The Formation of Identity in Teenage Mall Microculture: A Case Study of Teenagers in Czech Malls*

JANA SPILKOVÁ and LUCIE RADOVÁ**
Charles University, Prague

Abstract: Geographies of children and youth are a surprisingly neglected research topic in the transforming (post-communist) countries, where many societal changes are taking place. This article introduces a research project that focused on teenagers and their leisure-time activities, concentrating especially on teenagers who spend the majority of their leisure time in shopping malls. The goal of the article is to reveal how such teenagers use the micro-space of the shopping mall, how they socialise, and how their social identities may be produced through different practices in the mall space. The study focused on teenagers aged 14–17 'hanging out' in shopping malls in the largest Czech cities. The data were collected by participant observation and interviews. The teenagers studied have abandoned typical public spaces used for leisure time and produced their own spatial identities in the specific space of the shopping mall. They have created a true microculture through a combination of the personalities, locations, and events that they share in in the mall environment. The article also discusses interesting results concerning preference factors for leisure time activities in the mall environment. The concluding part of the article draws implications from the study for the future research agenda in the geographies and sociologies of youth.
Keywords: teenagers, hanging out, spatial microculture, geography of children and youth, shopping mall, Czech Republic

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Central and Eastern Europe has within just fifteen years lived through a process of retail development that usually takes perhaps fifty years. This has considerably affected the spatial structure of the new retail environment and it has also affected consumer behaviour (shopping as a

leisure time activity), distorted by the previous lack of shopping opportunities. It seems that teenagers are one of the groups most likely to adapt easily to all these changes in the retail environment. International experience shows that a growing percentage of young people in large urban agglomerations of the 'developed world' spend their leisure time in shopping malls.

The shopping mall is, in principle, an ideal space for teenagers, whose access to many urban spaces may be limited, who have few leisure places to go to without structured activities or adult oversight, and who are not sufficiently mobile and independent to decide about their leisure activities on their own. The shopping mall represents a familiar place, safely accessible by public transport, protected from the environment and unfavourable weather, offering many activities that are not restricted to just the adult population (cafés, cinema, fast food), and it is also a space that is considered safe. What is more, shopping and 'fashion hunting' are 'musts' for the majority of teenagers and foster the socialisation process and the hoped-for belonging to a particular peer group. Thus, some teenagers reproduce social identities by 'hanging out' in shopping malls.

The research agenda in post-communist societies has focused on typical transformational changes and their consequences for society and the value systems of people in these countries. Studies of various social subgroups or even subcultures within the new, neoliberal environment have become frequent. However, it is clear that there is still one important group which is severely understudied, and that is children and youth. The geographies of children and youth is still a neglected topic in current research trends. The environments of children and youth are not considered a phenomenon worthy of its own category. However, in the context of the decline of traditional values among young people, it is obvious that today's teenagers spend their leisure time in a different way than their predecessors did some twenty years ago. For this reason it is of crucial importance to study what are the main changes in the leisure activities of contemporary youth in transforming countries.

This article introduces a research project that focused on teenagers and their leisure time activities, with a special interest in the activity of 'hanging out' in shopping malls. After providing theoretical background on the general characteristics of 'postmodern' lifestyles, the article describes the notion of microcultures within the field of children's and youth geography research. The article then proceeds to discuss the methodology and results of interviews with and participant observation of teenagers in shopping malls in Prague and in other large cities of the Czech Republic. The primary goal is to reveal how teenagers spend their leisure time in the mall, how they use the microspace of the mall, how they socialise (there), and how their social identities may be produced through different practices in the mall space. The article also aims to identify the 'core kids' known from US studies [Kowinski 1985; Lewis 1989; Baker and Haytko 2000; Underhill 2004] and point out the most striking differences between Czech and American teenagers in the shopping mall. The article concludes with a dis-

cussion of the main findings on the attractiveness of shopping malls for teenagers and the spatial practices of their microcultures in this new retail environment.

Teenagers and postmodern consumption: a theoretical framework

Social science research on children in the 1990s evolved around the notion of 'new social studies of childhood' [Ansell 2009], which was based on the perception of childhood as a social construct and children as social actors. According to this approach, children and youth are social actors engaged extensively with the world around them. By the time Matthews and Limb [1999] were calling for a definition of a new agenda for the geography of children, the field of children's geography was already widely recognised in Anglo-Saxon social science. The work of scholars in this area was established on the boundary between geography, sociology, and environmental or developmental psychology, etc. [Hart 1997; Matthews 1992]. The main objection was that the agenda of children's and youth geography centred on different social groups defined by gender [McDowell 1999; Monk 1992; Winchester 1992], race [Bettie 2003; Jackson 1989], ethnicity [Hyams 2000; Sibley 1995], or different sexuality [Bell and Valentine 1995]. However, geographers and sociologists apparently did not study the socio-spatial differences in the construction of childhood, nor the complex relations of childhood and space. Instead, the focus was on micro-scale studies of children and their immediate environments and studies of the behaviour of children on a local scale [e.g. Wood and Beck 1994; Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith 1998]. According to Ansell [2009: 194], this paradigm 'has predominantly emphasized agency over structure, concrete over abstract and local over global'. The need for joint efforts with sociologists, anthropologists, and cultural studies researchers became obvious. While it can be stated that this effort has been successful and many outstanding contributions have emerged in the new field of children's and youth geographies [e.g. Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995; Skelton and Valentine 1998; Holloway and Valentine 2000; Aitken 2001; Craig and Dyson 2008], this is not the case for the post-communist countries, where this type of research agenda has not been widely developed (for children's geography in post-communist countries, see, e.g., Horschelman and Schafer [2005]).

Ansell [2009: 191] also claims that researchers leave untouched the issues of economic globalisation and neoliberal policies, which are transforming the lives of many young people. This is the case especially in the post-communist countries, where particularly the economy and consumer habits, distorted by previous modes of behaviour under the communist regime, evolved dynamically during the last two decades [Spilková 2008]. Placing the research of children and youth into the context of postmodern consumption would seem to be of critical importance. According to Giddens [1990], having a 'lifestyle' in today's postmodern society is an absolute necessity. Everybody has their lifestyle and everybody is

forced to have one. Lifestyle is for Giddens represented by an integrated set of practices engaged in by an individual, not for their benefit, but for the fact that they form the material image of the individual's identity. Lifestyle represents the personality of an individual. The values we appreciate, the clothes we wear, the food we consume, and the way we spend our leisure time express our lifestyle. Adopting a lifestyle is thus also a necessity for teenagers who can become lost in the process of identity creation during pubescence and adolescence [cf. Deutsch and Theodorou 2010].

Our identity in the postmodern world is formed through our consumption [Petrusek 2006]. The consumer society is not only an abstract notion, but a reality which describes the current shape of Western civilisation. The era of consumer society we are living in changes the culture, its norms, and its values. The consumer society honours mass consumption, where everything has its price, and everything becomes a matter of sale and purchase. The passive and materialistic orientation of current teenagers comes therefore as no surprise.

Time spent in a shopping mall provides the modern individual with much excitement and satisfaction. The mall attracts and offers consumer society everything it wants and needs, and consumers are seduced by the mall. Seduction by publicity and advertising constitutes a kind of invisible violence, which forces us to desire and then buy and gather things that we do not even need. This lifestyle, according to Petrusek [2006], is accompanied by an ethical and economic irresponsibility that enables the individual to 'enjoy today and pay tomorrow'. Media and publicity have the leading role in this process, telling the consumers what to do, buy, consume, and how to behave. Media and publicity exercise an influence on people's minds, which, albeit invisible, is strong and dangerous. People are manipulated by fashion; fashion controls the lifestyle and also ascribes certain types of goods and activities greater prestige than others. This pressure may be especially strong among teenagers, where membership in a particular peer group may be defined by the possession of certain goods and following a particular fashion or lifestyle [Elkind 2001].

We live in a leisure society, and entertainment industries to a certain degree influence the way we spend our leisure time. Thus, despite the fact that people as individuals spend their leisure time the way they each want, in the end they spend their leisure time in a manner prepared by others (TV, culture, sporting facilities, shopping malls, etc.). How leisure time is spent is also subject to fashion. The entertainment demanded by the consumer society is made by entertainment industries. The consumer society consumes this entertainment and this culture. Nevertheless, there is also a reverse side to the affluent, leisure society. Affluence can be limited to a material aspect only and often is not accompanied by a necessary level of responsibility, either to others or to the individual him/herself [Petrusek 2006].

Shopping malls, which truly represent a new phenomenon in Czech society [Spilková 2003; Spilková and Hochel 2009], currently serve as popular destina-

tions for family trips. This trend is called 'fun shopping' or 'experience shopping'. It is not only a matter of shopping, but also a way of spending leisure time. Shopping centres are not just commercial (places), but are also becoming social centres and they offer various entertainment activities (cinemas, bowling, game rooms), relaxation opportunities (beauty salons, personal services), sporting activities (fitness, swimming pools, courts), and so on. It appears that much leisure time is now spent in shopping centre complexes that incorporate a big shopping mall, catering services or food courts, and multiplex cinemas. However, the question is whether this development represents a valuable leisure activity. There is a tradition in human geography of studying the consumer behaviour of young people and their experiences of consumption spaces (mainly shopping malls). The first works date back to Anthony's [1985] observation of young people hanging out in malls in California, in which the author acknowledged that it is in the mall where young people develop their own social life. Lewis [1989] was the first to identify the group of teenagers who are present at the mall on a daily basis, calling them 'mall rats' (boys) and 'mall bunnies' (girls), and he found that the mall was a strong social magnet for young people. Shields [1989], in his key study on the retail built environment of the West Edmonton shopping mall, described the spatial practices of young people trying to evade security guards and reclaim their place within the mall. Watt and Stenson [1998] wrote about the formation and dynamics of teenage groups in a Thamestown mall. The aspects researched in these studies are also the focus of the research presented in this article. However, it must be stressed that none of the mentioned stiudies included the voices of the young people themselves as the narrators of their mall experience [Matthews et al. 2000]. From a methodological point of view, this article aims to present young people and their individual stories and experience as the core data and material.

Teenage microcultures: a methodological approach

Viewed from the perspective of developmental psychology [Slater and Bremner 2003], for a pubescent, the peer group is highly important, and it offers support for his/her still unformed identity. Peers share interests and anxieties. The group stresses the conformity of its members; the need for conformity becomes obvious in the group's style of speech, dress code, or, for example, preferred brands of mobile phones. In place of an individual identity, the group offers its members confidence and acceptance. The process of identity formation thus highly correlates with the need to create a teenage microculture. It is one of the basic psychological needs of an individual in his/her development, and one of the first occasions when the person experiences the principles of spatialities and space appropriation.

In recent research on children and youth, the approach of particular developmental stages is being abandoned and scholars are looking for a more complex way of describing the individual's transition from childhood to adulthood

[Valentine 2003]. However, some authors also note that the transition approach is problematic because of its understanding of adulthood and independence as destinations, and they instead tend to embrace the concept of 'vital conjunctures' [Craig 2009]. Such authors note that the concept of vital conjunctures better describes the challenges of growing up, as it examines the particular and temporary context that is relevant in specific situations and it also offers a basis for learning across geographical boundaries [Horschelman and Schafer 2005; Craig 2009].

From the methodological point of view, the research tools to investigate children's geographies and youth environments are comprised mainly of qualitative research methods, participant observation, ethnography, and focus groups. These methods were still nascent during the transformational period of post-communist countries. The scientists first had to develop their knowledge in these realms of research methodology, and then deal with the ethical and security problems that arise when undertaking research with children and youth. In this context, the present study aims to foster interest in the geography and sociological studies of children and youth, and aims to apply qualitative research tools previously neglected in Czech social geography. The present study also aims to draw attention to the emergence of a particular group within a specific environment—teenagers in a shopping mall—thus presenting a phenomenon both new and, until recently, unknown to Czech society and not part of the Czech retail tradition.

The basic theoretical concept behind this research is the idea of microcultures, defined by Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith [1998: 196] as a 'means to explain the territorial and social behavior of young people…'. This concept stemmed from a redefinition of the term 'youth culture' used by the works of the 'Birmingham School'. The works of the British Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies from the 1970s described young people as merely passive subjects in the world of adult values, with very limited possibilities of activity or inclusion in adult spatialities. According to Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith [1998], microculture provides a suitable framework to make sense of different groups of young people and their behaviour in contrast to the more traditional view of 'subculture' that would, in this case, consider young people as one complex subgroup with the same qualities and characteristics.

'Microcultures are created by combinations of personalities, the locations they make their own and the events they share. Together, these provide common and unifying sets of experiences'. [Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith 1998: 196] Similarly, we concentrated on the microcultures of mall teenagers who meet in the environment of a shopping mall on a daily basis and who share their experiences of the place and reproduce their spatial identities by 'hanging out' in a shopping mall. From the spatial point of view, this research also relates to the theoretical notion of the 'fourth environment' [van Vliet 1983], which describes the public places beyond the teenager's home, school, and playground. The aim of grasping the collectively lived experience within a particular spatial context may provide interesting insights into the geographies of young people today.

The research project

The research project described in this article focused on one specific group of young people in a specific environment—teenagers hanging out in shopping malls. A previous study on the leisure activities of Prague's teenagers [Radová 2008] revealed that among high school students some 60% of respondents try to spend their time actively, that is, on sports or creative activities. Others, however, prefer passive or casual [Stebbins 1997] forms of leisure—gathering with friends, loitering in the city, or shopping, whereas shopping was preferred more by girls than boys (for the distinction of leisure forms and activities, see, for example, Dardis, Soberon-Ferrer and Patro [1994] or Meeks and Mauldin [1990]). This survey thus aimed to determine whether the specific characteristics of 'mall junkies' [Underhill 2004] or 'mall rats' [Kowinski 1985] applies to the leisure activities of Czech teenagers. Czech teenagers, unlike 'mall junkies' and 'mall rats' in more developed countries, live in an environment where shopping malls have emerged only recently as competitors to traditional leisure activities (outdoor activities, scouting, sports).

Study area

The pilot research was conducted at Chodov shopping mall (Centrum Chodov) in Prague. The mall opened in November 2005, and at that time it was the largest shopping centre in the Czech Republic, with 55 000 square meters of leasable commercial space and more than 200 shops. The mall has three levels and contains a 'magnet' store, shopping galleries, an entertainment zone, and a sporting facility on its roof. The location of this mall is very convenient, as it is set above an underground metro station and is also accessible by seven bus lines and by car off a major highway. Furthermore, it is situated in the centre of a vast, formerly communist housing estate (Southern City, which previously had inadequate retail services), and in close proximity to the sizeable student residential area of Prague's two largest universities. Wilhelm and Mottner [2005] claim that teenagers choose malls according to their 'trendiness'. Chodov shopping mall is, in this respect, a good example of a 'trendy' shopping mall with all the brand-name shops that teenagers prefer and that are visited by most teenagers (e.g. Quicksilver, New Yorker, Bershka, Nike Store, Puma Store).

In the second phase of the research, the study area was enhanced by another shopping mall in Prague: Flora Palace (Palác Flora), an attractive, centrally located mall in Prague's Vinohrady district. For the purpose of comparative research, shopping malls in three other cities of the Czech Republic (all of them regional capitals) were also visited. These malls were: Pilsen Plaza (Plaza Plzeň), one of the largest malls in Pilsen in a central location with an attractive marketing mix; Futurum shopping centre in Hradec Králové, easily accessible and one of the most visited malls in Eastern Bohemia; Vaňkovka Gallery (Galerie Vaňkovka) in

Brno, one of the most successful examples of brownfield development, an attractive shopping mall with an extensive marketing mix and many cultural events taking place at the mall.

Data collection

The study sample consisted of teenagers aged 14–17 years 'hanging out' in the shopping malls mentioned. The data were collected by participant observation in two phases. Participant observation is a qualitative research method which aims to describe 'what' happens, 'why' it happens, 'when' it happens, and 'who' participates in the observed activity. The observer, however, does not act as a passive participant in the activity, but to some extent enters the activity and interacts with the studied individuals. The observer aims to approach the studied subjects. The data can be collected using various auxiliary methods such as interviews, diaries, video, or audio recording. This type of research is usually time-consuming, and the crucial issue is to enter the observed environment without distorting impact on the activity of the studied subjects. Despite many original methodological problems, when participant observation was not accepted as serious research, it is now considered a flexible, methodologically plural and context-related method [Flick, von Kardoff and Steinke 2004].

For the pilot study, we chose to use the method of participant observation together with interviews of the selected participants via semi-structured interviews. The interviewing process was very problematic because the teenagers were reluctant to communicate with the researchers, and even if they did cooperate their responses tended to be highly influenced by the presence of their peers. The pilot testing of the questions for the interview showed that the majority of the subjects under study had problems with verbally expressing their motivation to come to the mall in their leisure time, or to explain clearly the attraction the mall represents for them. In many cases, the respondents tended to communicate ironically or even indecently. From the pilot testing it was also clear that the 'core kids' constituted a relatively reserved group and, for a researcher, it was difficult to gain their confidence. Finally, thirty teenage mall visitors were approached during the pilot observation and interviews.

The pilot observation was done during October and November 2007 and then between January and May 2008, during both the week and weekend days, usually in the afternoon (after 2 p.m.), when the teenagers were most likely to go to the mall. The observation places were mainly around the food court on the first floor of the mall and also in the proximity of the shops that teenagers patronise the most. When observing the young people at Chodov shopping mall, the intention was to find out how teenagers spent their leisure time in the mall, at what time of the day they came to the mall, and how they behaved (spatially and otherwise).

After the successful piloting phase, the second round of the research took

place. The observation and interviews were undertaken during the autumn of 2009 and spring of 2010. The consent rate when approaching the respondents was relatively high—as much as 60% in Prague and almost 100% in the other cities. The interviewing consisted of two sections, the first part of the interview focused on the space of the shopping mall, the preferences for spending leisure time in this space, and the activities the respondents engaged in during their stay in the mall. Respondents were asked why they visit the mall, when, etc. Their movement through the space of the mall was also investigated, and similarly they were asked about their favourite shops and brands. However, the most interesting part of the interview revolved around their perception of the retail built environment of the mall, their feelings about and experience of the mall environment, and what draws them to spend their leisure time there. There was also enough space for the respondents to express themselves and comment on other ideas and issues not covered by the interview design. The second part of the interview dealt with the characteristics of the respondents, such as their family background and their other leisure preferences besides shopping and hanging out.

The research in Chodov shopping mall was conducted from January to April 2010, two times a week, throughout the day (mainly between 2 p.m. and 7 p.m.); altogether 25 respondents aged 14–17 were approached. Flora Palace was surveyed between February and April 2010 with 23 respondents aged 14–16 years; Pilsen Plaza in January 2010 (10 respondents, aged 14–16 years); Futurum Hradec Králové in April 2010 (18 respondents aged 15–17 years) and Galerie Vaňkovka Brno in April 2010 (20 respondents, aged 14–17 years).

Results and discussion

The results of the participant observation show that teenagers tend to move about in the space of the mall in small groups. These groups have a favourite table in the food court. The table is usually situated near the gallery or escalator and it provides a good view of all the surroundings. The earlier they come to the mall, the better table they have. Groups of teenagers then observe their surroundings and talk. When the groups we observed formed they were initially of one gender (groups of girls only, or boys only). After some time spent in the mall, a couple of boys joined the girls' group or vice versa. They usually came to the mall around 1 or 2 p.m. and stayed until the evening (around 8 p.m.). At the weekend they tended to arrive slightly later, after 4 p.m., and again stayed until the evening.

'We come here right after leaving school. To sit, to chat and so on….' (boy, age 16, Prague)

'We come here together and we watch the buzz and wait for friends, we like it. For me it's fun and I also like talking and looking around.' (girl, age 16, Prague)

'We sit and watch people and so on. It's a good job. I like watching the girls especially.' (boy, age 16, Prague)

The young people often came to the mall after school. At the weekend they came slightly later because they had other domestic duties (visiting relatives with their parents, shopping, etc.). Most of them stayed as long as possible, often until 7 or 8 p.m.; the boys usually stayed longer than the girls. The length of time they spent at the mall depended on their mood and situation (if they were enjoying themselves enough) and some of the respondents claimed (mostly girls) that it also depended on their parents (how long they could stay out).

> '*Friday evening is the best, we like it best. People go to the cinema and so on. There are a lot of people and friends of course. We like Friday evening very much.*' (two girls, ages 14 and 15, Pilsen)

> '*I go there every day, if it is possible, because friends are there and I want to be with my friends very much.*' (boy, age 15, Prague)

In the majority of cases, the teenagers stated they went to the mall every day. This fact represented a certain norm for them, because only those who regularly went there were fully appreciated members of the group and had the respect of the group's other members.

Body and space ballet

The structure and relationships within the group represent interesting findings. From this study, it was apparent that the groups were almost homogeneous as regards their age.

> '*We just go there with friends or only with some girls. I like to go there without friends sometimes, because sometimes I like to talk just with the girls.*' (boy, age 17, Prague)

> '*When I want to be with a girl only, we just look for some bench and sit down there.*' (boy, age 16, Brno)

The age differences were usually no bigger than one year. The relations within the group were rather structured. Rivalry and envy, especially amongst the girls, were obvious. The same was true of the inter-group relations. They knew each other, but they hardly exchanged more than simple greetings. More often, they just observed each other and gossiped within their own group. As part of the mall 'body ballet' of the group, cheek kissing was typical for girls when arriving at the mall. Thus, the microcultures of mall teenagers had their own body talk and learned behaviour, which differentiated them from other groups within the mall.

This type of behaviour, however, is not typical for Central European contact culture and communication. It is obvious that, as Matthews et al. [2000: 280] note,

'children are becoming less child-like as links with parents have been weakened and through actions that contest parental control and responsibility'. They adjust their corporal performance and perform appropriately in order to resemble adults and in order to earn their place in the mall, while still being teenagers with the typical behaviour of this life stage. In this respect, 'studying adolescent body performances in commercial space adds to the understanding of adolescence, as it explores … the transition from childhood to adulthood' [Valentine 2003 in Kato 2009: 53].

Social networks

The use of social networks, mainly Facebook in this case, was observed to be a novel development in the second research phase compared to what we witnessed in the pilot and earlier surveys and observations. The composition of the groups of teenagers at the malls also became changed slightly as teenagers often invited other friends known from Facebook or online chats. This is, of course, the result of the increasing popularity of social networks worldwide. However, as today's teenagers are informed about the possible dangers of internet communication, they have made the shopping mall a testing ground for the 'new friendships' created via virtual meetings on internet social networks. Many respondents mentioned that the shopping mall serves as a (safe) place to meet new people previously known only from Facebook.

> '*Sometimes, we know some boys from Facebook and then, if they are nice, we invite them here … then we wait and see if they come and if they recognize us or if we recognize them … the others just stare … who are they and you know … it's fun.*' (two girls, ages 14 and 15, Prague)

> '*We agree on meeting via Facebook and we say that we'll be here on Friday night and then we wait and see who comes … somebody sees us and says that he knows us from Facebook … it's funny!*' (two girls, ages 14 and 15, Pilsen)

Activities, adventures

The time spent at the mall was distributed between shopping and other activities. As regards shopping, girls usually went together; first they visited their favourite stores, but they did not necessarily buy anything.

> '*We like to sit down near Cinestar … we just talk and so on. Sometimes we go to the cinema and sometimes we go shopping.*' (girl, age 15, Hradec Králové). '*Sometimes we go to play football to Planet Games … we just play and talk. It's good.*' (boy, age 16, Hradec Králové)

The interviews with the mall teenagers indicated that they bought food and drinks, but they rarely did other shopping. This observation represents the first substantial difference between the Czech teenagers and their US counterparts, who in their own right possess respectable buying power within the consumer crowd [Baker and Haytko 2000; Underhill 2004]. More expensive goods were usually purchased when the mall teenagers were there with their parents. In any case, the money they spent at the mall came from their parents.

> *'We like New Yorker very much … they have good clothes there … we go there with friends.'* (girl, age 15, Pilsen)

The boys tended to go to the shops even less often; the exception was when they accompanied a girl. After the 'walk' around their favourite shops, they moved to the food court on the first floor, where they met others who were already waiting for them and they joined them at their table. They spent the time talking, listening to music from mobile phones, and very often they smoked on the terrace on the mall's roof or in front of the mall.

> *'It is so close … when we go smoke outside, we can see what's happening inside and vice versa … this is good, because we cannot miss anything.'* (boy, age 15, Brno)

Even alcohol use was observed, despite the mall teenagers' young age (Czech law prohibits teenagers under the age of 18 from drinking alcohol). In most cases, they mixed Coca Cola with wine in a Coca Cola bottle. This represents the second substantial difference between Czech and US teenagers who spend their leisure time in malls, as alcohol consumption by US teenagers would not be tolerated within the highly scrutinised space of the US shopping mall. By contrast, Czech society is traditionally tolerant of alcohol consumption, and adolescent misuse of alcohol is one of the most problematic trends observed in the last decade. Combined with the weak enforcement of the drinking age law and the many cases of violations of the law reported in the media (such as selling alcohol to under-age individuals in shops and pubs), the observation of teenage alcohol consumption in the malls is highly alarming.

Motivation

What motivates teenagers to spend their leisure time this way and what is their motivation to spend their leisure time in the specific microspace of a shopping mall? The results of the present survey clearly indicate that most often it is a peer-induced activity; teenagers follow their friends and peers, who bring them to the mall. Some of the teenagers surveyed responded that for the first time they came with parents, and that they then just started to visit the mall with friends.

The mall is an integral part of growing up, especially for girls. Among the girls, it was clear that a substantial amount of influence was exerted by their mothers. If the mothers were inclined to go shopping for fashions and frequently visited shopping malls, this tendency was apparent also in their daughters. The majority of girls approached stated that they also visited the mall a couple of times a week with their mothers. This phenomenon was defined as 'mother-daughter shopping' by Baker and Haytko [2000], who also state that this type of gender-specific 'family shopping' may present important incomes for the retailers.

The focus of the survey then lies in the questions: What do they like here? What attracts them to the mall? What do they get out of the time spent at the mall? First, the vast majority of the subjects studied seemed to have great difficulty verbally expressing themselves on these issues. The most frequent response was: '*I don't know…*' or the fact that the mall is where their friends, girls, and fun are. Another boy (age 16, Prague) said: '*…why should I spend the wintertime on the street, when it is so warm here and there are lots of pretty girls…*'.

An interesting response from one girl was that her mother worried about her safety and that therefore she liked her to be at the mall after school. She could stay there until the evening when her mother would come to pick her up. To sum up, what attracted the teenagers to the mall was the fact that they felt free (mature) in the space of a mall, where, unlike at school or at home, there was nobody to tell them what to do and what they could not do. They liked the environment and they used the mall as a place for meeting other young people.

The girls mostly appreciated the shops, and also the presence of friends and meeting boys, who seemed to be their main motivation for going there. In some ways these observations almost resemble the situation described by Thomas [2005], who states that teen girls produce their own social and spatial niches as manoeuvres to respond to adult spatiality. However, in this manner they reproduce the gender ideals of adult society, where women like to shop and create their identity through the consumption of fashionable goods and other lifestyle products. The boys usually said that the mall is 'cool' and that their friends are there. Meeting girls in the mall is also very important.

'*We just stand here and watch the people going to the cinema … it's fun … they're in line or just waiting for somebody … I mainly check out the girls….*' (boy, age 16, Pilsen)

'*We come alone, only with friends, or I come with a girl … I can talk to her and so on….*' (boy, age 17, Pilsen)

Thus, in accordance with Anthony [1985], a shopping mall is perceived nowadays as a special place of excitement and activity, where it is very pleasant to 'hang out' with friends, look around the shops, and enjoy the freedom of the place. It also fulfils the need for three of the four important parts of children's and youth micro-geographies as defined by Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith [1998]:

a place away from authority, a place to be with friends, and a place for adventure. Last but not least, the activity, while viewed from the adult perspective as passive and inferior, may, to the mall teenagers, represent its own form of a struggle for spatial identity and an important part of their learning and experience gathering. As Kato [2009: 54] claims, '[k]nowing where and how to situate one's body in a given space requires tacit knowledge of the spatial and the social opportunities and constraints'.

The 'core kids'

A specific group, known in the literature as 'core kids' [Lewis 1989] or 'mall junkies' [Underhill 2004], is formed by those young people in the mall who are there almost every day, sometimes even during the morning hours. Such groups were apparently also identified during the participant observation in Chodov shopping mall and Vaňkovka Gallery in Brno. These teenagers comprised a group of 8–10 individuals aged 14–16. Their main activities in the mall consisted of sitting and talking at a table in the food court on the first level and smoking on the roof (in the case of Chodov) or in front of the mall (Vaňkovka Gallery). If possible, they would sit at one particular table in the food court with a good view of both the escalators from the lower levels and the stairs leading to the roof of the shopping mall (Chodov), and similarly in Brno, the favourite place was near the food court entrance. It is most striking how this specific feature resembles the behaviour of American teenage girls, described by Baker and Haytko [2000] and Kato [2009]. Obviously, the food court and a carefully chosen table represent a place where social aspects of mall visiting can be lived and expressed. It is the place where young people in the mall automatically gravitate to spend the majority of their 'mall time'. In the commercial space, where behavioural norms and spatial rules are adult-centred, the food court represents an important teenage promontory.

The characteristics of the 'core kids' were very similar to the characteristics of interviewed teenagers in malls in general. The interesting difference, however, is that despite the fact that they obviously knew the other groups, they did not communicate with them at all. Through their behaviour they expressed their superior position. There is always a leading figure (usually an attractive young girl; see also Deutsch and Theodorou [2010]) who is recognised as an authority by both boys and girls, who try to resemble her as much as possible, through their clothing, gestures, etc. Thus, it seems that the new Czech 'core kids' differ from the other groups in the mall by the fact that they do not go there to shop. They go to the mall to meet their peers, have fun, and flirt. They were present all the time during the survey, irrespective of the weather or day of the week. Malls thus form a central aspect of their life and are their frequent target destination [Baker and Haytko 2000; Thomas 2005; Vanderbeck and Johnson 2000].

An interesting methodological point arose during the course of the research. When starting this research in 2007, we approached this topic as problematic. We took a critical standpoint and aimed to prove in this research that the passive spending of leisure time in shopping malls may be harmful for the development of a 'healthy' youth with a good value orientation. However, during the surveying process, we realised that teenagers in the mall express their spatiality in this way and it is an important part of the identity (and spatial identity) creation process. It is just a reaction to the adult spatialities and one of the possible ways in which teenagers try to create their 'own' world, community, peer groups, and territory. Gradually, we became aware of the fact that one must balance the question of identity, values, and motivations by critiquing consumer culture, and not the teenagers themselves, for being pathological.

This is therefore a great example of 'process-oriented' research [Flick, von Kardoff and Steinke 2004]. In this type of research, hypothesis formulation and concept testing occur simultaneously with data collection. The work of a field researcher in this type of research is exceptionally demanding, because he/she has to search for and analyse the information needed to answer the research questions. It is essential to be present in the field and meet new people and new facts that are substantial for the research. Thus, intensive and long-term contact with the field and researched groups or individuals is maintained. The researcher also aims to develop a complex insight into the issues under research and the researcher's personality becomes a crucial element of the whole research. However, it is the particular teenager who is treated as a specialist in his/her life and he/she is given the voice to narrate his/her own story in his/her own words.

Based on the results of the comparative survey, it can be concluded that spending leisure time in the mall every day is not just a phenomenon of the capital city, but such microcultures can also be found in other Czech cities with suitable malls. In the Czech Republic, every city with more than 50 000 inhabitants has a shopping mall (or is at least planning its construction). Thus, it can be assumed that throughout the Czech Republic, there is a sizeable group of teenagers who spend their leisure time in shopping malls every day. Despite certain common characteristics of the mall teenage microcultures in Prague and other surveyed cities, there are also some striking differences. A significant difference between the teenagers from Prague and their counterparts in other cities is the communication and willingness to cooperate in the research. It is interesting that the compliance of teenagers outside of Prague was much higher than that of those in Prague. All the out-of-Prague respondents were helpful, interested, and curious about the research and its implications, communicated without problems, and so on. How can this finding be explained? Possibly teenagers in Prague face much more stressful stimulation in their environment (overload) than their counterparts in the other cities studied. The Prague teenagers are perhaps used to being approached daily by different people offering services or goods, begging, etc., and they therefore try to avoid contact with people that they do not know or that

they do not want to know. The Prague teenagers refused to talk to the researcher, even before it was clear what the purpose of the research was, and reacted affectively. By contrast, the teenagers in Pilsen, Brno, and Hradec Králové were rather pleased that they could become the object of any research and that somebody was interested in their way of life, their opinions, and experience.

The role of the 'habitus' in creating a microculture

The selected shopping malls in which the occurrence of this phenomenon was evidenced have some common characteristics. Similarly Baker and Haytko [2000] formulated the term of the 'friendly' shopping mall from the teenagers' point of view. The results for the Czech environment strongly resemble their results. Thus the equivalent of the 'friendly' shopping mall should comprise the following factors and amenities: (i) location, (ii) marketing mix, (iii) rich retail built environment, (iv) food court, and (v) the 'buzz' (the possibility of entertainment and relaxation).

Location seems to be the key factor when choosing a shopping mall for leisure activities, because many teenagers are not mobile and are dependent on public transport or walking (Czech teenagers are not allowed to drive cars until they are 18 years of age). Therefore, they prefer centres easily accessible by public transport. The location issue was perceived as a key attribute of a 'friendly' mall by nearly all the respondents in the survey.

Marketing mix is another important aspect of the mall, as there are certain brands which teenagers prefer and consider trendy. They like to wear these brands and to visit the brand-name shops. These shop visits and window shopping at these stores represent an integral part of the teenagers' experience at the mall. In this context, '[b]rowsing is not only the young people's attempt to be accepted by the adults … but it also provides opportunities for them to explore and experiment with their roles as customers' [Kato 2009: 57]. The rapid transformation to democracy has also brought some rapid changes in society, such as trying to adjust to the concepts that people are not 'equal', and that success is measured by money, possessions, and image. In the competitive environment, teenagers strive to resemble their parents, and thus they may stress a materialistic view of the world (including using the 'right' brand). Teenagers are exposed daily to the images of successful adults via media and advertising, and the teenagers' own struggle to become achievers (professionally and personally), good-looking, and well-off then becomes even more accentuated [Craig 2009].

The architecture and image of the mall is the third factor. Young people like to dwell in modern environments with modern design, variety, and articulation. A multitude of galleries, sidewalks, and escalators is important for the teenage mall users, and they use these architectural elements both as a transport means and as observation spots. As Matthews et al. [2000: 286] notes, contest may lead

to oppression, but it can lead to creative resistance as well. The teenagers thus concentrate in the parts of the mall with continual flux, lots of noise, and a rolling stream of people, which usually adds to the experience and fosters the attention to the lively surroundings [ibid. 2000: 286].

The food court represents a crucial place for teenagers in any shopping mall. It is a place where one can consume the food or just sit. Teenagers enjoy food courts very much and engage in their leisure activities and social interactions there. It is also a place to learn the principles of territoriality. The seizure of a particular food court table is a perfect example of tertiary territory appropriation [Bell et al. 2001], which, although public, may sometimes be perceived as an important and personal achievement in the life of a 'core kid'. The 'core kids' occupy their tables, with the best view of the mall space, early in the afternoon and control them until the evening. Adjusting the food court tables to improve the view, placing personal items on them, and other actions of the open space adjustment are 'ways to express their identity and define the meaning of space through the placement of their bodies' [Kato 2009: 54].

The last factor of mall preference is the 'buzz' in the centre. This relates to what happens in the centre, that is, what to do, what to see, and what to react to. The observation of people and activities in the mall is a favourite form of entertainment for the teenagers, as is the possibility of indirect and direct social interaction. Observing and learning how to navigate the space of the mall may instruct these teenagers on 'how to carry themselves properly among adults and prepares them for their future roles as adult consumers' [Kato 2009: 61].

Contemplating the above-mentioned factors and spatial strategies in geographical and sociological accounts, we come close to the notion of 'habitus'. 'Habitus is the embodied materialization of individuals' capitals, or internalized capital.' [Bourdieu 1984 in Holt 2008: 233] During childhood it can be expressed rather subconsciously and create a frame for an individual's encounters with the world around. Bourdieu [1984] conceptualises habitus also as a 'way of being' or a 'habitual state'. It may also provide the basis for the generation and formation of individuals' practices within particular social fields [Holt 2008]. Habitus simply stems from daily experience and everyday practice. Thus, the teenagers in the observed malls clearly depict how they acquired their habitus (including social capital, practical knowledge, and social skills) through the subconscious acceptance of the specific rules of the game within the mall environment when negotiating unfamiliar social contexts [Bourdieu 1990].

The following behavioural patterns of mall teenagers represent a specific form of an embodied social capital, highly important both in the process of their identity formation and in the creation of their own microculture: dealing with the environment of the mall (e.g. sitting at the tables in the food court for an extended period of time, making their usual rounds browsing through the shops, creating particular rules of the game (e.g. appropriation of the best table for the dominant members of the group), forming certain strategies to survey the environment (e.g.

continuously checking their view of both the up and down escalators), and territory appropriation (e.g. occupation of the same places throughout the afternoon by different and constantly changing members of the group).

Conclusion

Previous studies have concluded that a growing percentage of youth in big cities in the developed world spend their leisure time in shopping malls. Authors such as Underhill [2004] and Aitken [2001] have commented on this phenomenon in the United States, and they also state that teenagers may constitute a group with huge buying power in today's consumer society. Because teenagers are not allowed to enter many urban spaces, have limited mobility, and have limited ability to decide independently about where they spend their leisure time, for the teenager the shopping mall represents an ideal space. The ideal mall must have a modern design, and contain trendy shops, a food court or other meeting spots offering sufficient freedom and intimacy, and a variety of other entertainment facilities. It is a place where young people can, for the first time, experiment with their spatial identities and create their own mall microcultures.

The present study aimed to research a specific group of teenagers in a specific environment. These teenagers employ the most widespread strategy of identity formation, and they have thus adopted a model prefabricated by their parents and influencers in a postmodern, commodity-oriented world of consumption. In post-communist society, social stratification quickly became apparent and people learned to demonstrate their status through material wealth and possessions. The teenagers studied have replicated this pattern and strive to maintain their position in peer groups based on consumption and use of particular brands and products. Furthermore, they seem to have abandoned typical public spaces used for leisure time (playgrounds, sport facilities, clubs, etc.) and they have gravitated to a space of consumption and commodification—the mall. However, they show a good grasp of this specific space and have produced spatial identities, rituals, body-ballet, and a socio-spatial order within this environment. Thus, they have mastered their habitus and they have created a true microculture by combining the personalities, locations, and events that they share in in the mall environment.

Czech mall 'core kids' resemble their US counterparts in many respects. However, there are also some notable differences. First, Czech teenagers usually do not shop to the extent observed among American teenagers in malls. The majority of the 'core kids' in the Czech cities go to the mall mainly to spend time with friends, flirt, or just loiter. Second, Czech teenagers, perhaps due to the inactiveness of the security service in the malls, display certain forms of health risk behaviour (smoking and alcohol consumption). Nevertheless, in general, spending leisure time at shopping malls did not prove to be a negative activity. Usually,

it is the mass media that are eager to present the behaviour of teenagers in a negative way. We observed that 'core kids' choose peer-group values which are not in direct opposition to their family values and they usually do not experience an 'identity crisis'. The 'core kids' make their own microcultures, in which they can form their identities and spatialities in a specific spatial context. Meeting friends and browsing at the mall becomes more than a leisure activity. Rather, it is a path to identity formation that takes place in the retail built environment.

The article also aimed to raise specific research questions; these, however, require further study. The most interesting issues identified are the social facilitation that shopping and spending leisure time in the mall provides—creating specific peer groups and whole microcultures (the combination of personalities, events, and shared experiences). Another interesting aspect may also be seen in the use of internet social networks for the formation of relationships and then the meeting of new friends in real life, where the mall may serve as a secure 'testing ground'. Last but not least, social science scholars should devote attention to value orientations in youth and especially to the dimension of materialism/postmaterialism among teenagers today and the role played by their parents in the process of identity formation. As regards methodology, social scientists should pay more attention to the individual stories of young people and their identities. Young people, and research on their perception and behaviour, can introduce a lens through which we can understand a range of current issues in the social sciences.

Jana Spilková *received her PhD in social geography in 2006 from Charles University in Prague and is an assistant professor of Human Geography in the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Charles University, Prague. Her research interests include behavioural geography and environmental psychology, mainly focusing on retail built environment.*

Lucie Radová *is a postgraduate student of social geography in the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, Charles University, Prague. Her master's thesis focused on teenagers who spend their leisure time at malls in the Czech Republic.*

References

Aitken, Stuart C. 2001. *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*. New York, London: Routledge.

Amit-Talai, Vered and Helena Wulff. 1995. *Youth Cultures: A Cross-cultural Perspective.* London: Routledge.

Ansell, Nicola. 2009. 'Childhood and the Politics of Scale: Descaling Children's Geographies?' *Progress in Human Geography* 33: 190–209.

Anthony, Kathryn H. 1985. 'The Shopping Mall: A Teenage Hangout.' *Adolescence* 20: 307–312.

Baker, Julie and Diana Haytko. 2000. 'The Mall as Entertainment: Exploring Teen Girls' Total Shopping Experiences.' *Journal of Shopping Center Research* 7: 29–58.

Bell, Paul A., Thomas Greene, Jeffrey Fischer and Andrew S. Baum. 2001. *Environmental Psychology*. New York: Thomson Learning.

Bell, David and Gill Valentine. 1995. *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexuality*. London: Routledge.

Bettie, Julie. 2003. *Women without Class: Girls, Race and Identity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Craig, Jeffrey. 2009. 'Geographies of Children and Youth I: Eroding Maps of Life.' *Progress in Human Geography* 34: 496–505.

Craig, Jeffrey and Jane Dyson. 2008. *Telling Young Lives: Portraits of Global Youth*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Dardis, Rachel, Horacio Soberon-Ferrer and David Patro. 1994. 'Analysis of Leisure Expenditures in the United States.' *Journal of Leisure Research* 26: 309–321.

Deutsch, Nancy L. and Eleni Theodorou. 2010. 'Aspiring, Consuming, Becoming: Youth Identity in a Culture of Consumption.' *Youth and Society* 42: 229–254.

Elkind, David. 2001. *The Hurried Child: Growing Up Too Fast, Too Soon.* Cambridge: Perseus Books.

Flick, Uwe, Ernst von Kardoff and Ines Steinke. 2004. *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hart, Roger A. 1997. *Children's Participation: The Theory and Practice of Involving Young Citizens in Community Development and Environmental Care*. London: Earthscan.

Holloway, Sarah L. and Gill Valentine. 2000. *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. New York, London: Routledge.

Holt, Louise. 2008. 'Embodied Social Capital and Geographic Perspectives: Performing the Habitus.' *Progress in Human Geography* 32: 227–246.

Horschelman, Kathrin and Nadine Schafer. 2005. 'Performing the Global through the Local: Globalization and Individualization in the Spatial Practices of Young East-Germans.' *Children's Geographies* 3: 219–242.

Hyams, Melissa. 2000. '"Pay Attention in Class … [and] Don't Get Pregnant": A Discourse of Academic Success among Adolescent Latinas.' *Environment and Planning A* 32: 635–654.

Jackson, Peter. 1989. *Maps of Meaning*. London: Virago Press.

Kato, Yuki. 2009. 'Doing Consumption and Sitting Cars: Adolescent Bodies in Suburban Commercial Spaces.' *Children's Geographies* 7: 51–66.

Kowinski, William S. 1985. *The Malling of America*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

Lewis, George H. 1989. 'Rats and Bunnies: Core Kids in an American Mall.' *Adolescence* 24: 881–889.

Matthews, Michael H. 1992. *Making Sense of Place: Children's Understanding of Large-scale Environments*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Matthews, Michael H., Melanie Limb and Barry Percy-Smith. 1998. 'Changing Worlds: The Microgeographies of Young Teenagers.' *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 89: 193–202.

Matthews, Michael H. and Melanie Limb. 1999. 'Defining an Agenda for the Geography of Children: Review and Prospect.' *Progress in Human Geography* 23: 61–90.

Matthews, Michael H., Mark Taylor, Barry Percy-Smith and Melanie Limb. 2000. 'The Unacceptable Flaneur: The Shopping Mall as a Teenage Hangout.' *Childhood* 7: 279–294.

McDowell, Linda. 1999. *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Meeks, Carol B. and Teresa Mauldin. 1990. 'Children's Time in Structured and Unstructured Leisure Activities.' *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 11: 257–281.

Monk, Janice. 1992. 'Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning.' Pp. 123–138 in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, edited by Kay Anderson and Fay Gale. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.

Petrusek, Miloslav. 2006. *Společnosti pozdní doby.* (Societies of the Late Age) Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Radová, Lucie. 2008. *Trávení volného času teenagerů v Praze.* (The Leisure Activities of Teenagers in Prague) Dissertation. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science, Department of Social Geography and Regional Development.

Shields, Rob. 1989. 'Social Spatialization and the Built Environment: The West Edmonton Mall.' *Environment and Planning D* 7: 147–164.

Sibley, David. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion*. London: Routledge.

Skelton, Tracey and Gill Valentine. 1998. *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. London, New York: Routledge.

Slater, Alan and Gavin J. Bremner. 2003. *An Introduction to Developmental Psychology*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Spilková, Jana. 2003. 'Nový fenomén nákupní centrum a model formování nákupního chování spotřebitelské populace v transformačním období.' (The New Phenomenon of the Shopping Mall and the Model of Shopping Behaviour Formation of the Consumer Population in the Transformation Period) *Geografie—Sborník ČGS* 108: 33–44.

Spilková, Jana. 2008. 'Changing Face of the Czech Retailing in Post-communist Transformation: Risks of Extreme Polarisation under Globalisation Pressures.' Pp. 157–171 in *Evolution of Geographical Systems and Risk Processes in the Global Context*, edited by Petr Dostál. Prague: P3K.

Spilková, Jana and Matěj Hochel. 2009. 'Toward the Economy of Pedestrian Movement in Czech and Slovak Shopping Malls.' *Environment and Behavior* 41: 443–455.

Stebbins, Robert A. 1997. 'Casual Leisure: A Conceptual Statement.' *Leisure Studies* 16: 17–25.

Thomas, Mary E. 2005. 'Girls, Consumption Space and the Contradictions of Hanging Out in the City.' *Social and Cultural Geography* 6: 587–605.

Underhill, Paco. 2004. *Call of the Mall*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks.

Valentine, Gill. 2003. 'Boundary Crossings: Transitions from Childhood to Adulthood.' *Children's Geographies* 1: 37–52.

Vanderbeck, Robert M. and James H. Johnson. 2000. '"That's the Only Place Where You Can Hang Out": Urban Young People and the Space of the Mall.' *Urban Geography* 21: 5–25.

van Vliet, Willem. 1983. 'Exploring the Fourth Environment: An Examination of the Home Range of City and Suburban Teenagers.' *Environment and Behavior* 15: 567–88.

Watt, Paul and Kevin Stenson. 1998. 'The Street: "It's a Bit Dodgy around There", Safety, Danger, Ethnicity and Young People's Use of Public Space.' Pp. 249–265 in *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*, edited by Tracey Skelton and Gill Valentine. London: Routledge.

Wilhelm, Wendy B. and Sandra Mottner. 2005. 'Teens and Shopping Mall Preferences: A Conjoint Analysis Approach to Understanding the Generational Shift toward an Experience Economy.' *Journal of Shopping Center Research* 12: 23–52.

Winchester, Hilary. 1992. 'The Construction and Deconstruction of Women's Roles in the Urban Landscape.' Pp. 139–155 in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, edited by Kay Anderson and Fay Gale. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.

Wood, Denis and Robert J. Beck. 1994. *Home Rules.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.