

**The struggle to belong
Dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings**

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Sorted? Modalities of exclusion at a luxury shopping mall

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Abstract

The development of the neoliberal city over recent decades has encouraged the development of quasi-public spaces orientated towards consumer culture. This paper examines how the development of the Westfield London shopping mall has reconfigured the normative principles of equity of access and universality of the public sphere through a range of exclusionary processes and practices within the development. By first examining the prominent discourses of socio-spatial exclusion, this paper then develops a comprehensive case study of the space largely informed by ethnographic methods such as observational studies. Following this a range of qualitative and quantitative methods are employed to produce a series of accounts of spatial practice from a variety of individuals using the space for a range of purposes. These methods include interviews with store personnel, 'go along' interviews, participatory observations and survey research. The case study and user experiences are analysed within a theoretical framework to produce an empirically informed study of spatial practice within the mall. The analysis argues that the ontological basis of exclusion as a binary of abjection or inclusion is inadequate to provide an explanation of the complex fluidity and temporality of identity and belonging within a space of consumption as diverse as Westfield London.

Introduction

Longstanding conceptions of public space and the public sphere have been distorted by recent restructurings (Lees, 1997) that have seen "closures, erasures, inundations, and transfigurations of public space" (Smith and Low, 2006:1). In particular, the development of the neoliberal city has both

devalued and disinvested in traditional public space and concomitantly encouraged a growth in quasi-public spaces such as shopping malls... (Tyndall, 2010:123)

The aim of this paper is to examine how individual perceptions of identity and belonging in public space have changed with the development and assimilation of quasi-public spaces. Specifically this paper looks at perceptions of exclusion and the modalities through which such perceptions are manifested at the Westfield London shopping mall.

Previous research has often applied Habermasian-based discourses of universal participation (Mitchell, 2003) or novel attempts at explaining exclusion from specific spaces based on notions of positive exclusion (Iveson, 2007) or exclusion as a product of self-governance or the built environment

(Allen, 2006). This paper proposes a holistic approach of analysis through the application of multiple theoretical discourses of spatial exclusion to Westfield London, which preliminary observational studies have indicated is potentially too socio-spatially complex to be adequately explained by any single theory. As the title suggests, this research starts on premise of explicit exclusion through practices such as social sorting (Lyon, 2007) and how this would prescribe the user base of the space.

There has been a recognisable disengagement between literatures concerned with the public sphere and public space, with the former typically un-spatialised and the latter failing to successfully accord with the former (Smith and Low, 2006). The lack of accord is notable in as much as the public sphere is seen as a prerequisite for the development of public space (Ibid.) and one could equally argue that the public sphere requires public space in order to manifest itself, even in the 'information age' (Parkinson, 2009).

The public sphere, largely credited to Jürgen Habermas, is akin to a modern day Greek *polis*, where private individuals come together and form a public for political deliberation (Habermas, 1989). In the Ancient Greek *polis* certain groups of people were excluded, notably women, slaves and 'common' people (Smith and Low, 2006). Habermas argued for a public sphere that had universality of access, where the entirety of private individuals could come together as a public (Habermas, 1989).

Public space also has its roots in Ancient Greece, being the equivalent of the *agora*, a common meeting place, which was not "defined against the ubiquity of private capitalized space" (Smith and Low, 2006:4), however the *agora* was also exclusionary and as Smith and Low point out, as with the modern day, "truly public space is the exception not the rule." (Ibid.).

The following theories of spaces of exclusion represent the prominent discourses on socio-spatial exclusion. It is however important to note that when analysing the theoretical space, one must remember that space must be grounded and therefore both temporal and geographical factors must be considered.

Paradise lost

One of the most prominent and popular arguments in relation to the conceptual changes to public space is that we are now presented with an entirely different type of space, one that is exclusionary (Sibley, 1995, Voyce, 2006, Smith and Low, 2006, Mitchell, 2003, Kohn, 2004, Sorkin, 1992),

fortified (Davis, 1992), closely monitored and tightly controlled (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, Shields, 1989).

Public space is appropriated by business and thus becomes privatised and open to the public for an explicit purpose (Minton, 2009). The clearest manifestation of quasi-public space is the shopping mall, where the purpose is to create a space of consumption (Crawford, 1992, Flint, 2002, Gottdiener, 1986). Those who do not consume or threaten to disrupt the act of consumption, either tacitly or explicitly, are removed from the space (Flint, 2002, Sibley, 1995, Voyce, 2006).

The common theme to this discourse is that we have reached the end of public space as we know it, as Davis states in no uncertain terms, we have seen the “*destruction of accessible public space*” (Davis, 1990:226; my emphasis), where

...fortress-like walls guard a tightly controlled space in which private enterprise and consumer capitalism are taking over the democratic space of the city, even as the carefully contrived simulation of a free and open city street conceals this insidious domination.

(Lees, 1997:321)

Whilst these visions are evident in many places, there is a clear geographical basis to many of them, as highlighted by Flint (2002) in his review of shopping malls in the vicinity of disadvantaged housing estates. The loss of genuinely open public space maybe occurring in some places, but it is far from a universal phenomena.

History and the ‘illusory reality’

A prominent discourse concerning the apparent loss of genuinely public space is that it never truly existed in the first place. These arguments are supported by historical accounts of exclusion stretching back as far as the Ancient Greek *polis* and *agora*, which excluded women, slaves and ‘common’ people (Smith and Low, 2006). The proponents of this discourse often argue that those concerned with the loss of public space in the contemporary urban setting are romanticising about reality of public space.

Basson (2006) for example, remarks that the ‘illusory reality’ of public space sees histories of public space that are sublimated and ignore the “darker narratives” such as torture and execution within such spaces. Whilst such histories are useful for mapping the developmental aspects of a space, it is important that the temporality of both space and society is acknowledged.

The fact that a space was once a site of exclusion several hundred years ago, ignores the possibility of change within the contemporary space, such as changes brought about through the development of liberal democracy.

Open walls and the unmarked presence of power

A novel attempt at explaining spatial practice is through the “*logic of inclusion rather than exclusion*” (Allen, 2006:442). Allen argues, with specific reference to Potsdamer Platz in Berlin that exclusion doesn’t necessarily come about through physical barriers, surveillance cameras and security guards, but through the ‘ambient qualities’ of the space (Ibid.).

Allen states that ambient power refers to

...something about the character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it...

(Ibid.:445)

Allen goes on to expand this phenomenological approach to state that the ‘something’ in the character of a space seeks to promote a particular behaviour that might not have been otherwise been chosen (Ibid.). The ‘something’ in Allen’s thesis can be situated as ‘seduction’, a type of power that shapes and directs the will of the majority whilst allowing individuals the possibility to opt out (Ibid.:448).

Emancipatory exclusion

Emancipatory or positive exclusion discourses have been explored in many fields in relation to minority or already excluded populations. A prominent example of exclusion from a public space is Iveson’s (2007) study of the McIvers public baths in Sydney, an exclusive women and children’s bathing area. Iveson argues that the exclusion of men from the space is “justified in order to sustain different forms of public address and sociability in the city” (Ibid.:187). Arguments concerning women’s safety reflect those who argue in favour of exclusive LGBT spaces for the safety of the users. Whilst these arguments carry some merit, they are explicit in defining individuals by the materiality of the body or sexual difference, which as Butler (1993:1-2) argues, are ideal constructs, not realities. Applying Butler’s argument, emancipatory exclusion could lead to exclusion within exclusionary regimes due to the socially constructed nature of identity.

Westfield London

Westfield London opened in 2008 and became Europe's largest urban retail mall at over 1.6m square feet (Westfield Group, 2009). The mall which cost £1.7bn to construct was attracting in excess of 100,000 visitors a day at the time of its opening (Lowe, 2008) and continues to attract in excess of 23m visitors a year (Westfield Group, 2009). The mall is located in the Shepherd's Bush area of the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham in West London and is within the close proximity of the established West 12 Shopping Centre and Shepherd's Bush Market (see Figure 1).

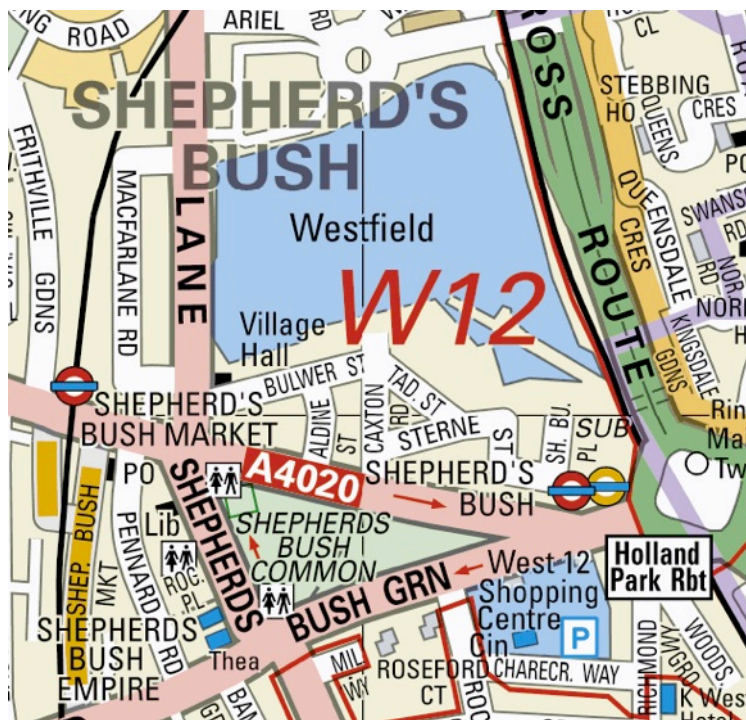


Figure 1 - Location of Westfield London and the vicinity (Collins Bartholomew, 2008)

The mall is divided into precincts depending on the store type and consequentially the target demographic. The main precincts contain a mass of high street and mid-level stores, such as Top Man, UNIQLO, Hollister Co., Apple and House of Fraser, plus over 260 other stores (Westfield Group, 2008:4). At the luxury end, there is 'The Village', an integrated yet distinct section of the mall, which is home to prestige luxury goods brands, such as Louis Vuitton, de Beers, Dior and Prada (Ibid.:5).

A wide range of restaurants are available within the mall, however they do not typify the usual fast food outlets found in most malls, with Westfield stating that there is "not a paper plate or plastic cup in sight" (Ibid.:4). Externally, the 'Southern Terrace' contains more individual restaurants and bars facing a

'living wall', a wall of greenery and fountains obscuring views of the 1960s tower blocks of Shepherd's Bush that loom over the site.

The central space of the mall is 'The Atrium' (see Figure 2), a large performance and exhibition space dubbed a "world class venue" by Westfield (Westfield Group, 2008:4). Adding to the entertainment portfolio, the Vue Cinema has increasingly become a site for film premieres attracting high profile celebrities and 'red carpet' events to the mall.



Figure 2 - 'The Atrium' – Rihanna switches on Christmas Lights (Westfield London, 2010)

Methodology

A range of qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in order to fully capture the nature of the space and its users. Participatory and non-participatory observation studies within and around the site were conducted over a period of approximately a year. The aim of the studies was to document the space and its users in order to gauge a number of factors, including the level of homogeneity of users, any indications of exclusionary practices as well as general public behavioural interactions (Sayre, 2001).

Several interview techniques were used, including informal conversational interviews with employees of stores located in the mall. The lack of structure to such interviews, allowed the interviewee to guide the conversation and challenge any preconceptions held (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). In addition, 'go

along' interviews were conducted with consumers during visits to the mall, allowing for a thorough insight into individuals' behaviour when making use of the space.

The 'go-along' interview method can be characterised as a type of phenomenological ethnography, in which the ethnographer accompanies an informant, observing their behaviour and interviewing them throughout a particular experience, providing an insight into the "constitutive role and the transcendent meaning of the physical environment, or place" (Kusenbach, 2003:458). Given the importance of the physical environment and 'place' in this research, this method is particularly well suited to engage with individuals' perceptions in situ.

Finally, a structured questionnaire was administered as part of an intercept social survey, capturing consumers leaving the mall as a way of gauging their individual perceptions and experiences of the space. The questionnaire included a series of questions creating a summated scale, the 'perceived exclusion indicator', a measure of how excluded or included an individual felt within the space.



Figure 3 - Aspiring to belong - advertising board at Westfield London (Field, 2011a)

Analysis

Merely to be in attendance at the “court of commodities” (Benjamin, 1973) is to claim one’s status as a consumer which, under a capitalism which reduces people to their function in an economist equation, is to assert one’s *existence* and to be recognized as a person.
(Shields, 1989:159)

Observing the mall: non-participatory observation



Figure 4 - Westfield London 'Southern Terrace' restaurants and entrance (Field, 2011b)

The quantity of visitors within the mall did not seem to vary greatly depending on the day of the week, with the exception of Saturdays, which appeared busier in general. During the daytime the mall was populated by a mixture of mostly females from a variety of age groups. A considerable number of people were visiting the mall alone or with young children.

Moving into the later afternoon and the evening, the gender and age balance became more varied and there was a noticeable increase in couples and groups. In terms of attire, with a few exceptions, most people were dressed relatively smartly and 'fashionably' and conducted themselves in a purposeful manner. The majority of visitors appeared to be consuming with roughly 75% of those counted at certain points, carrying bags of what were presumed to be purchases made in the mall.

On several occasions later in the evening (after 9pm), there was a police presence in the mall, although they appeared to be on patrol rather attending a specific incident. Conversely, during rush hour (from around 6pm), Westfield security personnel were standing sentry outside Shepherd's Bush underground station; it is unclear what purpose they were serving or what authority they have at a local public transportation station.

As the evening progressed, the security presence became much less obvious other than on the main entrances and exits with personnel asking people attempting to enter the mall what they were visiting, as most stores were closed at this time, with the exception of the cinema. Once inside the mall, one was free to wander aimlessly around, often whilst riggers were setting up displays in 'The Atrium' and the cleaners were going about their business, all without any security personnel approaching.

Only a single experience of someone being moved on was noted, albeit with a warning from a Westfield cleaner rather than the mall security. A teenager skateboarding along the dried-out pool of the 'living wall' in the Southern Terrace was warned that he would be "kicked out" if he continued. There was no sign of the mall security and the teenager and friends left shortly afterwards.

A Google News digest reported several incidences of individuals and groups being moved on and forced to cease particular activities. One incident involved a peaceful picket of librarians outside the public library located just within the western entrance to the mall. Whilst exercising their democratic right of assembly, the library staff were forced back inside the library by Westfield security personnel (Underwood, 2010), a notable contradiction of the effect of locating a public institution within a private space. Approximately a month later, a protest inside the mall by 'The Love Police' saw no apparent direct intervention by Westfield security, however the Police attended alleging trespass, with the protest group disputing the Police's claim of private property and eventually leaving on their own accord (Triwoox, 2010a, 2010b).

Using the mall: participatory observation

A diverse array of stores and cafés were visited within the mall over a period of approximately six months. In a mall of over 260 stores, it is not possible to present all of the experiences, therefore a sample of the most notable ones are included. As an attempt to obtain a controlled experience, the stores visited are specifically ones that have been visited in other locations, typically on the 'traditional' high street.

Mainstream American clothing store

This clothing outlet presents an almost Baudrillardian simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1983), an edifice of a Southern Californian surf store, although oddly dimly lit to the point of near darkness, with the clothes and aisles just about visible. During the visit, the store was operating a 'one-in, one-out' due to the condensed design of the store and difficulty in moving around. The queue time was approximately 20 minutes and was composed of around 30 others, most of whom appeared to be in the mid-to-late teenage bracket and were in couples or small groups.

The inside of the store was extremely busy, despite restricting the number of people allowed to enter, this gave the store a 'hustle and bustle' feeling, which is slightly contradictory to the laidback surf store appearance they are clearly aiming for. Most people seemed to be unclear specifically about what they wanted to buy, just that they wanted to either look at what was available or buy *something*. In the rear of the store, a man presumed to be the father, was sat in an armchair, whilst the daughter (approximately 8-10 years old) and mother, pulled clothes from the racks, checked sizes against the girl and literally threw them onto his lap, presumably for purchase. The social mix within the store was very varied, but in terms of the actual consumers, they were typically in either their teens or younger, often accompanied by a parent, or in their early 20s.

High street sandwich chain

This outlet presented a cookie cutter image of the chains' other stores, with no variation of design and had significantly less customers than one typically finds. Within about 2 minutes of purchasing a drink and taking a seat, a member of staff started to clean the table I was sat at, at one point spraying my arm with the cleaning solution. This action appeared to be completely unnecessary as the table was completely clean and I had a contained drink. Despite the novelty of actually being able to get a seat in one of their stores, there was no queue of other customers waiting for space and plenty of other tables. One can conclude that it was either a case of an overzealous employee or an attempt to expedite the turnover of customers.

Walking the mall: the users perspective

Four participants were chosen to take part in 'go along' interviews at Westfield. In an attempt to recognise any age, gender or social background bias, two female and two male participants were selected, from different age ranges and different social backgrounds. All participants were reminded

before and during the interview that there was no requirement for them to purchase anything or to go into any stores.

The first space within Westfield that each participant visited was 'The Village'. Analytically this proved to be the most productive part of the mall and therefore the majority of the accounts are situated within this space. All of the participants were acutely aware of the subtle and not so subtle changes in the ambient environment when moving into 'The Village' from other sections of the mall. In terms of design, 'The Village' is not dissimilar from the rest of Westfield, however changes in lighting, which is more subdued, the placement of plants and other furniture to break the wide passageways and the lower footfall, make the space feel distinct. Even the name evokes images of separation from a whole, an exclusive clique.

Iris¹, a middle-aged part-time student and housewife from East London, recognised how the noise levels changed as she entered 'The Village', largely a product of the low footfall within the space. Unlike other parts of the mall that one stumbles between, 'The Village' is a space one seeks. Iris was particularly keen not to explore the space and seemed visibly uncomfortable, stating that she saw no point in going any further as it was "out of [her] league". When Iris was reminded that there was no requirement for her to purchase anything she explained it wasn't just about money but 'look' (her words), which was understood to mean her appearance.

Natalie, a manager in her early 30s from North London, appeared to have the same ultimate reaction to 'The Village' as Iris. Prior to arriving at the mall, Natalie had explained that she does not feel comfortable in 'designer' shops, when asked why she stated that she felt the shop assistants tended to be rude. When questioned if there was anything that would make her feel more comfortable and she had succinctly answered "money", which appears to demonstrate a power relationship between the consumer and retailer. This became more evident when entering 'The Village' and Natalie was asked if she would feel comfortable entering the Versace boutique, a small store, which at the time had a single sales assistant working and no customers. Natalie firmly answered "no" but then headed straight into Tiffany & Co., an arguably much higher value store and one with a more imposing presence, with security guards posted on the entrances.

When Natalie was asked why she had felt more comfortable going into Tiffany & Co., than Versace, she remarked, "I love diamonds". Analytically, one could

¹ All names have been changed to preserve anonymity

argue that the perception of exclusion from a clothing retailer as opposed to a jewellers could be argued to be higher due to a concern with being critiqued in a clothing store and desire to conform to current fashion conventions (Craik, 1994:5), particularly as the object of conformity or belonging, ones clothing, is more visible to those who do conform and thus belong than an article of jewellery. Natalie refused to enter any of the other clothing retailers in 'The Village', but paradoxically also refused to enter De Beers, a major diamond company.

Ewen, a student in his early twenties from Surrey, had a completely different perception of 'The Village', relating it to "someplace like Dubai or an airport", he thought it was "tacky" and lacked the authenticity of 'the street', citing New Bond Street as a counterexample. Ewen made an observation, dipping in and out of stores, that the types of shoppers in 'The Village' were not the individuals you would typically find in 'designer' stores. Unfortunately he was unable to elaborate on this beyond stating they were "just different". Prior observations were somewhat counter to Ewen's in that whilst there was certainly a crossover of 'types' of shoppers, Westfield did lack the 'high worth' (at least in appearance) consumers that were observed in areas like New Bond Street. The explanations for this are potentially endless, however Ewen's argument that 'The Village' lacked authenticity and felt like an airport, a hybrid of simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983) and a non-place (Augé, 2008) could explain the distaste for such a space by those not just seeking to consume, but seeking an experience of exclusive, authentic consumption.

As with Ewen, Jonathan, a professional in his early 40s from South London, did not feel uncomfortable in the space, like Iris and Natalie clearly did, but did not feel any particular desire to be there. Jonathan stated he preferred to spend his money on other things, not on "throwaway fashion".

All of the participants appeared to experience Allen's (2006) 'ambient power' operating within 'The Village', with the exception of Natalie's desire to visit Tiffany & Co., one could argue they opted out of experiencing the area as they did not accept the 'seductive logic' (Ibid.:448) of the space for a variety of personal reasons, which seemed shaped by expendable income, appearance, desires of consumption and even authenticity. The female participants appeared to 'opt out' specifically on the grounds of income and appearance (although the latter is inferred from their behaviour), whereas the male participants appeared to 'opt out' based on their personal desires, either for the type of goods they desired or the type consumer experience they desired.

The remainder of the mall seemed to represent a more 'standard' consumer experience for the participants. Within the main body of the mall, Natalie remarked it felt/appeared very similar to the Bluewater shopping mall, but "less busy" (interestingly it was the school holidays when Natalie visited and Westfield was much busier than normal). Natalie, having earlier refused to go into any clothing retailers, now felt more comfortable and despite saying she didn't have any money, she purchased a t-shirt from the high street retailer, Superdry, within approximately ten minutes of entering the mall. When asked why she felt more comfortable in a store that portrays a 'trendy' image, she stated that she wasn't sure, just that she prefers stores where she isn't the only customer. This comment is contradictory to the actual experience, where the store was in fact devoid of customers but manufactured a different environment through loud music, dark lighting and dressed-down shop assistants. One could infer that the darker lighting, loud music and generally relaxed environment creates a more anonymous feeling, making an individual feel less 'on show' and as such, less subject to fashion conventions.

After walking around the mall and visiting multiple stores, each participant was asked for their perceptions of the other mall users and whether they noticed any homogeneity. None of the participants noted any particularly homogeneity in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, attire, etc., however Ewen noted that most people were there to buy goods and that those sat in the public spaces were either laden with bags or consuming a snack purchased in the mall. Finally the participants were asked if they considered the mall to be a public space, all answered in the affirmative, with both Natalie and Ewen using the fact that anyone can walk in to validate their opinion. This displays something of a disparity between their perceptions of the space and the legal realities, even if not exercised.

The Firm: the staff perspective

Sally has been working as a sale assistant for an avant-garde high fashion womenswear boutique in 'The Village' for six months, having previously worked for a high fashion boutique in Sydney, Australia, in a managerial position for six years. She briefly described the differences between retail in the UK and Australia and then moved specifically to explain consumer factors. In Australia, she had worked in a traditional boutique on a street lined with similar stores, which whilst she agreed this was in a way no different to Westfield, she stated that they were often inundated in her previous store with people simply browsing. In similar language as that used by Westfield, she termed people browsing as 'aspirational', they would like to shop in the store but generally could not afford to do so and so they took pleasure in viewing items. In Westfield, she has noticed an almost complete lack of aspirational

consumers. She stated that the footfall is extremely low in comparison and especially considering the number of shoppers the mall attracts. Sally said that the clients they do get are there to buy, not always immediately, but the vast majority of people who visit the store resultantly buy something.

When asked what she thought of individuals like Natalie's experience of such stores and the discomfort they feel going into them, Sally remarked that she never attempts to make anyone feel uncomfortable, the idea is sell goods and therefore she is as welcoming as she can be. Sally did say that the design of the store was somewhat intimidating, being almost entirely mirrored, putting an individual completely on show, especially when combined with the low footfall. However the standoffish sales assistant is, according to Sally, a cliché. Her closing remarks were that anyone was welcome in the store, they just don't seem to get a large number of people browsing, she said it was the case in malls, that in her experience, you go there to buy something, not for the ambience.

Dia another sales assistant but in a prestige ready-to-wear menswear store didn't have the same level of experience of fashion retailing as Sally. Dia has been working in luxury retail for just over a year and always within a mall. When asked if her experience concerning footfall and potentially intimidating store design was the same as Sally's, she said that the footfall was low, but again, this was compensated by the fact that most 'converted' to sales. She didn't think the store's design was intimidating, stating that the store was almost entirely made of glass, it is "transparent not reflecting", indicating the more open nature of the store, although she stated that men do not generally seem that bothered by things like sales assistants.

Dia did however identify problem times, particularly on Saturdays when they can receive a large number of 'undesirables' (her word). Dia went on to explain that the brand image attracted a lot of teenage boys, who would want to come into the store, try on clothes, take photographs and generally "waste time". The store had largely tried to counter this by having male sales assistants on staff on Saturdays and asking people to leave if they were seen taking photographs of each other wearing the clothes, she explained that there might be "copyright issues", although it would seem more likely that the flawed nature of their consumption was as Dia had remarked "wast[ing] time". Dia's comments were the only encounter during the research with stores specifically removing individuals due to their lack of consumption potential.

Gauging perceptions: the social survey

The social survey was conducted over a period of approximately a month with a total of 100 individuals surveyed. The 'perceived exclusion indicator' (PEI) scores calculated from the summated scale were categorised as:

Score	Category
> 24	Very included (low score)
> 18	Included
≤ 18	Excluded
< 12	Very excluded (high score)

The level of perceived exclusion was overall very low, with 71% feeling 'included' or 'very included'. A total of 12% felt 'very included' and conversely 8% felt 'very excluded', leaving 21% feeling 'excluded'. It is worth noting that the difference between feeling included or excluded was often the result of the number 'unsure' answers given by the interviewee and therefore scores around 18 should be treated with caution.

Several individual indicators that were initially considered factors of exclusion were analysed against the median perceived exclusion score to look for particular patterns. The median was used as opposed to the mean as the distribution was inherently skewed (Spector, 1992).

Table 1 shows the median exclusion score for ethnic appearance, which does not appear to have an effect on the individuals perceived level of exclusion. As this is frequency data it is a generalisation to state that ethnic appearance or any of the other indicators do not have an effect on any individual, however, overall there is no discernable pattern. The same is true for age group, as shown in Table 2.

Ethnic appearance	Median PEI
White	21
Black	21
Asian – East	25
Asian – South	22

Table 1 – Median PEI for ethnic appearance

Age group	Median PEI
16-19	25
20-24	21
25-34	21
35-44	21
45-54	21
55-64	22

Table 2 – Median PEI for age group

Several other indicators demonstrated a higher correlation between the indicator and perceived exclusion. The starkest contrast was between employment classification and perceived exclusion as shown in Table 3. Employment classification was taken as being an approximate equivalent of potential income and therefore the ‘higher’ classifications, such as ‘professional’ and ‘managerial’ were seen to represent higher income.

Those in potentially higher earning employment classifications were seen to have much lower levels of perceived exclusion than those in potentially lower earning employment, indicating a potential for less wealthy individuals to feel more excluded.

Employment classification	Median PEI
Professional	25
Managerial	22
Skilled – non-manual	10
Partly skilled	9
Student	19
Inactive	13

Table 3 – Median PEI for employment classification

The potential correlation between income and perceived exclusion is logical in a space that is devoted to consumption. A larger sample and explicit questioning regarding income and wealth would however be required to provide any level of statistical significance.

An individual's area of residence appears to correlate with perceived exclusion with those living in closer to Westfield London feeling more excluded than those living farther away, as shown in Table 4.

Area of residence	Median PEI
Shepherd's Bush	15
White City	12
West Kensington	14
Fulham	19
Hammersmith	17
Other Hammersmith & Fulham	23
Other West London	24
Other London	23
Overseas	28

Table 4 - Median PEI for area of residence

One potential factor for the higher level of inclusion perceived by those from outside the immediate area is that they would have typically travelled purposely to Westfield with the aim of consuming, the very act the space encourages and welcomes.

The final indicator analysed was whether an individual visits or has visited the nearby Shepherd's Bush Market, which presents a contrasting environment to Westfield's sanitised, high value mall. Table 5 shows how an individual's propensity to visit the market increases their perceived exclusion at Westfield, with those who have not visited the market or no longer visit the market, scoring lower exclusion scores.

Market visits	Median PEI
Yes	12
No	23
Occasionally	14
Previously	24

Table 5 - Median PEI for propensity to visit Shepherd's Bush Market

An explanation for such a correlation is the differing environments offered by Westfield and Shepherd's Bush Market, with Westfield targeting active and typically high value consumers and the market acting as a traditional community marketplace.

Conclusion

For the poor of the society of consumers, not embracing the consumerist model of life means stigma and exclusion, while embracing it portends more of the poverty that bars admission...
(Bauman, 2007:139)

This paper started with the premise that the relative homogeneity of users and lack of 'disruptive' behaviour at the Westfield London shopping mall was a result of some management driven social sorting in order to create a specific type of space. This social sorting was envisaged to be for the purposes of creating a noticeable division from the high street where one could encounter any, to paraphrase Sennett (2008), 'disorder', with the onus being on personal safety and preventing disruption from the task of consuming.

Through the use of a range of ethnographic methods and locating the mall within prominent discourses of socio-spatial exclusion, a subtle narrative is apparent, one of potential sorting, but largely at the personal scale, with individuals sorting themselves out of the space. As with Allen's (2006) study of 'ambient power' at Potsdamer Platz, a similar regime of self-governance appears to be the main exclusionary factor at work within the mall. When an individual does not conform to the implicit requirements of this space of consumption, they are generally left feeling uncomfortable, purely by their very presence. This leaves individuals with several options, to conform and consume, to leave or to simply not go there in the first place.

By placing the mall within Allen's framework, the 'something', the 'seduction', is consumption, directing the majority and excluding the remainder who would consequently leave or not visit the mall and thus a largely homogenous environment is created, reflecting initial observations.

In concluding one must question to what extent such spaces should be inclusive. Detached from the arguments of access to public space having always been unequal, what rights should an individual have to enter what is in effect a private development with a specific purpose, in this case, to cater to consumers needs. One could however argue that that the inclusion of civic

and necessary amenities, such as public libraries, banks, post offices, supermarkets and public transportation, within such developments mandates a civic responsibility on the space to provide just access to all citizens.

Genuinely open, accessible public spaces are disappearing (Smith and Low, 2006) and being replaced with quasi-public spaces (Tyndall, 2010) which are consuming increasingly large amounts of civic space within our cities and assuming a growing number of public functions (Minton, 2009). What is more, the amorphous nature of such spaces can make it near impossible for citizens to know when they are on private property and subject to private ordinances, especially as public transport becomes integrated into quasi-public spaces.

The encroachment of such spaces can only be seen as damaging to society as a whole, something that is recognised by the UN Human Settlements Programme adopting their first resolution concerning public space, noting a growing awareness that quality public spaces are linked to quality of life and that local authorities and urban planners tend to lack an appreciation of the social dimensions beyond the physical dimensions of space (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2011).

Gottdiener (1986:293) stated that “[t]he purpose of a mall is to sell consumer goods”, any additions are purely part of the enticement to consumption. He also recognised the fact that malls become replacement city centres, something that is becoming increasingly evident with spaces such as Westfield becoming ‘destinations’ and consuming large areas of city space along with the privatisation of streets and public amenities (Minton, 2011). This situation where the very streets of the city are owned by private corporations and subject to policing by private security creates a dystopian vision of a neoliberal public sphere, that implicitly or explicitly excludes those who do not or cannot conform. This is not just a situation where we end up with the wholesale privatisation of the city it is a situation where we ultimately lose the right to the city.

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