VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

Maryja Šupa

PHYSICAL, LEGAL AND DISCURSIVE ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL OVER URBAN SPACE: THE CASE OF A CENTRALLY LOCATED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN VILNIUS

Doctoral dissertation
Social sciences, Sociology (05 S)

Vilnius, 2016

The dissertation was prepared at Vilnius University during 2011–2015.

Research supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Aleksandras Dobryninas

(Vilnius University, Social sciences, Sociology – 05 S)

VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

Maryja Šupa

FIZINIAI, TEISINIAI IR DISKURSYVINIAI SOCIALINĖS KONTROLĖS ASPEKTAI MIESTO ERDVĖJE: VILNIAUS CENTRO KVARTALO ATVEJIS

Daktaro disertacija
Socialiniai mokslai, sociologija (05 S)

Vilnius, 2016

Disertacija rengta 2011–2015 m. Vilniaus universitete.

Mokslinis vadovas:

Prof. Dr. Aleksandras Dobryninas

(Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija – 05 S)

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A work, an object,
a piece of architecture, a photograph,
but equally a crime or an event, must:
be the allegory of something,
be a challenge to someone,
bring chance into play
and produce vertigo.

– Jean Baudrillard, *The Intelligence of Evil or the Lucidity pact* (2005)

Introduction

This dissertation addresses the problem of social control in urban space. Contemporary cities are constantly expanding and changing. They become spaces for experiment with new forms of governance and technological innovations. There are several reasons that make research of social control over urban space valuable. First, these strategies of social control frequently stay invisible and unreflected. Analysis helps bring them to light and critically discuss norms which are produced and maintained beyond the formal legal system. Not only do these pertain to institutional relations, but they also reveal the general transformations of social control in late modernity. Second, the city is the inescapable setting of everyday life. Therefore, the governance of urban space affects each city dweller's daily experiences. It calls for critical scrutiny of the aims, instruments and intensity of control, the interests they represent, their impact, as well as various forms of resistance to them. These factors are crucial for understanding principles of creating and maintaining urban space and how they impact the quality of life in the city. Finally, production of certain rules, for example, territory planning as a form of social control, has an impact not only on the city's present, but also on its future.

While the problem of social control in urban settings has been discussed since Plato's "Republic" and T. Moore's "Utopia", it became the object of sociological analysis in the 19th and early 20th century works of K. Marx and F. Engels, F. Tönnies, and G. Simmel. Later, in the first half of the 20th century it was given a rigorous empirical dimension in the works of the Chicago School. In particular, the theoretical work on urban ecology by R. Park and E. Burgess, and quantitative methods employed for researching urban crime by C. Shaw and H. D. McKay became forerunners of positivist urban studies and ecological premises followed in positivist criminology. Criminological positivism also draws on structural functionalism and methodological individualism (Young 1997; vii), defining a transgression of the norm as *an individual's fault*, which the society punishes to restore impaired balance. Critical criminology has emerged as a paradigm competing positivism. Its proponents linked the causes of crime to capitalist social structure and viewed "deviance, normality and disorder as a

structural problem of the whole society [rather than particular individuals]" (van Swaaningen 1997; 3).

This tension between positivist and critical criminology continues in their present-day incarnations. Current trends in positivist scholarship include environmental criminology; rational choice criminology and its applied offshoot, situational crime prevention; actuarial justice; and life-course criminology, while the critical tradition has carried over to cultural criminology. These paradigms also present two different positions with regards to norm-setting and transgressions in urban space. Adherents of the positivist point of view view space as a controlled background variable. Meanwhile cultural criminologists regard the city as a space where norms are constantly (re)negotiated and experienced in the tension between the *planned* and *lived* city (Ferrell *et al.* 2008). Their position marks the *spatial turn* in cultural criminology (Hayward 2012), wherein space comes to the foreground of urban research.

The theme of social control has been extensively analysed by M. Foucault. Throughout his work, Foucault elaborated a framework of three distinctive modalities of power on which contemporary societies rely: sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics. He conceptualised them while studying the transformation from feudal domains, where sovereignty was the dominant modality of rule, to contemporary states, dominated by disciplinarity and biopolitics. Rather than superseding each other, they coexist and intersect, with different modalities dominating in different contexts. Each modality of power possesses its own unique definition, aims, techniques of control and spatiality. This framework was chosen as the theoretical basis of the dissertation for several reasons.

First, previously unpublished collections of Foucault's lectures at the College de France have begun to be published and translated into English during the last 15 years. Two series of lectures stand out in particular: *Society Must Be Defended* (*Il faut défendre la société*) (Foucault 2004 [1976]) and *Security, Territory, Population* (emphSécurité, territoire, population) (Foucault 2007 [1978]). Their contents convey a different understanding of the modalities of power when compared to better-known classical works, such as *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1991 [1975]) or *The History of*

Sexuality (Foucault 1978 [1976]). These and earlier works were studies of specific modalities of power (often tied to particular institutions), while the lectures scrutinised interrelations and tensions between the modalities of power and their workings in various contexts.

Second, Foucault has proposed that the city is one of the key factors in the development of contemporary power relations and techniques of social control (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 63–64). Although he has never created a systematic theory of space or the city, most of his works refer to differen aspects of space and the spatial effects of social control. Thus, the use of Foucauldian theory in this case differs from applying an abstract theory of social control to urban space. While synthesising and summarising his approach poses a challenge, the result rests on specific propositions by Foucault about urban space, rather than their extrapolations.

Third, the distinction of disciplinary and biopolitical power echoes some practical tensions. In the field of criminology, transformations of social control that have taken place in roughly the last 50 years are described as undergoing an initial liberalisation followed by an increase in size and density (Cohen 1985). Politicians and policy-makers have been increasingly supportive of two shifts in the domain of social control: the punitive and the actuarial (Garland 2001).

The punitive turn reflects a disciplinary approach of isolating transgressive subjects and strengthened institutional supervision. The actuarial turn and situational crime prevention, meanwhile, illustrates how both science and policy-making is infused with a biopolitical agenda of increasing population quality and minimising risks. Therefore, by criticising both developments, critical and cultural criminologists offer a deconstruction of the disciplinary and biopolitical aspects in the field of criminology. This critique also shows that questions of power raised by Foucault are still relevant in the present day. In addition, links may be forged between Foucauldian power modalities, especially biopolitics, and other themes relevant in present-day social research: risk society, liquid modernity and fear (Bauman 2006), edgework (Lyng 2008, 2005), fear as an instrument of governance (Lee 2007; Simon 2009), crime control as industry (Christie 1993).

In summary, the city is significant as an object of social control, and the

scrutiny of social control in urban space reveals tensions experienced by the everyday subject, as well as characteristics of social policies. In light of these problems, M. Foucault's framework of power relations provides a "conceptual toolbox" for exploring the development and transformations of contemporary power relations (see, for instance, Valverde 2010).

Another set of questions concerns the proper conceptualisation of social control in urban space. What are its relevant means of expression and realistic referents? Answers are provided in several recent strands of urban research concerned with social control among other issues. During the last twenty years, these include, first of all works of cultural criminologists, which emphasise the significance of the spatial turn for deviance research (Hayward 2004) and critical urban scholars, who have recast the primacy of space as a foremost approach to late modern social issues (Gieryn 2000; Soja 2003; Borer 2006). Second, legal geography (Delaney 2015; Braverman *et al.* 2014; Bennett and Layard 2015) explores the mutual co-constitutive interaction of law and spatial structures. Finally, in semiotics, the idea of semiotic landscapes has emerged (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; Laitinen and Zabrodskaja 2015; Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014), extracting power relations from discourses found in public signage, which encompass textual and visual objects in public space from road signs to graffiti. Based on all of the afore-mentioned works, the first referential aspect of social control in social space is the physical structure, comprised of buildings, space in-between buildings, and objects denoting their relation to the environment. The second aspect is legal. The third one is discursive, narrowed down to discourse inherent in urban public space, which, in contrast to other forms of discourse (for example, mass media or law) is expressed in physical terms only and adapted to the urban milieu.

The novelty of this dissertation lies is twofold. First, it adds upon urban studies based on Foucauldian theory. Second, it widens the scope of research on urban social control in Lithuania.

Studies of urban space inspired by Foucault's theory present several theoretical and methodological similarities. Theoretical most authors focus on either discipline (Lianos 2003; Hannah 1997; Connellan 2013) or biopolitics (Crampton 2007; Murakami Wood and Ball 2013) as the only modality of

power to be discussed. Sometimes a narrower concept is chosen to represent one of the power modalities, for example, panopticism frequently stands in for discipline and governmentality replaces biopolitics. This approach is contrary to Foucault's proposition that the modalities of power are inseparable and their variying degrees of domination depend on the context. In some cases, authors proffer an addition to the concept they are applying, or conceptualise a new modality of power (Lianos 2003; Hannah 1997) disregarding the coverage of the same themes by Foucault.

Methodologically such studies are frequently limited to a single, closed structure, as in studies of prisons (Sibley and van Hoven 2009) and schools (Pike 2008). Another frequent approach (Crampton 2003; Pike 2008; Hannah 1997) is to attribute disciplinary techniques to micro-level social relations, and biopolitical techniques to macro-level ones. Some authors (Legg 2005) carefully discuss two or all three modalities of power in their literature reviews but in their empirical analysis either focus on a single modality of power or altogethe omits the linking of findings to theoretical underpinnings.

This dissertations adds to the research presented above in two regards. First, both disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of social control are analysed in an urban context, including their individual workings *and* potential interrelations. Second, it targets an urban neighbourhood, rather than a single institution, as its research object. Thus there is greater potential of encountering a variety of power relations and practices of social control and compare their expression in different spaces.

Studies of social control in Lithuania are conducted in several rather different directions. First, social control may be discussed as a theoretical concept (Zdanevičius 2000; Gavėnaitė 2007, 2008; Lavrinec 2006) or historical phenomenon (Leonavičius and Ozolinčiūtė 2008; Leonavičius 2008; Samuilova and Ališauskienė 2011), rather than a present-day reality. Second it may be used as an explanatory category but not a research object in itself (Juodaitytė 2007; Česnuitytė 2008; Urbanavičienė 2011). Likewise, power relations are encountered as a theme in theoretical reviews (Mazgelytė 2014; Isoda 2014; Bielskis 2014), while practically the concept is most prominent in gender and family studies (Šumskaitė 2014; Čiurlytė

and Večkienė 2008; Kraniauskienė 2005).

Implicitly, some problems related to social control are discussed by architects and urbanists. They are frequently framed as questions about urban development, including Soviet architecture and urban planning (Drėmaitė *et al.* 2012; Drėmaitė 2011; Petrulis 2006; Gudelytė 2012; Antanavičiūtė 2009; Weeks 2008; Linartas 2009; Mankus 2014; Novickas 2012; Nekrošius 2012; Drėmaitė 2012), post-soviet spatial transformations (Grunskis and Šiupšinskas 2012; Buivydas and Samalavičius 2011; Urbonaitė 2013; Kšivickaitė 2008; Petrulis 2006, 2012; Vyšniūnas 2008; Grunskis and Šiupšinskas 2012), identity and memory politics (Grunskis 2009; Novickas 2009), post-soviet urban development (Gražulevičiūtė–Vileniškė and Urbonas 2010; Urbonaitė 2012; Vyšniūnas 2006; Rudokas 2013; Grunskis and Mankus 2013; Čaikauskas 2008; Gerdvilis 2012; Jakovlevas–Mateckis 2008; Urbonaitė 2013; Linartas 2010), and urban planning (Juškevičius and Gaučė 2010; Juškevičius *et al.* 2009; Kajackaitė 2011; Glemža 2011; Motieka 2009). In all of these cases social controli is attributed to political power, ideologies and symbolic values, while space is regarded as wholly dependent on them.

Geographers and sociologists (Cirtautas 2015; Bučys 2010, 2013; Leonavičius and Žilys 2009; Tereškinas and Žilys 2013; Žilys 2013; Cirtautas 2015; Rubavičius 2008; Čiupailaitė 2012) focus on urban transformations, such as suburbanisation, social exclusion, various quantitative characteristics of development and neoliberalism. They often adovacte a critical stance backed by empirical evidence rather than the normative positions prevailing in architects' and urbanists' work. However, none address the problem of social control directly.

Several qualitative anthropological and sociological studies focus on social conflicts, resistance, (dis)empowerment and the relation of subjects to their lived space (Lapinskas 2008; Milstead 2008; Milstead and Miles 2011; Svolkinas 2006; Urbonaitė–Barkauskienė 2014; Čiupailaitė 2014; Aglinskas 2014). However, in all of these cases the scrutiny of power relations is limited to a specific social group.

In crimiological studies of cities, social control is framed as an issue of safety and crime prevention. Subject matter includes theoretical debates

on the applicability of preventive measures in urban space (Pocienė *et al.* 2010; Pocienė 2009), and quantitative studies of the spatial distribution of crime and its influence on the feeling of safety (Dobryninas and Gaidys 2004; Babachinaitė *et al.* 2008; Ceccato and Lukytė 2011; Bielinskas *et al.* 2014; Jakaitis and Bielinskas 2013). These works represent the positivist attitude towards space as a variable to manipulate in order to diminish risk and carry out situational crime prevention. Means of social control are presented as safety measures, an a priori social good, while critical questioning of their effects – negative as well as positive – and the appropriate intensity of social control are omitted.

Thus, in the context of Lithuanian research this dissertation's novelty is threefold. First, the research problem – social control in urban space – has never been directly addressed by other authors. Second, several different empirical methods of urban research have been combined. Third, a different theoretical framework is used to interpret the data and offer a critical position. In a more general sense the problem matter and research premises applied in the dissertation answer recent calls for using a spatial perspective for analysing power and social control. Finally, it also builds upon legal geography and semiotic landscapes, relatively recent fields of research which have not been actively employed in Lithuania.

The aim of this dissertation is to establish the diversity and interrelation of social control strategies over urban space in Vilnius.

Three objectives are the driving force behind fulfilling this aim:

(a) To demonstrate the applied relevance of M. Foucault's disciplinary and biopolitical power modalities to contemporary social control with regards to urban space.

(b) To conceptualise which referents define social control over urban space on the basis of the most recent research in critical urban studies, cultural criminology, legal geography and semiotics.

(c) To determine the manifestations of social control in a specific urban neighbourhood on the basis of an empirical case study.

The research method chosen to fulfill the empirical objective of the study was a qualitative single-case, embedded-design case study, conducted in an

area central Vilnius during the winter and spring of 2015. The main units of analysis were the built structures of a neighbourhood between Lukiškių square, Gedimino ave and the river Neris.

The research area combines institutional, residential and recreational spaces with architectural heritage from various historical periods and styles ranging from the end of the 18th century until the beginning of the 21st. While in general the neighbourhood is typical of mixed-use centrally-located neighbourhoods, this particular area presents a unique combination of built structures, extremely different in their functions and power implications. Therefore, it has the potential to supply a greater diversity of strategies of social control than more uniform areas of the same size and use, which was the main motive for choosing it as a research object.

The case study combined direct observation, photo-documentation, and mapping of the built structures in the neighbourhood with a qualitative content analysis of national and municipal legislation.

Based on the research results, the following propositions are defended in the dissertation:

(a) Foucault's power modalities present a framework for analysing social control over urban space characterised by contemporary concerns about safety, security, risk management and punitivity.

(b) Power modalities shaping the practices of social control in urban space are revealed through physical, legal and discursive aspects of urban space.

(c) Throughout the urban milieu, disciplinarity and biopolitics are heavily interrelated; both strategies are prominent and neither one dominates in each dimension of social control.

The structure of the dissertation is as follows:

Chapter 1 sets down the theoretical premises of this work. It traces the power modalities throughout Foucault's work and evaluates their implications for defining social control in modern and contemporary societies. Next, intrelations of the modalities of power, definitions of norm and transgression, and the production of discursive knowledge are discussed. The

chapter concludes with an analysis of Foucault's commentary on urban space and a critical overview of how his notions have been applied in contemporary urban research.

Chapter 2 sets out in a quest to determine which aspects of social control over urban space are the focus of recent theoretical and empirical debates. After presenting the development of ideas in cultural criminology, critical urban studies, legal geography, and urban semiotics, the chapter concludes with a critical overview of how the problem of social control over urban space is framed in contemporary Lithuanian research.

Chapter 3 begins with a conceptual framework based on the results of theoretical work presented in the first two chapters. The research design is followed by an overview of the historical development of the research area. Empirical results comprise of findings about disciplinary and biopolitical power traits found in the physical, legal and discursive layers of the research area.

1. Theorising social control over urban space

Michel Foucault's framework of power relations, recounted in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1975-1976 (2004 [1976]) and 1977-1978 (2007 [1978]), posits that contemporary societies rely on three modalities of power: sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics. Foucault conceptualised these power modalities while studying the transformation from feudal domains, where sovereignty was the dominant mode of rule, to contemporary states where disciplinarity and biopolitics prevail. Rather than superseding each other, they coexist and intersect, with different modalities dominating in different contexts.

The choice of a fitting descriptive term for the three forms of power is problematic. Foucault uses as many as six different terms on several consecutive pages of *Security, Territory, Population*: *mechanisms, forms, modalities, apparatuses, techniques* or *structures of power* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 4-9). It is also debatable whether or not these terms are interchangeable with the notion of strategy, defined as rationales, objectives, expectations and procedures of conduct during conflicts (Foucault 1982; 793). Other authors use terms of their own, such as Valverde's *modes* of power (Valverde 2010; 52) or Beaulieu's *models of society* (Beaulieu 2006; 24). Although *mechanisms* are the prevailing term in *Security, Territory, Population*, I chose to use *modalities* because of its use by Foucault, and because it presents a broader set of connotations than the more technical terms *mechanisms, apparatuses,* and *techniques*. The latter imply sets of tools and technologies, but omit the discourses and knowledges behind their application.

This section lays down the theoretical framework for analysing social control in urban spaces from a Foucauldian perspective: characteristics of the three modalities of power, the problem of sovereign power in relation to disciplinary and biopolitical power, definitions of conduct and counter-conduct in Foucault's work, and a discussion of the meaning of urban space in power relations and its empirical application.

1.1. Modalities of power: sovereignty, disciplinarity, biopolitics

The role ascribed to each modality of power varies throughout Foucault's oeuvre: earlier works are studies of specific modalities of power in specific institutions, while latter work scrutinises the interrelations and tensions between modalities of power.

One of the first mentions of *discipline* occurred in *Madness and Civilisation* (Foucault 1993 [1961]), while an extensive institutional exploration was provided in *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault 2003 [1963]). In the latter, without explicitly evoking the concept discipline, Foucault discussed how medical institutions emerged as sites of surveillance and how the relation between the state and the sick or healthy body has been re-framed. A decade later, in *Discipline and Punish* (1991 [1975]), Foucault explored the shift from sovereign rule to disciplinary power throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, exemplified by the establishment of other modern institutions: the prison, the school and the factory.

In the first volume of the *History of Sexuality* (Foucault 1978 [1976]), Foucault continued to outline the transformation of the pre-modern sovereign into the modern state. He added biopolitics, the third modality of power, to sovereignty and disciplinarity. In that text, Foucault used the rather unwieldy concept of *anatomo-politics* to refer to individualised disciplines and to contrast them with the *biopolitics* pertaining to populations (see Foucault 1978 [1976]; 139). He seems later to have dropped the term *anatomo-politics* altogether and in favour of referring to the same modality of power simply as *discipline*.

Historically, sovereignty, associated with the rule of law, has been superseded by discipline and biopolitical security (see Foucault 1978 [1976]; 133-150). The shift coincided with the advent of rational modernity and emergence of power-knowledge techniques as the main source of social control. A new social relation between states and their citizens, contrasted with that of sovereigns and their subjects, has since been expressed via disciplinary control of the individual body, and biopolitical control of the state's population. However, Foucault did not continue with this subject in subsequent volumes of *The History of Sexuality*.

Contemporaneous lectures, delivered in 1976 and published as *Society Must Be Defended* (Foucault 2004 [1976]), highlighted the historical aspects of, first, the shift from sovereignty to disciplinarity and, second, the emergence of biopolitics through the legitimisation in nineteenth-century Europe of biologico-medical or medico-normalising discourses of power (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 80-81). At that time, the state commenced to control demography, insurance and environmental issues, aiming to defend life against death, the human species against extinction. While the pre-modern sovereign based her rule on the right to *let live* or *force to die*, the modern state reversed it into the imperative to either *force to live* or *let die*. Life became the main objective of power, while death became undesirable, being the ultimate limit of the reach of power (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 240-248). The lectures focused on underlying political discourses and their historical interchange, but provided few details on the workings of the modalities of power and their ties to the everyday life of the state and its subjects.

Foucault (2007 [1978]) produced the most comprehensive discussion of the nature and techniques of each modality of power in 1978, in a series of lectures titled *Security, Territory, Population*. Each of the three modalities of power emerged during a specific historical setting: the pre-modern, modern and contemporary state (Foucault apparently preferred to use the term *contemporary* rather than *late modern* or *postmodern*). However, they do not replace or supersede each other – this proposition contradicts *The History of Sexuality* which suggested that modern modalities of power replace preceding ones. Instead, all three are present to some extent in any given context with no predetermined hierarchy. A particular modality of power may dominate, while others serve to reinforce it or give rise to tensions. Foucault described each modality of power with regards to its objectives, operation techniques, and relations to the subject. These differences are outlined in table 1.

Defining characteristics	**Sovereignty**	**Disciplinarity**	**Biopolitics**
Corresponding discourse	Right	Discipline	Security
Emergence	17th-18th century	18th-20th century	20th century onward
Acts on	Multiplicity of subjects	Individualised bodies	Populations
Aims	Capitalising material territory	Organising hierarchies and functions	Promoting circulation of goods and subjects
Definition of norms	Normativity	Normation	Normalisation
Form of social control	Obedience	Coercion	Cancellation
Techniques	Legal frameworks	Hierarchisation, communication of power, surveillance	Calculation of probabilities and risks
Relation to space	Structuring territories	Constructing institutions	Planning and regulating milieus

Table 1: Characteristics of sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics. Based on Foucault (2007 [1978]).

Sovereignty was legitimised by a social contract binding multiple individuals – the legal subjects – to the sovereign (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-21; 110). Judicial *right* empowered the sovereign to rule over territories, wealth and goods (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 35-36) and sustain their material value.

Disciplinarity is an administrative modality of power concerned with instilling *discipline* in bodies that are singled out as individuals from the

sovereign multiplicity of subjects. It is practised in specially designed institutions such as schools, clinics or prisons established by the administrative state (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-12; 110). The metaphor of Bentham's *Panopticon* (see Foucault 1991 [1975]; 135-228) illustrates the ideal of a self-imposed and self-policed disciplinary system fuelled by an invisible omnipresent power, reigning over minds via their bodies, time and labour (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 35-36).

Biopolitics, the modality of power which emerged in the latter work by Foucault, has as its object the *population* as a single entity (in contrast to the disciplinary multiplicity of individual bodies) and its milieus. Practices of *security* integrate existing infrastructures to ensure the circulation of populations and goods, management of uncertainty, and aversion of risks (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-42). The ultimate biopolitical aim is ensuring and enforcing the quality of population – its survival and vitality.

Foucault proposed that biopolitical power is dominant over the other two modalities of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 108-109), however, he warned against setting them up in a rigid hierarchy:

> *<...>[There is a] much more fuzzy history of the correlations and systems of the dominant feature which determine that, in a given society and for a given sector – for things do not necessarily develop in step in different sectors, at a given moment, in a given society, in a given country – a technology of security, for example, will be set up, taking up again and sometimes even multiplying juridical and disciplinary elements and redeploying them within its specific tactic.* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 8-9)

Thus, the three modalities of power are not a fixed theoretical model. Rather, it is the analysis of their entanglement which reveals most eloquently how different configurations of power play out in the everyday life of some and never-life of others. While sovereignty has a clear referent in legislation, discipline and biopolitics embody uncodified norms and techniques of control based on soft power rather than clearly delineated sovereign-subject relations. On one hand, Foucault prefers (see, for instance the methodological precautions at Foucault 2004 [1976]; 27-34) concentrating on disciplinarity (and, later, biopolitics) "especially at the points where this

power transgresses the rules of right" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 27) and therefore the exercise of power becomes "less and less judicial" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 28). On the other hand, he also recognises the colonisation of right: disciplinarity and biopolitics find their way into the judicial system which hence represents a hybrid, rather than initially pure, discourse of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 8-9). It is no longer sufficient to limit studies of power to an analysis of legal or institutional models (Foucault 1982; 778).

Each modality of power in Foucault's framework employs different levels of abstraction and particularity. The search for referents of the Foucauldian sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics calls for a deeper analysis of the relationship between the microsociological and macrosociological reality within this framework. Foucault posits that "sovereignty and discipline, as well as security, can only be concerned with multiplicities" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 12). Multiplicites may be viewed as wholes, or as built of individual subjects acting in their everyday life.

Foucault's interest in the subject is reiterated in *The Subject and Power*, one of Foucault's last articles dedicated to the placement of the subject within modern power modalities: "<...> it is not power but the subject which is the general theme of my research" (Foucault 1982; 778). It drives the proposal to analyse the individualising and totalizing duality of state power: "Never, I think, in the history of human societies – even in the old Chinese society – has there been such a tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and totalization procedures" (Foucault 1982; 782). This combination of individualisation and totalisation shows once again the close correspondence of the micro and macro level contexts in the Foucauldian perspective. Additionally the micro-macro transition in Foucault's work is also ingrained in the relationship between agent and structure, between the local and the global, and between archaeology and genealogy. The micro and macro level aspects of each power modality are discussed below.

Foucault stresses at the outset of *Security, Territory, Population* that no general theory of power is possible, only analyses of its local applications (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 1-2). He suggests moving back and forth between the individual subject's agency and the state:

> *It must be possible to do the history of the state on the basis of men's actual practice, on the basis of what they do and how they think. <...> there is not a sort of break between the level of micro-power and the level of macro-power, and that talking about one [does not] exclude talking about the other. In actual fact, an analysis in terms of micro-powers comes back without any difficulty to the analysis of problems like those of government and the state.* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 358)

Sovereignty has a clear referent in legislation, the prescriptive procedures associated with its creation and management, and judicial institutions. It deals with a cumulative "multiplicity of subjects" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 11). The basic premises of sovereign power in its pre-modern form were the constitution of sovereign-subject and subject-subject relations, based on the unity and centrality of power in the sovereign, whose legitimacy was established by law (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 43-44). Sovereign power, the main aim of which was control over land and wealth, embodied the macro-level structure that individuals partook in as legal subjects. In fact, "<...> the interplay of macrocosm and microcosm ran through the problematic of the relationship between town, sovereignty, and territory" before disciplinary and biopolitical city planning took over (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 16). Likewise, the safety of the territory was embodied by the safety of the sovereign (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 64-65). Thus the macro-level sovereign-subject relation was replicated in a fractal manner at the micro-level in smaller units, such as as the territory-city relation or the head of family and her kin. Such power-replication does not carry over to disciplinarity and biopolitics, wherein the macro and micro levels of the power relation may be seen as a dialectic form.

Discipline has clear referents from both a micro and macro point of view. On one hand, when discipline is viewed as one of the dominating paradigms of social control, it is a structural framework instilled at a host of institutions and social relationships. As such, it provides insight into macro-level processes[1] and may be measured by the number of disciplinary institu-

[1]Variations of this theme are echoed in criminology with such concepts as the crime control industry (Christie 1993), the cultures of control (Garland 2001; Ferrell *et al.*

tions, the structure of administrative controls, production of documents and databases, and the general spread of disciplinary techniques throughout different institutions. On the other hand, disciplinary action is applied to individual bodies. From the microsociological point of view, the distinct experiences and normalisation which individual bodies and minds undergo recount the subjectivities of the disciplinary apparatus. These interactions with the individual are constituent of disciplinarity as a whole: "The individual is much more a particular way of dividing up the multiplicity for a discipline than the raw material from which it is constructed" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 12).

Biopolitics, at first glance, seem to be a profoundly macro-level concept. In contrast to discipline, biopolitical security is a much more encompassing mechanism of power, because it operates beyond the well-defined and clearly delimited institutions that embody discipline. In order to comprehend the implementation of security, one has to shift beyond the institution to technologies of power; beyond function to strategies and tactics; and beyond objects of knowledge to fields of knowledge (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 116-119). Biopolitical security pertains to populations as wholes, not aggregate individuals, and to the circulation, on a national level, of human masses and products of the economy. The object of control, as well as its mechanisms are ingrained in the macro level. Control of circulation usually affects large-scale concerns such as state border control or scrutiny of imported produce. Aversion of risks has to be carried out on a broad scale, lest its impact is negligible.

An important aspect of understanding the macro-level impact of biopolitics is the "absolutely new personage" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 67) that entered the public imagination with the advent of modernity, *the population*. Population is the biopolitical representation of the relationship between the state and its people: "a multiplicity of individuals who fundamentally and essentially only exist biologically bound to the materiality within which they live" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 21). The biological bond between state and population is used to justify the state's existence, as it is necessary for supporting the population's survival: "we do not have government con-

2008), policing of everyday life, and surveillance studies.

cerned with legality, but raison d'État connected with necessity" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 263). Population is not a synonym of society or individual body, but, rather a collective pool for intervention with the aim of regularisation (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 245-247). In contrast to the juridical-political sovereign-subject relationship, the population in the state-population relationship is a "technical political object of management and government" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 70).

The population is governed as a natural phenomenon, emphasising rational control and manipulation of variables influencing its existence. Such power is justified on the basis of the "general interest of the population" and the key to it is the scrutiny of the population's inherent regularities (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 70-74). These regularities are multifaceted, a "whole field of new realities" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 75) situated between two extreme points: *the human species* as a strict biological category and *the public*, which is the socially enacted category of public opinions and mores (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 75). This means that sustaining the survival of the populations also requires techniques of managing and conditioning the public, such as education, media, or culture industry. The initially biological tenet of biopolitics extends into the social sphere and comes to define social relationships at the micro level.

Hence, there are means of referencing biopolitical control from the individual's perspective. First of all, individual subjects are intimately influenced by the biopolitical grip on life and death. Examples may be seen in the normalization of birth and death practices, and controversy around personal choice in related issues, such as abortion or euthanasia. Second, individual agency and possible courses of action are pre-defined by the intricate flow of circulation controls and risk-aversion techniques.

Beyond the specifics of each power modality, Foucault stresses the general importance of linking micro-level phenomena with those of the macro level where it becomes part of the knowledge-power continuum: "<...> I think we should orient our analysis of power toward material operations, forms of subjugation, and the connections among and the uses made of the local systems of subjugation on the one hand, and apparatuses of knowledge on the other" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 34).

To conclude, the importance for this work of Foucault's framework of power relations is twofold. First, it allows to conceptualise sovereign, disciplinary and biopolitical power to trace present-day patterns of social control including those in urban space. Second, it delineates a close affinity between the subjective and local practices of social control and the overarching macro-level processes, which justifies the study of the mundane and everyday to gain knowledge of the underlying systems of power.

1.2. The problem of sovereignty in contemporary power relations

Of the three power modalities, pre-modern sovereign power, expressed through judicial discourses, presents a conceptual and interpretive challenge for analysing social control, requiring a recourse to the current status of law. Although Foucault does not eliminate law from the dynamics of power relations, he does propose that it is surpassed and dominated by disciplinary and biopolitical strategies. Recent Foucauldian scholarship presents several diverging positions: the expulsion thesis, the interpretive approach, and applied analysis (apart from numerous articles, several prominent monographs discuss this problem; see Hunt and Wickham 1994; Golder and Fitzpatrick 2009; Golder 2013). Those proffering the latter position, especially prominent in governmentality studies (Piška 2011; 252), use relevant concepts and methods from the Foucauldian repertoire – for instance, discourse analysis and governmentality – in applied studies of law without recourse to the specifics of Foucault's stance about the role of low in power relations. Meanwhile the expulsion thesis and the interpretive approaches are engaged in a theoretical debate about the problem of law and sovereignty within the framework of Foucauldian theory.

The expulsion thesis, proposed by Hunt and Wickham (1994), proposes that Foucault has banished law from modern power relations. The critique is based on a specific reading of Foucault's earlier works, namely, *Discipline and Punish*, interpreting his position thus: the pre-modern sovereign was superseded by the modern state, and both sovereignty and its main discourse, law, have become redundant (for an account of the expulsion thesis, see Golder 2008; 758; Martire 2015; 244; Tadros 1998; 75-76). This

has sparked the so-called Anglo-Foucauldian effect, an approach typical of English-speaking Foucauldians (Steinberg 2015; 1-2): a strict division between pre-modern sovereign rule, and modern disciplinary or biopolitical states. However, multiple criticisms refuted this thesis, stating that while Foucault preferred stating that disciplinarity and biopolitics are dominant against sovereignty, he did not entirely eliminate it, and a more careful reading is required to position law in this theoretical scheme. The interpretive position (see Golder 2008; 749) aims to resolve positively the problem of judicial power in Foucault's work with the help of an alternative interpretation. The essence of these criticisms relies on separating two aspects of the transformation to modernity: the changing role of sovereignty, and the changing role of law.

The role ascribed to the sovereign reflects the divide between sovereigntist and post-sovereigntist interpretation of the state-subject relation. While the sovereigntist position puts emphasis on the state as the successor of continuing sovereign relations, post-sovereigntists offer an interpretation which recasts the role of the state:

> *By 'sovereigntist', I am [referring] <...> to the lay and scholarly tendency to conceive of the political as agonistically dueled out between civil society and the state or states themselves, which posits law as made and judged by the legislative and judicial branches of state-government then enforced by the policing agencies of the executive. By 'post-sovereigntist' I am referring to the way power is immanent in our social practices and conduct. A post-sovereigntist understanding of law continues to focus on the state as a site for the unification of regulatory projects, but finds it important to put our analyses of law within the context of a decentered economy of power and governance.* (Walby 2007; 552)

From this post-sovereigntist point of view, the state should not be conflated with the sovereign to avoid the risk of oversimplifying the complexity of contemporary power relations. The anonymous and distributed nature of the state – one in many loci of power – is contrasted to the figure of the

sovereign as single person, and is roughly in line with Foucauldian definition of anonymous and self-replicating power. Therefore, the post-sovereignty approach emphasises that while the figure of the sovereign is not a useful analytical category for conceptualising power relations, law still has important implications for understanding the workings of power.

Following this point of view presents law as a continuous process, rather than a rigid set of codes, focuses on the tensions between law and morality, codified and informal norm-setting, and recognises law as a pluralist rather than unified phenomenon (Walby 2007; 552). This position is restated in a more general critique of mainstream legal theory: "Foucault's subversion of the law <...> can ultimately strengthen legal theory because it will remove it from a fixation on sovereignty and simplistic binaries of transgression and punishment, licit and illicit" (Woolhandler 2014; 150-151).

A different approach, put forward by Steinberg (2015), emphasises that a transformation of sovereignty, rather than its dismantling, has occurred. Sovereignty as an analytic tool is useful for mapping the transformation of sovereign practices, their "dispersion in new forms", rather than allegedly diminished reach (Steinberg 2015; 9). However, it remains unclear how this very transformation of practices of sovereignty differs from the transformation to disciplinarity and biopolitics as dominating modalities of the state-subject relationship.

Certain propositions put forward in classical legal theory also have a Foucauldian trace. Legal positivism, in opposition to natural law, shifts the source of law: it is considered an imposition of a particular form of power (sovereign) rather than naturally inherent of a community (Tebbit 2005; 20-21). The utalitarian tradition, with Bentham at the fore, recast the well-being of the population as the object of governance by setting down utility – the amount of happiness or pain in the whole of society – as the basis for reforming the law (Tebbit 2005; 18). Hart proposed the minimum content thesis, describing law as incongruent with morality (thus eliminating extra-legal power modalities from the vantage point of legal analysis), but also casting on law as the foundation for fulfilling basic natural needs, that is, the population's survival (Tebbit 2005; 43). Thus it is also reflective of certain biopolitical traits.

The transformation of law is another question tackled by interpretevist Foucauldians. They refute the expulsion thesis by reframing the diminishing role of law. It is not *law in general* but, rather, a specific kind of law that has diminished in its *relative* importance as a power strategy: the Austinian positivist version of law as a set of rules and sanctions (Tadros 1998; 77). More noteworthy is the general transformation of the function of law from juridical power over actions to codified power over individuals and their relationships: "the primary aim of law was no longer to prescribe general rules which defined a level of transgression, it was to intervene into the relationships between particular groups of people according to information carefully collected and analysed in the form of the economy" (Tadros 1998; 93). One example of this transformation is the refocusing of law on obligations instead of rules and sanctions (Brännström 2014; 179). The law therefore "suffused with norms that express the truth about human nature and social life, rather than conveying a sovereign's privileges or will" (Brännström 2014; 177). Disciplinarity and biopolitics have by now found their way into legislation, constructing a specific form of truth.

Therefore, a Foucauldian interpretation of law is based on the secession of law from sovereignty, and an anti-positivist and pluralistic understanding of legal issues. Law ceases to be a self-standing discourse and becomes the means of discovery of codified forms of disciplinarity and biopolitics: the construction of individual subjects and populations, setting down hierarchies of their relations, and inscription a specific regime of truth.

1.3. Patterns of conduct and counterconduct

In his earlier work, Foucault (1978 [1976]; 2004 [1976]) defined norm in opposition to right and posited that it created a *normalising society* in which "<...> the norm of discipline and the norm of regulation [that is, biopolitical security] intersect <...>" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 253). Later he expanded the concept to reveal the differences between sovereignty, disciplinarity, and biopolitics. The definition of norms is one of the key distinguishing characteristics of the different approaches to social control in different modalities of power (for a more detailed summary, see Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-63). Each modality of power rendered its own relationship to the norm, result-

ing in the distinction between *normativity*, *normation*, and *normalization* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-61).

Normativity denotes codifying norms as a key function of the law, on par with proving the sovereign's legitimacy (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 46). Disciplinary *normation* consists of several consequent stages. The initial step of defining and breaking down subjects as components for surveillance and modification is followed by classification and setting of objectives in order to establish optimal disciplinary sequences. The final step is the training and subsequent control of ongoing (self-)disciplining (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-57). The establishment of normation precedes the codification of norms in law. Biopolitical *normalisation* is ingrained in the scrutiny of quantitative distributions of cases, identifying risks and dangers, and managing crises. The norm is established on the basis of these distributions, but rather than aggregating the norm from individual cases, it is focused on pushing cases inside the limits of predefined norms (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 60-63).

Thus, law is based on prohibition and works on "the imaginary", a deterring vision of violations and punishments. Discipline is based on proactive prescription which shapes the lived reality of each disciplined entity, and biopolitical security prevents and cancels out the undesired effects working on natural or physical reality (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 47). Both disciplinary normation and biopolitical normalization reverse the precedence of norms to their legal enactment. The source of the norms is in administrative and actuarial procedures that reach beyond the jurisdiction of law. They are also much more restrictive: "In the system of law, what is undetermined is what is permitted, in the system of disciplinary regulation, what is determined is what one must do, and, consequently, everything else, being undetermined, is prohibited" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 46). However, security differs from both law and discipline because it "[does] not tend to convey the exercise of a will over others" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 66).

Despite claims to the opposite, the themes of counter-conduct, resistance to these norms, are present in Foucault's work, and addressed explicitly in *Security, Territory, Population*, as well as later works. Foucault's general attitude towards resistance is often reserved, but several explicit statements highlight the transformative potential of resistance. There is a clear distinc-

tion between *counter-conduct* and unproductively transgressive *misconduct*:

> *[Counter-conduct] allowing reference to the active sense of the word "conduct" - counter-conduct in the sense of struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others; which is why I prefer it to "misconduct <...>", which only refers to the passive sense of the word, of behaviour: not conducting one properly.* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 201)

Misconduct is thus defined as a transgression of a norm. It is a property often inherent in an individual body or part of a population. It may be accidental, involuntary, short-term or imposed externally, only to be corrected by disciplinary action or prevented and cancelled out by biopolitical security. Misconduct is necessary for the functioning of contemporary power modalities, required to keep them in motion and contributing to their productivity.

Resistance on the other hand is intentional and tactical, although not necessarily coordinated. Foucault chose to refer to it as *counter-conduct*, in a historical homage to the opposition against *conduct*, the target of Christian pastoral regulation inherited by modern European systems of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 195-214). Foucault later stressed tne potential of studying the role of counter-conducts during the transformation from sovereign relations to modern statehood as a separate field of research (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 228).

Foucault fleetingly introduced another distinction pertaining to misconduct and counter-conduct: that between *population*, the biological multiplicity of individuals subjugated to biopower, and *people*, "those who resist the regulation of the population" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 44). He then stressed that "the population-people relationship is not like the obedient subject / delinquent opposition" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 44).

Foucault also criticised the modern liberal notion of freedom, because in fact "<...> freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of apparatuses of [biopolitical] security" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 48), linking security to circulation of goods and people, and the circulation to (neo)liberal governance. The problem of resistance is not, by extension, a problem of

freedom versus domination, because freedom is a seminal notion in both neoliberal capitalism and neoliberal democracy: "power is exercised only over free subjects <...> faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving <...> may be realized" (Foucault 1982; 790).

According to Foucault, coming back to the pre-modern, sovereign model of power would not be a viable alternative: "<...> having recourse to sovereignty against discipline will not enable us to limit the effects of disciplinary power" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 39). Furthermore, "<...> if we are to struggle against disciplines, or rather against disciplinary power, in our search for a nondisciplinary power, we should not be turning to the old right of sovereignty; we should be looking for a new right that is both antidisciplinary and emancipated from the principle of sovereignty"(Foucault 2004 [1976]; 39-40). Instead, the distinction between the pre-modern and modern notions of resistance is such: "<...> [T]he contract-oppression schema, which is, if you like, the juridical schema, and the war-repression or domination-repression schema, in which the pertinent opposition is not, as in the previous schema, that between the legitimate and the illegitimate, but that between struggle and submission" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 17). In addition Foucault mentioned in *Security, Territory, Population* that although the counter-conducts against Christian pastorality have brought it to a crisis, "there has never been an anti-pastoral revolution" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 150).

The notion of resistance as an opposition towards dominating patterns of subjectification has methodological implications for Foucault, as he suggests "taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point" (Foucault 1982; 780) for analysis, and thus glean insights about sanity by delving into insanity, about legality through illegality, about power relations through resistance and dissociation from such relations. Resistance is a crucial point of defining what is being resisted. The manifestations of power are played out at the micro level – among individuals and groups – and conceptualised as the triad of overlapping power relations, communication and the capacity to act (Foucault 1982; 786-787). The exercise of power is understood in this context as "a way in which certain actions modify others" (Foucault 1982; 788).

Another clue to discovering the contents of resistance may be found in Foucault's definition of genealogies as antisciences and "the insurrection of knowledges" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 9). While disciplinarity and biopolitics are driven by overarching scientific knowledge (the *knowledge* component of the power-knowledge continuum), "[g]enealogy has to fight the power-effects characteristic of any discourse that is regarded as scientific" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 9) and to rediscover and empower alternative knowledges: "<...>to enable [local knowledges] to oppose and struggle against the coercion of a unitary, formal, and scientific theoretical discourse" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 10). Thus, the opposition between totalising knowledge and local knowledges is another form of resistance.

The use of knowledge by the state, according to Foucault, is four-fold: it begins with the elimination of useless knowledge, makes knowledges normalised, hierarchises them and, finally, imposes a system of control over knowledges (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 180). Knowledges, in turn, serve to support the state. There is an antithesis between the legitimate, scientified, state-approved knowledges used to fulfil disciplinary and biopolitical objectives, and local, subjective knowledges of everyday subjects. The apparent visibility of one, and subjugation of the other, does not cancel out the local knowledges (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 186).

Knowledge is legitimised into the population, it is obligatory to surrender to it, because it's for everyone's own good, for the sake of maintaining disciplinary and biopolitical discourses:

> *It is an idea that is probably bound up with the whole Western organisation of knowledge, namely, the idea that knowledge and truth cannot not belong to the register of order and peace, that knowledge and truth can never be found on the side of violence, disorder and war."* (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 173)

From this follows an important implication, that the resistance against a knowledge-based power concerns the capture of knowledge production and application. Certain forms of communication, embodying local knowledges, become counter-conduct. It may also imply the refusal to communicate, withholding certain truths as personal, withholding data from the

knowledge-power continuum, which seeks the transparency of everybody before the state and then, the synoptic transparency of society to itself.

Discipline requires constant monitoring and measuring of individual bodies in order to compare them to the ideal, to classify and then train them (Foucault 1991 [1975], 2007 [1978]; 56-57). Each subject of disciplinary control has to surrender various bits of knowledge about herself, which the administrative apparatus classifies and stores. Discipline has been gradually established not only over bodies, but also over knowledges themselves, legitimising them on the basis of their scientificity (and, hence, disciplinary controllability) (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 184-185). Disciplinarisation "not only led to an accumulation of knowledge, but also identified possible domains of knowledge" (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 184).

The pursuit of biopolitical objectives, on the other hand, requires the aggregation of individual data into data about the population. The basis of the data is the same as for disciplinary objectives – the measurements of individual bodies – but the aggregate data reflects an altogether different entity. Foucault attributed to statistics one of the central premises behind biopolitical governance - that meaningful patterns occur at the level of populations, and that these patterns may be intervened into and influenced by applying specific techniques of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 104). One of the tenets of governmentality is the role of those branches human sciences (themselves a fruit of disciplinarisation) which enabled the aggregate study of populations (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 76-79).

Biopolitical governmentality legitimises the state's unilateral power to decide "what should or should not fall within the state's domain, what is public and what is private, what is and is not within the state's competence and so on" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 109). Resistance to knowledge production is a counter-conduct against both disciplinarity and biopolitics. Foucault has not explored this particular form of counter-conduct much, but he has mentioned knowledge-based resistance in a different context. When he enumerated counter-conducts aimed at Medieval pastoral power, he included mysticism precisely because for mystics "ignorance is a knowing, and knowledge has the very form of ignorance" (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 212-213). The difference lies in the types of knowledge: surrendered and

aggregated. In the first case, counter-conduct is the refusal to surrender the knowledge; in the second, it is the refusal to be judged with regards to the aggregate norm, the majority or the dominating discourse. In terms of relationship to the norm, these two counterconducts are the refusal to be normed, and the refusal to be normalised.

1.4. Foucauldian spaces: the social control of urban milieus

There are ongoing debates on the role of space in the works of Foucault: space seems to permeate his work, looming in the background of historical and concept-laden discussions of knowledge, power and subjectivity (see, for example, the discussion in Crampton and Elden 2007). One of the points emphasised by Foucault in *Security, Territory, Population* was the centrality of urban spaces – "the town" – to the development of contemporary power relations and techniques of social control (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 63-64). This is in line with his earlier conviction that space, rather than time, is the centrepiece of contemporary social relations (Foucault 1984 [1967]). This approach is counter to the Kantian and other enlightenment-based preference for time over space (see Mitchell 2003; 48). s

Most authors agree that close ties exist between Foucauldian conceptualisations of space and power relations. This holds true despite diverse positions on whether the concepts should be interpreted as metaphors (see Mitchell 2003; 47), or embody techniques of controlling space with tangible outcomes (see Crampton 2013; Crampton and Elden 2007).

An early Foucauldian work theorising space was the 1967 essay *On Other Spaces*, which proposed the concept of heterotopias: spaces that "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect", the opposite of utopias (Foucault 1984 [1967]). Heterotopias have become a popular metaphor applied in empirical studies: "<...> close monitoring suggests that there is a heterotopia-related paper generated every few months or so" (Johnson 2013; 796).

On Other Spaces raises three points characterising Foucault's approach to spatial analysis.

First, while heterotopias are frequently portrayed as spaces of resistance (Mitchell 2003; 47) or spaces "outside society" (Crane 2012; 354) in derivative work, Foucault's description of heterotopias encompasses a wide array of societal spaces (cemeteries, ships, museums, etc.). Although they do not pertain to everyday life, they are "a constant in every human group" (Foucault 1984 [1967]). Some examples of heterotopias provided by Foucault are spaces for containing individuals that have transgressed the norm, such as psychiatric hospitals or prisons (Foucault 1984 [1967]). As such, at least some heterotopias are the opposite of spaces of resistance, and overlap with what has in later years become spaces of discipline or security. Thus, the essay is a precursor to Foucault's stance on the relation of power with spatial issues.

Second, the text defines lived space not in terms of physical structures, but as "relations among sites" (Foucault 1984 [1967]), where sites are units of spatial organisation that are irreducible to one another and not superimposable. The networks of relations is more important than the structural units on their own. Although Foucault did not explain the type of relations he had in mind, and various interpretations may be applied, power relations are a likely candidate. This highlights the importance of looking beyond stand-alone sites for the power networks that weave through and beyond them, in addition to the power relations inside sites.

Third, Foucault also enumerated a number of "inviolable" spatial oppositions that "our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down" (Foucault 1984 [1967]): private and public space, family and social space, cultural and useful space, leisure and work space. While this may indeed have been the case at the time of writing, contemporary developments in the social control of both space and social life allow to question whether this statement still holds up and what changes were brought onto it (some doubt may already be found in Foucault's other works).

Discipline and Punish discusses the emergence in modernity of a new use for architecture, the mediation of power: "to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: <...> to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to

know them, to alter them" (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 172). This passage refers to the architecture of disciplinary institutions, whose characteristics – surveillance, coercion and normation of individualised bodies – correspond to the defining features of discipline examined previously.

Two passages in *Discipline and Punish* discuss the city as an arena of disciplinary control. In the first, a plague-stricken city illustrates the application of discipline to a whole settlement:

> *The plague-stricken town, traversed throughout with hierarchy, surveillance, observation, writing; the town immobilised by the functioning of an extensive power that bears in a distinct way over all individual bodies – this is the utopia of the perfectly governed city. The plague (envisaged as a possibility at lest) is the trial in the course of which one may define ideally the exercise of disciplinary power.* (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 198).

The second takes up the notion of a complex carceral city where physical space and social practices intermingle:

> *The carceral city, with its imaginary 'geo-politics', is governed by quite different principles [than the sovereign 'city of tortures']. <...> at the centre of this city, and as if to hold it in place, there is, not the 'centre of power', not a network of forces, but a multiple network of diverse elements – walls, space, institution, rules, discourse; <...> a strategic distribution of elements of different natures and levels.* (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 307).

These two passages, the first one exploring potential, and the second one actual power relations in urban space, reveal the connection between urbanity and contemporary practices of social control. While they refer to discipline only, they go beyond the institutional space of prisons, schools and factories and place the whole city in a disciplinary perspective, which is an important implication for urban-centered rather than institution-centered research.

Later, Foucault framed urbanity as the locus of biopolitical control where it becomes the *milieu*, an ecology where populations exist and circulate:

> *Biopolitics' last domain is, finally <...> control over relations between the human race, or human beings insofar as they are a*

> *species, insofar as they are living beings, and their environment, the milieu in which they live. This includes the direct effects of the geographical, climatic, or hydrographic environment <...>. And also the problem of the environment to the extent that it is not a natural environment, that it has been created by the population and therefore has effects on that population. This is, essentially, the urban problem.* (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 244-245).

Security, Territory, Population (Foucault 2007 [1978]) brought disciplinary and biopolitical control of urban space together as new techniques of power which evolved and surpassed the sovereign solutions to urban problems. While sovereign rule applied to spaces in the guise of territories and used them as material resources, both disciplinary and biopolitical practices re-centered the focus of power on immaterial dimensions. This spurred specific concerns about space *as instrumental to social control*, rather than a set of physical structures that should be kept in order.

Disciplinarity and biopolitics use physical space as a means of achieving the primary aims of social control, while sovereignty viewed space as a resource for prosperity, with control being a means of holding on to it. It is probably for this reason that Foucault avoided further elaboration of the judicial management of space, but outlined the differences of disciplinary and biopolitical approaches to space which reflect the general differences in objectives of the two modalities of power. Table 2 summarises them.

Spatial characteristic	**Disciplinarity**	**Biopolitics**
Aims	Perfection of disciplined individuals	Preservation of life, quality of the population
Acts on	Artificial spaces	Natural or pre-existing milieus
Impact on space	Construction	Regulation
Direction of impact	Centripetal: isolation, unlimited power	Centrifugal: constant expansion, organisation of circuits
Effect	Enclosure and isolation	Promotion of circulation
Visibility	Nothing escapes scrutiny	Seem to happen out of its own accord
Temporality	Focus on the present	Incorporation of the future

Table 2: Comparison of the spatial effects of discipline and security. Based on Foucault (2007 [1978]).

Although the ultimate task of both modalities of power is instilling control into the physical and social dimensions of a spaces (be it stand-alone sites or whole cities), the characteristics of their relation to space often represent opposite poles, such as isolation and expansion, artificial and natural milieus, present and future orientation. If the prison, the hospital or the school are textbook examples of disciplinary spaces, a shopping mall or an airport are representative of biopolitical power. They promote and enhance the flow of both consumers and goods in repetitive patterns, while keeping undesired or non-consuming populations out, rather than locking them in.

Spaces, be they sites, milieus, or territories, thus provide a key to understanding the workings of discipline and biopolitics in physical terms. Although some authors posit that Foucault ultimately abandons *territory* in favour of *population* (Elden 2007a), the above considerations show that the

characteristics of power, even if they are preoccupied with the governance of bodies and populations, do not recede from space. While knowledges may be generated and perused in other dimensions, space ultimately provides the tangible and direct means of approaching the subjects.

Applications of Foucauldian theory to the study of space, spatial practices and configurations of power come from a broad range of disciplines and approaches. These include critical geography,[2] anthropology, international relations, urban studies, surveillance studies, criminology, semiotics, management, and marketing. The areas of application are broad, but there is a limited exchange of ideas across them – references are usually limited to similar studies within an author's discipline, even if the subject matter overlaps with work from other disciplines.

The scope and contents of this body of work range from (meta)theoretical to empirical and include:

(a) Critical reviews of dominating paradigms in the authors' respective disciplines with calls for revisions or additions based on Foucauldian perspectives. Examples include: a Foucauldian look at knowledge in critical cartography (Crampton and Krygier 2006), applicability of Foucauldian approaches to various strands of geography (Elden 2007a,b; Legg 2005), application of "affirmative" rather than "sceptical" postmodern analysis to criminology (Arrigo *et al.* 2005; 35-49), and a general critique of non-critical, non-political application of Foucault for empirical interpretation (Valverde 2010).

(b) Theoretical considerations of present-day issues, frequently centred on the impact of new technologies on power relations and social control. Subject matter includes, but is not limited to: GIS systems (Crampton 2007), geosurveillance (Crampton 2003), urban planning (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002), typology of spatial structures (Hannah 1997), surveillance technologies (Hier 2004; Yar 2003; Lianos 2003), urban and rural construction of crime (Stenson 2005), landscapes of brands (Murakami Wood and Ball 2013), conventions of global governance (De Larrinaga and Doucet 2008).

[2] According to Valverde (2010; 47), cultural geographers "are as a group more influenced by Foucault than are sociologists."

(c) Foucauldian theory used for interpreting empirical data. Subject matter includes: social control and resistance in specific spatial settings, such as garbage dumpsters (Crane 2012), business districts and condos (Lippert 2014), homes (Merry 2001), school dining rooms (Pike 2008); privacy in enclosed institutions, for instance, prisons (Sibley and van Hoven 2009); communication and signs as artefacts of spatial power relations (Lou 2007); aesthetic features of specific buildings (Connellan 2013).

Several common theoretical and methodological similarities are present in the two latter groups of studies.

Theoretical similarities include the choice of sources for Foucauldian theoretical basis and focus on particular concepts or modalities of power while others are omitted. It is not unusual to single out either discipline (Lianos 2003; Hannah 1997; Connellan 2013) or biopolitics (Crampton 2007; Murakami Wood and Ball 2013) as the only modality of power to be discussed, or offer a different outlook centred around heterotopias (Lou 2007; Johnson 2013). Sometimes a narrower concept is chosen to represent one of the power modalities. Thus, panopticism frequently stands in for discipline,[3] and governmentality[4] for biopolitics.

This approach is contrary to Foucault's lectures in which he emphasised that the modalities of power are inseparable and their variying degrees of domination depend on the context. Focusing on a single modality of power and omitting others may be useful for narrowing the scope of research and easing the interpretation of results. However, it is also disadvantageous, because it may easily miss or misplace the complex *interrelations* of the different modalities of power, the ways in which they reinforce or conflict with each other.

In some cases, authors proffer an addition to the concept they are apply-

[3]A common approach in surveillance studies, see Yar (2003).

[4]While *governmentality* is a wide-spread term which gave rise the whole subdiscipline of *governmentality studies*, it is not a stand-alone modality of power but one of the underlying tenets of biopolitics. The reason for this particular overemphasis on *governmentality* is the early publication in English of lecture 4 from *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 87-114), dedicated to governmentality, without the context of the whole volume (see Elden 2007b).

ing, or conceptualise a new modality of power. While Valverde (2010; 52-53) warns that the triangle of sovereignty, disciplinarity, and biopolitics may not necessarily encompass all modalities of power and one should always be on the lookout for alternatives, there are cases proposing and defending reconceptualisations as original contributions (for instance, Murakami Wood and Ball 2013; Hier 2004). At the same time there are also instances where the proposed ideas are aligned to what Foucault has already covered elsewhere,[5] for example, Lianos (2003), whose case for analysing automated control systems could be reinterpreted as an exploration of the biopolitical techniques of control, or Hannah (1997) who offers a space-based typology of disciplines wherein some tiers, e. g. compound, urban or national discipline have traits which could be characterised as biopolitical.

This point is related to the general warnings against rigid definitions of Foucauldian concepts and their ongoing clarification (Valverde 2010; 51). Although at least some definitions are needed if one wants to scrutinise a specific setting and establish whether the workings of power are similar to those proposed by Foucault, they should be approached critically and creatively. Sensitivity to the peculiarities of a specific, limited empirical context enables researchers to counter another criticism geared toward current Foucauldian scholarship: that of being too abstract and detached from realistic problems (Valverde 2010; 51).

Methodological similarities of Foucauldian-inspired studies of space and spatial structures pertain to the choice of spaces to be analysed, definitions of scope, and the breadth of conclusions about physical and social aspects of space.

First, such studies are frequently limited to a single, closed structure, as in studies of prisons (Sibley and van Hoven 2009) and schools (Pike 2008). While they offer insightful findings about the specific context they are examining, there is a lack of studies of complex, combined, multiple spaces – the *relations among sites* mentioned in *On Other Spaces* (Foucault 1984 [1967]) – and the ways in which modalities of power intersect there.

Second, a frequent approach (Crampton 2003; Pike 2008; Hannah 1997)

[5]Due, at least in part, to the late (and still ongoing) publication in both French and English of the Collège de France lectures and Foucault's monographs being the dominating source for Foucauldian scholarship until the last decade.

is to attribute disciplinary techniques to micro-level social relations, and biopolitical techniques to macro-level ones. This is related to the definition of subjects in each mode: discipline works on the individual body, and security works on the population. However, the differing denotation of subjects does not automatically limit the level of impact of each modality of power. Although biopolitical security targets populations, it affects everyday life at the micro level just as much as disciplinary discourses may affect macro level policy-making. Thus, both studies of micro level social phenomena, and those on the macro scale should consider the merits of searching for both disciplinary and biopolitical practices, as well as the dimension of sovereignty, which is frequently neglected altogether.

Third, some authors (Legg 2005) carefully discuss two or all three modalities of power in their literature reviews but do not carry this complexity over to their empirical analysis. The interpretive layer ultimately either focuses on a single modality of power or altogether omits the linking of findings to theoretical underpinnings.

These critical points underline the potential of a wider perspective: positioning the three modalities of power, and wider categories of physical and social milieus – neighbourhoods rather than institutions – as a series of complex interrelations. The explanatory advantages of questioning how discipline and biopolitics intersect within spatial structures are on par with the physical and social complexities of contemporary urban space. They also resonate with recent calls advocating a spatial turn in disciplines concerned with problems of power and social control (see, for example, Hayward 2004, 2012; Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002).

2. Conceptualising social control over urban space

Applying modalities of power as a theoretical basis for empirical research in urban space poses the problem of conceptualising observable referents for the various strategies of social control. The proposed solution is based on the analysis of recent approaches to the problem of social control in various fields of study which reveal that three aspects engender practices of social control in urban space: the physical, the legal, and the discursive. Each reflects specific tensions of conduct and counter-conduct, sequences of disciplinary hierarchies and dynamics of biopolitical circulation. Contrary to the social interaction, which is relatively volatile and does not leave tangible traces as soon as it is over, the afore-mentioned aspects are more permanent, visible witnesses of the structure through which the everyday life of subjects is channelled, revealing the extent and limits of individual agency.

Physical components of space – built structures and smaller-scale objects that are encountered in the city – are the stage where spatial practices, including those of social control, are enacted, encompassing both subjugation and resistance. These have long been embraced as objects of analysis by critical urban scholars and, more recently, by cultural criminologists. Law, the discourse of sovereign power, viewed critically, sketches out its own vision of the urban milieu: rules and regulations, the utopian vision of the perfect city. The importance of the mutual link between law and space (urban and beyond) is highlighted in the field of legal geography. Finally, small material objects – public signage – in urban space presents a specific type of discourse that is representative of the production and reproduction of knowledge. These comprise semiotic landscapes, a network of official communiqués and local street content that contests them.

This section proceeds to outline the current debates surrounding the physical, legal and discursive aspects in the context of studying urban space and presents a review of the exploration of the theme of social control over urban space in Lithuanian scholarship.

2.1. Critical approaches to social control in urban space

The significance of the link between urbanity and social control that has already been presented in the previous section, has been further elaborated by concurrent themes in two disciplines: critical urban studies and urban criminology. These themes include: an agreement about the meaning of space and place; overlapping issues of concern in the two disciplines; and the postsocialist or postcommunist urban legacy and its transformations during the last two decades. There is a general affinity between the development of critical urban studies and critical criminology and their relation to public policy: both critical criminology and urban studies emerged in the 1960s with a vision of criticising and reforming the condition of, respectively, the criminal justice system and inner cities.

The advent of contemporary urban studies in the United States is linked to the state-supported intervention in 1960s urban unrest and was driven by welfarist policies in response to this crisis (Bowen *et al.* 2010; 201-203). Research was characterised by interdisciplinarity, activism and community engagement by academics and students (Bowen *et al.* 2010; 204-205). In the following decades it was replaced by increasing professionalisation and decline of influence on policy-making, which recentred on neo-liberal urban development (Bowen *et al.* 2010; 205-206). A biopolitical inclination in the public policy discourse characterises the later context in which urban studies find themselves: "in a large degree, the problems of human settlements that occupied the national agenda in the 1960s and 1970s have been supplanted on the national agenda by national security, the economy, energy, and healthcare" (Bowen *et al.* 2010; 216).

Similarly, American critical criminology, initially emerged as an interactionist and phenomenological response to mainstream positivist criminology, and found a fruitful ground in destructuring ideologies: decentralisation and deprofessionalisation of social control, transfer of oversight from institutions to communities, decline of behaviourism (Cohen 1985; 31). Such penal welfarism suffered a crisis throughout the 1970s and 1980s, when advocates of reform lost their authority in policy-making circles (Garland 2001; 53-73). A two-fold turn in the criminal justice policy occurred, in-

stilling "cultures of control" as the dominant approach to crime and deviance: the punitive and the actuarial, catering to neoconservative public discourse and neoliberal rationalisation of governance (Garland 2001; 127-135). These two turns reflect the implementation of corresponding disciplinary and biopolitical premises pertaining to urban governance.

The two scholarly fields do not often reference each other. For example, a review of the history of urban studies as a transdisciplinary endeavour includes urban sociology, urban geography, urban planning and others (Bowen *et al.* 2010; 200), but fails to mention urban criminology as one of the disciplines contributing to urban studies. In spite of this, many concerns of culturally oriented urban criminology and critical urban studies (including urban sociology) overlap. They include: the importance given to space as a category of social analysis, a culture-based approach to studying cities and neighbourhoods, a interest in inclusion and exclusion, and the impact of late modernity on the urban landscape.

In contrast to the positivist approach, from the point of view of critical urban studies space is more than a setting for social processes or an explanatory variable, it is also an "agentic player" (Gieryn 2000; 466). Gieryn responds to the postmodern advocation of placelessness as a defining characteristic of present-day spatial cognition, grounded on the development of communication technologies, transportation and global consumption (Gieryn 2000; 463). The proffered primacy of space over other analytical categories is recurrent in the works of other urbanists (for instance, Soja 2003; 272; Borer 2006; 181) who also echo the Foucauldian preference for space over time (see Soja 2000; 8-9).

The importance of space has also been variously asserted in criminology, either by postulating the inevitable link of urbanity and crime, urbanity and social control (Melossi 2006), or criticising the lack of due sense of place in classical criminological studies (Cohen 1979; 340) and current mainstream criminology (Hayward 2012; 441).

This proposition implies a definition of *place* which sets it apart from the positivist application of the concept. Positivists emphasise "spatial thinking" as "consideration of the relative locations of social phenomena, the causes of the locational pattern, and the pattern's consequences" (Logan

2012; 509), setting its role as one (although important) potentially deterministic variable among many, which may be monitored and analysed by quantitative mapping techniques, measures of distance, density, clustering and other quantitative methods (for a discussion of these techniques and their current implementation in the social sciences, see Logan 2012; for an overview of the use of geographical statistics in criminology, see Tita and Radil 2010). In contrast, those advocating a critical approach define *place* as a concept laden with social characteristics, distinguishing it from *space*, a collection of abstract geographical coordinates. Thus, *spaces* contain or become *places* as they are constructed and lived in. A *place* is rooted in a geographical location of any scale, defined by material form as a collection of things and objects, and infused with meaning and value both during and after construction, depending on the interpretations by those who interact with it (Gieryn 2000; 464-465). All three characteristics must be present and reflected for a conceptually accurate analysis of place.

Likewise, cultural criminology criticises positivist accounts of crime and space, where "urban space <...> becomes a focus solely of statistical analysis" and "the lived reality of urban space simply does not feature in the design remit" (Hayward 2004; 98-104). The proposed position, counter to the positivist premise that ascribes a causal influence to the environment (as in, for example, traditional crime mapping methods), is that human action in space is a complex, multi-facet phenomenon, rooted in the relationship between culture and space, the politics of space, and the late modern condition (Hayward 2012; 448-449).

A current discussion in urban studies about the inclusion of culture into the study of cities, delineates an alternative to three competing paradigms: ecological theories, neo-Marxism, and postmodern urban theory (Borer 2006). This approach, the *urban culturalist perspective*, explores the relationship between culture and place, including cultural repertoires of spatial practices, and the influence of culture on the environment (Borer 2006; 173). This is counter to the prevalence of biological reductionism in ecological theories, the prevalence of political and economic forces in neo-Marxism, and the postmodern critique of culture as meaningless pastiche (Borer 2006; 174-176). Instead of reducing place to a mediator between individuals and

institutions, urban culturalists propose six directions of research which focus on the subjective experience of everyday life in the city: places as images and symbolic representations; places as fostering or denigrating communal civic culture; places as myths and narratives in collective memory; places as points of sentiment and meaning-making; places as part of personal identities and styles; places as social interactions (Borer 2006; 181-192).

Recently, cultural criminology has resurrected the question of what exactly the city has to offer for understanding patterns of crime and social control, and how to interpret it (Ferrell *et al.* 2008; 80). ddHayward proposes five directions of spatial analysis for cultural criminology, reflecting its concern not only with the city, but also with mediatisation: non-representation theorising of space (pertaining to emotional and performative reading of space); parafunctional spaces which unlink form and function; container spaces of inclusion and exclusion; virtual and networked spaces; and soundscapes, or "spatio-temporal soundmarks", pertaining to the control of space via sounds (Hayward 2012; 449-457).

Thus, just like in critical urban studies, the criminological interpretation of space is divided along the lines separating the positivist and critical paradigm, as well as the cultural criminological perspective from other critical approaches, such as its predecessor, critical criminology. The cultural criminological concerns with social control and its wider cultural expressions, especially soft power and extra-legal forms of social control, as well as the concern of critical urban theory with the powers shaping cities and place as the interactive determinant of subjective everyday experiences, has several parallels with three Foucauldian themes: conduct and counter-conduct, disciplinarity, and biopolitics. These parallels stem from two interrelated aspects: the subject matter developed in the two subdisciplines, and the competing theories that they take a critical stance against.

Cultural criminologists redefine the analytical definition of *social control*, criticising the emphasis by critical criminology on institutional social control. They expand the object of criminological study beyond what is formally defined as crime by the criminal justice system. Instead they offer the concept of *transgression*,[6] defined as "<...> the crossing of borders, the

[6]Note that this usage of *transgression* differs from the one applied by Foucault: the

violation of taboos, the rupture of certainties" (Ferrell *et al.* 2008; 174). Emphasis is transferred from the deviant action to the process by which it is defined: a situation-dependent negotiation of norms, norm-setting and norm-breaking, offering the opportunity for multiple interpretations. This allows cultural criminologists to focus on the breach of a wide palette of norms: legal, but also moral and social. Extra-legal regulation is defined as *cultural criminalisation*, denoting how institutions of social control from beyond the legal system impact everyday life and criminalise activities or subjects using cultural devices, rather than law (Ferrell 1999; 405). Such emphasis is in accord with the Foucauldian conviction that modern forms of power societies are extra-legal, anonymous and self-replicating throughout institutions and states. One of the characteristic features of cities – their scale, resulting in a diversity of demographoc groups and lifestyles – also makes them a stage for constant negotiation, renegotiation and enforcement of such norms, where conduct and counter-conduct may meet on a daily basis (Young 2011; 106-107).

Frequently, studies in conventional urban criminology or urban sociology interpret place as a function, rather than a physical entity. These functions may be symbolic and external to the everyday subject, such as iconic buildings (Kaika and Thielen 2006; Sklair 2006; Jencks 2006), or infused with everyday use, such as leisure spaces (for instance, Roberts 2015; Demant and Landolt 2014). While this is contrary to the approach emphasising the primacy of space in research design, the frequency and popularity of such interpretations reveals the persistent importance of function in defining, understanding and creating places.

However, from a more place-centred point of view, the function is meaningful when subjects use it as a criterion for delineating appropriate use of a place from its disuse, and as a means for the deliberation of norms pertaining to the place. For example, while conventionally the decay of urban neighbourhoods has been regarded as detrimental to the quality of life, it has also been pointed out that for certain demographic groups, for example, creative professionals, desire to live in such environments, calling for a critique and decrease of quality-of-life-policing (Benz).

transgression in the cultural criminologal vocabulary is not limited to deviations from the norm, but may also encompass counter-conducts.

On a broader scale, the problem of the use and disuse of space has its place in discussions on the current state of cities: the impact of urban decay, revitalisation strategies and gentrification. Policy-making goals of promiting growth and holding back perceived decay foreground the tension between urban planning and actual policy implementation and the fragility of such strategies which depend on the future use and diuse of planned spaces. There is also a temporal question – bringing the long-term perspective into the urban equation – how configurations of power, expressed through the shaping of place, transform, erode or replenish within a reasonable passage of time. Finally, questions of conduct and counter-conduct are evident in discussions on urban politics and the right to the city.

The punitive and actuarial turns in criminal justice policy as they pertain to urban space, are grounded in two criminological approaches, the broken windows theory and situational crime prevention, also referred to as environmental or risk-prevention criminology (for a detailed critique of the spatial premises behind these two approaches, see Herbert and Brown 2006). The basic premise behind these two approaches is that cityscapes are a medium of communication, transmitting messages of safety or insecurity to everyday subjects and potential deviants on the opportunities for breaching norms. However, whereas in cultural criminology and critical urban studies primacy of space is used as a basis for seeking understanding of diversity and conflict (cultural criminologists explicitly emphasise the importance of a criminological *Verstehen* as a methodological position (Ferrell 1997)), the broken windows theory and situational crime prevention use it as a base for strategies for segregation and designing exclusion into the cityscape (Herbert and Brown 2006; 756).

Segregation in broken windows theory is justified by social sorting into insiders and outsiders, based on how they contribute to the use or disuse of space: "social division between orderly and disorderly is treated as equivalent to a spatial division between inside and outside" (Herbert and Brown 2006; 760). Resulting measures such as zero tolerance policing reflect characteristics of disciplinarity: construction and artificial maintenance of orderly spaces, creation of an insider-outsider hierarchy, isolation as exclusionary tactic, inevitable scrutiny (the *zero* in zero tolerance), and

a focus on the present through rapid reaction.

In the work of critical urbanists, segregation is usually analysed via edge cases: gated communities (Irazabal 2006; Low 1997) or ghettos (Wacquant 2010; Davis 2006). However, the same power modalities are employed on a smaller scale in less exceptional environments by setting down hierarchies of movement and access to various places including living premises (in addition to the traditional disciplinary spaces of work or schooling).

The spatial approach in situational crime prevention, although based on assumptions similar to broken windows theory, offers a biological interpretation of territoriality, wherein the drive to defend its territory is a sign of a healthy community (Herbert and Brown 2006; 761-764). Its aim is to cancel out undesired conduct that is allegedly natural to subjects in specific spatial configurations. Apart from general reliance on biological notions, other biopolitical traits of this approach include cancellation as the goal, silent implementation via the design of the space, rather than explicit measures of control, and the use of present-day actions as a means of controlling the future. This process is reflected in further discussions about increasing surveillance (Deflem 2008) and securitisation of public space (Nemeth and Hollander 2010), showing that objects and technologies are just as important for directing or enforcing conduct as the more general structural characteristics of places. Further, the blurring of public and private space in the city is reminiscent of the biopolitical trend of expanding spatial outreach, and witness to the erosion of property-based sovereign-subject relations.

Finally, another recurring problem in both critical urban studies and cultural criminology is the state of contemporary neoliberal cities, variously described as post-industrial, post-Fordist, post-political, carceral, creative or global cities, which is frequently explored through the themes of policentricity, production, consumption, migration, globalisation, and mediatisaton (for an overview of these themes from the critical urbanist perspective, see Soja 2000; for a cultural criminological point of view, see Hayward 2004). These problematic relations of capitalism and neoliberal development of cities underlines another biopolitical aspect of urbanity: the need to understand, handle, direct and control immense circulations: not just of populations and goods, but also of finance and information.

The focus of attention on large cities situated in the global North such as Los Angeles (Davis 2006), New York (Zukin 2002, 2010; Sassen 2001), London (Sassen 2001), Tokyo (Sassen 2001) or Berlin creates a theoretical strand reflecting the life of specific kinds of cities – multimillion, multicultural and economically influential on the global scale. Other prominent studies are dedicated to the transformations of "second cities" in the US and the UK, such as Denver (Zukin 2009) or Manchester(Hodos 2011), as they have entered a new and economically challenging post-industrial phase of development. These two different research directions represent two different urbanities that currently dominate the debates in urban studies: cities as loci of great power or disenchantment, stories of success or horror. A third and more ambivalent strand of debates concerns the postsocialist and postcommunist urban legacy and its neoliberal transformations across cities in Central and Eastern Europe.

In a resemblance to American cities which have developed in previously un-urbanised terrains and therefore offered original insights about the structure of industrial urbanisation that was less concspicuous in pre-existing European cities (Anas *et al.* 1998), Central and Eastern European cities offer a live case of rapid, rather than gradual, neoliberal development. This process covers a triple transition: from the socialist to the democratic political system, from planned to market economy, and from centralised to decentralised municipal governance (Tsenkova 2006; 45). Some themes of criticial urban studies are recurring in their postsocialist counterparts, such as urban politics and grassroots movements (Jakobsson 2015), suburbanisation and sprawl (Pichler-Milanovic 2009), or deindustrialisation (Kaczmarek and Young 2008). In addition, they offer unique insights into the fragmentation of power, incorporating postcolonialism (Lisiak 2010), transformation of public spaces (Ursic 2009; Argenbright 1999), renegotiation of monumental memory, and privatisation of spaces, as well as the persistence of certain social and institutional routines from the previous period (Collier 2011; 22). These processes are shaped by a *double* bind of neo-liberalisation (often perceived and elocuted as Westernisation) *from within*, including the public denunciation of the previous regime, transfer to market economy, privatisation and decentralisation of governance, followed

by neo-liberalisation *from without*, expressed by foreign capital investement, commercialisation and the rise of consumer cultures, interpreted as a tense combination of post-colonialism coupled with neo-colonialism (Lisiak 2010; 28-68).

While a more detailed discussion of the transferral of power, as well as a Foucauldian interpretation of power in socialist and communist societies is beyond the scope of this work (For an interesting take on this subject, see Collier 2011), it suffices to say that this transitional context has an impact on the specific configurations of power modalities in the urban milieu.

2.2. Legal geographies of power

Legal geography is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry established and developed during the past three decades. It draws on critical advances in both legal studies and geography and sets down key insights for conceptualising law and spatiality (for an overview of the most recent work in this field by both established and young authors, see Delaney 2015). It has grown out of a double criticism of the "marginalization of space in law" (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010; 188) and the lack of legal concern in geography (Delaney 2015; 97), standing up against a simplified causal relationship between law and space and the limitation of legal analysis to law as if it were a strictly discursive endeavour (Bennett and Layard 2015; 408). Paradigmatically this stance is opposed to legal positivism (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010; 190), and draws loosely on critical legal studies (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 4-5).

From a place-sensitive perspective, law is involved in the constitution of spaces as well as the spatial components of interpersonal relationships (Delaney 2015; 99). Thus, legal geographers have a say about social issues such as globalisation, neoliberal governance, or transformations of public space (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 5). In contrast to other fields of inquiry which link law and social issues, in legal geography "space is foregrounded and serves as an organizing principle" (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 1-2) – it is not a backdrop for social interactions, but an active entity involved in shaping their course. The intersection of legally and spatially constructed realities yields several organising principles: mutual co-constitution, materiality, varying

intensity and temporality.

Mutual co-constitution of law and space means that law regulates the creation and use of spaces, while spatial concerns, among others, inform and shape law. On one hand, individual laws describe strategies of regulating spatial conduct, such as confinement, exclusion, or mobility, and are involved in the structuring of spaces through setting borders, regulating spatial conduct, accessibility and visual aspects (for condensed overviews of the legal geographic research agenda, see Delaney 2015; 99; Bennett and Layard 2015; 410). On the other hand, spatial concerns such as jurisdiction and the spatial reach of law have an influence on the legislative process (Bennett and Layard 2015; 410-411). Law sets down norms of formal and informal ownership of space, as well as hierarchies of geographical scale to which various forms of law apply and legal scale such as the division of regulatory power between national and municipal laws (Bennett and Layard 2015; 412).

As an instrument of power, law is expressed in the material structures of space:

> *Thus, law's presence is indicative of moral, political and resourcing choices – made by those with some degree of power over a situation, place or thing. But the materialities of place (and the specifics of the task-related actions performed there) also give life to law; otherwise, it is merely a cluster of abstract, generic concepts.* (Bennett and Layard 2015; 414)

According to this insight the placement, form and content of objects found in space have a legal dimension and serve as traces of how much and to what extent law governs a particular setting. Materiality may also serve to conceal law's workings: "the taken for granted aspects of spatial design <...> render it a useful technology for promoting ideological projects. It is through their enactment in space that technologies of power are hidden" (Braverman 2010; 175).

The existence of a "performative importance of material objects and physical design" (Levi 2009; 641) means legal geographers frequently engage with concrete materialities of space, making fieldwork one of the preferred research methods besides legal case analysis (Bennett and Layard 2015;

412). This, in turn, allows to explore the visual, rather than textual aspects of law, its visibility and invisibility (Braverman 2010; 174-175), and by extension, the visibility and invisibility of power modalities inscribed in law.

The intricacy of the link between law and spatiality lies in the fact that it is not uniformly distributed, and is actively influenced by the social context. Suggestions by different authors as to how to define this distribution vary in nuance, but the basic premise behind all of them lies in the tension between the alleged universality of law and its particularity in real-life situations (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010; 195), further complicated by the heterogenous (Butler 2009; 316) and unpredictable (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010; 189) nature of space. Spatial diversity has diverse effects on the reach and effects of law (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 13).

There seems to be at least some support among legal geographers for the perspective stemming from critical legal studies, that legal discourse as indeterminate (Butler 2009; 316). Law is not mapped directly onto space, but, rather, space is the scene where performative and relational readings of law occur (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 14-17). The same idea recast in a more space-centred approach, posits that law is not uniformly distributed in space and in some places the presense of law is "thickened" compared to others (Bennett and Layard 2015; 408).

An emphasis on everyday spaces[7] as places of localised meaning-making (Bennett and Layard 2015; 414) makes adherence or transgression of law part of the urban negotiation of norms, and may take different forms in different locations. This juxtaposes the legal utopia to real-life interactions.

Finally, legal geographers also posit that the separation of space and time is artificial (Braverman *et al.* 2014; 14) and add temporality to the law-space continuum. Temporality influences the intensity and spread of legal aspects through space, although it is currently underresearched (Bennett and Layard 2015; 416) and encompasses not only the diachronic develop-

[7]While this term is rarely defined by scholars engaged in either critical urban studies or legal geography, it is not as self-explanatory as it seems: everyday spaces may differ vastly depending on the subject whose everyday life is at the centre of attention. A prison or a cemetery is not an everyday space for the majority of the population, but it is one for those who reside or work there.

ment of spatial legality, but also synchronous and asynchronous time such as that expressed in the routines of everyday activities (Valverde 2014; 55-56). In one answer to the question how law should be approached incorporating both spatial and temporal perspectives, Valverde suggests that a specific spatio-temporal arrangement that pertains to collective, rather than individual patterns of conduct (Valverde 2014; 66-72). An example is the temporal aspect of home ownership: "<...> the archetypal home-owning family is constituted not only spatially but also temporally, through daily, weekly, and seasonal rhythms <...>. The overall spatiotemporality of life-course ideology contains many micro-spatiotemporalities, each of which would be worth studying in detail" (Valverde 2014; 72; for more examples of spatio-temporal approaches to law, see Valverde 2014; 61-66). These rhythms may be legally regulated as much as the spatiality where they take place. What the outlook provides is an insight about how subjects relate to space, move through space, and incorporate spatial practices as specific everyday routines. It also highlights the potential degree of temporal control and enriches the understanding of space as a dynamic and moving entity.

2.3. Semiotic landscapes of public signage

The city is a canvas in the production and reproduction of contesting knowledges. Information entrapped in various media in the urban landscape – including text, images and symbolic objects – represents discourses which co-constitute the spaces they are in. The variety of authorship, form and content of information nodes in public space, as well as the control of publicly displayed discourses stands witness to competing assertions of power, ownership and spatial norm-setting.

There are three main perspectives of interpreting urban media: discursive practices and the production of knowledge, the city as a media canvas, and the tension between various forms of urban media. The subsection is based on three strands of thought. The first one is spatial semiotics, which is concerned with the interpretation of texts, images and signs found in the urban landscape, in other words, the linguistic and semiotic layers of the urban landscape. Second, cultural criminology which is concerned with discursive practices, visual and aesthetic transgressions and situational

negotiation of norms. Finally, the Foucauldian definition of discourse which also provides insight into how it is controlled.

Semiotic landscapes is a notion derived by widening the more narrowly scoped *sociolinguistic landscapes*. The latter has become an established sociolinguistic concept since 1997 and refers to the varying and often problematic use of languages in public signage, the various media that are found throughout public space (Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 1). A typical definition of a sociolinguistic landscape states that it is "language and signs displayed in space" (Laitinen and Zabrodskaja 2015; 11).

Early approaches to the study of this subject were often quantitative, calculating occurences of various forms of language in public space, but later moved on to qualitative methodologies which expanded the scope beyond purely language-related issues to *multi-modal* or *multi-semiotic* aspects (Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 2). Hence sociolinguistic landscapes were recast as semiotic landscapes, with an emphasis on "the interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource of its own right" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 1).

Semiotic landscapes enrich the analysis of public written language by adding other forms of media. These include "visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 2). Therefore, the notion of a semiotic landscape helps make sense of various media present in urban spaces, embracing potential differences in their status, aims, ownership, and aesthetic virtues. Diversity is advantageous because "a range of topics <...> can be better accessed and understood when using visible written language and multimodal material in public spaces as data" (Laitinen and Zabrodskaja 2015; 14).

Studies of semiotic landscapes describe several different social processes: power relations public signage discourses, role of diverse interests in shaping public space, public signage as a manifestation of collective identities, and audience reactions and interpretations of signs (Laitinen and Zabrodskaja 2015; 16), or, from a more active perspective, the perception of and engagement with the signs (Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 2). Thus, there are

two apparent strands of such scholarship: some approaches prefer knowledge that may be gleaned from analysing the form and content of public signage, making it a self-standing object of study, while others focus on the social reaction, understanding and meaning-making, essentially processes of two-way communication, in which the signs act as triggers. The first approach would be consistent with the semiological approach to landscapes, while the second one would be representative of phenomenological semiotics (see Lindström *et al.* 2011). Frequently these studies explore public signage as means of engaging with macro-level topics, such as intercultural issues, globalisation and mobility (Laitinen and Zabrodskaja 2015; 11-12), mediatisation of landscapes (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 5), gentrification and commodification (Papen 2012), and commercialisation of public space (Iveson 2011). Some of these issues are also of interest to critical urban studies and cultural urban criminology.

The underlying premise of this approach is – in a similar manner to legal geographies – viewing landscapes as a combination of objects in the physical environment and symbolic systems (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 6). Semiotic landscapes reveal the public display of *emplaced* discourse (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 9). This idea is significant, because it helps overcome the apparent placelessness of discourse and power which is frequently encountered when these terms are used as abstract or immaterial concepts. Placing discourses in a material context highlights their interrelations, including dominance and contestation (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 12) which, in turn, makes them markers of power relations in urban space.

Although social control rarely emerges as a direct object in semiotic landscape scholarship, it is a matter of extrapolation to also interpret the tensions between discourses as an ultimate expression of social control in and over urban space, especially when they are ambiguous. As Zabrodskaja (2014; 2) mentions, one of the advantages of early research in linguistic landscapes was that they showed the tensions and social realities which were not apparent from policy documents pertaining to language politics. In fact, actual language practices and creation of semiotic landscapes may contradict legislative regulation (Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 3) and result in explicit or implicit collisions between sanctioned and unsactioned

language use. While some spaces stay essentially free from regulation, others, where such collisions emanate, become semiotically *contested spaces* (Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 3). While Zabrodskaja and Milani (2014; 3) examined cases pertaining to the use of pure language (for example, in bilingual environments where the use of a dominant language was backed by legislation, but other languages were in employed in actual public signage), the tension between regulation and actual use is also be relevant in terms of forms and meanings created by urban media. The same tension is emphasised by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010; 10-11), when the linguistic realm – taken in the broad sense to include visual and symbolic additions to written or spoken language – is contraposed to the social.

Methodologically, adherents of semiotic landscape studies oppose positivism and emphasise the "intersubjective and dialogic" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 5) relationship between researchers and their data. Although quantitative approaches may be applied in the field , the qualitative turn provides more complex explorations of multimodality of the research object (see Zabrodskaja and Milani 2014; 1-2). In any case, a critical approach is preferred (McIlvenny and Noy 2011; 153). Hence also the emphasis by several authors on the advantages of using visual methods for documenting and analysing semiotic landscapes (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 12; McIlvenny and Noy 2011; 153).

Empirical studies reflects these attitudes. Many of them employ visual analysis of public signage (with the added benefit of richly illustrated articles) in their work (among many others, see Muth and Wolf 2010; Muth 2014; Bigon and Dahamshe 2014; Cook 2015; Bever 2010), sometimes adding interviews (Papen 2012) or narrated walks (Stroud and Jegels 2014) to glean insight about motivations and perceptions of both sign-producers and their audiences. Some focus on issues of multilingualism (Muth and Wolf 2010; Muth 2014), some on the content and meaning of the signs (Papen 2012) and some on their material form (Cook 2015). Although a multimodal approach encourages engagement with several different elements of public signage in addition to language, such as translations, form, placement, visibility, or permanence, some studies focus on one particular kind of signage, such as road signs (Bigon and Dahamshe 2014), or com-

mercial signs (Stroud and Jegels 2014; Bever 2010). Other studies focus on a combination of different types of public signage, ranging from permanent formal signage to graffiti or inscriptions in the snow (Papen 2012; Cook 2015), occasionally also focusing on the problem of authorship, such as differences in public signage authored by private individuals and commercial entities (for instance, Muth 2014). Finally, research has been conducted in a range of politically sensitive and ideologically diverse locations, including Ukraine (Bever 2010), Moldova (Muth and Wolf 2010; Muth 2014), Israel (Bigon and Dahamshe 2014), South Africa (Stroud and Jegels 2014), Germany (Papen 2012), and United Kingdom (Cook 2015). The diversity of findings explains tensions based on different grounds, such as ethnicity and struggle for political dominance between speakers of Russian and the native language in Ukraine and Moldova, territorial conflicts in Israel, and class struggles in Germany. Again, although references to social control and its spatial aspects in these studies is rather implicit, it could also be an underlying theme, making this approach a viable choice for addressing the topic.

A specific form of public signage which receives "a big share of attention" on its own in semiotic landscape studies is graffiti (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; 21). Graffiti is also a good example of semiotic multimodality, because it may be read both as a text, a visual symbol and and aesthetic unit. A different, but converging perspective on discursivity in public space is offered by cultural criminology. While the main focus in this field is on images of crime and criminality in various media and (see Hayward and Presdee 2010), some authors are also concerned with images and image-making as crime, of which graffiti and street art are a prime example (Young 2012; Ferrell 1993). While it is usual to view graffiti and street art as forms of transgression (regardless of whether the transgression itself is interpreted in a positive or negative light), other significant themes arise, such as the sanitisation of urban landscapes to uphold the "aesthetics of authority" (Millie 2008; 387), contestation of public space (Shobe and Banis 2014), and the criminalisation of everyday life (Young 2012). Beyond criminology, similar concerns have also been echoed about urban public space as the contested arena between graffiti, advertising and legally construed public art (Madsen

2015), or street art as a political statement by otherwise disempowered actors (Zimberg 2012). This outlook extends to other licit and illicit forms of public signage, which may be framed from a cultural criminological point of view as signs of coerced or negotiated norms, repression as well as resistance.

When public signage is taken as a stand-alone token of discursive practices, rather than a form of communication involving senders and receivers of particular messages, it attains congruency with the Foucauldian notion of discourse as a form of social control. The diversity and tensions that it elicits in contested spaces are reflective of *the order of discourse* in two regards.

On one hand, in each society "the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures" (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 52), which belong to three categories:

(a) External procedures of control: prohibition, division and rejection, and the will to truth, enacting the opposition of true and false discourses (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 52-56).

(b) Internal procedures of control: commentary, author and discipline (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 56-61). While commentary presupposes a pre-existing text and authorship implies a specific individual is responsible for discursive production, the disciplinary organisation of discourse is characterised by being an "anonymous system at the disposal of anyone who wants to or is able to use it, without their meaning or validity being linked to the one who happened to be their inventor" (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 59).

(c) Control of conditions in which discourses are applied: rituals, societies of discourse with specific discourse production roles, doctrines establishing the relation of individuals to discourses, and the social appropriation of discourse (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 61-64).

Procedures of control from all three major groups may be applied in case of semiotic landscapes. In contested spaces, there is usually external regulation of appropriate and inappropriate form and content of public signage. While authorship is in rare cases implicit and in some cases partially deducible, it frequently remains anonymous, but not less valid or material.

While Foucault uses scientific disciplines – medicine and botany – as examples of disciplinary discourse control an administrative discipline of public signage could be considered on par with them, as it also constitutes a specific language, and both formal and informal procedures of control. The rituals and doctrines of using public space for producing discourses may also be frequently legally prescribed.

On the other hand, these procedures of control do not have an inevitable universal grip on the resulting discourse. While the procedures aim to eliminate disorder from discourse (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 66), a distinctly modern approach driven by fear of disorder, it does not work as perfectly as intended or as the general conviction seems to be. A critical analysis of this incongruity, proposed by Foucault, rests on four hidden characteristics of discourses (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 67):

(a) The roles of authors and discipline may reversed to become rarefactors rather than producers of discourse.

(b) The nature of discourses is discontinuous, therefore they "must be treated as discontinuous practices, which cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other" (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 67).

(c) Discourses are regularly applied "violence which we do to things" (Foucault 1981 [1970]; 67), that is, a result of active actions rather than an end in itself.

(d) The prevalence of external conditions enabling the discourse over its internal meanings.

Despite official or formal regulation of discourses in public signage, the tensions between control on one hand and actual form and content highlight the practical implications of this critique: the issues of authorship and production, discontinuity, potential subversion, ambiguity and controversy, regularity of imposition, and the influence of external conditions, including the procedures of legal regulation, but also specific spaces and modes of emplacement of the discourses as a separate set of conditions.

2.4. Urban social control in Vilnius

Social control in Lithuanian scholarship is often discussed as a theoretical concept (found in articles, such as Zdanevičius 2000; Gavėnaitė 2007, 2008; Pruskus 2014; as well as textbooks) or a set of strategies that were heavily implemented in the Soviet Union (as in, for instance, Leonavičius and Ozolinčiūtė 2008; Leonavičius 2008; Samuilova and Ališauskienė 2011) rather than a lived and reflected present-day reality. While some authors mention social control as a side-topic, they do not make it the key focus of their work, for example, in studies of family issues (Juodaitytė 2007; Česnuitytė 2008) or language use (Urbanavičienė 2011). In other cases the problem of social control is narrowed down to the problem of crime control (Jurgelaitienė 2001, 2003; Ruškus 2008; Palidauskaitė 2005). Examples of a more rigorous analysis of social control may be found in research by Petkevičiūtė (2014a) on homelessness, and Acus and Kraniauskas (2012) on the development of criminal activity in Klaipėda. Even in these cases, however, social control is used as an explanatory category for analysing other themes, rather than an object of study in its own right.

Likewise, power relations, apart from purely theoretical explorations (Mazgelytė 2014; Isoda 2014; Bielskis 2014), are most frequently encountered in studies of gender, sexuality and family relations (Šumskaitė 2014; Čiurlytė and Večkienė 2008; Kraniauskienė 2005), and to a lesser extent in education (Duoblienė 2009), social work (Ruškus *et al.* 2013; Švedaitė-Sakalauskė *et al.* 2014; Blažytė 2008; Juodeškaitė and Mažeikienė 2012), mental health (Šumskienė and Pūras 2014), and criminology (Petkevičiūtė 2010, 2014b), but are virtually non-existent as a category of analysis in other fields. It should be noted that in cases when researchers represent fields other than gender studies, much of their work focuses heavily on gender as the key component of power relations. For example, in the studies referenced above: Blažytė (2008) focuses on female victims of human trafficking as its object; Juodeškaitė (2012) researchers on feminist social work and enabling single mothers; both of Petkevičiūtė's (2010; 2014b) articles about prison subcultures focus substantially on gender and the construction of masculinity. The only local work pertaining specifically to anxiety production as a means of control and power relations in transit places (Lavrinec

2006) addresses the topic from a purely theoretical point of view.

Thus the problem of power relations and social control with regards to urban space is touched upon rather tacitly, entangled among other themes and categories of analysis. Scholarship that includes at least some discussion of social control over urban space, usually referring to it in other terms, comes from different backgrounds, including criminology, anthropology, sociology, architecture, urban planning, history and art theory. They have developed in distinct directions, depending on subject matter, methods used, and the scope of objects chosen for research. Urban planning and architecture are in a dominant position and produce the greatest amount of spatially concerned material in present-day Lithuanian academic discourse.

One of the dominant concerns in such studies is the temporal and historic aspect of recent architectural development, especially the history of Soviet architecture and its legacy. Some authors focus explicitly on the historical and architectural characteristics of Soviet architecture. Their themes encompass: Stalinist urban planning and use of monumental propaganda (Antanavičiūtė 2009; Weeks 2008); the impact of Soviet architectural contests on innovation and novelty in architectural projects (Linartas 2009; Mankus 2014); the aesthetic and social impact of specific architectural elements, such as entrances and viewing spots (balconies, stairwells) of Soviet era buildings (Novickas 2012); and the general history of architectural development during the time (Drėmaitė *et al.* 2012; Drėmaitė 2011; Petrulis 2006), as well as discarded architectural projects (Gudelytė 2012).

Other studies are dedicated to the the legacy of built structures from the Soviet period: their present-day status (Nekrošius 2012; Drėmaitė 2012; 154-156) and tensions between Soviet and post-socialist urban development (Grunskis and Šiupšinskas 2012; Buivydas and Samalavičius 2011; Urbonaitė 2013). A major debate has grown around how to appropriately interpret Soviet-era architecture, attacking or defending the position that architectural and artistic value should be evaluated separately from political and ideological considerations (for instance, Kšivickaitė 2008; Petrulis 2006, 2012). These discussions frequently focus either on a particular controversial place or architectural object, such as the Lukiškių square (Vyšniūnas 2008), or specific types of buildings, such as Soviet-era mass housing

blocks (Grunskis and Šiupšinskas 2012). Some of these discussions examine more specific problems of identity and memory politics, and their manifestations in public discourse (Grunskis 2009), as well as post-socialist articulations of memory in public space (Novickas 2009).

A thriving amount of literature pertains to transformations of urban planning and architecture in post-socialist Vilnius as well as other cities in Lithuania: Kaunas, Klaipėda and occasionally Šiauliai. Its main focus is on strategies of development: regeneration in the centre of the city (Gražulevičiūtė–Vileniškė and Urbonas 2010), reuse of empty ground lots as potential recreational spaces (Urbonaitė 2012), conflicts between preservation and development in historical neighbourhoods (Vyšniūnas 2006). A hostile stance emerges against cases in which real life development contradicts urban planning (Juškevičius and Gaučė 2010), and results in spatial "transformations and mutations" (Juškevičius *et al.* 2009). The development of the "new centre" on the right bank of river Neris is frequently used as an example of dysfunctional urban planning (Kajackaitė 2011; Glemža 2011; Motieka 2009). Trends of contemporary urban developmnt in specific types of spaces are reviewed, including public space (Rudokas 2013; Grunskis and Mankus 2013), housing (Čaikauskas 2008; Gerdvilis 2012), landscape architecture (Jakovlevas–Mateckis 2008), recreational space (Urbonaitė 2013), and representational buildings (Linartas 2010). In rare cases, urbanists also address the historical development of the city beyond the Soviet times - such as urban planning while Vilnius was in the Russian Empire (Čiurlionienė 2009).

The problem of social control and power relations in these studies is rarely addressed directly. Social control using architecture and spatial layout is tacitly attributed to political power and ideological representations – strong, centrally planned ones in case of Soviet rule, indecisive and marked by the influence of market forces in the post-socialist city. In rare cases influence is attributed directly to architectural elements – the fruit of architects' labour (in Novickas 2012) – as well as symbolic structures, a semiological text, which elicit specific memories or associations in the minds of spectators, for example, monuments and specific public spaces such as squares (in Grunskis 2009). Space is thus frequently taken for granted as a static object of

analysis: change may occur and is documented to some extent, but its causes and effects, as well as the nuanced links of ideology and physical structure are left out of the picture. While some accounts are critical of the incongruity of present-day urban planning and actual developments in the city, they do not take into account specific interests and discursive powers that shape the visionary aspects of urban planning, and the fact that planning is but one among many possible nodes of influence on urban development. The discrepancy – wayward developers backed by the market transgress the norms set by urban planners – is therefore portrayed as a lack of enforcement and, by implication, result of weak social control, missing the fact that these supposedly deviant developments may themselves form loci of specific aspects of social control.

Geographers and sociologists focus on contemporary structure and development of urban space, viewing it as a post-socialist transformation. This includes urban sprawl and the changing role of the suburbs (Cirtautas 2015), quantitative effects of (re)development on the formation of local centres (Bučys 2010, 2013), spatial social segregation (Leonavičius and Žilys 2009; Tereškinas and Žilys 2013; Žilys 2013), influence of globalisation and capitalism (Rubavičius 2008) on urban development, or the symbolic dimensions of recently constructed housing projects (Čiupailaitė 2012).

These processes are presented either as naturally or spontaneously occurring and therefore unquestioned (in Bučys 2010, 2013), or are attributed quite abstractly to the influences of the emergent capitalist economy, including commercialisation (Cirtautas 2015; 57), globalisation, European integration and loss of the governmental monopoly over decision-making (Rubavičius 2008; 232; 234-236), neo-liberal market forces (Čiupailaitė 2012), gentrification and social polarisation (Žilys 2013; 36). Such studies are valuable because of their critical evaluation of the potential negative effects of such processes, as well as – rare in the general context – suggestions for improving quality of life in parts of the city (in Bučys 2013) grounded in research rather than ideological ruminations.

A small number of anthropological and sociological studies explore social conflict, resistance and empowerment or powerlessness in city dwellers' relationship to their environment. Among these are studies exploring informal

activism in public space in Kaunas (Lapinskas 2008), internal and external DIY improvements to postsoviet housing in Vilnius (Milstead 2008; Milstead and Miles 2011), resistance and negotiation of (banned) public beer-drinking in Vilnius (Svolkinas 2006), changing graffiti landscapes in Vilnius (Urbonaitė–Barkauskienė 2014), the role of architects in urban development (Čiupailaitė 2014), and everyday life in the derelict but centrally-located Šnipiškės district (Aglinskas 2014).

In all of these cases, urban power relations are explored from the vantage point of specific social groups: a politically active subculture, residential housing dwellers from several different neighbourhoods, beer drinkers, graffiti artists, or architects. The resistant or dominant position of such groups is cast in their relation to others (police, neighbours, clients), while the city is the space where power contests are acted out. The capability to influence and remold the physical environment, or to use it transgressively is a key component of the relation. Although in cases such as drinking beer in public and political activism, no visible traces of activity survive in the long term.

Finally, in criminological works about Lithuanian cityscapes, a prevalent trend is to use safety and crime prevention as a conceptual stand-in for social control. A couple of studies focuses on the theoretical premises of risk-prevention criminology as applied to urban space (Pocienė *et al.* 2010), and its applicability in Lithuania (Pocienė 2009). Quantitative studies on the spatial distribution of crime and its implications for the feeling of safety are conducted (Dobryninas and Gaidys 2004; Babachinaitė *et al.* 2008; Ceccato and Lukytė 2011; Bielinskas *et al.* 2014; Jakaitis and Bielinskas 2013). One study deals with the effectiveness of installing CCTV in public spaces in Vilnius (Kalesnykas and Mečkauskas 2002). These approaches are representative of mainstream criminological theories pertaining to space: risk-aversion, situational crime prevention, environmental criminology and actuarial justice. Means of social control are recast as technologies of safety – a priori a public good – avoiding other questions, such as the nature and current extent of control, as well as its potential adverse effects.

All studies discussed above present several types of outcomes. Some aim to provide a general critique and draw attention to the often persistent

problems of urban planning, development and change, although solutions are rarely proposed. When they are present, solutions focus on improving either the process of urban development or the quality of lived space. Some provide useful taxonomies of current developments, such as types of newly-built residential structures (Čaikauskas 2008), typology of architectural contest outcomes (Grunskis 2009), or categories of spatial redesign approaches (Grunskis and Mankus 2013).

Historians have stated a gap in current historiographies of Vilnius, where most studies concern themselves with specific buildings, religious structures or the university, rather than neighbourhoods or parts of the city as a whole (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 9), missing the benefits of holistic research. The same is true of urbanist, architectural and sociological research, albeit with slightly different types of buildings – possibly reflecting the diminishing influence of religious and educational centres, and growing influence of housing (stated to be the general fundamental function of the city in Leonavičius and Žilys 2009) and secular public space.

In many of the studies discussed above, the unit of analysis is a particular type of building or space, such as residential housing, public space (both in terms of concurrent expressions of identity and memory, and in terms of recreational value), or representative public buildings. Neighbourhoods are addressed either as administrative units in large-scale quantitative studies, or as backdrops for a specific type of activity (graffiti, negotiating everyday life). All of these approaches offer appropriate macro- and micro-level insights. However, what is missed is the opportunity to examine how different kinds of structures interrelate in a limited geographical area – a block or a neighbourhood.

3. Case study: a centrally located neighbourhood in Vilnius

3.1. The conceptual framework

The aim of this work is to analyse Foucauldian aspects of social control over urban space in the three distinct aspects of the cityscape as they are presented in relevant contemporary research: the physical layer comprised of built structures, the legal layer expressed in formal legislation, and the discursive layer present in the textual, visual and material form of public signage.

Based on section 2, this work will assume the following premises in approaching each of the aspects:

(a) *The physical.* Space and place are ascribed a primary position in analysing the urban aspects of social control. Space refers to the general urban milieu, the research area as part of the broader social fabric, prior to the acquisition of specific knowledge about it. Subsequently it becomes divided into places – built structures and other spatial components – which emplace practices of social control and their implementation. Places may be further understood as functional or parafunctional containers for various forms of social inclusion and exclusion.

Both the culturalist perspective in urban studies and cultural criminology stress the importance of culture for understanding urban spaces and places. Culture in this case refers to a specific culture of social control, dominated by disciplinary and biopolitical strategies which are an outcome of the late modern condition. As such, the structuring of space and its physical shapes reveal the workings of soft power and extra-legal social control.

(b) *The legal.* The interpretive and post-sovereigntist evaluation of Foucault's stance towards law postulates a double transformation: the transformed role of the sovereign, with which the contemporary state is no longer synonymous, and the transformed role of law in modern states. The links between law and social control are still relevant and

thus must cannot be ommited from analysis because of several characteristics. First, the transformation of legal focus from the purely prohibitive role to obligations and relations between groups. Second, law as an instrument of legitimising disciplinary and biopolitical governance strategies. Third, law as a specific regime of truth, a vision of social life. All of these may furthermore be seen in the light of the legal geographic premise about the co-constitution of law and space: as key features in the formation and maintenance of power relations in urban space. Space is the scene where law is performed and becomes a material and visual structure, albeit it is not distributed uniformly, and urban reality may at times contradict the legal regime of truth.

(c) *The discursive.* Semiotic landscapes provide a key to understanding urban media, comprised of texts, images and symbols. Their form and content belongs to the domain of social control by producing, reproducing and emphasising specific spatial knowledges, as well as themselves being objects of social control. Following the semiological approach, the current study will focus on the form and contents of public signage as objects of research rather than contextual variables describing their production, consumption or related cognitive interactions. This analysis is sufficient to reveal the different forms of spatial knowledge, their tensions and hierarchies of power relations. Emplaced discourse also presents both formal and informal or otherwise unregulated forms of social control. Finally, cultural criminology encourages to search the cityscapes for traces of not just transgressive social practices, but also transgressive discourses contesting dominating ones.

Linking these premises to the Foucauldian concepts of conduct and modalities of power discussed in chapter 1 provides a conceptual framework presented in table 3. The rows of the framework present the three layers of the cityscape, while the columns correspond to aspects of Foucauldian theory. Each intersection raises a set of questions about the form and content of social control in urban space.

	Aspects of social control		
Aspects of the cityscape	Conduct & counter-conduct	Disciplinarity – governing hierarchies	Biopolitics – governing circulation
Physical: urban structures	Uses and disuses of space; Functionality of built structures	Access limitations; Containment of built structures; Transparency of built structures	Directing populations; Managing the movement of goods, money and waste
Legal: legislation	Formally set divisions and norms about spatial practices;	Legal construction of subjects and their relations; External regulation of discursive practices	Legal regulation of goods, money, and waste; Territory planning; Regulation of life and death;
Discursive: urban media	Diversity of form and content in public signage; Illicit public signage as discontinuous discourse	Official and unofficial discourses of conduct; Hierarchies of knowledge	Official and unofficial discourses of circulation

Table 3: Conceptual framework for analysing social control over urban space.

Each aspect of the cityscape may be interpreted by applying the Foucauldian perspective:

(a) *The physical aspect.* In the physical milieu, conduct and counter-conduct manifests itself in the distinction between uses and disuses of spaces, and the functions of built structures as they enable or disem-

power specific forms of conduct. The latter also includes a temporal aspect: the transformation of functions or their ability to withstand the flow of time. The physical aspects of disciplinarity include hierarchies created and managed by physical structures enriched by other disciplinary strategies, limiting or providing access to built structures, their degree of containment, and therefore inclusion or exclusion, and their transparency or (in)visibility. Biopolitical governance of circulation, originally pertaining to the movement of populations and goods, extends in the neo-liberal city also to the circulation of money, waste and information (the latter pertaining to the discursive aspects of public signage).

(b) *The legal aspect.* Conduct and counter-conduct is defined in the form of legal norms presenting a specific regime of truth about social relations in urban space. Thus, law also formalises the definition of some, but not all, uses and disuses of urban space. From a disciplinary point of view, law codifies relations between subjects by defining spatially motivated roles, setting their subordination and obligations towards one another, and externally regulating the discursive practices of public signage in the form of prohibitions, disciplinary rules, rituals and doctrines. From a biopolitical point of view the important aspect of law is the legal regulation of moving goods, money, and waste, as well as references to territory planning and biological life and death.

(c) *The discursive aspect.* Conduct and counter-conduct in the discursive sphere pertains to the diversity of material form and content, depending on which different categories of authorship, ownership and goals of public signage may be deduced. The transgressive nature of some public signage has the potential to present resistance to the dominating discourses. Rather than representing a single, unitary discourse, the semiotic landscape of urban media may present several discourses directly or indirectly competing with each other. Its disciplinary significance lies in the creation of uneven hierarchies of knowledge. Also, the contents of public signage may potentially reflect official and unofficial disciplinary and biopolitical discourse.

While each of the conceptual intersections presents its own set of research questions, another empirically important problem is the interrelation of the vertical and horizontal components. Thus, discipline and biopolitics are in constant interaction – at times reinforcing, at times contradicting one another in their workings to contain practices of conduct and counter-conduct within the limits of power. The interactions have the potential to be vastly different depending on the particular context. There must likewise be a similarly close interrelation among the physical, legal and discursive aspects of the cityscape.

3.2. Research design

Research aim and objectives

The aim of the current empirical research is to examine how social control is enacted over the urban space of a particular neighbourhood in the city of Vilnius. As shown in section 2, various aspects of social control over urban space may be analysed from several different perspectives, including critical urban studies, cultural criminology, legal geography and semiotic landscapes. Each of these offers an aspect critical to the understanding social control over urban space: the physical, the legal, and the discursive aspects of the public signage in the cityscape. They are brought together under a common theoretical scheme, based on the Foucauldian modalities of power. The conceptual framework for such a study has been developed in the previous subsection.

To fulfil this aim, the objectives of the study were to establish, within the chosen research area:

(a) The manifestation of disciplinary and biopolitical power modalities in the physical, legal and discursive contexts;

(b) The interrelation of disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of social control over urban space;

(c) The interrelation of the physical, legal and discursive aspects of social control over urban space.

Research strategy

The case study aproach chosen for this research is one of the five major approaches in qualitative inquiry which "appear consistently over the years" and are most frequently applied in the social sciences, the alternative approaches being narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory and ethnographic research (Creswell 2013; 7-13). The case study is distinguished by its focuses on the chosen research object without requiring to encompass a whole culture like ethnography, or limiting research to a closed group of individuals like narrative or phenomenological research. It is suitable for incorporation, testing and interpretation of an existing theoretical framework rather than building it up from the data, as is the case with grounded theory.

Yin provides two major principles that define the case study,[8] distinguish it from other research strategies (both qualitative and quantitative) and provide the grounds for applying it:

> *1. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. <...> 2. The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.* (Yin 2003; 13-14)

These characteristics reveal why a case study was an appropriate strategy to carry out the objectives of the current study. First, the study is concerned with present-day manifestations of social control as it is carried out in a specific real-life environment, the urban space chosen as the

[8] An alternative definition is provided by Gerring (2007; 187-210). He distinguishes between the *case study* as a nomothetic, quantitative method of small N analysis allowing for generalisation across populations and the *single-outcome study* as the idiographic research method, "narrowly scoped to one particular (relatively bounded) unit" (Gerring 2007; 187).

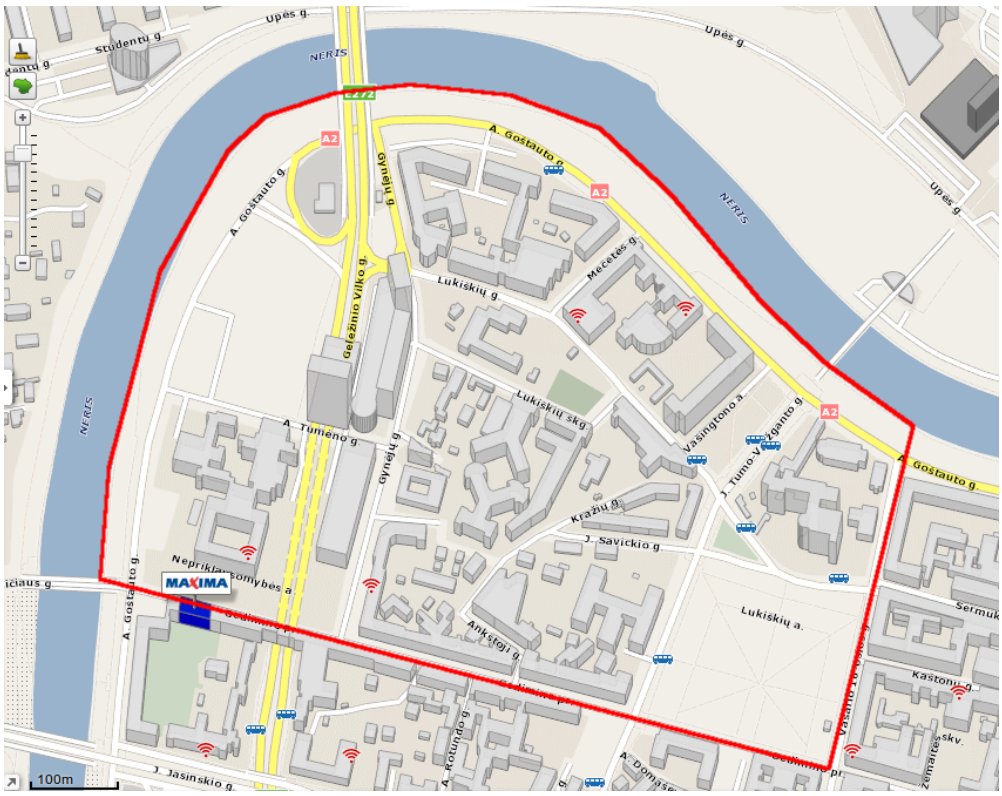
research area. Second, the exact boundaries of the modalities of power, as well as their relation with the physical, legal and discursive aspects of the cityscape, could not be defined at the outset of the research. It was not possible to determine in advance to what extent and in what forms they would be observable in the research area. Third, because there are numerous intersections between the Foucauldian power modalities and the aspects of the cityscape, their operationalisation necessarily generates many "variables of interest", inasmuch as the term is applicable in qualitative research. Fourth, because of the diversity of material required for uncovering the physical, legal and discursive aspects of social control, a combination of complementary methods was used in data collection and analysis. Finally, the conceptual framework of the study was used for planning the details of working with the data.

Research object

The strategy chosen for this particular case study is a *qualitative single-case, embedded-design case study*. These distinctions follow the case study planning procedure put forward by Yin (2003). The choice of a *single-case*, rather than *multiple-case* study design was motivated by the large amount of data generated from one case which was sufficient for the volume and time constraints of the current work. Because the research object is an urban area, it was broken down into smaller units of analysis, namely, individual built structures, making the case an *embedded* one.

The chosen research area presents a complex urban milieu with a perimeter of approximately 2,55 kilometres and area of 0,415 square kilometres. It is bound on two sides naturally by the river Neris and by thoroughfares separating it from neighbouring areas on the other two. A map is provided in fig. 1.

The area combines institutional, residential and recreational spaces. Architectural heritage from various historical periods and styles dating from the end of the 18th century til the beginning of the 21st, creates an irregular structure both in terms of the function of the buildings and of their surroundings. The institutions and establishments in the area are situated side-by-side despite representing very diverse functions. They include:



Basemap source: http://maps.lt

Figure 1: Map of the research area.

several research institutes; a prison; a school; a nursery school; a defunct hospital; a church; the parliament; the national library; the supreme court; several contemporary high-rise offices; small enterprises; eating establishments; a neighbourhood pub; the ministry of foreign affairs; the ministry of finance; and several housing estates. The ownership of the structures, likewise, ranges from private to commercial to governmental.

Apart from the ideological disputes about the purpose of Lukiškių square, the development and current status of the area has not been given the same significance in academic research as, for example the Old Town, or the new city centre on the opposite right bank of Neris. However, the gradual shift of the area from historical suburb to commercial and governmental functions during the 19th century and residential ones thereafter, as well as the Soviet-era establishment of central governmental offices which were inherited by contemporary political institutions, warrants the recognition of the area as one of relatively high concentration of power.

The area presents both a *typical* and a *unique* case within the context of

Vilnius. On one hand, the area represents some typical features of the city: proximity of human-built structures and natural or nature-dominated areas (Lukiškių square, the riverside, a grass meadow between Vilniaus vartai and the river), both open and built-up areas, abandoned structures as well as well-preserved ones. Other parts of Naujamiestis, the city district that has developed at the same historical period, possess similar architectural features, such as multi-storey stone and brick buildings and perimetric quarter construction. Former empty lots served as construction sites for Soviet-era buildings which are interspersed among older (and newer) structures to a greater degree than in the Old Town where only quarters demolished during the second world war have been replaced by Soviet-time buildings, or in the residential block districts where few old structures have survived. The mingling of private, commercial and governmental usage found in the area is typical of centrally located mixed-use neighbourhoods in many European cities.

On the other hand, the case is also unique because of several functional and architectural peculiarities. Diverse functions of the built structures are combined with intense proximity. For example, 300 metres separate the prison compound from the Parliament, 30 metres separate the outside wall of the prison from a nursery school, and 40 metres from a secondary school. A residential quarter is spliced into the 150 metres separating two prominent governmental offices, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance. Several structures in the area are one-of-a-kind not only in Vilnius, but the whole country, such as the Parliament, the prison compound, and the National library. Architecturally, the area incorporates a great number of Stalin-era socialist realism buildings, while Montvilla's colony is an experimental and architecturally unique residential quarter from the beginning of the 20th century. Such proximity of diversity also has historical precedents, for example, the placement of the infectious ward and main city market next to each other in Lukiškių square at the end of the 19th century. Such diversity presents a potentially greater palette of power relations and means of social control than more uniform areas of the city.

Data collection and analysis

Different data collection and analysis methods were employed to study the three different aspects – physical, legal and discursive – of the conceptual framework.

The physical aspect. The following research questions drove the empirical analysis of the physical aspects of social control over the research area:

(a) What are the functions of the built structures and how are they (dis)used?

(b) What physical means are used to limit or foster access to the built structures?

(c) What are the diverse populations present in the area and what are their movements?

The main units of analysis were built structures in the research area. While observation was the main approach to identifying the characteristics of each built structure, photo-documentation was the main method of data collection. Subsequently visual analysis and mapping techniques were applied to the photographic data.

The choice of visual analysis was based on the nature of the data, as well as frequent references to the utility of this approach in various fields, on which the conceptual framework is based, such as cultural criminology, semiotic landscapes and, to a lesser extent, legal geography. The use of photography in research has a long-standing tradition in history and anthropology research (Collier and Collier 1967), and images have been used in various forms for urban research (Knowles and Sweetman 2004; 115-192). John Collier, one of the early advocates of the method, proposed that "<...> city streets can be a practical laboratory for photographic analysis of an urban society" (Collier 2006; 175).

For the current study, photo-documentation, an approach wherein the images are produced by researchers in the course of their fieldwork, was used. The advantage of photo-documentation during observations lies in

capturing the physical structure of buildings which is too detailed and textured to adequately capture in notes during fieldwork: "<...>the camera's value in such recording is that it can catch the simultaneous details of such processes, freezing them for later definition of relationships among different elements that might well escape the unaided observer" (Collier 2006; 187). This technique has been discussed in methodological literature (Banks 2007; 72-75; Tinkler 2013; 124-147; Rose 2011; 297-327).

Pictures of each built structure were taken systematically from all human-accessible vantage points. A double strategy was used: first, the wider view of the cityscape was captured (usually, the general view of the street-side or backyard), and the close-ups photos were taken to make details of each structure sufficiently visible. Connecting spaces and interstices between buildings were also captured, as well as out-of-place or unusual objects.

Additional visual data was collected from Microsoft Bing Bird's Eye View service.[9] The service provided a 3D perspective on the research area, outdoing both Google Street View and Hnit-Baltic ortophotography in the level of detail. This proved valuable while assessing the characteristics of less accessible structures, such as the Lukiškės prison compound.

Historical data (construction dates, architectural styles, demolished structures) was gathered from the Baltic Inter-Save database. It was launched in 2001 as a joint project of Vilnius municipality, the ministry of culture, the ministry of the environment, Danish NGO experts responsible for SAVE (Survey of architectural values in the environment) methodology and several other partners. The database contained visual material about every building in the city, as well as historical data, architectural descriptors, evaluation of the state of the buildings, and other characteristics. The database became obsolete and went offline soon after data collection in January 2015. There is no firm promise of restoration from municipal officials who were regarding the issue. Traces of the project exist at the Internet

[9]The service is available at: http://www.bing.com/maps/?v=2&lvl=19.33&dir=353.13&sty=o&form=LMLTCC. The full list of Microsoft corporation's data providers is listed at: http://windows.microsoft.com/en-us/windows-live/about-bing-data-suppliers. It is not clear from the list which particular agencies are responsible for the service I used.

Archive.[10] Precise addresses and information about the status of buildings was taken from the official real estate registry database, obtained from the public search tool for the real estate cadaster and register.[11]

A qualitative analysis of each structure was carried out on the basis of the visual data. The aim of analysis was to categorise physical referents which reveal the workings of social control in the area, including functionality, strategies of control and the social dynamics within the area. In the process, the following characteristics were coded based on the general information about the structures and the theoretical distinctions between disciplinarity and biopolitics discussed in Section 1 and the conceptual framework:

(a) General context: date of construction; type of ownership; temporal condition (whether or not the structure is currently in a state of physical transition).

(b) Disciplinarity: function(s) of the structure; correspondence of the function(s) to actual use; degree of decrepitude or abandonment of the structure (as counter-functionality); containment of surrounding space; transparency of the structure.

(c) Biopolitics: circulation of human flows; modes of compliance with the circulation patterns.

(d) Either disciplinarity or biopolitics: artificial or natural development of the structure; means of access to the structure (isolation or expansion); means of controlling or enforcing access limitations (surveillance or risk-prevention).

After analysis, the characteristics were mapped to provide an overall view of the area. The base for the maps was a 2D map of Vilnius by Hnit-Baltic, Inc.,[12] with updates rendered by hand according to newer ortophotographic

[10] Available online at: http://web.archive.org/web/20060114012741/ http://www.paveldas.vilnius.lt/ (2006) and http://web.archive.org/web/20111123151936/ http://www.vilnius.lt/newvilniusweb/index.php/11/?env=4 (2011).

[11] Available online at: http://www.registrucentras.lt/ntr/p /index_en.php

[12] Available at: http://www.maps.lt/map/default.aspx?lang=lt#obj=581644; 6062404;Pa%C5%BEym%C4%97tas%20ta%C5%A1kas;&xy=581774,6062343&z=5000

imagery provided by Hnit-Baltic[13] as well as field observation results.

The legal aspect. The following research questions drove the empirical analysis of the legislative layer of the cityscape:

(a) What practices of social control over urban space are regulated by law and in what manner?

(b) How does the law regulate spatial relations between subjects?

(c) How does the law regulate the circulation of goods, money, and waste?

(d) How does the law regulate the form and contents of public signage?

Two types of legislative documents were collected: national legislation, including codes and individual laws governing specific aspects of spatial everyday life, and municipal legislation pertaining to various forms of conduct, which reiterated and expanded the reach of legal norms set in the national legislation. Purposeful sampling was applied to gather legislative acts by searching for keywords related to space and specific types of built structures present in the research area, as well as following references to other laws found in spatial clauses in laws that have already been analysed. The list of documents is as follows:

National legislation codes

- Administrative code;
- Penal code;
- Penal sanction enforcement code.

Individual national laws governing specific aspects of everyday life

- Alcohol control;
- Library law;
- Detention of suspects;

[13] Available at: http://www.maps.lt/map/default.aspx?lang=lt#obj=581640;6062402;Pa%BEym%C4%97tas%20ta%C5%A1kas;&xy=581774,6062343&z=5000&lrs=orthophoto

- Tobacco control;
- Construction law;
- Territory planning law;
- Waste management law;
- Advertising law;
- External advertising installation rules.

Municipal legislation

- Waste management rules;
- Residential and communal premises and engineering equipment usage rules;
- Pet-keeping rules;
- Pothole elimination rules;
- Regimen for establishing unused ground lots;
- Regimen for establishing unused buildings;
- Retail in public places rules;
- Rules of adaptation of premises for the disabled;
- Construction permit issue regimen;
- Sufficient building care rules;
- Noise prevention in public places rules;
- Traffic regulation regimen;
- Ordering and cleanliness rules.

An expanded list of documents with titles in English and Lithuanian, publishing information, and sources is provided in appendix A.

Qualitative content analysis was carried out in search of clauses pertaining to the governance of space and conduct related either to specific spaces or particular spatially defined practices, including both desired and undesired conduct in public space, and other places, such as residential or commercial premises. Law provided general clauses pertaining to spatial conduct in general (thus also applicable to the research area) as well as clauses affecting specific structures present in the area, thus instilling norms and regulations that may not be applicable elsewhere.

The analysis started out by initially coding broader categories based on the theoretical and conceptual framework:

(a) Norm-setting – conduct-related obligations and definitions of transgressions, prohibitions and limitations imposed on spatial conduct.

(b) Disciplinarity – definitions of subjects and their hierarchies, spatial forms of punishment, external regulation of public signage.

(c) Biopolitics – regulation of circulation; regulation of life and death, as well as biological quality of life.

During subsequent analysis these categories were broken down into more specific subcategories during the coding process in accordance with the content of the material. Several additional categories also emerged during the coding stage and revealed aspects of governing space that have not been included in the preset categories. The full list of categories and subcategories generated during analysis is provided in appendix B.

Coding was carried out in R using the RQDA library.

The discursive aspect. As such, public signage objects are, first, controlled as a form of spatial sociality and, second, at least in some of their contents, embody visually and verbally the disciplinary and biopolitical discourses in a more tangible and visible form than their physical or legal counterparts.

The following research questions drove the empirical analysis of discursive practices in the research area in addition to the external and conditional

procedures of controlling public signage which have already been analysed during the legal document analysis described above:

(a) What is the diversity, function and authorship of public signage in the research area?

(b) How does the actual signage correspond to legislative norms and regulations pertaining to public discursive practices?

(c) How do the contents reflect disciplinary and biopolitical discourses of social control?

The forms and content of public signage in the research area were included in the data collected during the photo-documentation stage. Subsequently, qualitative visual analysis was carried out with the following coding categories:

(a) General descriptives - form, contents and function of each public signage object;

(b) Internal means of control - authorship, comments, use of authorised knowledge;

(c) Discursive (dis)continuity - contradictory functions, adherence to formal regulation;

(d) Disciplinary in contents - official and unofficial discourses of conduct;

(e) Biopolitical contents - official and unofficial discourses of circulation.

3.3. Historical background of the research area

Guidebooks and essays about Vilnius present the city as a convergence of human-built structures and nature, understood as both the terrain and the vast green areas throughout the city (Vorobjovas 1940; 14, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 2, Grunskis 2011; 6). In a short essay on the development of architecture in Vilnius from the Middle Ages to Classicism, Vorobjovas highlights the importance of the visual aspects of architecture in the city for understanding it (Vorobjovas 1940; 7). Purity of architectural

styles is absent: rather, they intersect and intersperse; historically many buildings have been reconstructed by adding contemporary elements to the architecture of previous periods. Buildings of different architectural styles are placed in close proximity rather than dispersed in separate districts (Vorobjovas 1940; 10; 31-34).

Vorobjovas, among many other authors (see, for instance, Briedis 2008 or Frank 2013) describes Vilnius as a city of opposites[14]: dialectic tensions of architecture and everyday life, chaotic and artistic spaces, temporal multiplicity, layered vertical planes, mingling of elaborate decor with bleakness, built-up areas with barren ones, urbanity and nature (Vorobjovas 1940; 9; 12-14). In a nutshell, "this city is mysteriously romantic and dreadful" (Vorobjovas 1940; 12). The city has also an ever-pendulant geopolitical position: fluctuating between being the Westernmost Eastern European city or Easternmost Western European one, holding the roles of cultural and political centre or periphery and province, and caught up in "permanent globalisation" throughout its whole existence, including pre-modern time (Grunskis 2011; 6).

Another characteristic of Vilnius is the lack of a general plan (Vorobjovas 1940; 14) in Old Town developement. This has changed with subsequent development of surrounding neighbourhoods during the reign of the Russian Empire throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th or subsequent Soviet industrialisation and urbanisation. Districts surrounding the Old Town and newly incorporated into the city, including the research

[14]This seems to continue in authentic travel journals up to this day. For example, Ilya Varlamov, a prominent Russian urbanist who frequently recounts on positive and negative experiences in cities that he has visited, writes about Vilnius: *"Originally I wanted to write separate reports about the good and the bad Vilnius [as he always does with other cities], but I had to change my mind. It would convince the reader that Vilnius may be divided into the good and the bad. This would be a mistake. The good and the bad in Vilnius are so intertwined that it is impossible to separate them. They simply cannot exist without each other. <...> If you see a nice, clean courtyard, be assured: the neighbouring yard will be disarrayed, car-stuffed and dirty. A skypscraper will be adjoined by a crooked, rotten hut. A drunk chav wil inevitably intrude into a first class carriage. The good and the bad in Vilnius cannot exist without each other."* Varlamov, Ilya. The bad and good Vilnius, Lithuania (Плохой и хороший Вильнюс, Литва). 2014. Available online at: http://varlamov.ru/1096687.html

area, and now known as the borough of Naujamiestis, thus displayed the first results of urban planning.

The work of Vorobjovas (1940) pertains to Catholic churches in the Old Town only and therefore the research area is not included in its scope. Two reknowned guidebooks to Vilnius, one published in Polish (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]) and allegedly the first published guidebook to the city (Maceika 1991; 12), and another allegedly the first guidebook to the city published in the Lithuanian language (Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]), provide similar accounts about the area of Lukiškės. Both guidebooks are organised geographically: Kirkoras (1991 [1859]) actually breaks the city down into eighteen distinct "walks", while Juškevičius and Maceika (1991 [1937]) provide a simple categorisation of notable sites – religious, governmental and residential buildings – by street names. Both guidebooks mention the research area, and in both the number of objects worthy of the visitor's attention is small, and their descriptions brief, mostly based on simple facts such as building construction and reconstruction dates.

The majority of the facts overlap: discussion of the area's name (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 111, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 87), mention of ethnic Tatars as the historical inhabitants of the area (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 112, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 13), three major objects of interest: the church of St. Phillip and James (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 112-113, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 156), the adjascent hospital (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 114, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 13), and the Tatar mosque (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 115, Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 183).

Several differences in the accounts are explainable by the time gap of almost eight decades between the two publications. In 1937, Lukiškių square is deemed to be the largest in the city (Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 13), while in 1859 the whole area is still considered a suburb (Lith. *priemiestis*) (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 112). Juškevičius and Maceika mention Lukiškių square as the site of death penalties delivered after the 1863 rebellion (Maceika and Juškevičius 1991 [1937]; 13) – which had not yet happened when Kirkoras wrote his book. Meanwhile, Kirkoras also describes the prison compound (Kirkoras 1991 [1859]; 115) which latter authors ig-

nore, although in the period of time between the books, in 1904 a new, larger and modernised prison compound was built on the same grounds (for a history of the prison construction, see Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 134-139).

The research area has formerly been a part of the Lukiškės historical suburb, specifically its part called Totorių Lukiškės (Tatar Lukiškės) (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 15), for Tatars were the main early residents of the neighbourhood's riverside. Historically, the neighbourhood developed in three distinct stages (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 11-74; 108) which differed by the degree of ties with the historical centre – the Old Town – and perceived proximity to it and social and political importance: as part of the countryside (Lith. *užmiestis*) outside the city boundaries in the 15th century, as a suburb (Lith. *priemiestis* during the 16th to 18th centuries, and part of the city proper from the 19th century onwards.

In the first stage, that of extra-urban countryside, Lukiškės encompassed a large region to the West of Vilnius, scantily populated and abstractly mentioned in documents of the time (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 11-20). The next stage, from the 16th century onwards, saw the the establishment of a riverside port and warehouse district and the settling of Tatars. The exact date of their settlement is disputed: although traditionally it is attributed to the 15th century, historians find no documentary evidence supporting this fact and state that the second half of the 16th century is a more appropriate estimate (see Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 23). Residential settlements in the 18th century were limited to the riverside "on both sides of the church [of St. Phillip and James]" (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 73).

This period is characterised by the development of trade based on the river port, as well as increasing land ownership interests, including land disputes (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 52-53; 61-62) and protests by officials with a stake in land ownership against incorporating the territory into the city's jurisdiction (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 65). These factors may be considered signs of ties gradually established between the historical city proper and the suburb. From the 17th century onwards, the landscape was dominated by two religious structures – the church of St. Phillip and James, and the Tatar mosque (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 30; 23) (both retained their landmark importance and were included in the two city guidebooks described earlier).

The 18th century prevented speedier development in the neighbourhood because of multiple fires, epidemics, and military invasions (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 58).

The development of Tatar Lukiškės as part of the city proper took place in the 19th century, after Vilnius came under the rule of the Russian Empire. The imperial rule began with a demolition of the historical city walls and former duke palaces (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 78) which, apart from demonstrating the change of power, also erased the tangible physical barrier identifying the Old Town as city proper and surrounding areas as suburbs. The area has been gradually accepted as part of the city from an administrative point of view (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 78).

In 1817 the administration introduced the first city development plan, replaced by updated plans in 1837 and 1875 (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 108-109). Initial development was slow in the first three decades of the 19th century and speeded up thereafter. Proactive planning was an easy endeavour in the case of Lukiškės, because the area was still relatively desolate, while its proximity to the river offered opportunities for residential and trading development (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 109). Imperial urbanisation introduced geometric planning to the areas surrounding the Old Town, including the current area of Naujamiestis which Lukiškės is a part of, and, by the beginning of the 20th century, development of the street network that remained more or less unchanged until present times (Grunskis (2011; 7); Jogėla *et al.* (2008; 117).

The growing links between the Old Town and the former suburb, which was being gradually incorporated into the city initially formed around several institutions. The latter served specific functions which made them indispensible for both urban governance and some spheres of everyday life: the hospital, the prison, and military barracks. The 19th century also saw an increase in economic and industrial activities in the neighbourhood.

While a hospital existed under the supervision of the church of St. Phillip and Joseph since the 18th century (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 62), its status changed significantly, as hospitals in the Old Town were closed, and it became the largest medical facility in Vilnius (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 102), attracting a steady circulation of patients and visitors. Later, in 1898, a

temporary infectious disease ward established in a former military barrack in the north-western corner of the Lukiškių square, right next to the food market (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 176). It proved more populous than expected, housing patients suffering from at least four infectious diseases instead of one, and not as temporary as the planners wished – closed down only in 1913 instead of the foreseen two months (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 175-177).

In 1820, a prison compound was built on a ground lot adjacent to the Tatar mosque (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 88-89). When the old prison compound became outdated by the end of the 19th century, there were earnest attempts to build the new prison in a different location, outside the city centre. However, the plan did not succeed because of bureaucratic hassles (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 134-135). A similar situation is repeating itself now, as the project of moving the same prison to another location is in a state of being proposed and delayed at least since 2011. The old prison was demolished, and a new, larger compound was completed by 1904. At the time it was considered technically and architecturally the most modern in the region (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 136-137).

The prison and the hospital are considered the first institutions that were influential in strengthening the territorial link between the Old Town and the former suburb (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 102). In addition, the area was a convenient location for newly erected military barracks because of their proximity to the Old Town and abundance of space (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 87-88; 144-145). Thus classical – from a Foucauldian point of view – disciplinary institutions dominated the landscape in the first half of the 19th century and, except the military stations, continued to function throughout the upcoming century and a half.

The intensity of the exchange of people and goods between the Old Town and the suburb increased due to the changing nature of economic activities in Lukiškės. In 1860 Lukiškių square became the new central market place in the city, following the closing down of all markets in the that had until then functioned in the Old Town (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 209). Some authors allege that it is after the establishment of the market that Lukiškės became widely accepted as part of the city and emerged as a newly formed centre of urban activity (Čaplinskas 2000; 12). The market square was also a site of

public executions – hanging and shooting– during the 1863-1864 rebellion against the Russian government (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 231). The market place also became the cite of the city circus since 1897, which later also hosted a cinema and theatre performances (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 226-231) making the district an entertainment destination.

Abundant space and proximity to the river played a role in the gradual industrialisation of the area. The first wave of industrial development added production facilities to the previously existing port and warehouse district.Throughout the 19th century, it saw the establishment of the city's main slaughterhouse in the first decade of the 19th century (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 92), a beer brewery in 1859-1863 (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 184), the transfer of tanneries from the Old Town ordered by the government since 1879 (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 186-190), as well as sawmills and a pencil factory (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 195).

Residential real estate, initially dominated by wooden, countryside type housing, provided supply for the rising rental demand. Rooms in such houses were cheaper than lodgings in the Old Town, and a significant part of the housing was therefore rented, rather than owner-occupied. It attracted a migratory flow of short-term and seasonal workers (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 95). Later, during the second half of the 19th century, the neighbourhood "has fundamentally transformed" because of the construction of brickwork residential buildings with the first floor reserved for commercial use – "restaurants, cafes, shops and various workshops" (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 121). Such construction initially occured to the east of Lukiškių square – filling space between Lukiškės and the streets leading to Old Town, and expanded to the west of the square at the beginning of the 20th century, seeing the establishment of, for example, the merchants' club in 1913 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 20), and Montvill's colony, a residential quarter modelled after contemporary garden city ideas (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 35-37).

The first decades of the 20th century which saw the first of the numerous changes of government, also made Lukiškių square the object of debates as to its discursive and functional aims. In 1913, the Russian imperial government planned to erect a Russian Orthodox church for the military (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 230), while in 1919 the Polish government decided to

erect a liberation monument (Jogėla *et al.* 2008; 237). Neither project was carried out, until the square became home to Lenin's monument during the Soviet rule. However, foiled projects of renovating the square persisted: the square was included in one of the first closed architectural contests after the second world war, and six more followed in the subsequent years of Soviet rule (Linartas 2009; 39-40). Since the demolition of Lenin's monument in 1991, the renovation of the square has been a dispute – at times ongoing, at times stalled – among politians, architects and city-dwellers (see Milerius *et al.* 2009; 42-51).

Construction works in the during the 20th and early 21st century come from several periods of different political rule and economic conditions: the beginning of the century under the Russian Empire, the interbellum under Polish rule, Soviet rule after the second world war and sovereign Lithuania after gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1990. These roughly correspond to the three waves of urbanisation that the city went through, each with its own distinct traits (Grunskis 2011; 7-8): imperial urbanisation; socialist urbanisation (development of industry and the outer city – residential "sleeping districts"); accelerated capitalist urbanisation (sprawl of countryside suburbs, (re)development projects in the inner city, and gentrification with an emphasis on commercial development).

Socialist urbanisation occurred in the area in three periods which reflected the different architectural currents of the time. The first period, during the early 1950ies employed the Stalin-era socialist neo-classical style. The house of scientists, a prestige residential structure for notorious scholars and artists (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 97) and a simpler residential building at Gedimino ave 49 were built in 1951, as well as two institutions: the national library was in 1953 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 104), and the ministers' cabinet (currently the ministry of foreign affairs) in 1956 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 108). The architectural move to functionalism during the 1960ies was reflected in the scientific institute buldings by the riverside, such as Goštauto 8, built in 1961 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 116) and the supreme court building from 1965 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 118). Finaly, Soviet late modernism is represented by what presently is the parliament complex, comprised of three adjoined buildings,

constructed consecutively from 1978 til 1982 on the site of a former stadium (and, in wintertime, a skating rink). Their functions have originally also been governmental and included: the ministry of finance (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 163), the trade union palace (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 164), and the supreme council (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 165).

The most notable example of post-socialist capitalist urbanisation, which has not been intense in the area, saw the construction of the commercial, office and residential complex Vilniaus vartai in 2007 (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 236), the renovation of the merchants' club with the addition of a contemporary office building (Reklaitė and Leitanaitė 2011; 241), and the ongoing (since 2015) construction of two residential buildings at the end of Savickio street,[15] right across the prison wall, and of a class A office building.[16] A couple of smaller structures have appeared, including a petrol station and the January 13 museum at the side of the parliament building.

From a removed and relatively unimportant plot of land to the city, and a suburb centred around port activity, the research area first became important by combining disciplinary institutions with commercial and industrial use throughout the 19th century, continuing into the 20th century by an increasing presence of governmental power, with the occasional residential inclusion. The current – post-socialist – present of the neighbourhood has retained several spatial functions from the past stages of development, including residential areas, the prison, and the unruly defiance of Lukiškių square towards any of the more serious urban planning and reconstruction. Close proximity to the right bank of Neris and "new centre" of the city, as well as the gradual build-up in the empty ground lots of the north-western corner, make the results of what urbanists called chaotic development felt in the area. Although the results are not nearly deviant enough – ofice buildings and relatively expensive high-rise residences – these developments also foster their own specific micro-climates of social control.

While the Old Town currently dominates as the representative of the city, additional centres have sprung up beyond it since the Soviet times,[17] re-

[15]Promoted online at http://kraziu.lt

[16]Promoted online at http://www.bcuniq.lt/en/

[17]Indeed, as Cirtautas proposes, policentricity, "based on a multi-level system of services" is one of the defining traits of socialist cities (Cirtautas 2015; 50, footnote).

sulting in a polycentrical arrangement. However, the relative power of the diverse centers, or its potential shifts, remains an object of discussion and has not been documented systematically. The research area, while being representative of a mixed-use inner city neighbourhood, characterised by a diversity of functions (accommodating governmental, retail and residential needs), is also special in the context of Vilnius because of the concentration of structures unique on the national level: the parliament, the high-security prison, the national library. As one of the first areas which have historically been developed according to a pre-conceived plan, the area contrasts with the chaotic and free-flowing development of the Old Town. Therefore, it possesses modern qualities – also ones with potential influence on the means of social control – which may be absent from the Old Town. The multi-functionality of the space also distinguishes it from single-use neighbourhoods, such as strictly residential, office or industrial areas. The research area thus fills the gap of the intermediate space: a mixed-use, centrally located but beyond the borders of the Old Town, which also has a specific power configuration combining the epitome of governmental and institutional power with less obvious types.

3.4. Physical aspects of social control

Uses and disuses of space: the ambiguity of function

Contemporary urban planning starts out as a regulatory endeavour set down by the municipal government, and is then passed on to architects and constructors. It is in essence is a biopolitical technique because of its actuarial calculations, risk management, planned returns on investment, and use of space to set up circuits for human flows. Meanwhile, architecture is a disciplinary endeavour which creates artificial spaces to carry out security-related aims. Newly-erected structures fulfil zoning requirements and provide a pre-planned, strict functional division, e. g. into lived, recreational and office space. The architects' plans present spaces in a single, clearly delineated dimension. Although urban planning contributes to the biopolitical control over space, and real estate development to the disciplinary, these two approaches are only applied to particular sites, at particular points in



Figure 2: Public toilet: contraptions obscured by reflections.

time. They cannot be feasibly, consistently and constantly applied to vast milieus.

As the structures are being worn by use, their functions may mutate: apartments become offices, the backyard of the former hospital becomes a parking lot. Spatial hierarchies and functions, even successfully organised ones, depend on the intensity of human flow, the extent of spatial discipline internalised by individual subjects, and the unwritten rules of everyday conduct that are either upheld or circumvented by different types of subjects. For example, the public toilet in the corner of the Lukiškių square is a small, transparent structure with a single straightforward function, but it also doubles as a storage space for electricity cables (fig. 2) and a temporary shelter for the homeless on a cold winter day.

The Foucauldian division of *artificial* and *natural* spaces as objects of disciplinary and biopolitical power is somewhat ambiguous. Built structures are inherently *not* natural, but they are not all equally disciplinary. However, one may apply these notions to the naturalness or artificiality as revealed by the structures' function. Natural space is formed during the course of construction (in the sense of building, not social construction) and use, as

well as destruction of built structures and spaces between them. It may also fall into disuse. There must be at least some serendipity determining the function of a natural space in the course of its lifespan. The creation of such spaces is driven by the need for usable structures with a variety of purposes. Artificial space, on the other hand, may refer to structures whose functions require that specific spatial parameters are fulfilled and upheld.

A rough categorisation of built structures in the research area includes several distinct types, based on their ownership and functionality.

(a) *Governmental power.* These structures fulfil mainly state governance-related goals. Most governmental buildings in the research area possess similar structure. They are self-contained structures with at least some space claimed by gated or fenced containment and rigid control of entry. The single exception to this is the editorial office of *Valstybės žinios*, which is a recently-built, transparent structure with free access from all sides. However, it is a state enterprise rather than a state-owned public entity, hence its operation logic may differ. Thus, although governmental spaces are public institutions, they are not easily accessible or open to the public.

A special case of a governmental structure is the prison compound, which, at first sight, may be considered the ideal disciplinary space. It is an artificial, planned space, purposefully built for confinement and detention of bodies, surveillance and normation, continuously fulfilling the same functions since 1904. From the outside it is manifested only by a uniform, fairly high wall, blending it into a single area for the external observer. Two administrative buildings are actually not concealed by the wall, but have their own walls open to the street-side. Internal structures making up the compound are not uniform at all. Two main three-pronged buildings are used for confinement cells, there are also spaces intended for work, commerce and religious worship – at least some of them implying voluntary, rather than compulsory participation. Circulation of the prison population through these spaces according to preset schedules, as well as managing risks related to the flow of personal goods into the prison are an important aspect of prison management. Thus, biopolitical security in the prison

compound is at least on par with disciplinary practices, bringing it closer to the rest of state-owned structures in the district.

(b) *Enterprise and commerce.* These structures include those open to the public, such as shops, restaurants and service salons, as well as closed office spaces with more limited access, reserved for employees or invited clients.

Some commercial spaces, especially ones occupying first-floor offices opt to visibly display their goods or services in the shop windows, as well as by external signs and advertising. Open commercial structures possess a biopolitical aspect as nodes of regulating the circulation of goods, human populations and money. The disciplinary aspect of such spaces lies in the fact that the interactions occurring therein adhere to predetermined scripts of conduct. The dominant agent of the interaction may be either the client, or the employee, but, in both cases the relationship implies a hierarchy of roles.

Others commercial spaces are more obscure, compounded inside dedicated office buildings, bearing no external references to what is going on inside, or hidden in apartments. Regular, closed offices are more representative of discipline, as they have a stable pattern of circulation and fixed routines.

Commercial offices – both open and closed – are distinct from other structures because of the way they permeate other types of structures. Commercial entities do not require specific circumstances to operate: they may rent office space at a governmental scientific institute or a residential building. They adapt most easily than other structures to any kind of space – a versatility reminiscent of biopolitical adaptation to *natural* space, rather than constructing it with a particular purpose in mind.

If one excludes public (inter)spaces and focuses on built structures, leisure becomes almost indistinguishable from commercial functions. Built structures rarely include freely accessible, free of charge means of spending time, with the possible exception of abandoned buildings sometimes frequented by urban explorers, the church, and the January

13th museum, which may be considered a form of leisure alongside its main function of the (re)production of knowledge.

(c) *Knowledge (re)production.* These structures are taken up by state-owned institutions that are not geared towards governance, but, rather, various stages of managing knowledge: several research institutes are active producers thereof, the national library is concerned with conservation, while a school and a nursery are institutions of reproduction. While in this particular case the school and the nursery are state-financed, the same role could be held by a private, commercial entity. This is a reminder that power should not be conflated with the state, although it often is in the context of Foucauldian scholarship, especially in governmentality studies. An example of vast conglomerations of non-state agents of power could be the concept of *brandscapes* (see Murakami Wood and Ball 2013). Compared to commercial offices, these structures are needier in their spatial characteristics, and thus distinctly architected with their purpose in mind. The library requires collection storage facilities. The school is comprised of classrooms geared towards specific subjects. The larger research institutes (physics, chemistry, and mathematics and information science) are more reminiscent of generic offices, but parts of the buildings are dedicated (or used to be formerly) to very specific functions, e. g. an enclosure that had housed the computing mainframe of the information science institute, or a large structure enclosing mechanisms at the backside of the semiconductor physics institute.

(d) *Belief (re)production* A special type of built structure serves religious purposes. Structures of worship in the research area include three churches: the Dominican church of St. Phillip and James, open for the general public; the Orthodox church of St. Nicholas, heading the prison compound; and a catholic chapel, hidden from view inside the prison compound. From a Foucauldean point of view, church space is foremost connected to pastoral power, a pre-modern precursor to biopolitical power (see Foucault 2007 [1978]; 123-190), and pertains to the pre-disciplinary and pre-biopolitical construction of the subject.

However, there is a distinct biopolitical strand to it as well: beliefs instilled in the conscience of the devout present a very specific discourse on the meaning of life and death.

(e) *Housing.* Residential buildings in the area vary in size and type. They include private detached houses, small houses that had formerly been private residences but were later divided into several smaller apartments, and bigger structures housing multiple apartments, including a multi-story complex at *Vilniaus vartai*.

A satellite of the residential buildings is external storage space: wooden sheds and metal garages, some of them used by residents, and some decrepit and abandoned. Similar storage structures are also encountered near more official structures, for example, the school or the backyards of research institutes, the backyard of the church of St. Phillip and James. No visible analogues exist near newly-built residential and other structures.

(f) *Urban utilities.* Structures that are part of the urban infrastructure include electricity substations and a natural gas substation. They are commonly small, either open or fenced, and strictly inaccessible to the general public. Socially (as opposed to technically), they are functionless except for being a part of the general urban landscape.

(g) *Abandoned structures.* Devoid of regular human activity, these structures are passive objects of real estate. The only fully abandoned structures in the research area are the former hospital buildings and one part of an office building in the riverbank office quarter. According to an unverified account of an employee from the building, the latter structure was abandoned after a fire. There are no clear signs indicating their function (except for the insignia of a security company at the former hospital). Instead, there are clear signs of disuse: bricked-up first floor windows and entrances, broken windows higher up, crumbling walls.

(h) *Hybrid spaces.* While some built structures serve a single coherent function, others form a hybrid of two or more different functions, fre-

quently combining commerce with residential or knowledge-producing spaces.

Built structures juxtapose function and actual use. Whether or not a structure stays functional or falls into *parafunctionality*, the opposite of strictly controlled, functional and one-dimensional space (see Hayward 2012; 452-453), is the sum of two interrelated aspects: time and practices of control responsible for upholding the functionality.

All urban structures are in a state of transition. This process is time-dependent, while the transitions may be going in two directions: renewal and rebuilding, or disuse and decay. In the long run, everything that is not being newly built, is slowly decaying unless effort is invested in regular upkeeping such as the empty but maintained *Vilniaus vartai* shopping centre. Two buildings in the area are currently under construction (an office building and a residential housing block) and several are being reconstructed (most notably, the national library and the church). A number of structures in the research area have also been demolished during the past decade: several one-storey wooden residences, parts of the former hospital, and the abandoned construction site of an extension of the national library.

The relationship between function and use in terms of time takes place at two levels: first, the degree of correspondence between the two at a particular point in time, and second, the natural and artificial transitions that various structures undergo with the passage of time.

Disciplinary practices aim for maximum control and organisation of hierarchies and function which pertain to built structures. Hence parafunctionality, the decay of function, is their nemesis. The passage of time, expressed through change, works against discipline. Hence the object of control is the enforcement of the correspondence between function and use, or restitution of lost functionality.

From a biopolitical perspective, parafunctionality is one of the risks to be predicted and avoided, an actuarial variable, easily included in calculations because it is a slow and time-consuming process. Moreover, maintenance of functionality is not an end in itself, but, rather, meaningful only insofar as it is a means of promoting circulation.

Some structures are in full correspondence of use to function: nothing

deters the functions from being carried out, and nothing adds unto them. The more unitary or coherent the function of a structure is, the greater the probability that it will correspond to actual use. Thus, hybrid spaces are more prone to unplanned use patterns.

The petrol station is an example of a biopolitically structured space with extreme correspondence between function and use. Since circulation of goods, financial and human flow is its main concern, the mechanics of ensuring these circulations work intensely. The working hours are round the clock. At the site, vehicles, drivers, and pedestrians move according to predefined movement trajectories which are clearly indicated by signs and the circular shape of the area.

The correspondence between function and use is sometimes overlaid with unforeseen or unwelcome practices which do not impair the workings of the main function-use relationship. An obvious example is the appearance of graffiti on the walls of structures, adding a discursive layer which is not tied to the function of the buildings. Other examples of such extra layers include artwork (a legal graffiti on the prison compound wall, fig. 3), the use of unanticipated spaces for storage, accumulated and forgotten backyard debris, and ambiguous objects, like a traffic sign hidden in the foundations of the supreme court (fig. 4).

Other structures are semi-functional: parts of the structure serve their planned purpose while others do not. Such is the case with a former residential building at Gedimino 47, where the ground floor is used commercially, but the rest of the building is abandoned and crumbling. Another example is the commercial space of the *Vilniaus vartai* complex, which is mostly unused, with but a few offices occupied, while other stand dark and empty. Yet another structure seems abandoned although it is occasionally used quite functionally: part of the mathematics and information science institute, with completely walled up windows and a torn CCTV camera hanging by its cable at the main entrance, used on demand for laser gun tournaments (fig. 5). Thus, abandonment or decrepitude is characteristic of structures where function and use is in disarray.

While time works against disciplinary spatial objectives, its influence may be precluded with the application of biopolitical strategies. Decrepit and



Figure 3: Legal graffiti on the prison compound wall.



Figure 4: A traffic sign in the foundations of the supreme court.



Figure 5: A defunct CCTV camera on laser gun tournament premises.

abandoned structures, buildings which stop serving their purpose, unfinished construction projects may be renovated, reinvented, or destroyed. Despite the biopolitical strategies incorporation of the future into the present in these strategies, such changes are rare, slow and applied to selected spaces only. There is no scaling procedure which would allow them to be put into place in a large city or megapolis: at least not from the perspective of physical city-space. The micro-level perspective of organising spatial structures, including the internalisation by subjects and populations of disciplinary and biopolitical practices, is much more complex, but out of the scope of the current study.

Besides selective influence on the construction and regulation of space, both temporal factors and strategies of social control affect, access enforcement techniques, and social dynamics of the bodies and populations circulating therein.

The reach of control: access limitation, containment and transparency

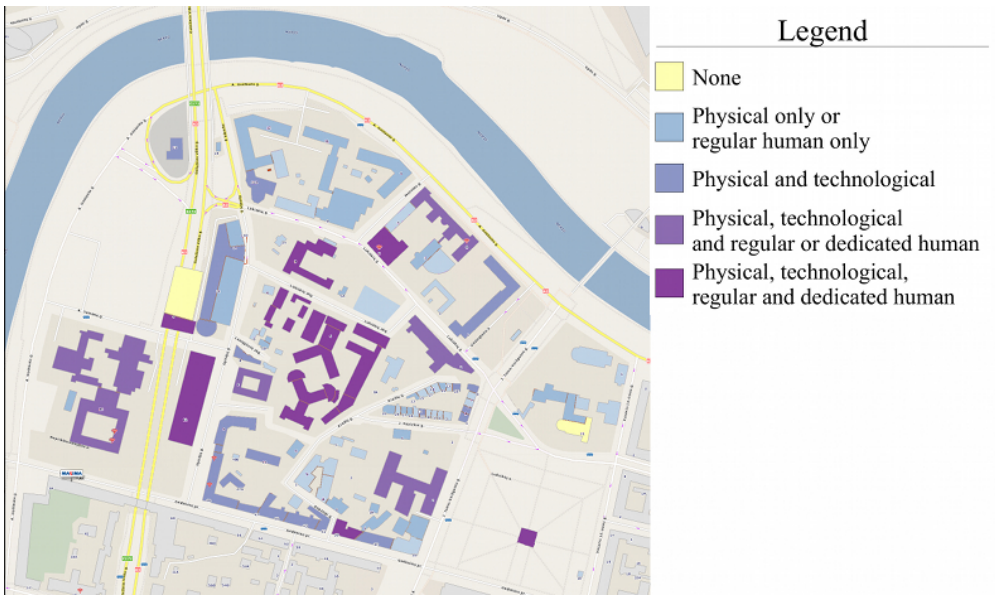
While the previous section indicated the limitations of disciplinary and biopolitical approaches to the maintenance of functions in built structures, access management marks a layer where disciplinary and biopolitical practices are simultaneously prominent. Both modalities of power are responsible for enabling, regulating, encouraging and limiting access to any space, and enforcing the access limitations at built structures.

A major dichotomy of structures by access level lies between open and accessible versus closed and limited spaces.

Open structures comprise those that are open to all with no strings attached, as well as those that are open, but involve a financial obligation: shops, restaurants, leisure areas and other services. Truly open built structures are rare to come by. In the research area, the only such structure was the Dominican church, which, in turn, was still restricted by fixed opening hours. Fulfilling or promising to fulfill a financial transaction presupposes a right to legitimise a stay.

Other structures are closed, and these include two distinct categories: residential structures, closed except for residents and their guests, and offices and institutions closed off to all but employees and their guests. Thus, the open or closed nature of each structure is tied to the populations that circulate through them. A substantial portion of the structures are hybrid, providing different access levels to different parts of the structure, for example, combining closed commercial or residential sectors with open, financially obligating commercial spaces. Finally, some of the structures stay locked permanently and are opened only under exceptional circumstances, for example, the maintenance of electricity substations.

Access and enforcement relies on disciplinary techniques of surveillance, face control, isolation and scrutiny of subjects entering and exiting spatial structures, and on biopolitical sifting through the various populations and promoting the quality of circulation. In the context of built structures, these practices are revealed at three levels, which differ by spatial proximity. The first is securing access per se, incorporated into the structure itself and closely coupled to its functions. The second is containment of the space



Basemap source: http://maps.lt.

Figure 6: Daytime modes of access enforcement at built structures in the research area.

surrounding the structure. The third is the least tangible, but contributes to the psycho-social interactions taking place in and around the structure: the degree of transparency or obliqueness of the structure.

(a) *Access and enforcement.*

There are three modes of enforcement that limit or enable access to a built structure in varying degrees. Figure 6 shows the varying number of the modes of enforcement present in the research area during the daytime on a working day.

Physical enforcement includes any physical access barriers belonging to the structure itself: for example, doors, locks, doorbells. *Technological enforcement* enhances physical security with external hardware or software and automation. Thus, an anti-theft alarm represents technological, rather than physical enforcement, because it connects to a phone line and may automatically dial the security service. An automated barrier gate represents technological enforcement, because it opens or closes based on its vehicle license plate database. A CCTV relies on a database to save footage. A lock and a doorbell represent physical enforcement, as long as they do not (yet) make decisions

on their own. While CCTV, as a means of surveillance, is frequently ascribed to discipline[18], all technological means of enforcing access limitations may be considered a biopolitical technique: they are geared towards risk management rather than direct impact on conduct, may be attached to any pre-existing space and are visually less conspicuous than disciplinary techniques like containment or obliqueness. *Human enforcement* includes either employees or specially designated security personnel who play a role in scrutinising and limiting or enhancing access to structures for which they claim access and responsibility. To a certain extent, human enforcement is always happening in any place with human presence. For example, even though residents are not security personnel, they are at a disposition to decide who enters their homes. However, here I am concerned with human enforcement in a narrower sense, meaning those who have not only the right, but also the duty to enforce specific circulation at their structure. Designated personnel – guards or desk officers – may have different roles, may be armed or unarmed, may or may not have special instruction regarding face control and may also differ in their ability to handle intrusive situations.

Physical and technological enforcement is anonymous: unless one is in the know, it takes considerable time and effort to find out who controls access to the structure and who decides what measures of enforcement are adequate (fig. 7). It becomes even more complex bearing in mind that most of the spaces in the research area are in some way communal: residential buildings house from a few to a few dozen apartments with different owners; office buildings contain up to a hundred tenants, with different needs and attitudes towards access limitation. This anonymity, coupled with the fact that a limitation is in place, contrasts with the explicit nature of human enforcement. Although they usually are not representatives of power (in the sense of being able to make decisions on their own), they are assigned the role of enforcing the limits.

[18]This approach is then criticised for not being disciplinary enough (see, for instance Yar 2003; Lianos 2003).



Figure 7: Parliament front gate: proper security.

Quite a few structures in the research area rely exclusively on physical security, and thus avoid much of the disciplinary and biopolitical regulation of conduct and circulation. These include some of the residential housing units, the former hospital, storage spaces and urban utilities. Residential buildings tend to be less enforced than their commercial or governmental counterparts, but there are no fast rules. Most residential buildings are content with physical security, although some install additional surveillance and alarm technologies. Several structures utilise *all* of the enforcement strategies at once. These include the prison compound, the school, the national library, one of the *Vilniaus vartai* office buildings, and several others. Thus, for example, the school includes all of the strategies: surveillance technologies and physical security are coupled with a dedicated entry guard, while regular employees, like teachers, are good at singling out odd-ones-out that do not belong to the community or pending trouble and may take preventive actions or alert the more qualified personnel.

Enforcement of access limitations at most commercial and governmental spaces varies with time, as different strategies pertain to working

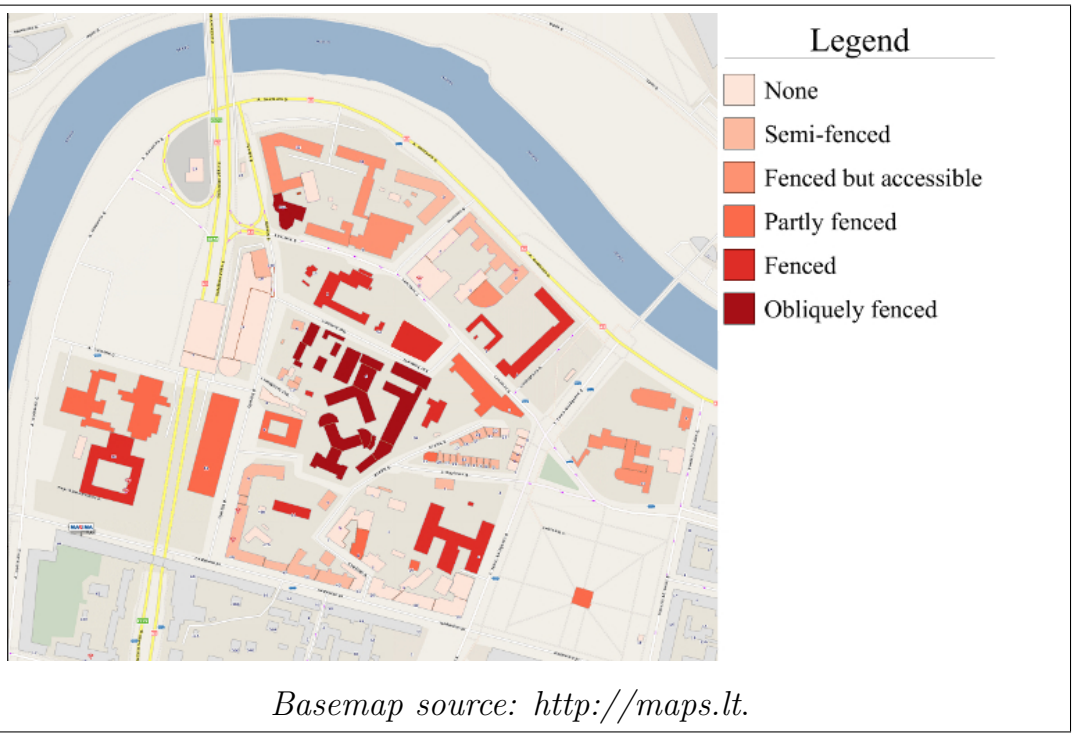
and non-working hours. During working hours, the sole enforcement may be human personnel, replaced during non-working hours with physical and technological enforcement (e. g. locks and an alarm). There may also be combinations of personnel and technological enforcement operating independently from one another, e. g. in the case of CCTV. Residential structures rely on physical (and, in rare cases, technological) security both during the day and at night, while other spaces switch from a combination of human and technological enforcement to a combination of physical and technological. Some structures, such as the prison or the Parliament rely on all three strategies at all times.

(b) *Containment.*

Containment denotes structural elements which obscure or limit the access to a structure, or serve as symbolic delimiters of space: fences, walls or low-level physical barriers, and natural barrier-like structures such as bushes or trees. It does not include entrances, exits or automatic barriers which are a part of physical and technological measures of preventing access. Figure 8 shows the type of containment of the built structures in the research area.

Fully fenced structures are wholly concealed from external view by fencing (which may be of different kinds, including metal, wire mesh, or wood). No outsider has access the structure. A special type of such structures are surrounded oblique fences which separate built structures from the surroundings and also significantly obscure the structure from an observers' view. In the research area such structures are few: the prison, the prison hospital (fig. 9) and an office building construction site.

Fenced but accessible structures are fully fenced, but they have gates or doors that stay open and provide free access. This arrangement was observed at two research institutes (semiconductor physics, and mathematics and computer science), the church of St. Phillip and James, the former hospital complex, and the skating rink (fig. 10). All of these have fenced yards or backyards with gates that are open



Basemap source: http://maps.lt.

Figure 8: Containment of built structures in the research area.



Figure 9: Prison hospital wall: no-one sees in, no-one sees out.



Figure 10: Winter fun: a fence around a fence and single point of entrance.

during daytime working hours and have no further access limitations.

Partially fenced structures are not wholly surrounded by a barrier. Instead, a fence is put up around a part of the territory, and closing it off. This strategy is sometimes used to isolate backyards in more tightly controlled institutions, such as the parliament, the supreme court, the ministries (fig. 11), and the library construction site.

Semi-contained structures are surrounded by clearly visible, but easily breachable barriers. These include bushes grown in the shape of a fence (fig. 12), chains hung between low poles, fences that do not close around the structure, but, rather shield one or two sides of it without impeding access (fig. 13), etc. This arrangement is typical of residential buildings. Some forms of containment seem to have a rational function, such as a low chain which prevents unwanted parking near the structure, but in most cases there is no apparent reason except a purely symbolical significance.

Uncontained structures are buildings freely accessible from all sides with no artificial barriers except walls shared with another buildings, or elements of the relief, such as a slope. There is no common feature



Figure 11: Ministry of Finance, backyard view: closed territory, warnings intact.



Figure 12: Semicontainment: natural growth.



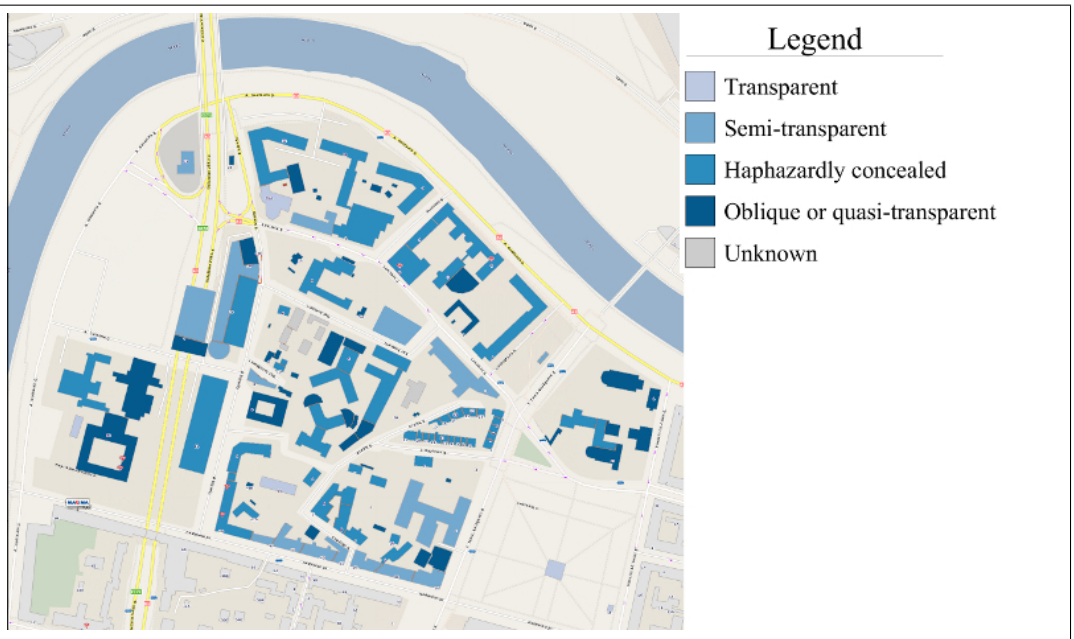
Figure 13: Semi-containment: bricolage fencing.

underlying such structures: they are freely accessible despite their size, function, abandonment, proximity other structures, or the level or containment of neighbouring structures. Thus an abandoned building may be as freely accessible as a commercial office hub, a residential building may be freely accessible, although all neighbouring houses are fenced, and several research institutes make use of fencing extensively, while others do not.

Strategies of containment extend the physical limitations of access. They also structure the wider physical and social milieu by influencing how close to the built structures social interactions take place; adjusting shortcut practices; and delimiting fields of visibility. Structures that are fenced or semi-fenced but accessible dilute sheer containment by being a token of power over the particular space, rather than physical impossibility of access.

(c) *Transparency.*

Transparency denotes a relationship between the internal and external: the inside view of the structure available to the outside observer (as



Basemap source: http://maps.lt.

Figure 14: Transparency of built structures in the research area.

well as the outside to the inside observer) and its degree. Transparency depends on both the architectural solution and on various obscuring add-ons, most frequently covering doors and windows. Completely oblique, windowless structures and completely transparent ones are rare extremes. In between the two extremes lie the representative approaches of haphazardly or purposefully controlled transparency, as well as quasi-transparency, a structure's quality of being apparently transparent while concealing a *lack* of transparency. Figure 14 shows the degree of transparency of the built structures in the research area.

As a rule, completely oblique structures are those not meant for an extensive presence of human, for example, electricity substations. Also, windows of decrepit structures tend to accumulate dirt and loose transparency over time or are intentionally made oblique (fig. 15). Loss of transparency, thus, becomes a sign of the structure's status.

While oblique structures are hard to modify, the transparency of other structures may be changed by anyone spending a considerable amount of time in it. In some cases, this process is haphazard: a building may have many windows, some of them left open to the outside view, others curtained, blinded, or grilled with no uniting pattern (fig. 16). In other



Figure 15: Former hospital, oblique with time.

cases, occlusion may be more purposive. For example, two of the three parliament buildings employ heavy blinds, mirrored glass, or dense growth for obscuring windows of the lower storeys, while those higher up are relatively clear. Quasi-transparent structures present apparent transparency which is, nevertheless, impenetrable to an outside gaze. A great portion of the surface may be made of transparent material, like the newly-built wing of the Merchants' house or *Vilniaus vartai* (fig. 17), but the heights and angles of the surfaces do not offer a glimpse of the inside, regardless of the distance from the observer. A similar example is the deeply-set and narrow windows of the supreme court building.

Cases of purposive and quasi-transparency also reveal the vertical component of transparency: even though parts of a structure are unobstructed, they are not visible from the street level. This pattern is prevalent in commercial and governmental structures, and less frequent at residential ones, where transparency is controlled less systematically. A notable exception is, of course, shop windows, which not only display examples of wares and advertising, but also offer post-



Figure 16: Ministry of Finance, street view: haphazard transparency.

card views of the inside. This difference may reflect the domination of either a disciplinary approach in closed office space, where surveillance is conducted and controlled from the inside, instead of letting outsiders become the spectators; or a biopolitical approach of shops where apparent openness serves to allure circulation.

Transparency is in some cases also dependent on time: it is changed, for instance, by blinding shop windows after the working hours, locking gates, or curtaining residential windows at night. Lighting setups, on the other hand, may make certain spaces more visible or revealing at nighttime compared to daytime.

There are numerous combinations of access enforcement, containment and transparency. A structure may be quite transparent by itself, but contained within an oblique fence, while an oblique structure may not have any other barriers surrounding it. Containment may not be a sign of strong access enforcement and vice versa.



Figure 17: Vilniaus vartai: transparent until the era of drones.

Circulation of populations

The social dynamics of spatial practices are the object of disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of social control discussed in the previous sections. Each subject partakes in this process both as a body and as (a member of) a population. The distinction is complex, but the dynamics of movement through space may be representative of a biopolitical approach, while spending time inside a particular structure may stem from either self-instilled discipline of conduct, or disciplinary requirements imposed inside structures. Who appears at what point in space and with what ends in mind? Solitary subjects may make decisions of their own accord, but taken as part of a larger group, they constitute stable patterns of roles and compliance to the roles.

The structures in the research area accommodate two distinct categories of populations circulating in cycles of movement and confinement: *residents* and *transients*. Residents are owners or renters of homes in the residential buildings. They are also the most stable population of the area: while changes of residence do occur, they do not occur with the same frequency as transient movement. Transients are either regular, those who are affiliated with the area's institutions on a day-to-day basis (e. g. employees, students, nursery children), or irregular ones, those only passing through the area. There are secondary flows attached to each of these categories: residents may have irregular guests, while regular transients often come in contact with work-related irregular transients – clients, shoppers, patrons. Unique and irregular trajectories of individual subjects contrast with the regular circulation of resident and transient populations that they constitute.

Most of the structures in the research area may be categorised into those regularly used by residents, regularly used by transients, and hybrid spaces, combining both. Transient spaces prevail. However, the proportion of transient to resident space would be the opposite in a strictly residential area, which would have yielded different findings. The structure of the research area is representative of a downtown area where residential and commercial premises intermingle. Both kinds of structures accommodate regular subjects with a modest influx of irregular ones: the ministry and the prison accommodate visitors, the school may invite parents; residents have guests;

unused spaces stay unused. Some structures are more geared towards irregular transients than others, providing easy means of entry, exit and interaction inside the structure. Although commerce – shopping, dining and services – is the main activity at such structures, there are also several less obvious examples of structures servicing regular flows of irregular transients, for example, the church, and the public library.

The circulation of resident and transient populations has a temporal aspect. During the daytime, a greater part of the residents leaves the area and the district is prevailed by regular and irregular transients; while during the night and on weekends, the area is dominated by the residents. Thus, morning and evening rush hours are a peculiar time when the two populations exchange places.

Participation in the flow of resident and transient populations is either voluntary, contractual or compulsory.

Voluntary participation pertains to places which one enters and exits as one pleases, with the least amount of pre-defined rules and formal regulations, such as entering one's home and spending time there, or visiting a commercial service. Such a relation is never fully *voluntary* if questioned, for example, with a Marxist point of view, about the influence of class on lived space and residential options, the voluntarity of belonging to a particular household and complying with its rules, etc. However, this form of participation at least offers the subject the greatest potential freedom of choice.

Contractual compliance is the surrender of a certain amount of decision-making power by the subject regarding their presence at the spatial structure: the subject is obliged to spend fixed amounts of their time in a fixed place, fulfilling fixed functions. Although it is not irreversible, it constrains the subject in a specific spatial configuration without enabling spontaneous action that is inherent to voluntary compliance. Thus becoming a monk and living at the monastery is a form of contractual compliance: there is a possibility to cease the contract, but while it lasts, the living quarters are not a matter of spontaneous decision and there is a schedule to follow and prescribed roles to comply with. Likewise, any employee is obliged to be present at work at certain times.

Finally, *compulsory* compliance is a requirement to always be present at a structure at specified times, without a possibility to opt out of this requirement by personal decision. Such is the school for the students, the nursery for the children, and the prison compound for the convicted. Obviously there is a certain disparity: it is impossible to opt out of these institutions by personal decision; but it is also possible to physically avoid the compulsion by skipping school lessons, or falling sick and being moved from the prison to the prison hospital. At all of these structures, subjects under compulsory compliance are looked after by those under contractual compliance. Thus, no structure holds all of its populations under a common compulsory regime.

Another typology of circulating populations is by traffic type:

(a) *Pedestrians:* the most versatile means of circulation in terms of reaching various spaces, because it allows the greatest proximity to structures and makes it easy to circumvent various vehicle-related barriers. The above typology of populations - resident and transient, regular and irregular visitors is applicable to all pedestrian traffic in the area.

(b) *Vehicles:* may be transient or resident just as pedestrian traffic. While during morning and evening exchanges of resident and transient pedesetrians is not easy to discern the two different flows in the moving crowd, vehicular exchange is more obvious in the inner streets and backyards of the area: entering and exiting flows participate in an exchange of places. Vehicular arrangements, such as right of way or parking space, becomes a matter of debate because of the contested hierarchy of residents and transients: each feels entitled to greater privileges. Vehicular traffic on the outside perimeter of the research area (Tumo-Vaižganto, Goštauto, Lukiškių streets and, to a lesser extent, Gedimino ave) is a throughfare for transients traffic travelling to and from work in the suburbs of the city. It rarely mingles with the district crowd, uses the streets just for passing, and has no intent to enter the inner streets. The contrast between the faster and passing nature of this external flow, and the slower and less predictable movement of vehicles in the inner streets looking for parking space

or maneuvering out of it, separates the two flows into insiders and outsiders.

A specific type of passing traffic is public transport, which, although it does not belong to the inner streets of the district, enhances the circulation of what then becomes pedestrian traffic. It is regulated by temporal restrictions of schedules and working hours.

Residents and regular transients are sometimes confronted by irregular transients - those with a one-time mission to deliver or do business in the area - who ask for addresses, constrict the traffic flow, or park on sidewalks. The contrast is also highlighted by one practice based on insider knowledge - there is a shortcut for crossing the area by vehicle through a lane between the prison wall and the nursery fence, which is unknown to most outsiders, but is considerately convenient, especially if one is leaving the area during rush hours. Thus, participation in the vehicular circulation opens up a set of hierarchies absent from the pedestrian traffic.

There are also two places of concentration of vehicular traffic, in a large area on the western edge of the district: an open-air parking lot to the north of the parliament, and a three-story built parking lot in the western building of the *Vilniaus vartai* complex. Smaller barrier-restricted parking lots is situated near the national library, the architectural office building from Lukiškių street, and two institutes, semiconductor physics and mathematics and information science. These enable drivers and passengers to arrive directly at the corresponding buildings directly, minimising the time and distance travelled through the area on foot. Thus, they create a class of transients (and, in case of *Vilniaus vartai*, also residents) who have the potential chance to avoid mingling with the other residents and transients of the district.

Apart from the spatial restrictions, the flow of vehicles is controlled by the traffic rules and explicitly visible objects: traffic lights, traffic signs and temporal limitations, such as diminished speed at rush hours. These are, again more abundant around the perimeter of the area and less present in the inner streets, where traffic lights are absent and

traffic signs are mostly limited to prohibitions of stopping and parking.

(c) *Other:* occasional bicycle and skateboard traffic is present, but does not create significant spatial practices in the area (in contrast to several other areas of the city, such as the skatepark by the White bridge, or V. Kudirka's square).

The social dynamics of circulation and confinement in particular spaces in the area represent another intertwining of disciplinarity and biopolitics. While residents and transients adhere to cyclical flows of circulation, parts of the cycle include periods of voluntary, contractual or compulsory confinement. This cycle of regular movement and confinement is the defining characteristic of human circulation through the research area. The main difference between transients and residents is the direction of the flow and the specific times of day when it reverses. Even the prison compound is not isolated from the flows of the outside world, like employees changing shifts and visitors. Different levels of compliance do not interfere with the regularity of circulation, a biopolitical feature of the social dynamics.

The disciplinary aspect of the social dynamics is the maintenance of a certain hierarchy of populations and their circulation. Structures which house populations with both contractual and compulsory compliance, for example the school or the prison, have spatial divisions which maintain the hierarchy by making some spaces accessible to the contractual population only, while all the spaces used by the compulsory population are open to scrutiny by the contractual one.

Summary of findings

Initially conceived functions shape the structural layout and architecture of the built structures. The latter are then enveloped in actual use and practices of access enforcement, containment and transparency. This combination of architecture and practices of social control, in turn, shapes everyday life by regulating the circulation of populations. The functions and actual use patterns of built structures determine what levels of compliance are available to populations moving through them.

Time works against disciplinary power in the long run due to changes in

original functions and gradual decay of the physical milieu. Although one of the aims of biopolitical power is to counter such influence through incorporating the future into the present and risk management, such strategies may only be applied to selected spaces at particular moments in time, rather than being wholly encompassing. There are also more practical aspects of the link between time and control of the social milieu: first, the dependence of access enforcement and containment techniques on particular hours and days of the week; second, time as the parameter behind the circulation of particular population through particular milieus at particular times.

As a mixed-use district, the area combines governmental, commercial, residential, religious and urban utility structures built with different initial functions in various periods during the last 300 years. While a few structures (most notably, the church of St. Phillip and James, the prison compound, the parliament) retained their initial function, most of the others fluctuated with time, sometimes retaining the ownership (e. g. the ministry of foreign affairs and the ministry of finance have previously also served as governmental structures), sometimes changing hands and functions altogether.

The combination of mixed historical uses and building density means that there is little possibility of a unitary, pre-planned strategy of control. This is in contrast to less diverse spaces, such as a strictly residential area or a business district. A residential neighbourhood may be planned keeping in mind the number of future residents, communal recreational areas, infrastructure, etc. The uniformity and orderliness of less diverse spaces may be the actual trigger of the need for (more) control. It is also easier to instil means of restraint in such areas. When structures in the same neighbourhood are built at different periods of time, maintaining internal consistency is an effort-consuming endeavour. New structures are planned into the existing fabric, which may have very different initial and contemporary functions.

Access enforcement and containment practices in the neighbourhood pertain to built structures, but never encompass greater amounts of space between them, with the exception of the prison compound and the school. Most contained spaces are open at least during regular working hours. The whole area is traversable on foot, including the more remote backyards and interstices in between. Overall transparency of the area is low, both be-

cause of the application of haphazard and purposive means of decreasing transparency, and the layout of the neighbourhood: many larger buildings are of complex shapes, connected by equally jagged passages and streets, and obscuring the street-level perspective.

A diversity of resident and transient populations is spread throughout the research area. Although there are major temporal tipping points when the majority-transient and majority-resident populations switch places, there are also opportunities for the populations to mingle, because transient-used and resident-used structures are evenly spread throughout the district, rather than segregated or concentrated at different sides. For example, the school is at the centre of the research area, and students approach it traversing the neighbourhood from all possible directions. Likewise, prison visitors, employees of high-scale offices and residents of all ages traverse the lanes and backyards of the inner part of the district. Both residents and transients make use of the surrounding service infrastructure: they partake not only in the circulation to and from the district, but also in smaller, local circulations throughout the day. Thus populations weave the underlying fabric of relations among sites: the service and commerce infrastructure is dependent on the flow of resident and transient populations; meanwhile, the latter use the infrastructure for pinning down their daily routines to the surrounding area.

3.5. Legal aspects of social control

Legislation of desirable and undesirable conduct

The reach of law in terms of built structures as well as open spaces between them pertains to various forms of delineating desirable and undesirable conduct. These include: direct prohibitions of certain conduct; denotation of certain conduct as a transgression which procures punishment; limitations of certain conduct depending on temporal, spatial or subject-specific restrictions; obligations to demonstrate certain forms of conduct within a specific context. The current study focuses on regulation of conduct in spatial contexts: spatially-motivated restrictions and obligations, influence on the form and content of various spaces, enforcement of access limitations

in or on specific spaces, desired and undesired uses of spaces, breaches of place-dependent hierarchies of subjects.

All levels of legislation have clauses pertaining to the everyday and institutional spaces located in the research area. Of these, the Administrative code pertains to generic workplaces (Article 41), traffic infrastructure (Articles 123; 124ff), public transport and public transport stops (Article 137ff), residential and other buildings (Articles 157; 159ff), retail and financial activities (Articles 163ff), courts (Article 186), and public space. The latter is classified as "offences against public order", putting emphasis on the type of activity rather than clarifying the specific spatial focus (Articles 174-186), as well as regulation of general environmental damage (Articles 51ff, emphasising officials' responsibility, and ranking the severity of offences according to the type of space in some cases, e. g. Article 51-3). The Administrative code also contains clauses regulating spaces out of the scope of this work. These are as follows: medical organisations (Article 43), agricultural spaces (Articles 100ff), train (Articles 111ff), airplane (Article 113), seaport and waterfare (Articles 113ff) infrastructures, intercity and international transportation (Articles 142ff). All of these, with the exception of agricultural spaces, concern the circulation of populations and goods, rather than specific requirements for structuring the space, and are frequently geared towards proper documentation and reporting of activities.

The Penal code contains few articles related to everyday spaces, and is more often concerned with the state territory as a whole, especially breaches of the territory borders, including intrusions, smuggling, and illegal migration. The code focuses on actions in certain spaces rather than spaces as delimiters of specific actions, thus the spatial dimension is derivative rather than explicit and pertains to the following: residential spaces (Article 165), religious spaces (Article 171), generic workplaces (Article 176), courts (Article 232), general environmental damage (Article 270), construction lots or reconstructed structures (Article 271), transport infrastructure (Articles 278; 280), cemeteries (Article 312), and, finally public space, which similarly to the Administrative code includes offences qualified as crimes against "public order" (Articles 283-285).

In the Penal code, crime, as opposed to other offences, is defined an action

resulting in the deprivation of freedom by imprisonment, rather than deprivation of freedom being a punishment for actions which are crimes because of a pre-defined qualitative characteristic (Article 11). Confinement to a specific space, the prison, becomes the defining aspect delimiting proper crime from other offences, while the severity of crimes is ranked according to the length of the confinement. Thus, the Penal code defines one of the specific functions of space as a form of punishment, either by imprisonment, or forced medical care (Article 98) and defines the working logic of one of the built structures located in the research area, the prison compound: the convicts are not in prison because they are criminals; rather, they are criminals because they are in prison. The approach of using space punitively is further elaborated in the Penal sanction enforcement code and the Detention of suspects law. The former enumerates various forms of confinement, including home arrest and correctional facilities as well as imprisonment (which of all the forms applies the greatest number of spatial limitations on conduct), while the Detention of suspects law sets down the working procedures of another structure from the research area, the remand prison.

Specific laws pertaining to the spaces relevant to this study are as follows: Alcohol control law (includes spaces of alcohol sale, food catering, educational institutions, residences, and public spaces), Tobacco control law (includes places of tobacco sale, food catering, communal residential spaces, educational institutions, and public spaces). Other laws are geared towards the status of specific institutions and may include spatial clauses but do not focus on conduct or structuring of the spaces, for example, the Library law, which includes the provision of special status to the National library.

Municipal legislation provides sets of rules pertaining to residential buildings and communal areas in residential milieus, the transport infrastructure, unused land patches and unused built structures, and public space in general.

Different forms of legislation demonstrate rhetorical differences when describing forms of conduct that are obligatory, prohibited, or limited to specific spaces. The Administrative and Penal codes are formulated as lists of actions followed by punishments procured by those who make an offence.

Offences are also occasionally formulated as breaches of other legislative documents, including specific laws and municipal documents, without further elaboration on the contents of the conduct. The Penal sanction enforcement code and Detention of suspects law, while being mostly descriptive of the various processes pertaining to imprisonment and detention, contain two sets of identical clauses which prescribe obligatory and prohibited conduct to convicts (Penal sanction enforcement code, Article 110) and detainees (Detention of suspects law, Article 32). Specific legislation, such as the Tobacco control law and Alcohol control laws set down lists of obligatory and prohibited conduct, some of it pertaining to conduct in specific spaces. Municipal legislation frequently ties obligatory and prohibited conduct to specific spaces, and sometimes defines spaces by listing obligatory and prohibited forms of conduct in them.

What follows is a typology of desired and undesired conduct set by the national-level legislation pertaining to the use of space, including public space and built structures in the national legislation. All of these clauses are applicable to the research area.

(a) *Conduct for which space becomes the qualifying aspect defining transgression: whether or not an action is an offence depends on the place where it occurs.* The Administrative code thus declares the following conduct unacceptable in certain spaces, although may be acceptable in others: the presence of an employee who is under the influence of alcohol or psychoactive substances at work premises both during and after working hours (Article 41-12); failure to comply with parking payment rules (Article 124-5); undue use of bus stops (Article 142-1); smoking in prohibited places (Article 185-1); failure to comply with the prohibition to use audio and video recording equipment "and other technological equipment" at court meetings (Article 186-4).

The Penal code adds the following to the list: breach of work safety regulations if it results in accident and personal injury (Article 176); intrusion into a religious ceremony of a "recognised religious community" (Article 171); disrespect towards the court or the judge (Article 232) - which focuses not only on a specific hierarchical status of the judge, but also the whole court as an institution, which also has a

spatial referent; disorganisation within a penitentiary institution (Article 239), pertaining to a very specific place, while the undesired conduct itself pertains to "terrorising other convicts" and instigating riots, therefore, while the conduct is defined by the space where it occurs, its contents relate to the breach of pre-defined hierarchies between subjects there; and, finally, escaping from a prison, helping a prisoner to escape, or evading detention at the remand prison (Articles 240; 241; 242).

(b) *Conduct pertaining to the production and structuring of space.* This includes both the greater scale of construction or reconstruction works, and the lesser scale of decorating or personalising space. The Administrative code declares the following conduct unacceptable: breach of construction and environmental protection rules (Articles 51; 159; 189); failure to use "authentic and official forms of Lithuanian place names" in maps, road signs and street signs, "communications [sic]" and various other documents (Article 91-7); "construction of streets, retail, food and other service points, crossroads and entry points, putting up structures on or near streets", installation of "slogans [sic], posters, advertising, and other means [sic]" without prior confirmation by the police (Article 145-1); failure to comply with advertising requirements and prohibitions (Article 214-1) and requirements of providing public information about alcohol and tobacco (Article 214-2); failure to comply with the obligation to put up the state flag (Article 188-1) or foreign state or other entity flag (Article 188-2). All of these objects are visible in the urban landscape and much of the regulation pertains not only to the structuring of space, but also the discursive practices involved in it. Only officially set place names are acceptable, while the police have a role in confirming the legitimacy of a variety of discursive practices, including but not limited to advertising, and flags belong a regulated symbolic realm. The concern with construction works and the environment is in the meantime transferred to specifically targeted legislation.

The Penal code adds the following offences to the list, reiterating concerns about construction and environmental damage with regards to

injury and personal harm: breaches construction rules if there are personal injuries (Article 271-1); improper repairs of roads and infrastructure, or damage to them, if results in personal injuries or great property losses (Articles 278; 280); breaching environmental protection rules if there are personal injuries or extensive damage to the environment (Article 270) - this article pertains to the general relation to the environment applicable in any space. This is another trace of the biopolitical perspective.

(c) *Protection of state and personal property.* In the Administrative code, the most explicit clause pertaining to property is geared against those who damage public telephone booths (Article 155), a somewhat anachronistic clause, since the number of public telephone booths has dwindled significantly in the past decade. More protective mechanisms are set down in the Penal code. They ensure punishment for the following: breach of access enforcement of a residential building (Article 165); breach of access enforcement of any premises and stealing, stealing in public places (Article 178); destruction or damage to property (Article 187). This outlook connects space and property relations: specific places as a form of property, and the protection of property in a spatial perspective.

(d) *Conduct at the prison and remand prison* The Penal sanction enforcement code and the Detention of suspects law proscribe conduct and spatial limitations pertaining to the prison and the remand prison. There are both temporal and spatial dimensions to it, closely linked together by the daily schedule and internal rules of conduct. There is also a form of spatial punishment within the prison itself – isolation of the convict in a separate cell (Lith. *drausmės izoliatorius*) with a limitation of rights to receive and send mail, acquire food, make telephone calls, use computers and other technology, except for reading literature and going for a daily walk (Penal sanction enforcement code, Article 146). There is also a list of jobs that are prohibited to convicts. These involve work with communication technology, including copy machines, radio communication, photography and video, work

related to monetary circulation such as shop-keeping and accounting, medical and driving jobs (Penal sanction enforcement code, Appendix 2). On one hand, the prison compound may seem to be a heavily regulated space, but at least in part the reason for this may be that the regulation is explicit, a large part of it is set down in national legislation rather than non-legislative documents (such as internal rules of conduct employed by non-punitive organisations and workplaces), and the rules are gathered under a single law (correspondingly, the Penal sanction enforcement code for the prison, and the very similar Detention of suspects law for the remand prison) rather than strewn through a multitude of them, although several major regulation themes, such as work relations or substance abuse, recur for subjects both inside and outside the prison compound.

The Administrative and the Penal codes each have a specific section on conduct in the public, classified as offences or crimes "against the public order" (Lith. *pažeidimai, kuriais kėsinamasi į viešąją tvarką*). Most of them are placed in the Administrative code, with certain forms of conduct further regulated in other laws, such as the Alcohol control law and Tobacco control law. Despite the categorisation apparent from the title of the section, it covers very diverse forms of conduct, not all of which are actually related to public space or activities carried out in the public. Since public order remains undefined throughout all legislative documents that have been analysed, the section raises further questions about the public-private divide.

(a) *Conducts pertaining to (mostly) public spaces.*

Some of these clauses, refer directly to safety and the avoidance of life-threatening incidents: illegal use of firearms (Article 176); violation of the regimen on acquisition and use of civil pyrotechnics (Article 176-1); violation of swimming and ice-walking safety rules (185)).

Four clauses concern non-life-threatening public conduct.

In public space, it is an offence to commit petty nuisances (Lith. *chuliganizmas*), defined as "obscene words or gestures in public places, in-

sultingly picking on people or other similar actions breaching public order and people's calm" (Article 174).

A similar clause pertains to violations of public calm (Lith. *viešoji rimtis*), defined as "shouting, whistling, loud singing or playing music instruments and other sound technology [sic] or other noise-making actions in streets, squares, parks, beaches, public transport and other public spaces, and in the evening and at night at residential and commercial premises if it violates public calm" (Article 183). This clause delimits public space and residential or organisational space, making public space a place where perpetual calm is obligatory at both nighttime and daytime. The notion of public calm or people's calm is not defined anywhere in the code and is thus set down as a self-explanatory phenomenon. While the first clause has a supposedly direct, albeit still abstract victim, "the people", the second one puts forward calm as a public good to be protected by the law, and a potential victim of abuse.

Another clause defines a specific type of space-related offence, "keeping dens" (Lith. *lindynių laikymas*), defined as "gambling, lewdness or alcohol consumption dens" (Article 182). The "den", is a special spatial structure, nevertheless it is not clearly defined either in the article or elsewhere: there is no further elaboration of how exactly to draw the limit when a residential or other kind of space qualifies as a den, keeping in mind that the qualifying actions, such as consumption of alcohol, may take place in a private setting. The term used in the article, den (Lith. *lindynė*), is laden with a stigmatising meaning. While it is possible to conceive of a den organised in a public space, more often than not the setting is private. Therefore this article offers a form of criminalisation of private space, and brings it into attention as a breach of public order.

Gambling games (Lith. *azartiniai lošimai*) and fortune-telling (Lith. *būrimas*) in public (Article 184) is another an administrative offence. Although discussed under the same article, these two activities pertain to two economically different types of conduct. While gambling games are frequently a group activity, in which the key component is the

circulation of money and which, if conducted legally, goes through hoops of targeted regulation and taxation, fortune-telling is a form of private economic activity, included in the official nomenclature of professions,[19] involving a simple relatioship between service provider and customer.

Two more clauses from another section of the Administrative code pertain to public conduct: failure to comply with public meeting legislation (Article 188-7); and public use of Nazi and Soviet symbols (188-18). These two clauses are filed in the section "Offences against the governing order" (Lith. *pažeidimai, kuriais kėsinamasi į nustatytą valdymo tvarką*) in the article dealing with "abuse of rights" (Lith. *savavaldžiavimas*). The latter is defined as "wilful and counter to the legal order fulfilment of a true or ostensible right objected by another person without essential harm to citizen rights or rightful interests or governmental or societal enterprises, institutions or organisations" (Administrative code, Article 188). This complex logical construction again evades clear statements about whose rights in particular are under threat, and poses an ambiguous divide between personal rights and the governing order. The notion of *order* is used here in conjunction with governance, rather than the more generic public order discussed earlier. Undesired conduct is framed in this case as an offence not just against state governance, but against the state as a carrier and producer of order.

(b) *Conduct pertaining to controlled substances.*

The Administrative code section of offences against public order contains a number of articles pertaining to the circulation and consumption of controlled substances: home-brewing and sale of strong alcoholic drinks (Article 177), where, again, a private activity is deemed a breach of public order; public consumption of alcohol (Article 178); acquisition of alcoholic drinks for minors (Article 180); smoking in prohibited places (Article 185-1); violation of tobacco sales rules (Article 185-2); failure to cooperate with officials from the Drug, Tobacco

[19] Available online at: http://www.profesijuklasifikatorius.lt.

and Alcohol Control Department (Article 185-3); acquisition of tobacco for minors (Article 185-4); violation of cigar and pipe club rules (Article 185-5). Consumption of alcohol is barred in any public space with the exception of licensed food catering establishments, smoking is forbidden in any place where it is prohibited by virtue of other legislation, while acquisition of alcohol and tobacco for minors, as well as licensing rules pertains to conduct in retail spots. Home-brewing strong alcoholic drinks is an offence, in addition to which the owner of the residential space or other premises where it took place is accountable. In all of these clauses, two layers of regulation intertwine: control of circulation of restricted goods, and space as a qualifying characteristic of offences. The clause barring public consumption of alcohol equates the activity explicitly to an "insult of human dignity and societal mores" (Article 178), which, like public calm, is another abstract, potentially threatened public good. Again a apparently *public* order is framed as a concern intrusive into private spaces such as residences and commercial premises.

Alcohol control and Tobacco control laws put further constraints on places selling the substances in question. The sale of both substances requires special licenses and documentation. There are spatial and temporal restrictions on the sale of alcohol upcoming prohibition of sale at petrol stations, prohibition of sale on September 1 except at food establishments, prohibition of sale from 22:00 to 08:00 (Article 18). Meanwhile restrictions imposed on tobacco retailers are rather discursive, giving detailed instructions about the setup of such retail spaces: provision of information about tobacco products is limited to name of the seller, product names, technical specifications, and prices, as well as obligatory health warnings (Article 8). The Tobacco control law lists places where smoking is prohibited. These include: educational, healthcare institutions and territories around them, workplaces, communal residential spaces, public transportation, and food establishments (Article 19).

While some clauses in the control over the circulation of controlled substances are similar (licensing requirements, a ban of selling to a

specific population, minors, and a place-based restriction on consumption), certain differences also arise. There are no temporal restrictions on tobacco sales, but a much more detailed and thorough regulation of discursive practices at points of sale. While spatial consumption restrictions are present for both substances, the limitation of tobacco use includes only several specific institutions and places, rather than the whole of public space.

(c) *Other forms of conduct.* The rest of the clauses in the public order section of the Administrative code pertain to conduct, which may take place in any environment: a variety of violations of children's rights (Article 181); prostitution (Article 182-1); deceitful emergency service calls (Article 186). Again, these offences contribute to the conceptual ambiguity of public order, as it involves activities not necessarily carried out in public settings and would logically belong to other sections of the code or a different legislative document altogether.

(d) *Penal offences against public order.* The Penal code section on public order contains only three articles, two of which pertain to public space directly. The first one pertains to organisation of riots, provoking "public violence, destruction of property, or other grave violations of public order", and participation in riots such (Article 283). The second one pertains to "violations of public order" in general. These are defined as conduct of those who "by insolent behaviour, threats, bullying or vandalism demonstrating a disrespect for surrounding people or the environment and breached public calm or order" (Article 284). In a manner similar to the Administrative code, this formulation does not define public order and public calm. The last clause deals with "deceitful report of a societal danger or calamity" which results in mass panic, material damage or the arrival of emergency services (Article 285).

The concern with order, which occupies a rather small place in the Administrative and Penal codes, grows in importance in municipal legislation, where it is set down both as an abstract public good to be secured, and a relatively specific ideology of the types of cleanliness order to be ideally

maintained. While some of the municipal rules are technical in their nature and describe the bureaucratic procedures necessary for procuring permits, or achieving other aims resulting from a relationship between subject and municipality, a significant part of the rules is prescriptive and indicates obligatory or prohibited forms of conduct to which the municipal populations have to conform. The rules are directed at four different groups of subjects: municipal employees responsible for certain bureaucratic procedures, service providers maintaining the urban infrastracture, commercial entities working on municipal territory, and the general municipal population. The regulation of the latter is by far the most prominent and contains obligations and prohibitions that pertain directly to everyday conduct rather than bureaucratic or organisational procedures that are required of municipal employees, service providers and commercial entities. Most of these rules are also exclusively spatially oriented: they pertain to the regulation of conduct in specific spaces, as well as their structuring. The Administrative code legitimises municipal legislation by classifying as offences the failure to comply failure to comply with municipal rules: Residential and communal use premise usage rules (158), Retail in public places rules (167); Ordering and cleanliness rules (161) and others.

(a) *Pothole elimination rules.* This set of rules, one of the few that does not use the rhetoric of prohibitions, sets temporal restriction on the speed of repair works and proper provision of public information as well as bureaucratic documentation of the repairs. Its target is not residential, but organisational: service companies responsible for maintaining the urban infrastructure. This set of rules is geared towards solving both a problem of deformed space, and a mobility problem, which impedes vehicular circulation.

(b) *Rules for establishing unused ground lots and Rules for establishing unused buildings.* A ground lot is the city considered unused either if an activity (construction, demolition etc.) was planned at the spot, but nothing happened in the promised period of time; or if "there is no activity denoted by the main use purpose and type of the ground lot, or the application of proper verdicts (of purpose, type and kind

[sic]) according to detailed territory planning documents has not been started, or the ground lot is untended, disorderly, with unused (untended) structures, or the ground lot is not tended to so that it is suitable for use according to the main purpose of the ground lot, or is entirely unattended (e. g. ground lot suited for other purposes is overgrown with bushes, trees and similar)" (Article 3.6). An unused ground lot is therefore defined either as a space where no circulation (of money, goods and ultimately populations) takes place, or there are signs of uncleanliness and disorder. In this case, nature and natural growth are interpreted as a form of disorder, an undesired form of life.

A similar set of rules pertains to inventorying unused buildings. An unused building is defined either as one which is dangerous and unrepaired (this parallels the requirements in the Construction law setting down that buildings should not endanger their surroundings, and should be looked after in order not become such); or as one which "does not comply with the Ordering and cleanliness rules" (Article 3.2).

These rules are applied by municipal officials to establish lists of unused ground lots and buildings which are then imposed with a higher property tax. By surrendering additional finances, the owners of unused ground lots and buildings are forced to participate in the circulation of money at least in such manner, contributing to the municipal circulation of money. Prominently, neither of the two documents contains prohibitory rhetoric: they are framed as consequences of a choice about spatial order freely made by the owners. However, it also indirectly pits the planned or formal function of ground lots and buildings against their actual use, and orderly space against the disorderly.

(c) *Sufficient building care rules.* The set of rules is relatively short and disparate, containing three obligatory clauses and three prohibitions. Obligatory clauses (Article 7) ensure that building users and administrators of communal property must ensure the cleaning of snow and ice "from rooftops, rain-water pipes and balconies" with proper precautions; ensure that unused buildings or unused parts of buildings are

inaccessible for entry and do not provide a chance to "collect waste"; and ensure proper care of built structures according to national legislation. Prohibitions (Article 8) include changing the colour of the building or part of the building, i. e. "bay windows, balconies, windows, doors and similar" without prior municipal approval; putting "objects, construction material or other things" in communal space if other residents are against it, and "building partitions or constructions unprovided for in the structure's project" in communal space. The control over changes in colour, framed in the context of sufficient building care, introduces municipal authority not just over planning or safety of built structures, but also over the aesthetic plain of the cityscape regardless of location.

(d) *Rules of adaptation of residential premises for the disabled.* This is another set of rules that does not use the rhetoric of restrictions or prohibitions. Instead, it is a consistent step-by-step description of the bureaucratic process of adapting residential space and communal space (stairwells, landings etc.) to the needs of the disabled. Only temporal and process-related information is included. While the main beneficiary are the disabled who may file a request for their residential environment to be adapted to their needs, the set of rules targets municipal administrators responsible for carrying out the programme, and, in the long run, the construction contractors who implement it. The gist of this set of rules lies in a specific structuring of space: its adaptation to be fit for a particular form of life.

(e) *Pet-keeping rules.* Pet-keeping rules describe bureaucratic procedures of registering and documenting pets. While the title implies pets as a broad category, most of the rules pertain specifically to cats and dogs. A long list of prohibitions enumerates places where it is (un)appropriate to take pets: mass gatherings except pet-related events, cemeteries, educational and medical institutions, playground and sports grounds, and beaches during official bathing season (Article 9.3). Other prohibitions pertain to the feeding or providing shelter to stray animals, which is reminiscent of the prohibition to take objects

out of waste containers, or letting vagrants spend time in communal residential space.

A specific section (Articles 36-49) is dedicated to the stray cat sanitation programme, which permits residents setting up a designated and controlled feeding space for homeless cats in order to catch and forward them to the sanitation service for decontamination and castration. The rules also provide for a specific space of confinement for "suspicious" and stray animals: while being a space of isolation rather than punishment, it is reminiscent of the isolation of undesired life-forms and management of life.

(f) *Noise in public places prevention rules.* The object of these rules, public calm is enforced by ensuring that industrial, construction, residential, and leisure noise sources do not exceed set limits. There is, however, a lack of balance in the regulation of these different noise sources. While there are set requirements for the determining the amount of industrial noise, there is also an exception in place, stating that no measurement is required if the source of noise is residential, leisure, or construction-related. "Witness evidence, recordings or similar [sic]" (Article 16) is enough to constitute a breach in such cases.

(g) *Residential and communal premise usage rules.* This set of rules explicitly obliges residents to ensure the safety of the residential space and property inside it, as well as the safety of communal spaces, thus targeting enforcement of access limitations. The obligation is even more explicit in the clause prohibiting to allow "outsiders" (Lith. *pašaliniai asmenys*) to access unused residential premises or communal areas (4.4).

The document goes on to enumerate a long list of prohibitions, many of them minute details of everyday residential life, major concerns laying in ensuring cleanliness and proper waste management. It is explicitly prohibited to "write, scribble, draw, pollute [sic], soil, or post notices on walls, floors, ceilings, doors, window-panes, elevators at communal premises" (Article 6.2), a direct regulation of private discursive practices in communal space. There is also an explicit prohibition of

bringing into residential or communal space "waste, material or things which have been thrown away by another person" (Article 6.4). Another clause prohibits "hanging laundry in open (windowless) balconies and recessed balconies above the railings" (Article 6.14). These and other similar prohibitions create the impression (at least on paper) that if not for these rules, there would be waste and living inconsiderate of neighbours everywhere. It does not leave it up to the residents to decide whether communal space is worthy of becoming a discursive channel, or whether or not it's acceptable to smoke (Article 6.6) or consume alcohol (Article 6.13) in certain communal spaces.

In contrast to the municipal waste management rules which detailed how to dispose of a myriad different kinds of waste, this set of rules imposes conduct obligations: cleaning the communal space if it is messy (Article 4.13), clean one's apartment (Article 4.5), control rodents (Article 4.6), etc.

(h) *Ordering and cleanliness rules.*

The set of rules opens with an obligation for private and corporate persons (to all of whom the set of rules applies on the municipal territory) to "conduct themselves honestly, observe prudence, good morals and responsibility", as well as "not infringe on society and state interests, or other persons' rights and freedoms" (1). While the second part of the obligation is a clear reference to the basic liberal social contract between subjects, and the subject and the state, the first part reveals a paternalistic reminder of the normative moral dimension. It brings abstract traits of character into the realm of ordering and cleanliness, implying a certain correspondence between the moral character of the population and physical order as well as the aesthetic realm.

The aim of the document is double: to set down "general and special rules for ordering and cleaning roads, streets, ground lots and other territories, and requirements for organising and ensuring order during public events" (Article 2), the latter also including movie filming. Thus, public events, even though the procedural hoops of obtaining permits and ensuring safety has little to do with cleanliness as such,

are made an object of order, rather than given a separate set of rules. Of all the pieces of municipal legislation, this document has the the greatest absolute number of both obligations and prohibitions geared at residents and everyday life.

Each built structure is assigned up to 20 meters' distance of surrounding territory which is the responsibility of its residents (or regular transients). In addition, this notion of "ordered territory" (Lith. *tvarkoma teritorija*) includes communal waste containers and recycling containers, disregarding their distance to the building (Article 5).

Obligations of persons in the ordered territories (Article 7) include: cleaning trash and waste, emptying waste containers and cleaning the surrounding territory, cutting grass, cleaning backyards and ground lots, sweeping leaves in the autumn, removing posted notices, "removing, demolishing or dismounting illegally installed outside advertising without remitting the owner", cleaning territories after "end of work, public event, retail or service provision" (Article 8), cleaning snow and ice in wintertime (with many detailed instructions on how exactly this must be done) (Article 10). Public retailers and "retail, service or food catering companies" are obliged in general to "ensure the surroundings of the organisation are orderly and clean" (Article 12; 13).

Prohibitions (Article 15), on the other hand, include: littering, leaving "unused or broken things" and glass shards (in unspecified spaces), posting any kinds of privately initiated public signage, such as posted notices, posters, drawings, graffiti) in specific types of places, contaminate water bodies, "bring flowers, wreaths and / or candles to spots of death", damage to the natural environment, including enabling the propagation of "parasites and rodents", polluting water circulation system, "improper" or "impeding" storage of construction "or other" material, improper traffic control, leaving of "technically disorderly" vehicles in traffic zones, burning bonfires or waste. Many of these clauses pertain more to waste management rather than Ordering and cleanliness.

In addition, the prohibition list contains several activities which have

no apparent relation to the maintenance of order or cleanliness in the aesthetic sense. These are: "playing sports and games in unfit places if it endangers persons or property" (Article 15.23), both begging and giving alms to beggars (religious sites and "public events with an approved license" are exempt from this prohibition) (Article 15.24), "roller-skating, skateboarding and riding bicycles while jumping over (unto) benches, railings, pavement edges, or other objects of engineering or decoration, except riding in specially adapted spots" (Article 15.27), using [fountain] water (Article 15.29), "actively (verbally or by using other means) picking on passers-by, loudly shouting or using obscene words, asking for alms by approaching by-passers, also other insolent activities) to gather donations for playing music or other performances in streets and squares" (Article 15.26), "arranging permanent or temporary places for leisure, rest or residence under the balconies of residential buildings" (Article 15.25).

Once more, the notions of cleanliness and order with regards to these prohibitions, are a proxy. While these activities cannot be judged clean or unclean by themselves, by being included in the rules (rather than at least some other list), they make an implicit link between the activities and uncleanliness or disorder. As such, they construct a subtly implied rather than explicit delimitation of undesired or lower-hierarchy populations, who are the most probable to pertain in such activities (children, teenagers, beggars).

Formalisation of hierarchies

While the observer's gaze enumerates the circulation of resident and transient population with implicit hierarchies, national and municipal legislation outlines various invisible hierarchies, sorting the populations depending on the aims of the particular law or set of rules.

The Administrative code divides subjects into ranked categories (e. g. officers and civilians, employers and employees, subjects with different degree of being drunk (Articles 124ff; 193-3), pregnant and non-pregnant). These categories are put to use in two ways. First, they may affect the severity of punishment (e. g. officers are punished more severely than civilians

for certain transgressions; repeat offenders are punished more severely than first-timers; parents are punished rather than underage minors). Second, they put the subjects in a hierarchical opposition to each other: one side gives orders or inspects, the other is obliged to collaborate or provide necessary documents. The relationship ensures that certain populations are exempt from access limitations (to specific spaces as well as information) and promotes proper circulation of information and knowledge production. Employers are obliged to provide data to various state inspectors; public officials to journalists (Article 214-3) and parliamentary control agencies (Article 187-3), arms dealers to the police (Article 198). One side may be punished for insulting or disrespecting the other: civilians versus officers (specific articles pertain to insults against officers, like environmental protection agents, regimented relations of laypeople with police and other "uniformed" officers as per Article 187), minors versus adults (Article 175).

Part III of the Administrative code contains a list of 65 different governmental institutions responsible for ensuring compliance of various subjects to the code, ranging from law-enforcement agencies to offices of financial and statistical accountability. It therefore defines the system of oversight comprised of an intricate network of very diverse agencies.

In the Penal code, the following breaches of the hierarchies of subjects are considered an offence. All of them have to do with the justice system and governmental officials and they have the same result of drawing hierarchical oppositions:

(a) Disrespect towards judges, prosecutors, lawyers and other officials in the criminal process (Article 231); b) Pressure on witnesses, victims, experts or translators in the criminal process or the parliamentary investigation process (Articles 233; 234).

(b) Resistance, threats or intrusion into the work of governmental officials (Articles 286; 287; 288; 290) – this is relevant because, first, there are quite a few governmental officials working in the research area, and second, because all of the retail and service companies in the area are controlled by several different kinds of governmental offices. While there may be no direct collisions, a certain hierarchy of the two groups may be rooted in the area.

The Penal sanction enforcement code defines the relation between the compulsory population of the convicts and contractual employees inside the prison compound, as well as the various categories of visiting transients. The first type of division denotes the rules for spatial segregation of different categories of convicts (Article 70). In comparison to all previous hierarchies, this is the only one involving explicit spatial segregation. There are no similar prescription pertaining to usual everyday life. While there are clauses describing spatial segregation in the administrative and penal codes, all of them pertain to persons subject to previous conviction: perpetrators of home violence, those on probation release, and those undergoing non-prison based punishment of limited freedom.

There are two groupings according to which prisoners must be kept in strict spatial separation with one another: males apart from females, adults apart from minors minors. The same segregation, as well as segregation of those with a life sentence, also pertains to the prison hospital.

Another clause lists groups of prisoners which may be kept separately if there is a possibility: first-time convicts, those convicted of intentional or very severe crimes, foreign nationals, former or current politicians and government officials, dangerous repeat offenders, those convicted to a life-sentence, those ailing from open tuberculosis. It is also up to the administration's discretion to isolate the disabled, AIDS-infected, the mentally ill, the well-behaved and working convicts, as well as the misbehaving ones.

In the remand prison, a similar, but obligatory, rather than reliant on administrative discretion, list outlines the spatial segregation of various groups, regulated by the Detention of suspects law. The detained must be isolated from one another in the remand prison according to gender, age, pregnancy, prior prison experience, social status (former and current government officials are kept separately from others), type of detention (post-trial, arrest or imprisonment), health (Article 10).

Another division set in the Penal code are hierarchies of convicts according to their disciplinary regime, which may, but does not imply a spatial segregation: simple and strict (no visitors, calls once per month) regime for convicts, as well as an exceptional group of convicts who could move to a correctional facility but instead stay to do housekeeping jobs and live

separately from the regular convicts (Articles 85; 86; 87; 88).

As a result of all of these divisions, the prison presents a complex circulation of very different populations: convicts who are regular, compulsory residents; their visitors, voluntary irregular transients; prison employees, contractual regular transients; and judicial officials, who are contractual, but irregular transients, working on demand on a case-by-case basis.

While all of the above hierarchies of subjects in national legislation are based on their social and demographic characteristics (thus reflecting a biopolitical dimension of classifying populations), municipal documents more frequently define subjects by assigned roles and obligations. These include a variety of roles pertaining to residents and regular transients, for instance: pet owners, private ground-lot owners, users of state-owned ground lots, owners of built structures, noise-makers, construction work customers, waste-dischargers; as well as a variety of roles pertaining to service companies accommodating the urban infrastructure, such as: animal quarantine and sanitation companies, waste management companies, organisations responsible for the urban traffic infrastructure, and administrators of residential property. These roles are then not cast into a relation to one another, but, rather, tied directly to lists of obligatory and prohibited conduct that these subjects must comply with.

Therefore, in the case of national legislation, the dominating process is establishing hierarchy of circulations (when two or more populations are treated differently – separated into different spaces, given priority, etc.) and oppositions, while in the case of municipal documents, the concern is with the circulation of hierarchies (how different roles exchange configurations depending on the situation). Thus is revealed the disciplinary aspect of biopolitics and the biopolitical aspect of discipline.

Spatial planning and regulation of circulation

The Territory planning law sets the groundwork for shaping spaces from the strategic national scale to the smallest-scale detailed plans of localities within municipal grounds. Some of the aims of territory planning set down in the introductory articles of the law are distinctly biopolitical: ”To form a healthy and harmonious life, work and leisure environment attempting to

create better living conditions, fully-fledged in the whole state", "to protect, rationally use and restore natural resources, valuable natural and cultural heritage, as well as recreational resources", "to form the natural frame, to create conditions for keeping up or recreating the ecological balance of the landscape". Others pertain to infrastructure needs and economic development: "to uphold the balance of the social, economic and ecological development of the state territory", "form ground lots, reserve (establish) territories for developing residential infrastructure and other spheres of activity, for different types of ground use", "to stimulate investment into social economic development" (Article 3).

The first three statements are biopolitical insofar as they pertain to a priori planning of the urban milieu, and the regulation of forms of life. In this case the emphasis is on nature as a form of life which should be kept in balance with human activity. The second group of statements pertains to the circulation of instrastructural goods and enhancing monetary flow, however it evades mentioning circulation of populations. This peculiarity reveals that local biopolitics are centred not so much on human life and the human population as the life that is to be preserved and fostered, but shift the emphasis to the environment, especially the natural environment, and, by extension, non-human life. Indeed, the only clause pertaining to humans in the list of aims of the Territory planning law is "reconciling the interests of natural and juridical persons or groups, society, municipalities and the state in terms of usage of territory and ground lots, and the conditions for developing activity in this territory" (Article 3), which means setting down specific hierarchies of interests and maintaining a proper balance (not necessarily egalitarian) between them. The rest of the document provides technical details pertaining to different categories of planning and the documentation that ensues, as well as the restrictions that territory planning documents set upon future use of the planned territories, like heights of future constructions, zoning, etc.

The building of new structures or reconstruction of existing ones is regulated by the Construction law, which sets down in detail: the stages of completing a construction or reconstruction project, all the subjects involved in the process and their roles, the procurement of necessary permits and docu-

mentation, and the repercussions of illegally constructed structures, which may include the obligation to legalise or demolish it.

The Administrative code sets down clauses for punishing illegal ("self-willed") construction, reconstruction or demolishing of built structures, as well as failure to provide necessary information about construction works, failure of the construction works to comply with existing legislation (Article 159), and failure of the construction works to comply with the construction project (158). It thus re-emphasizes the state agencies as the ultimate decision-makers regarding the placement of built structures and imposes a priori limitations on future constructions.

Although the municipal legislation also has a document involving construction, the Construction permit issue rules, these are extremely procedure-oriented, describing the process of acquiring a construction or reconstruction permit and lists of documents required to get such permits from the municipality. The rules do not discuss actual construction, nor do they set down any restrictions or prohibitions pertaining to it. This is one the few municipal documents which avoids restrictions and prohibitions. Even though construction is heavily regulated by higher-level legislation and apparently there is no need for the municipality to instil extra rules, this is still in contrast, for example, to the Public retail rules, which also regulate a subject heavily regulated by national legislation, but do not hesitate to provide an additional layer of obligations and prohibitions.

The same trend seen in the aims of the Territory planning law is present in the regulation of circulations at the level of urban space: a relatively great number of clauses pertains to the circulation of goods, money and waste. Meanwhile circulation of human populations is mostly controlled via regulation of traffic rules and a small set of clauses regulating life in the broad sense are strewn throughout different legislative documents.

Both the Penal code and the Administrative code have clauses about traffic violations, with the Penal code pertaining to those cases when vehicles or the traffic infrastructure was damaged (Articles 278; 280). The municipal Traffic regulation regimen is a technically prescriptive and unprohibitive document. Besides setting down the processes to which service providers should adhere while constructing or maintaining the traffic infrastructure,

such as roads, traffic lights and traffic signs, it provides some procedural information for any subjects who have traffic regulation requests, e. g. a need for installing a new traffic sign or speed bump. All of the prescriptions are motivated as activities upholding the safety and convenience of vehicular circulation.

The three other circulation processes are more prominent in both national and municipal legislation: the circulation of goods, money, and waste in urban space. The circulation of goods an money frequently intersects at retail premises. Goods are also transported by the urban infrastructure – electricity, water, or natural gas. Meanwhile the circulation of waste, a byproduct of the circulation of goods and money, is a reverse process with similar main goals: quick turnover, and ensuring the integrity of waste as a form of property.

While many clauses pertaining to the circulation of goods in the Administrative code regulate state-level import and export of goods, there are also aspects that guide the distribution of goods in the everyday world of retail trade and service provision. These clauses are retail rules pertaining to owners of retail spaces and their employees (Article 163): weighing of goods, increasing or hiding prices, fraud against customers; taxed goods sale fraud, mistaken labelling of goods, sale of energy drinks to minors, breaches of alcohol sale rules (Article 164), breaches of municipal retail rules for public spaces (Article 167), petrol sales rules violations (Article 171), retail or business practices without legal basis, including sale of goods without due documentation (Article 173), sale and storage of home-brewed strong alcohol including at private residences (Article 177), sale or resale of alcohol to minors (Article 180), violations of tobacco sale rules (Article 185), illegal provision of goods to convicts (Article 191), violations of precious metal sales rules (Article 193-1), violations of the rules of providing information about tobacco (Article 204).

A specific article in the Administrative code describes the unsanctioned use of goods transported via the urban infrastructure: natural gas, electricity and heating systems, water provision systems (Article 99). This is further enforced in a Penal code article focused on the illegal use of urban infrastructure, i. e. electricity, heating, natural gas, water or telecommuni-

cation networks (Article 179) if it results in material damage.

The Penal sanction enforcement code explicitly enumerates specific types of goods that the convicts are allowed to acquire, receive, or possess, and those they are prohibited from. Permitted goods include: foodstuffs, reading material, writing utensils, newspapers and magazines (except for violent or pornographic content), a limited dispatch of clothes and footwear, televisions, personal computers, video and audio systems, radio, gaming stations "and other things", watches, private clothes and shoes (Articles 92; 93; 95; 96; 97). Prohibited goods include: alcohol and psychoactive substances (including their production, possession and consumption) (110), items prohibited in civil life, firearms, vehicles, cash, optic devices, audio and video recording equipment, cellphones, unmandated medicine, printing equipment, knives and sharp tools, playing cards, documents, map, compasses, uniforms (appendix 1). Convicts are also prohibited from further circulating goods in their possession - they are not allowed to sell, exchange or present their possessions as a gift (110). Identical rules pertain to detainees in the remand prison.

The main municipal document pertaining to the flow of goods is the Public retail rules. First of all, they set out a division between retail taking place in private public spaces, i. e. commercial premises inside proper buildings, and retail taking place in public space (kiosks, outdoor food catering, temporary structures, vehicles). The Public retail rules pertain only to the latter for of retail, thus singling out a specific form of commercial activity and setting upon it limitations which are not, in other forms of legislation, applicable to indoor retail, although public retail does not necessarily take place outdoors (kiosks, for instance, are enclosed structures). First, they are put at a certain disadvantage: it is prohibited to conduct public retail during the nighttime (Article 20), and "to conduct sales from boxes, railings, supports, pavement, ground, or improper equipment" (Article 33.1). Separate requirements target the cleanliness of the operation: there is a separate clause requiring "The person conducting sales and providing services must ensure that temporary retail equipment, kiosks, pavilions, vehicles, outdoor cafes are clean, orderly and aesthetically pleasing (Article 13), ensure the order and cleanliness after finishing retail activity (Article 27), the

seller must wear "orderly and clean clothes" (Article 37.2). Third, retail in "representational streets, squares and parks" imposes further limitations. Vehicular retail in such public space is prohibited (Article 22), while the range of goods permitted for sale is limited to handicraft, "souvenirs representing Lithuania, Vilnius or other cities", artwork, flowers, ice cream, fast food, culinary heritage, newsprint and tourist literature (Article 23).

The quantitatively many clauses concerning the circulation of money in the body of legislation that has been analysed, may be generalised into three main categories.

(a) Circulation of money in retail sales, generally pertaining to proper documentation, use of cash registers, receipting and related actions, obligation for the customer to pay properly (e. g. for public transport rides) (Administrative code, municipal Public retail rules),

(b) Circulation of taxing money (including state taxes and municipal fees) (Administrative code, municipal pet keeping rules, unused ground lots and buildings rules, and ordering and cleanliness rules).

(c) Specifics of money circulation in the prison and remand prison where convicts and detainees are allowed to possess, receive or earn funds, but are not allowed to have them on their person or use them in direct exchanges among themselves (Penal sanction enforcement code.

The circulation of waste, a terminal byproduct of the circulations of goods and money is regulated in two very distinct manners in the national and municipal legislation.

The Waste management law sets down rules for waste circulation, defining agencies responsible for the management, transportation and disposal of various types of waste, as well as rules for the circulation of dangerous, environmentally hazardous or recyclable waste (such as electronics, vehicles, oils, batteries, packaging, etc.). The Administrative code contains clauses pertaining to waste management violations for various types of waste which damage the natural environment (Articles 51; 83), and a clause legitimising municipal waste management rules. The single mention of waste in the Penal code is placed under the heading of "Crimes against the environment

and human health" and pertains to illegal transportation of waste across the national border (Article 270-2).

In contrast, the municipal Waste management rules are based on obligations and prohibitions pertaining to the management of waste. This waste, specifically, is not the byproduct of industrial, medical, agricultural and other producing activity, not vehicular, and not liquid waste (Article 15). Thus, the types of waste managed by the municipality include mostly waste generated by subjects going about their everyday life: assorted household waste, recyclable materials, packaging, biodegradable waste, food, natural waste, construction and demolished residue waste, street-cleaning waste and "ownerless waste" (Lith. *bešeimininkės šiukšlės*) (Article 14). It includes both private persons and companies as possible producers of such waste products (Article 21), who are obliged to use municipal services for waste removal (Article 23). From the moment that it is collected, waste becomes property of the waste management operator (Article 16), thus loosing its waste status and becoming a type of goods, which may or may not be reused.

Household waste and recyclable waste collection containers are regulated with respect to several spatial details. Spots for household waste containers are picked by the municipal administration and assigned to a number of residential, commercial and other structures (Article 31). Residents and regular transients must use only the assigned waste container for disposing of their waste (it is explicitly prohibited to use any other one), and have the right to enforce access limitations on waste containers and lock them (Article 32). Thus, paying for the municipal waste removal service does not entitle one with the right to use the municipal waste management system as a whole, but only dispose of waste at a single specified spot.

Several clauses are related to keeping up order inside the waste containers and in the surrounding 10 meter area. The containers "cannot be overfilled" and their "covers must fully close" (Article 38), waste cannot be pressed or burned inside containers (Article 41). It is explicitly prohibited to mix household and recyclable waste, while recyclable waste must be dry and clean (Article 39). Residents and regular transients using the containers are "fully responsible for order in the vicinity of the containers" (Article 42),

while waste removal operators must wash and disinfect waste containers at regular periods specified in waste removal contracts (Article 45). It is forbidden to take items out of the waste containers (Article 41).

An actuarial aspect of waste management is present: it is obligatory for owners of residential spaces and any other premises to report the number of persons, employees, students and other subjects spending time at the designated space. This clause is motivated by the need to calculate and prognosticate the amount of waste generated (Article 27).

Summary of findings

The legal obligations and prohibitions, set down in the rules of conduct and counter-conduct in the open spaces and built structures of the urban milieu reveal a crucial difference between biopolitical and disciplinary traits in legislation. The former focuses on life-threatening and risky conducts, as well as ensuring that the circulation of goods, money and waste is continuous. Meanwhile, the exercise of urban discipline is revealed by notions of public order and public calm, and an obsession with order and cleanliness, which pertains both to physical space and the demarcation of certain activities and persons as unclean and unruly, thus offensive to the vision of an idealised clean and orderly population. The notions of public order and public calm, which are not defined in neither the Administrative, nor the Penal code (and not in any other documents that were analysed) draws a specific portrait of the desired population: perpetually orderly and calm, as if these traits reflect a natural and default state of being for the population.

Both the Administrative and the Penal codes cover a wide array of spaces where specific conducts are undesired. Some of the limitations of conduct pertain only to particular places, while others have a temporal or subjective component: an offence in a certain kind of space may also be defined by the particular hour when it takes place, or the particular subject partaking in it. Heavy legislation of the structuring and construction of space ensures that any private space-making initiative is under scrutiny and control of many overseeing institutions. The Penal code has clauses which extend the Administrative code and other legislation to take care of cases with accidents, personal injuries or deaths in cases of work-related conduct, en-

vironmental and infrastructural damage, thus explicitly adding a dimension of biopolitical harm to already existing definitions of undesired conduct.

The main difference between national legislation and municipal rulings is the explicit versus implicit manner in which certain actions or populations are defined. Certain undesired practices or prohibitions in the municipal rules are formulated universally, in contrast to the majority of clauses which frequently categorise subjects according to their roles. However these supposedly universal clauses are at times implicitly geared at certain groups rather than others despite the redundancy of regulating such conduct. Thus, from a juridical point of view, regulating children playing games or vagrants being homeless is hardly necessary at municipal level: if children are playing a ball game and break a window their parents are responsible for the damage as per the Administrative code protecting private property, ditto with a homeless person breaking into private premises. Thus the municipal rules imply hidden undesirability and implicit exclusion towards certain social groups.

The higher up on the national level, the less obligatory extra conduct impositions there are, with more appearing on the municipal and the most on the internal document level. It seems from the municipal documents, especially the Ordering and cleanliness rules, that the subjects are unruly and must be disciplined to the minute details of their everyday life outside the immediacy of home (and sometimes inside as well, as with the noise and construction work regulations). Also, there are more prohibitions in the municipal documentation (as compared to the codes, which are rhetorically usually formulated in the form of action - consequence, rather than explicit prohibition).

The above point may also be connected to strict disciplinary regulation, resulting in the criminalisation of everyday life in the urban setting – which is rare at the national level, but frequent in municipal legislation. The closer a regulatory body is to the everyday subject, the more concern for discipline it displays. And while there seems to be more discussion on the strictness and punitivity of national-level legislation (especially the codes, but also specific limiting laws), attention should also be given to the lower-level regulation, such as municipal edicts.

On the whole there are scant possibilities for consensual decisions by communities living and working in specific spaces. Situations in which communal approval is required are few: construction works, keeping of pets in some case, licensing of establishments selling alcohol, although other situations, which are similar and would be logical to require communal agreement such as restrictions on traffic during film shootings, or noise during officially sanctioned events are not included, no signatures or approval is needed.

A city, even one as small as Vilnius, is frequently too big and too complex to control and enforce each and every rule, especially because many regulations on the use of public space involve very quick and simple activities, such as putting up a notice on lamp-posts or building walls. Because it is impossible to control, the meaning of such rules in national as well as municipal legislation is threefold.

First, they project a specific regime of truth. If one reads municipal documentation as if it were a vision of reality in which each rule were perfectly enforced, everyday life in public and residential spaces would become a very tightly controlled world with no place for private or communal decisions about the urban milieu. One may interpret these documents as a kind of non-literary utopia, conceived in the institutional structure of the city council and municipal administration. Second, there is not (yet) enough surveillance and human resources to enforce the rules. However, one may raise the question about the future influence of more advanced technology. Third, the current rules are are enforced unsystematically and selectively – either some rules enforced more strictly than others (e. g. public consumption of alcohol is enforced very fervently compared to posting notices or using fountain water), or some rules are enforced only at selected places or at selected times.

3.6. Discursive aspects of social control

The regulation of discursive practices encompasses two main spheres, one visible, and the other mostly invisible to the outsider's eye. The visible pertains to public signage, which encompasses all forms of written and graphic discursive practices which are situated in public space - in the streets, on building exteriors and on other structures of the urban environment. The

means and forms of public signage are fervently regulated depending on the space, the medium and authorship. The invisible pertains to the production and circulation of official documents and data, and to the regulation of private discursive practices.

Formal regulation of public signage

National and municipal legislation regulates different aspects of public signage. Spatial control of public discursive circuits in national legislation encompasses several distinct spheres, including language, visibility, content and placement of commercial communication (including shop signs, externally placed promotional material and street advertising, all broadly defined as advertising in the Advertising law and External advertising installation rules), promotion of controlled substances, as well as display of flags, a specific case of non-textual material discourse.

In the Administrative code, regulation of language pertains to business entities, other organisations, and governmental institutions and penalises the "non-use [sic] of the state language" in their public communication and for internal documents, as well as product and service names (Article 91). Other offences include failure to use "authentic and official Lithuanian place names", provision of documents in non-state languages, and failure to comply with ordinances made by the State commission of the Lithuanian language and the State language inspectorate (91). Infringement of the rules of displaying the national flag and flags of other states is filed under the section listing "abuse of rights" (Lith. *savavaldžiavimas*) offences together with public display of Nazi and Soviet symbols (Article 188). Finally, commercial promotion, including restrictions on retail promotion of tobacco and alcohol, is handled in the Administrative code (Article 214), Advertising law and External advertising installation rules.

Municipal legislation is geared towards the minute details of the particular forms, materials and spaces that may or may not be used for public signage, as well as events that presuppose obligatory display of warning or information messages. The Ordering and cleanliness rules also set down a distinction between an advertisement and a posted notice (Article 5). The latter is NOT related to commercial activity or information about goods

and services, although by form the most elementary posted notices frequently are exactly that, such as small notices on lamp-posts advertising vans driving to Palanga and Šventoji in the summer, or domestic repairmen's services).

Various pieces of municipal legislation include the following spatial regulation of public signage: regulation of notices and other forms of written discursive practices in communal space at residential buildings (Residential and communal premise usage rules, Article 6.2); obligatory display of information about a free-range dog if kept in storage or other non-residential facilities (Pet-keeping rules, Article 21); appropriate and inappropriate places for announcing the disappearance of a pet (Pet-keeping rules, Article 32); obligatory display of information about road construction works (Pothole elimination rules, Articles 4; 10); compliance of retailers with advertising rules (Retail in public spaces rules, Article 17); obligatory display of information about the seller (Retail in public space rules, Article 18); obligation for residents to remove posted notices from "trees, lamp-posts, fences, benches, trash cans, traffic signs, traffic lights, information sings, sculptures, monuments, monumental plaques and related equipment" (Ordering and cleanliness rules, Article 7.6); various prohibitions to put up posters, paint graffiti and post notices in public space; prohibition to include additional information on road signs if it is not compliant with Driving regulations (Ordering and cleanliness rules, Article 15.21).

The wording of the most detailed rules, found in the Ordering and cleanliness rules is at times comic. If everything that is not prohibited by these rules is deemed permitted, then one may: draw, write or paint graffiti on "trees, bushes, traffic signs, traffic lights, information signs and lamp-posts" where one is explicitly forbidden to post notices (Article 15.4), because it is only prohibited to draw or paint on memorial sites, all built structures and fences (Article 15.6). One may post posters "with writing, drawings or signs" on all of the above except memorial sites (Article 15.5). And one may not post notices anywhere except designated notice-boards, because it is forbidden to post them in a number of specific places as well as "other places not meant for this aim" (Article 15.4).

Leaving flowers is an ongoing tradition in case of road accident deaths,

which is prohibited by the Ordering and cleanliness rules (Article 15.8). The reason for the prohibition is unclear. Since it is filed under the Ordering and cleanliness rules, it implies that such informal discursive practices produce disorderly waste, rather than meaningful or emotional artefacts.

Four related clauses were originally part of the Sufficient building care rules, but were removed in 2013 following a court order (case number I-1392-168/2013). They included obligatory clauses which required residents to: remove posted notices from built structures; prevent illegal advertising and signs, and immediately provide information about the former to the municipality; clean up graffiti and "keep facades aesthetically pleasing". The court ruled that it was not in the municipality's competence to impose such obligations, because the clauses in this particular set of rules must pertain to the *safety* of the built environment, as regulated by the Construction law, which, in turn does not mention either graffiti or posted notices as a safety requirement. So these clauses are superfluous to ensuring that the built structure is technically sound and not life-threatening. The clauses regarding outside advertising were disqualified because they reiterated prohibitions already set down in other legislation. The initial inclusion of such clauses in this set of rules may be a characteristic of municipal attitudes towards discursive spatial configurations: an equation of aesthetics and safety. Like the control over colours of buildings or elements of buildings, the attempt to establish authority over aesthetics underlies the clause.

While national legislation pertains to linguistic and symbolic aspects of public signage and delegate supervision of textual and graphical means of communication to municipalities, municipal rules discuss specific places, materials and forms that public signage may take. Municipal ordering and cleanliness also involves cleaning the discursive environment - bringing on a double life of discursive means which may at the same time convey meaning and constitute by-products or waste.

Discursive practices and hierarchies of knowledge and authorship

Many objects in the urban landscape belong to the category of public signage: these texts and graphics convey meanings experienced by passing

populations of residents and transients, as well as vehicles.

The variety of public signage in the research area encompasses many forms and materials including the following: pen-and-paper or printed content; printed posters and large-format print; stickers; signs and plaques made of durable material such as metal or stone – traffic signs, street names and house numbers, various notices and warnings; paint on wall or other surfaces; sculpture and mixed three-dimensional media; electronic screens; other material objects such as thermometers, flags, or flowers laid down on memorials, which are capable of conveying material discursive messages as much as texts and graphics. These material forms are ubiquitous irrespective of the authorship and whether or not the messages are law-abiding or illicit.

In most cases, public signage is a means of one-to-many communication: there is a single source behind each object – sometimes clearly stated and sometimes implied or anonymous, read by the multitude. Only in rare cases is there a single – albeit unknown – direct recipient of the message (such as a notice proclaiming that a bunch of keys have been found, or a dog has been lost). Another rare case is visibly multiple authorship – examples include graffiti dialogues with replies by more recent authors to earlier statements, or graffiti that has been painted over.

There are three main sources or owners of the objects of communication: the municipality, commercial ventures and organisations, and anonymous entities which are rarely identifiable beyond the goals of the contents they have produced. Anonymous discursive practices may be produced by both residents and transients, and legal entities like businesses, as well as governmental institutions. In some cases, when a sign or notice looks official enough, it is not possible to tell apart whether the source is a legal entity or natural person. An primary quasi-anonymous author is sometimes also present in municipal and organisational communication. An example would be artists who have authored memorials or works of art and architects that have incorporated certain symbols into buildings, such as date of construction on some of the residential buildings or a cross incorporated into an external corner of a wall at the monastery building. However, these specific persons are seldom acknowledged in an accessible manner - the single case



Figure 18: Cornerstone cornercross.

of a small plaque commemorating the architect and engineer of a mixed-use building at Gedimino 39 is a rare exception (fig. 19).

There is a grey area between formal and legit discursive practices which adhere to all the rules and informal and illegitimate public signage: even though the contents may look formal, and the material form legitimate, they may still be violating the municipal Ordering and cleanliness rules because of the placement – with little legal difference from graffiti painters. The external form of legitimate and illicit communication may be the same, such as stencilling or painted letters. There are also few means to check the assertions made in the messages. For example, there are no easy ways to discern whether property marked as private is really private as per the sign announcing it and to validate the subject underlying this assertion of ownership. A request not to obstruct doors or gates with parked vehicles may be informal and illicit from the point of view of the legal framework, but also so commonplace and commonsensical that its legitimacy is not questioned. Because of the complex regulation and taxation of advertising in the broad sense as a form of public signage, the line between formal and informal public communication is as ambiguous as the divide between licit



Figure 19: Engineers inscribed in history.

and illicit forms thereof: there is no means to tell, by just looking, whether or not an advertisement or a public notice comply with all the necessary regulations.

Items of public signage may also be or become decrepit, such as a broken and empty municipal information booth at the corner of Lukiškių square (fig. 20), or defunct, such as a traffic sign hidden in the foundation of the court building or company logos on random boxes that have long since been used as trash receptacles.

The contents and goals of various forms of public communication comprise several distinct categories.

Control of conduct. This category comprises public signage whose content – whether textual or graphical – denotes the desired or prohibited conduct and usually pertains to the immediate vicinity of the sign. The singage includes all sources of authorship – municipal, commercial and private or anonymous – and in terms of its content targets two distinct types of conduct. The first conduct targeted pertains to circulation of human and vehicular flows, while the second one comprises conduct that is related to activities other than movement.



Figure 20: Former occupants: municipal projects for the renovation of Lukiškių square.

The most frequent and visible municipal public signage related to the circulation of pedestrian populations and vehicles comprises traffic lights and traffic signs. They are all distinguished by standardised look and material. A large part traffic signage is targeted at the flow of vehicles, while some such signs also regulate pedestrian flows – such as signs denoting bus stops and pedestrian crossings, as well a pedestrian traffic lights. There is also a river traffic sign regulating water transport flow.

Another frequently encountered type of signage pertains to parking regulation, thus guiding the flow of vehicles to their temporary static destinations. While some of it is municipally installed and recognised by the use of official traffic signs and horizontal markings denoting parking places, parking conditions or prohibition to stop and or park, they pertain mostly to the main streets. Meanwhile in the inner streets and backyards of the research area, commercially or privately installed parking signage prevails, characterised by non-standard appearance and a greater variety of form. It ranges in appearance from officially authored commercial operations, such as a paid parking in the yard of Gedimino 47 and the multi-storey parking



Figure 21: Directions for guest and business traffic.

lot at *Vilniaus vartai*, to private pleas and warnings to avoid obstructing garage doors, to avoid parking on private property, a hand-painted notice not to park near a ramp in the backyard of Goštauto 8 (fig. 22), a notice prohibiting caterers of a beer pub to enter the yard of the building, an unofficial traffic sign directing guest and business vehicles of the House of Scientists to specially designated parking spaces (fig. 21), and numerous unofficial plaques denoting reserved parking spaces throughout the area. Sometimes instructions on the manner of entering or exiting the premises may be provided, ranging in form from the painstakingly detailed (fig. 23) to humorous (fig. 24). A small number of parking-related signage is concerned with the manner of parking rather the suitability of a space for parking. These include a warning not to park under icicles, explanations of how to operate a non-automatic parking gate by pressing a button rather than honking the car horn, a demand to switch off vehicle lights when approaching a guarded parking lot inside the parliament territory.

Although non-municipal signage concerned with the pedestrian flows is not as prominent as its vehicular counterpart, the several examples encountered include prohibition of unauthorised entry to construction site,



Figure 22: Crystal clear: do not obstruct the ramp.



Figure 23: Parking instructions: don't miss the small print.



Figure 24: Humorous instruction for drivers: "Don't drive until I stop. Gate".

an explanatory notice by an entrance to the Semiconductor physics institute canteen backdoor that entry is possible with magnetic card only, and a schedule of permitted parcel transfer hours at a prison side-door.

A much greater amount of signage – again of all sources of authorship – pertains to other forms of conduct unrelated to movement. These may include both obligations to comply with desired conduct and prohibitions of undesired or illicit one and are frequently strongly linked to the setting. Municipally installed signage contains reminders of legal obligations, such as the prohibition to litter and consume alcohol under the Geležinio vilko street bridge and instructions on waste recycling containers. Non-municipal signage includes smoking prohibitions, a reminder to pay for petrol at the exit from the petrol station, warnings about slippery surfaces, wet snow falling from the roof, crumbling plaster, or vehicles exiting construction site, construction site safety regulations, a detailed list of conduct, entry, exit and face control rules at a local nightclub (fig. 25), and CCTV in action. A bird-feed hand-made from a plastic bottle on one of the trees behind the Chemistry Institute had a request penned onto it with a black



Figure 25: One out of four sheets of night club rules.

felt-tip pen, asking to refill it with sunflower seeds only (fig. 26). There is a notable difference between specific and abstract conduct-oriented communication signage: a warning that plaster is falling off the wall implies that subjects are expected not to walk close to it so that they do not get hurt; on the other hand, a notice warning that CCTV is operated on the current premises only implies potential (not necessarily real) surveillance, with no further expectations given on the limits drawn between desired and undesired conduct.

Production of knowledge. This category includes several major sub-categories. The first one pertains to the official partitioning and structuring of the urban space and produces administrative knowledge, like signs with street names and house numbers, tourist information plaques, or years of construction incorporated into the facades of built structures.

Street names have originally developed from a bottom-up approach: according to the earliest available documents dating from the 16th century, governmental institutions such as courts initially used the vernacular names – traditional and informal – of streets or places (in the cases where the concept of the street was not spatially fully formed), as well as names of



Figure 26: Instruction about the proper diet for birds.

churches, intercity roads and professional or ethnic groups inhabiting the specific area of the city (Čaplinskas 2000; 9). The annexation by the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century included administrative changes, among which naming and renaming streets was a major undertaking, resulting in the 19th century being named the "century of changing street names" (Čaplinskas 2000; 11), a process which was completely formalised by 1875 (Čaplinskas 2000; 12).

The naming and renaming of streets reflected political tensions and the level of dedication of administrative power: while the German invasion in 1916 showed no interest for local street names, the Polish rule in 1919-1920 resulted in extensive renaming. In the meanwhile the Lithuanians prepared a project of Lithuanising the streets of Vilnius after reclaiming the city in 1940 (Čaplinskas 2000; 13-15). Times of Soviet rule since 1944 carried out another extensive renaming and reforming of streets, concentrating in particular on religious and historical names (Čaplinskas 2000; 17-19). And during the wave of post-Soviet street renaming, there was a greater number of streets that have been renamed in comparison to those that have retained their former names. Thus, control over the naming of streets and

administering addresses is an important element of power over local discursive practices, the creation of psychogeographical knowledge of the city and provision of navigation points to find specific spots in the cityscape.

Table 4 illustrates the following patterns of name change of the 14 streets and 3 squares in the research area:

(a) *Name changes as reflections of dominating ideology.* Most of the streets in this category transformed from initially neutral names descriptive of the geographical vicinity, such as Kafedralnaja (Cathedral ave), Naberežnaja Vilii (Neris embankment), Lukišskaja (Lukiškių square) to more politically significant names, such as A. Mickiewicza for the famous poet claimed by both Polish and Lithuanian cultures, Gedimino and Goštauto for Lithuanian historical figures, Arzamaskaja and Kazanskaja for cities in the Russian Empire, to names laden with Soviet ideological symbolism, including historical figures such as Stalin, Lenin, and K. Požėla, and post-Soviet name changes which included the restoration of the old name of Lukiškių square, restoration of names after historical figures – duke Gediminas, A. Goštautas and J. Tumas-Vaižgantas, and the renaming of Tarybų (Soviet square) to Nepriklausomybės (Independence square) to reflect the transformation of the political reality. One outstanding case is the Mečetės (Mosque street), which was variously linked to the Tatar Muslim group inhabiting the neighbourhood until the Soviet demolition of the mosque after the second world war and the renaming to the neutral Slyvų (Plum street), with the original name restored in 1993. Another outstanding case is Vasario 16-osios (February 16th street), which underwent several date-based name transformations reflecting political realities: the Polish 3-go Maja (date of the adoption of the first constitution of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in 1791), the Soviet Lithuanian Liepos 21-osios (date of the annexation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union) and, since 1989 the post-Soviet Lithuanian Vasario 16-osios (date of the proclamation of independent Lithuania in 1918).

(b) *New names after breakup of Soviet Union.* Three new street names were added in the area between the Parliament, the National library

Current name	Previous names	Last change
Political name changes		
Gedimino ave	Končevskij ave, Sv. Georgijevskaja 1 and 2, Kafedralnaja, Georgievskij ave, Św. Jerska, A. Mickiewicza, Laisvės, A. Mickevičiaus, Gedimino ave, Stalin ave, Lenin ave	1989
A. Goštauto st.	Naberežnaja Vilii, Nadbrežna, I-ej Konnej Baterii, Kanclerio Goštauto, K. Požėlos	1990
Lukiškių sq.	Lukišskaja sq., Łukiszki sq., Piłsudskiego sq., Lukiškių sq., Tarybų sq., Lenin sq.	1990
Mečetės st.	Magometanskij lane, Mahometański lane, Meczetowy, Mečetės, Slyvų	1993
Nepriklausomybės sq.	Tarybų sq.	1990
J. Tumo-Vaižganto sq.	Arzamaskaja, Montwiłłowska, J. Tumo-Vaižganto, Lenin sq.	1989
Vasario 16-osios st.	Kazanskaja, 3-go Maja, Liepos 21-osios, Tauro g.	1989
New names after breakup of Soviet Union		
Geležinio vilko st.	[Not recognised as separate street before 1990]	1990
Gynėjų st.	-	1991
A. Tumėno st.[a]	-	2004
Vašingtono sq.	-	1998

[a] Vilnius City Council. Sprendimas dėl gatvių pavadinimų ir ribų. 2004-06–23 Nr. 1-438. Vilnius: Vilnius City Municipality, 2004. Available online at: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30001845 [accessed on 2015-09-08].

Translations of previous names		
Ankštoji st.	Tiuremnyj per., Tiuremnaja, Uzkaja, Ciasna	1940
Lukiškių st.	Lukišskaja, Łukiszska	1940
Other changes		
Kražių st.	Tiuremnyj I lane, Gospodskaja, Panskaja, Pańska	1940
Lentpjūvių st.[a]	Magazinovyj lane, Łukiszka, Nižegorodskaja, Magazinowa, Tartaki; abolished in 2005	2005
Lentpjūvių lane	Tiuremnyj lane, 3-ij Tiuremnyj lane, Więzienny, Kalinių lane	1951
Lukiškių lane	Moskovskaja, Moskiewska, Więzienna, Kalėjimo	1951
J. Savickio st.	Montvilovskij drive, Montwiłłowski drive, Montvilos, Kražių lane	1995

[a] Vilnius City Council. Sprendimas dėl gatvių pavadinimų ir jų ribų. 2005-03-23 Nr. 1-744. Vilnius: Vilnius City Municipality, 2005. Available online at: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30030167 [accessed on 2015-09-08].

Table 4: Street and square name history in the research area. Data based on Čaplinskas (2000; 125-131), except where noted otherwise.

to the north towards the river as it became more developed: Geležinio Vilko, Gynėjų and A. Tumėno, referring, correspondingly to a national symbol, the Iron Wolf, defenders of independence in 1990 and an interbellum era politician. The Washington square was established to commemorate "the historical ties of Lithuania and America [sic]", according to a monument on site.

(c) *Translation of previous name.* A small number – two streets – retained their names from the Soviet period, which themselves were simple translation of previous Polish names.

(d) *Other changes.* Three of these changes occurred during soviet rule and changed three names: the old Polish name "Pańska" (a name referring to feudal lords) changed to a more neutral toponym-based Kražių, while two prison-related streets, Kalinių (prisoners' street) and Kalėjimo (prison street) were also changed to more neutrally sounding ones – Lentpjūvių (sawmill lane) and Lukiškių (based on the name of the district). One street was abolished in 2005 (its previous name change from Polish Tartaki to Lithuanian Lentpjūvių was a direct translation) and another renamed in 1995 – after the main wave of post-Soviet renamings receded – for the interbellum era writer and diplomat Jurgis Savickis.

This administrative knowledge of the city is visible not only through street name and house number plaques, but also in mapping and diagramming the city, seen, for example, in public transport bus stops and promoting circulation of knowledgeable populations through the area: first a knowledge is created about the possible places to go to, later markers are created for subjects to be able to follow their route. Post boxes, often inscribed with addresses, reiterate this system. A commercial version of such administrative knowledge is expressed in lists of office tenants at office buildings, for instance, the *Muliena* or *Vilniaus vartai*. Illicit participation in such spatial structuring is also possible, as may be seen in a street name hand-painted on a building wall (fig. 27). A specific type of administrative knowledge is imparted in plaques documenting distances to underground infrastructure networks. They are markers signifying the structure of urban space that



Figure 27: Hand-painted street name.

is not immediately visible to the naked eye and may require professional knowledge to comprehend.

Memorials are another type of signage pertaining to the production of spatial knowledge. They aim to impart knowledge about the former functions of the place they are dedicated to, events that have taken place or historical figures that had ties to the place. Almost all of the memorials in the research area narrate 20th century history with two exceptions: memorial plaques on the facade of the church of St. Phillip and James dedicated to funders, and a memorial to the 1863 rebellion leaders Kalinauskas and Sierakauskas, executed at Lukiškių square. While the most prominent Soviet-era memorial, the Lenin monument, has been demolished, two memorial plaques from the period remain on the facade of the House of Scientists, dedicated to linguist Juozas Balčikonis and economist Dzidas Budrys, who may have resided in the building. Post-Soviet memorials are the most numerous. Among them one may find the commemoration plaque of the former place of the Tatar mosque and cemetery, the partisan victims executed by the Soviet government, a plaque for Menachin Begin, a Lithuanian Jew who has been imprisoned in the Lukiškės prison, an reference to the



Figure 28: Graffiti behind museum glass.

interbellum politician Antanas Tumėnas, and several memorials related to the restoration of independence. Of the latter, the largest is a museum-like structure to the west of the Parliament, which displays information about the period as well as concrete slabs that were used as anti-tank barricades (fig. 28). Other spatial references to the period include a memorial stone to Artūras Sakalauskas who has died defending the parliament building, a memorial board for medical personnel of the former hospital who have aided the defenders, and another one for the first independent cabinet of ministers which has convened in the building currently housing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

All objects of memorial signage are closely tied to their spots of emplacement. Also, most of them commemorate political figures and events with the exception of the scientist memorial boards mentioned above and a bench near Lukiškių square dedicated to the memory of singer Vytautas Kernagis. The state therefore comprises the dominant narration of spatial history and memory, the ultimate rationality behind spatial arrangement.

Finally, transgressional forms of expression, such as graffiti, tags, stickers, notes and simple writing on the wall convey a knowledge of everyday life.

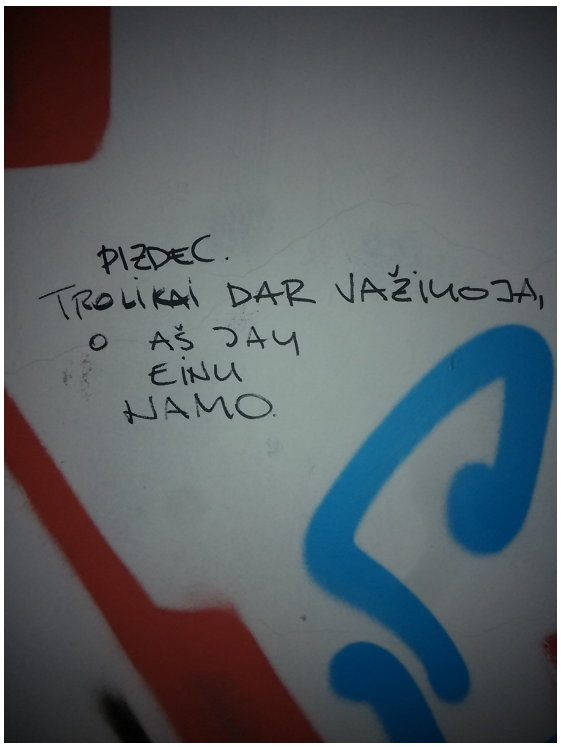


Figure 29: "Shit, trolleys are still in the streets, and I'm already going home".

They assert the ebbs and flows of the mundane everyday, such as tags of authors (nick)names, signifying their passage through the area, observations of the everyday (fig. 29), or social commentary (fig. 30), which sometimes develop into dialogues carried out in several months' time (fig. 31).

While their apparent transgression lies in the form, which is illegitimate from the legislative point of view, numerous other objects in the research area are also illicit: posted notes by the residential administrator stuck on a rack of post boxes (not a designated place for note-posting, should be removed by employees of the same administration service provider), or some of the items used for the regulation of parking spaces. Thus, it is not the form which makes these personal writings and images uniquely transgressive, but, rather the content, which falls outside the dominant discourse of maintaining order, managing the spatial structures and directing the circulation of people or vehicles or promoting goods. There is also a selective stance towards the defiance of the municipal aesthetic authority: while graffiti is an object of persistent public discussion and demonisation, other discursive forms which do not formally correspond to the legal truth of aesthetics but keep in line with the dominant discourse, avoid such hostility.



Figure 30: "To hell with economics, let's stamp out sculptures".



Figure 31: Dialogue on a building wall.

Assertion of presence or ownership. This category is dominated by logos displayed on structures housing particular entities, branding of specific objects and items, such as logos on waste containers. In contrast to other forms of public signage, logos are self-identifying: never anonymous. When an owning entity is clearly defined, signs such as parking space reservation plaques double as assertions of ownership and dominance over the particular spot. Other forms of asserting property or presence in the locality are notices warning about entering private property. A tacit form of ownership may be found on structures belonging to the urban infrastracture, which are sometimes marked with an inventory number which does not directly identify the legal ownership of the structure to the observer, but is a unique identifier of the structure for the owner. Writing on sewer covers presents a similar case.

Flags are another form of presence assertion. Lithuanian state flags which are permanently displayed in a specific range of institutions: the parliament, ministries, schools (but not research institutes), the liberal party headquarters. However, they are not the only flags found in the research area. An Azerbaijani flag marks the embassy residence, the European Union flag is displayed together with the contemporary and historical Lithuanian flags deep in the backyard of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the westernmost building of the parliament, while the petrol station flies Statoil flags. Although not directly limiting access or proximity to a particular built structure or other object in public space, these symbolic constructions serve to draw invisible borders between the inside – the structure and its immediate vicinity – and the outside, spaces, structures and subjects that cannot claim such ownership, even in cases when the place itself is open to a transient population.

Promotion of commercial circulation.

Both the forms and contents of this type of signage are as diverse as the numerous ventures that produce and display them. Advertising stands and billboards, which are encountered on the main streets of the district, post advertising that has no local ties. On the other hand, local business ventures provide information about locally available products and services in the form of promotional material at office entrances and shop windows.

There is a difference between business-authored communication which addresses the circulation of populations towards a specific place (signs showing direction of certain office or its location inside office building), and the directly commercial aims of advertising such as signs describing the company itself, its logo, or products and services provided. It is also notable that in some cases information in such signs, for example, instructions on parking meters or a public telephone booth, imparts the knowledge or skills required to be able to make a purchase or use it. A variety of surfaces is used for commercial promotion: vehicles, special stands, information stands, shop signs, show windows, bus stops, walls of built structures, fences, chalkboards, posters. A small number of commercial ventures are produced by private individuals rather than companies and take the form of posted notices attached to lamp posts or building walls and offering home-repair services, or "For sale" signs painted on a balcony or wall of a structure.

Invisible knowledge production circuits

An altogether different category of discursive practices, which was not foreseen at the initial stages of the research, has emerged during the qualitative analysis of legislation. This category covers forms of knowledge production and circulation of information that remains largely invisible to outside observers, despite having a potential basis in the varying functions of built structures in the urban milieu. Because a detailed analysis would go beyond the scope of this work, only a short overview follows.

A multitude of laws, rules and regulations pertains to production of documents by business ventures, governmental institutions and other organisations, documenting internal processes, the circulation of vehicles, goods, money, and waste products, procuring various licenses and permits (which as a process itself comprises a consolidation and exchange of documents), as well as obligatory provision of various statistical data to relevant governmental institutions. Although an immense number of these obligations pertains to duly documenting the circulation of goods, money and waste, a couple of clauses also touches on the residential population. It is obligatory to register one's place of residence in compliance with the Administrative code (Article 201-2), as well as provide information about the number of

people living or working in a specific space and its surface area according to the municipal Waste management rules (Article 27).

Most such obligations to provide information are standardised depending on their target and contribute to production of administrative knowledge by specific institutions, which are also based in specific places. The cityscape, depending on its density and the use, is a site of massive production of knowledge which circulates between commercial, governmental and private entities. Such documentation and reporting are both a form of disciplinary surveillance and of biopolitical accumulation of data. Its applications may be multiple: failure to comply with the obligation to document, or the rules of documentation, may in itself procure punishment, with few legal ways to opt out of the surveillance scheme, while data collected in such manner may be aggregated and used for compiling complex population-level statistics and big data analysis, such as various algorithms employed by the State Tax Inspectorate to single out private and legal subjects with an elevated risk of tax evasion. While the circulation of goods and waste involves additional constraints – specific spatial requirements and constraining links on certain populations – everything about controlling money flows is almost single-handedly focused on documentation, money is the most heavily surveyed of the three flows.

Other national laws pertaining to discursive practices beyond the apparently visible, set down general protection of the privacy of written correspondence and do not have a specific spatial component. Spatial control of private information circuits in national legislation pertains mostly to the prison compound. It includes detailed regulation of the amount, frequency, recipients and contents of written correspondence, telephone conversations, television and computer-mediated communication. Limitation of communication may be applied as a punishment for misconduct. Certain communication-pertaining items are included in the list of items that convicts are forbidden to possess.

Summary of findings

The semiotic landscape of the research area is characterised by a variety of forms and means of producing and reproducing discourses. Urban public

signage is significant because of its mostly local and emplaced meaning, rooted in the brick and mortar of the city in contrast to mass media. The analysis of public signage offers a double take on strategies of social control. First, the desirable and undesirable forms of discursive practices in urban space are themselves subjugated to social control in the guise of national and municipal legislation. Second, the contents of public signage frequently reproduce discourses of disciplinary and biopolitical control over conduct in its direct vicinity.

While national legislation is concerned with the linguistic aspects of public communication, including public signage, the contents of advertising and display of flags, municipal legislation describes the minute details of what types of public signage may be placed in which spaces, differentiating the following forms: posters, posted notices and general writing or graphic images. The appeal to the maintainance of order and aesthetics is made in motivating the limitations and prohibitions.

Social control over spatial conduct is expressed directly in the contents of public signage. Despite the substantial differences of form and authorship, the contents of most public signage engage in promoting dominating disciplinary and biopolitical goals. These include disciplinary traits of defining obligatory and prohibited conduct, asserting ownership and presence of private and legal entities, thus delineating flexible limits of spatial inclusion or exclusion. Biopolitical traits pertain to the circulation of vehicles and pedestrian traffic, and promoting the steady circulation of goods, money and waste.

Public signage is also a means of spatially rooted knowledge production which serves to structure urban space by naming streets and cataloguing buildings, anchor places in state-dominated historical narratives by the means of memorials, and transgressional forms of expression which evade both the disciplinary and biopolitical discourses by asserting the realities of everyday life. From a Foucauldian perspective, since power is rooted in the power-knowledge continuum and collection of data and statistics both at the individual level (of the body) and the aggregate level of the population, the discursive strategies of knowledge production are the main precondition to the strategies enacted by modalities of power. They constitute admin-

istrative or statistical knowledge that is collected and acted upon as the primary expression of power. The reach of knowledge denotes both the reach of control, delimiting what is in its scope and what is beyond, and its proliferation, the level of detail that is processed to create the knowledge. Therefore, the practice of producing self-procured knowledge, any kind of knowledge chosen by the subject rather than by the modalities of disciplinary and biopolitical power, the assertion of chaotic everyday life, become an alternative to the dominating discourse. While other formally illegitimate means of public signage are also present in the cityscape, only public signage pertaining to the alternative discourse is actively criminalised and marginalised.

Finally, a tension between the circulation of discursive means as meaningful objects in public spaces (such as flowers commemorating death spots, or posted notices) is legally put in tension with the circulation of waste. What everyday subjects may perceive as goods or meaningful discursive practices, the municipality may reframe as waste to be cleaned.

Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to establish the strategies of social control over urban space and the means by which they are embedded into the cityscape.

To achieve the aim, first a theoretical framework was constructed using the Foucauldian notion of disciplinarity and biopolitics, power modalities characteristic of the modern relation between the state and its subjects. A critical analysis of current urban research based on Foucauldian theory resulted in two guiding principles for further studies: the benefits of analysing both disciplinary and biopolitical influences on space, and the benefits of choosing a larger neighbourhood as an object of research rather than a single institution. Next, to construct the basis of empirical research, the theoretical underpinnings were combined with three categories of referents- for conceptualising control in urban space – the physical, the legal, and the discursive – gleaned from critical urban studies and cultural criminology, legal geography and semiotic landscapes. The relative novelty of these perspectives allowed to ground the research questions in relevant contemporary problems in the study of urban space. Combining the perspectives rather than using a single one provided a means of addressing the complexity of urban space from a holistic viewpoint. In the context of studies about Vilnius as an urban milieu, this work contributes to others by centring on social control as its key theme, and, again, addressing a neighbourhood rather than specific structures or types of structures. An empirical case study was conducted in a centrally-located, mixed-use research area in Vilnius, notable for the diversity and density of power configurations within it.

The disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of social control over urban space were generalised from the research findings:

Disciplinary power

(a) Physical

- Efforts to organise and maintain functions of built structures
- Physical means of access enforcement
- Containment and transparency-controlling practices

- Keeping the static populations – those spending time inside structures – in check

(b) Legal

- General rhetoric of municipal legislation (to an extent)
- Emphasis on environmental order and cleanliness
- Hierarchies of subjects, based on demographic characteristics or roles and their relations
- Regulation of authorship and form of public signage

(c) Public signage discourses

- Structuring and administration of streets and buildings
- Public signage contents targeting desired and undesired conducts
- Assertions of ownership

Biopolitical power

(a) Physical

- Planning and risk management schemes
- Technical means of access enforcement, including public surveillance technologies
- Dynamics of circulating populations

(b) Legal

- General rhetoric of national legislation (to an extent)
- Emphasis on public calm and public order
- Territory planning and construction regulations
- Regulation of goods, money and waste

(c) Public signage discourses

- Public signage discourse targeting circulation of populations
- Public signage discourse promoting circulation of goods, knowledge and waste

The findings of the research allow to address the interrelation of both disciplinarity and biopolitics, and the three aspects of social control that serve to co-constitute urban space.

First, disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of social control over urban space are present at each of the levels analysed, be it physical, legal, or discursive. There is no clear division due to which disciplinary practices would apply solely to closed, institutional structures or artificial spaces, and biopolitical practices would apply to open, natural spaces or milieus. There are no purely isolating or purely expansive structures in the research area, although a few are very restrictive, and a few are open and freely accessible almost all of the time. Both modalities of power affect the rest of built structures, albeit to differing degrees. Mapping showed that there is no consistent distribution of biopolitical or disciplinary traits throughout the neighbourhood. Although the rhetoric tends to be more biopolitically motivated in national legislation and more disciplinary in municipal legislation, all of the laws analysed have had both biopolitical and disciplinary themes expressed. Finally, despite the variety of form and authorship behind public signage in the research area, the vast majority of its contents reproduced either disciplinary or biopolitical discourses. Therefore it is not possible to compartmentalise disciplinarity and biopolitics into separate spheres of domination. Neither disciplinarity nor biopolitics dominates over the urban milieu as a whole, and neither dominates any specific layer of social control. In most cases they work to reinforce and confirm each other's workings.

Second, the analysis of public signage also contributed two elements that fell beyond the scheme of disciplinary or biopolitical discourse. The first one was the dominating role of the political state in the production of historical knowledge anchored to spaces in the research area. This may be seen as an assertion of the state as the dominant actor in the state-subject relation, as well as an assertion of the state as the defining entity of spatial relations. The second one was the presence of a transgressive discourses whose contents did not fit with in the disciplinary or biopolitical agenda. These provided an assertion of everyday life, from the perspective of its chaos and refusal of order.

Third, the three aspects of social control that were used to analyse the

case, also exhibit a co-constitutive interrelation as they are brought together to shape and develop the cityscape.

The physical dimension in its multiplicity of built structures both guides conduct and is shaped by it, is both a means and an end of social control. However in its multiplicity it may also become unruly or evasive of constant surveillance or risk-management. Physical space sets the material stage for public signage, but is also subjugated to the various forms of knowledge created by it.

The legal dimension is present in physical space as a regime of truth which aims to regulate both the structuring and construction of urban space, and conduct in that space. Law also shapes a specific regime of truth in public signage. The physical and the discursive may enact and emplace law, but also contradict and defy it. In its contents solely the law seems to have an upper hand over both physical space and its discursive elements. However, in practice this regime of truth does not equate with actual implementation, resulting in the varying thickness of legal implementation over physical and discursive space.

The semiotic landscape is regulated by legislative prescriptions, but its own contents may also reflect or reproduce the dominant discourses. The semiotic landscape may also complement law or compete with it by adding informally codified social control to the repertoire of norms. Knowledge is produced and also indirectly contested by alternative discourses which do not comply with the dominant ones.

Urban space is thus framed within the physical, legal and discursive frames within which the choice of conduct – or counter-conduct – is to be made by the acting subject.

The outcome of the study, a typology of biopolitical and disciplinary strategies of social control in the physical, legal and discursive dimensions, provides a framework with many perspectives for future research of the subject.

Understanding of the physical dimension may be expanded by analysing the spaces between built structures alongside structures themselves, the internal layouts of buildings with various functions, the spatial tension between privacy and publicity, material residue of functional and parafunc-

tional activities.

The legal dimension would be enriched by broadening the scope of analysed documents. While the current research started out with the inevitable layer of national and municipal legislation which hitherto has not been analysed with an urban problematic in mind, less apparent documents may have an equal or even greater say in the day-to-day functioning of urban space. These may include both state-produced documents such as hygienic norms, and documents produced by the transient and resident inhabitants of structures, such as internal rules and regulations of institutions and enterprises, or fire escape plans – internal documents found in most contemporary buildings charting even inaccessible and closed portions of space.

The discursive layer may be enriched by analysing the online presences of built structures on the Internet, where the problems of authorship and authority, the ease of opportunity to produce forms of knowledge about space may serve to develop a new set of complex research questions. Finally, the scope of the current work limited analysis to the nature of urban space as a socially constructed structure, without the opportunity to touch upon individual agency of the subjects living and using these places. Long-term observations of actual practices of conduct and counter-conduct in urban space combined with interviews or biographical methods may serve to bring the research to the next level and explore the role of the subject in perceiving, experiencing and acting within the current configuration of social control strategies as well as their temporal transformations.

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Appendices

A. List of document sources

(a) National codes of law

- *Administrative code of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos administracinių teisės pažeidimų kodeksas, 2014-10-29*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=488574

- *Criminal code of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos baudžiamasis kodeksas, 2014-05-15*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=471480

- *Penal sanction enforcement code of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos bausmių vykdymo kodeksas, 2012-06-19*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=427553

(b) Individual national laws

- *Detention of suspects law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos suėmimo vykdymo įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=435573

- *Tobacco control law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos tabako kontrolės įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=471771

- *Alcohol control law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos alkoholio kontrolės įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=478886

- *Construction law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos statybos įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=454053

- *Territory planning law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos teritorijų planavimo įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=478619

- *Waste management law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos Respublikos atliekų tvarkymo įstatymas*

  Source: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=470296

- *Advertising law of the Republic of Lithuania // Lietuvos respublikos reklamos įstatymas*

  Source: https://www.e-tar.lt/rs/legalact/TAR.303FC0152D04/format/ISO_PDF/

- *External advertising installation rules // Išorinės reklamos įrengimo taisyklės*

  Source: https://www.e-tar.lt/rs/legalact/TAR.227E5D9EC4AC/format/ISO_PDF/

(c) Municipal documents

- *Ordering and cleanliness rules // Tvarkymo ir švaros taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30203480&KlasId=10

- *Pet-keeping rules // Gyvūnų laikymo Vilniaus miesto savivaldybės teritorijoje taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30229417, http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30236910

- *Traffic regulation regimen // Techninių eismo reguliavimo priemonių įrengimo ir jų priežiūros vilniaus mieste tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30177521

- *Waste management rules // Vilniaus miesto atliekų tvarkymo taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30133539

- *Residential and communal premises and engineering equipment usage rules // Gyvenamųjų ir bendrojo naudojimo patalpų ir inžinerinių įrengimų naudojimo taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30200111

- *Retail in public places rules // Prekybos viešosiose vietose taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30226987

- *Rules of adaptation of premises for the disabled // Būsto pritaikymo neįgaliesiems vykdymo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30239468

- *Pothole elimination rules // Vilniaus miesto gatvėse atsiradusių įgriuvų, įdubų, inžinerinių šulinių avarinių gedimų operatyvaus šalinimo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30229598

- *Regimen for establishing unused buildings // Patalpų ir statinių, kurie yra nenaudojami ar naudojami ne pagal paskirtį arba yra apleisti ar neprižiūrimi, nustatymo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30224939

- *Sufficient building care rules // Statinių tinkamos priežiūros taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/ default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30204296

- *Video surveillance regime // Vaizdo įrašų duomenų tvarkymo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/
  Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30223766

- *Regimen for establishing unused ground lots // Nenaudojamų žemės sklypų nustatymo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/
  Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30217709

- *Construction permit issue regimen // Statybą leidžiančių dokumentų išdavimo tvarkos aprašas*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/
  Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30213153

- *Noise prevention in public places rules // Triukšmo prevencijos viešosiose vietose taisyklės*

  Source: http://www.vilnius.lt/vaktai/
  Default.aspx?Id=3&DocId=30149657

B. Legal documents content analysis code tree

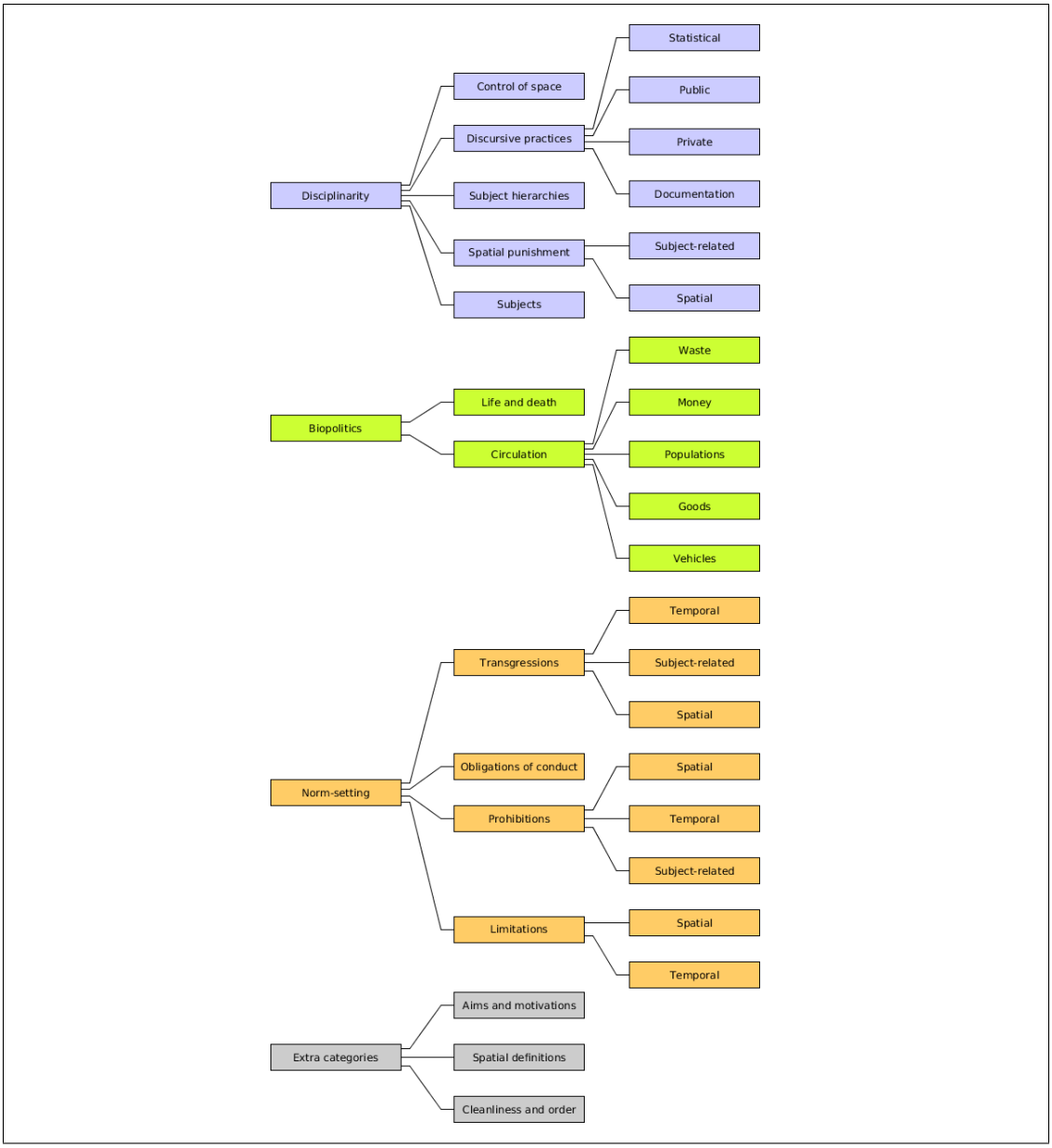


Figure 32: Codes from the qualitative content analysis of legal documents.