was to operate. At the same time, it was during this period that a shift in the structures of power occurred, with the political establishment gradually reaffirming its supremacy to the detriment of the religious establishment.

Two decades since its introduction, the mall typology finds itself today in a socio-political climate in which the inevitable divorce between the process of modernisation and the disciplinary mechanisms instilled by the religious apparatus is beginning to materialise. The reductions of the powers of the CPVPV in 2016 and the move towards reduced gender segregation in 2012 attest to the state's desire to accelerate such a divorce and push towards establishing modernisation as the primary source of state legitimacy.

The two years that have followed the completion of the fieldwork have been most substantial in terms of such changes, as the ban of women driving has officially been lifted and put into effect. More significantly, the guardianship system has been revised to grant women more autonomy and allow them to reduce their dependence on male members of their families. For example, women over twenty-one now have the possibility to travel outside the country without the permission of a male guardian — an autonomous decision inconceivable a few years earlier.

During the post-1979 era, the desire to forge a national identity based on the piety of a Muslim nation was primarily achieved through the regulation, moralisation and 'protection' of women, who became the bearers of public social order. Today, the desire to fully identify with and assume values of 'modernity' in Saudi Arabia will inexorably be achieved through the changing socio-economic conditions of women in society. Such developments will

inevitably have to seep through public spaces and modulate the way in which public and pseudo-public typologies — such as the shopping mall — operate in Riyadh.

Importantly, the ongoing shifts in the dynamics of power do not eliminate the workings of disciplinary power in public spaces; rather, they signal a transformation and new formulation which might create opportunities for both desired and adverse developments. As an example hereof, the reduction of CPVPV power in 2016 was followed by the introduction of The Public Decency Law in 2019.

This new law was introduced as a mechanism for regulating social behaviours and appearances in public spaces in a manner similar to the mechanisms uncovered in the mall typology. Article Three of the law stipulates that 'everyone in a public place must respect the values, customs, traditions and culture prevailing in the Kingdom', while Article Four states that 'it is not permissible to appear in a public place with indecent dress or clothing, or to wear a costume or clothing bearing pictures, shapes, signs or phrases that offend public taste'¹. However, the articles do not provide clear definitions of what might constitute an offence to public taste and the deviations that are now punishable by law remain undetermined. As a result, the elasticity with which the law is formulated creates an avenue for arbitration; this is akin to the power of normalisation that was observed in the space of the mall. Through the new law, the power of normalisation was taken from the religious apparatus, re-appropriated and made part of the official mechanisms of the state apparatus.

As is evident from Chapter Five onwards, significant transformations have changed the urban and social space of Riyadh. Indeed, changes are still occurring, and power relations are continuously shifting. The dynamic nature of the relations of power — which are, as Foucault (1977) argues, in perpetual flux — creates avenues for change and for new possibilities in Riyadh's public spaces that were until recently perhaps inconceivable. Certainly, it is through this indefinite struggle that new possibilities can emerge. As Foucault writes:

In this central and centralized humanity, the effect and instrument of complex power relations, bodies and forces subjected by multiple mechanisms of ‘incarceration’, objects for discourses that are in themselves elements for this strategy, we must hear the distant roar of battle. (Foucault, 1977: 308).

Therefore, further research is required in order to evaluate the changing dynamics of the relations of power in Saudi society, and explore the effects that such changing dynamics have on the current and future public and publicly-used spaces of Riyadh.

Implications and further research

Due to the fact that this research utilises a Foucauldian framework, it is essential to note Foucault’s reluctance to prescribe a normative framework in his conclusions. It is a position that he deems pretentious on the part of the researcher, who ought to let individuals draw their conclusions and decide for themselves the course of action that is better suited for the objectives they desire to achieve (Foucault, 1988: 146). Therefore, this study does not culminate in a definite plan of action aimed at transforming or reversing Riyadh’s urban conditions. However, having demonstrated that space in Riyadh is set within a network of power relations and is always born amidst incessant power struggles, the study aims to open a theoretical space of alternative possibilities, in which different scenarios and new spatial formulations can be conceived and implemented, either top-down or at the capillary level and through everyday practices. These alternative possibilities are suggested as avenues for further research and exploration that have the potential of offering new dimensions to the ongoing debate on Riyadh’s urban environment.

As demonstrated in this study, respondents expressed a strong desire for moments of spontaneous enjoyment in private spaces where individuals find themselves outside the grasp of disciplinary power. Because disciplinary power derives its force from its discreet and uncontested nature, spatial and non-spatial efforts can be aimed at exposing its discreet and arbitrary nature in order to render it visible and contestable. Spatially,

any desire to liberate spaces — public and publicly-used spaces — from the effects of disciplinary power can begin with the conceptualisation of a new architectural and urban language that is set outside the coordinates of the established order. In other words, it is possible to conceive of public spaces in Riyadh as spaces resisting or reversing the mechanisms of control and segregation. Against the disciplinary order of commercial typologies, new urban spaces in Riyadh can be developed as anti-disciplinary spaces that have effects which counter those of the disciplines — spaces that bridge and bring together instead of spaces that mark and segregate. Such spaces can be porous, interconnected with their surroundings, and characterised by minimal spatial demarcations. With spaces that can be shared, in which uses could be alternated, it might be possible to conceive ‘anti-disciplinary public spaces’ that have the programmatic elasticity to enable and include, rather than one prevent and exclude. It would be impossible to assert unequivocally whether such qualities are desirable, or even achievable; nevertheless, this study has revealed that even the small acts of self-exclusion — by which individuals protect themselves from the Gaze — express a strong desire to achieve the state of freedom that derives from being outside the grasp of the disciplines.

For commercial typologies, the formulation and deployment of disciplinary mechanisms will remain guided by economic imperatives. Nevertheless, the observed disparity in the formulation and application of ‘soft’ — or ‘non-spatial’ — mechanisms by competing malls proves that these mechanisms can be adjusted or replaced. Accordingly, it is possible to conceive of alternative ‘soft’ mechanisms informed by non-commercial needs, and aimed at promoting inclusivity and equality in Riyadh’s public spaces.

The lack of inclusive public spaces in Riyadh remains an issue that requires further research. Similar to how shopping malls have become tools for disciplining the social body, researchers can develop this study to propose a new framework through which alternative and inclusive mechanisms are promoted. This is because the issue of public spaces extends beyond the realms of architecture and urban development; it is affected by economic and social factors and is deeply informed by contrasting local norms and values.

It is a multi-disciplinary endeavour that requires the participation of researchers, architects, sociologists, economists, urban planners, decisionmakers and policymakers — along with the wider local population — if alternative public spaces are to be developed.

Public space and gender in Saudi society is another issue that requires further exploration. Despite the gender-neutrality of the Foucauldian framework, this research demonstrates how it can be possible to overcome such challenges by developing a gendered spatial and social analysis of the mall typology. However, and due to the limited scope of this research, the investigation of some underlying themes — such as family relations and the private and public patriarchy of Saudi society — have been limited to the space of the mall. Likewise, the limited scope of this research inevitably reduced the amount of collected data to a manageable amount. For example, responsive interviews were limited to mall customers and conducted in situ for practical reasons. It is conceivable that prolonged and repeated interviews with respondents might offer new insights into the mechanisms of the mall typology and how individuals negotiate them. Similarly, responsive interviews with the administrations of various shopping malls, as well as mall security agents, can offer valuable information about the spatial and non-spatial strategies deployed in the space of the mall. Finally, within the relatively 'conservative' social context of Riyadh, prolonged interactions should make it possible to build trust with respondents who would thereafter allow the researcher to investigate how power relations operate in the private sphere of the family unit. Therefore, further research can build on such foundations to expand upon the study of panopticism in Saudi society beyond the limits of the mall typology. Likewise, further research can build on the proposed methodology in order to investigate the limitations imposed on public life in the emerging commercial typologies of Riyadh, such as the commercial plazas mentioned in the previous chapter.

The reliance on commercial urban typologies in Riyadh results in the exclusion of a significant part of the population due to their inability to consume in such spaces. The inextricable link between consumption and publicly-used spaces should be re-evaluated

if Riyadh is to provide genuine and accessible spaces to all segments of society. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Riyadh Public Transport Network (RPTN) project and the proposals of the Metro Urban Design & Streetscape (UDM) have the potential to significantly improve Riyadh's public realm. However, continued efforts are required to bring these projects to fruition, and ongoing research is necessary to ensure that the human dimension does not get lost amidst accelerated urban development.

Finally, this study demonstrates that the disappearance of one form of disciplinary power entails the possibility of the formulation of new forms or the reformulation of older forms of power, which are informed by previous experiences and become more efficient as they become more discreet and subtle in their application. The undetermined nature of power relations represents the condition of new possibilities against established forms of domination. It is also what makes it possible for new forms of domination to emerge. More importantly, the inherent dynamic of the Saudi capitalist economy striving for continuous modernisation causes permanent spatial and urban change to become the actual condition of Riyadh's urban environment. Therefore, negotiating, altering and reversing actual conditions must not be conceptualised as an outcome. The exercise of power necessitates constant alertness; it is a continuous process. It is for this reason that further research and continuous action are required to account for ongoing changes in the structures of power, to evaluate their effect on urban spaces, and to utilise new and emerging opportunities to improve the quality of the urban realm in our cities.

Notes

1 Articles of the Public Decency Law are available from: <https://laws.boe.gov.sa/BoeLaws/Laws/LawDetails/3b96a591-47c8-4469-9abb-aa4700f1aa52/1> [Accessed 16 February 2020]. Translation by the author.

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