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Abstract

This paper sets out to describe and conceptualise four different ways of investigating material stabilisation involved in the territorialization and commercialization of a centrally located pedestrian precinct. In recent decades, Swedish retail areas have tended to grow larger and more legible; a large number of new large scale shopping areas have been established on the outskirt of cities, whereas stores in the city centre tend to be concentrated to certain streets or pedestrian precincts. In this paper, I investigate the case of *Malmö*. Malmö has been quite successful during the last decade in terms of retail business, and the ongoing pedestrianization has resulted in a large and coherent pedestrian precinct, consolidating the city centre as a shopping district. On the basis of an empirical investigation, I discuss how this urban type (and its paraphernalia) has developed in Malmö, and how it has stabilised over the decades as a 'territory for shopping'. This territorialization has also been accomplished by material means. The main aim of this discussion is to investigate the delegations and mediations involved in the process. In doing this, I propose a spatial perspective on materialities, discussing *networks*, *bodies*, *framings* and *sorts*, as four intersecting ways in which materialities can be described as having territorial impacts on the everyday life and culture of the pedestrian precinct.

1.   Introduction

The privatisation and homogenization of public places has been high on the research agenda during the last couple of decades, discussed in terms such as increased policing of the public realm (Fyfe & Bannister 1998; Mitchell 2003), the revenge of the middle class (Smith 1996, cf. Katz 2001), domestication by cappuccino (Atkinson, 2003; Zukin 1995) and

the notion of commercialization, and shopping as conquering and constituting the logic of the city as a whole (Crawford 1992, McMorrough 2001). In his article "Ambient Power", John Allen points out that a large proportion of this kind of research has been focused on aspects of exclusion, highlighting spatial power as exercised, for example, by guards and using surveillance techniques, while neglecting its more subtle expressions (Allen 2006). Allen goes on to develop a phenomenological discussion of ambient power, describing the ways in which power can be sensed and experienced as a certain atmosphere, and how it can work in subtle and suggestive ways, e.g. focusing on aspects of inclusion rather than exclusion. In this article, I discuss some of the material stabilisations involved in the territorialization and commercialization of a centrally located pedestrian precinct. My interest is, thus, in the more subtle types of spatial power, with a focus on a material and corporeal perspective in order to account for and conceptualize some of the ways in which materiality produce territorial effects. Although I sympathize with Allen's ideas of how power works through ambient qualities of space, such insights could also benefit from a detailed description and modalisation of the differences made by matter. In his paper, Allen juxtaposes his perspective of ambient power against that of power as expressed by means of physical form (Allen 2006:453), seemingly forgetting that materiality also plays important (although sometimes ever so subtle) roles in the exercise of ambient power. Although architecture and the built environment have often come to stand for durability and the symbolic representation of major power resources (Allen 2003; Dovey 1999), the role of architecture is much more extensive, playing parts in the mobilisation of the different rhythms, flows and activities of everyday urban life. In fact, architecture and urban design seem to play a growing part in the territorializations of public urban spaces. As new technologies and artefacts proliferate in a never-ceasing flow (Latour 1993), material and corporeal issues have become more important and elaborated in contemporary urban life and society (Dant 2005:136 ff.). This has also been evident in the renovations of European squares and public places during the 1990s and onwards, where many new material elaborations such as paving, street furniture, hedges, fences, fountains, outdoor cafés, etc., are gathered together. In research, there is also a new awareness of the difference that material artefacts and environments can make to the popularity, attractiveness, social mix and economic success of public places. In fields such as consumer behaviour, commercial planning and urban design, researchers are constantly seeking tools for and ways of understanding how material organization and design can be used to accomplish certain objectives (getting people to gather, to stay at a place for long times, to circulate, to buy, to consume, to appropriate a certain brand, etc.).

In this paper, I focus on the development of the pedestrian precinct in Malmö as an example of a place where material elaborations, actors, and urban design appear to have been mobilised in order to territorialize the precinct as a place for a culture of consumption. In the first part of the paper, I give a short history of pedestrian streets in Sweden, followed by a brief description of the evolution of the Malmö pedestrian precinct. The case of Malmö was primarily chosen for two reasons: first, owing to its relatively ordinariness. The pedestrianization of Malmö seems to bear great resemblance with similar processes in other Swedish (and possibly European) cities. Second, and in contrast, the process in Malmö has been quite a dramatic one, arousing the attention of planners, the media, consumers and others, thus providing a good and illustrative example. In the second and main part of the paper, I go on to elaborate on how the Malmö pedestrian precinct has stabilised over the decades as a 'territory for shopping' (Kärrholm 2004; Sack 1986), and how this process of territorialization can be seen to be the result of complex mediations relating to material designs and environments. I do this primarily by describing four ways of investigating the territorial stabilisation of materiality, and, although I take my cue from Allen's discussion of ambient power (Allen 2006), my main theoretical contribution in this paper draws upon the theories of spatial topologies as developed by Law, Mol and others (De Laet & Mol 2000; Law 2002; Mol & Law 2001; Mol & Law 2002).

2.   The Pedestrian Precinct

In recent decades, the Swedish retail environment has changed quite dramatically, with a major shift from local areas and neighbourhoods to automobile-oriented shopping centres on the outskirts. The average distance from home to store has increased, and stores have become bigger (Franzén 2001). These changes are, however, not just a question of relocation. As the old scheme of centre and periphery gradually changes to multi-centred regional urban landscapes, retail development actually seems to have more to do with assemblage, density and territorialization than with position vis-à-vis the old city centres. The centrality of a place is not automatically defined by the position of the old town centre but by its relation to other places with strong identities and attractivity. This change has promoted a new kind of competition, where even the old city centres follow the logic of territorialization, with stores concentrated within the frame of identifiable areas, such as pedestrian precincts, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), or other kinds of micropolises (Graham & Marvin 2001). The pedestrian precinct emerged, in Scandinavia and elsewhere, as an urban type of particular importance during the last decade of the 20th century, and the trend seems to be continuing during the first decade of the 21st century,

following the general tendency towards spatial homogenisation and clustering of retail establishments into larger and more legible areas or territories. Malmö (Sweden's third largest city with some 270,000 inhabitants), is no exception. After a retail business recession during the 1980s, Malmö came to be one of Sweden's most successful cities, with increasing numbers of customers and stores. Today, the city centre has a larger share of the choice product retailing than all the car-dependent shopping centres taken together. One main aspect of this success (in addition to focusing on choice products rather than food) is the pedestrian precinct, constituting the centre of recent urban investments, improvements and identity-building.

Pedestrian Streets

Pedestrian streets became popular in Sweden during the 1960s, when the arguments in favour of them were often about transportation and environmental issues, and the safety and comfort of pedestrians. In Sweden, the planning of the centrally located pedestrian streets began as early as the 1950s (e.g. in Uppsala, Thunwall 2002:61 ff), but was not implemented in reality until the following decade. The trend peaked during the early 1970s. 1970-75 has been described as *Gågatuepoken* – the epoch of the pedestrian street (Nordqvist 1984). Beginning in the 1970s, the pedestrian street also became incorporated into the critique of large-scale car-oriented planning and the desire to conserve old town centres. Despite its modernistic and functionalistic origins, the pedestrian street became an important theme for many writers interested in the social life, history, scale and aesthetics of the traditional European towns. After 1975, the growth rate of Swedish pedestrian streets began to decrease. The large department stores, often acting as important anchors on the pedestrian street, declined in numbers from the mid-1970s (Bergman 2003:165). However, the pedestrianization of city streets did not come to an end, but was confirmed as an urban type during the decades to follow. In the 1980s, chain stores made their appearance in Swedish cities together with new central shopping arcades and malls (Bergman 2003:182). Although these new indoor streets competed to some extent with the outdoor ones, they were often located along pedestrian streets, contributing to the further concentration of retail businesses to pedestrianized areas. Pedestrianization also interacted with the renaissance of urban life that began in the late 1980s (Gehl & Gemzöe 1996, 2001), and the pedestrian street went on to become the main arena for many of the strategies and investments enhancing a new concept of public life during the 1990s. In various Scandinavian cities single pedestrian streets expanded to form larger structures – a pedestrian precinct (Copenhagen stands out as the prime example in Scandinavia of

pedestrianization and its success, Gehl & Gemzöe 1996, Beridchevsky 1984).

Paradoxically, the strengthened position of the central pedestrian precincts could, to some extent, be regarded as associated with the success of shopping centres outside the city. In times of commercial recession, the expansion and redevelopment of the pedestrian precinct was used as commercial strategy for the city centre. Thus the primary aim no longer had to do with issues of transportation, congestion and safety, but rather with attractiveness (Robertsson 1991), thus also moving the issue of design higher up on the agenda. As late as 1991, Robertsson described the Swedish pedestrian streets as:

basic hard-edged and simplistic. Landscaping (i.e. trees, flowers, shrubs, grassy areas) or other design amenities, such as fountains and public art are minimal. Even pavement covering the streets tends to be utilitarian and lacking in aesthetic interest. (Robertson 1991:308)

However, during the 1990s the issue of urban design and the street environment came back on the agenda, The Swedish Urban Environment Council (*Stadsmiljörådet)* was founded in 1988, and by the end of the 1990s approximately 70 Swedish cities were involved in some kind of urban renewal project. These large new investments in the urban design of public spaces were also accompanied by new arrangements for recreational activities, markets and festivals (Bergman 2003:178f.; Olsson. 1998).[1]

The Malmö Pedestrian Precinct

The pedestrian street in Malmö came into being in 1978, and the pedestrianized area has been expanding ever since,[2] giving rise to places such as the square 'Lilla torg', a number of new streets, new malls, etc. At present the precinct of today consists of a main artery leading from the square of Triangeln into the city centre and almost all the way from there to the Central Station (fig. 1). In the city centre a small grid of pedestrian streets has developed over the years. Today the pedestrian precinct includes four squares, four shopping malls, and something like 200-300 stores (at least half of them in shopping malls). Further spatial extension is planned, including the square of Davidshall, and temporary extensions are also made on a regular basis, for example during the annual City festival, *Malmöfestivalen* (fig. 2). A more strategic and long-term support for the precinct is also explicit in the Municipal City Plan for Malmö, *Översiktsplanen* (fig. 3), where it is stated that the spaces for pedestrians should be extended by means of pedestrian streets (Malmö Översiktsplan, 2001:220).

The pedestrian precinct has thus become an increasingly important and expansive part of Malmö (fig. 4), attracting the interest of planners, retail managers, politicians, investors, etc., and it is slowly turning into a

showcase and a symbol for Malmö city as a whole (Ericsson 2001). The programme for the Malmö Urban Environment has further enhanced this development, since the prescribed design (of benches, litter boxes, billboards, kiosks, bus stops, etc.) is manifest in the pedestrian precinct, where the density of street furniture is high. There have also been some major changes, such as the renewal of the central squares, as well as part of the main artery (1999-2005). Much of the old building stock was renovated and new malls were opened. Today the investments in the town centre can safely be described as successful, both commercially and in terms of attention and popularity. Malmö has recently also received a number of national awards, such as City Centre of the Year in 2000 and in 2005, Bicycle Town of the Year in 2004, and Lilla torg was awarded Meeting Place of the Year in 2002.

3. Some Territorial Forms of Material Stabilisation

The territorial strategy of the pedestrian precinct is primarily about demarcating a certain territory for pedestrian use, prohibiting car traffic, and limiting cycle traffic within the area (on territoriality, see Delaney 2004; Kärrholm 2004; Sack 1986). Such a strategy can be accomplished by different means and in many ways (Book & Eskilsson, 1999:70; Nordqvist, 1984:41, on different types of pedestrian streets). A pedestrian precinct can also host a large variety of different territorial productions within it. These include the territorial strategies of outdoor cafés, shops, market stalls, fountains, bicycle stands, etc., as well as the more informal territorial appropriations of certain groups or individuals who turn a corner, a bench or restaurant into their 'own' favourite spot (on different forms of territorial production, see Kärrholm 2004; 2005). It is characteristic of a pedestrian precinct that it not only attracts necessary activities such as shopping or walking through, but also optional activities, that is activities people only do if the conditions are right, for example sunbathing and people-watching (Gehl 1987; c.f. Yuen & Chor 1998). The pedestrian precinct of Malmö has, in recent years, developed a new and ever-increasing flora of both formal and informal territorial productions, as well as the more or less specific paraphernalia associated with them.

How have material aspects contributed to the use and development of this urban type/territory? The territorialization of the pedestrian precinct is not just about institutionalization of a place in the minds of people by way of representations, brandings or associations, it is also about setting limits and creating opportunities for different activities. It is about the stabilisation or institutionalization of a specific set of usages and, in the end, the production of a pedestrian precinct culture. Indeed, materiality plays its part in these processes of territorialization. One could even

argue that the role of materiality goes deeper still, as it acts upon the subject in different ways by supporting certain behaviours and possibly counteracting others (see Warnier 2001, on materiality and subjectivation). Material design provides us with basic and vital qualities, providing surfaces for walking, roofs for shelter, etc. It might locate seating to certain areas, set the rhythm for certain senso-motoric practices, etc. It might also aid us in everyday decisions and moral dilemmas: should I pay the entrance fee or not? The gate and the ticket machine make such decisions easier, and might also keep the decision at a non-discursive and sometimes even pre-conscious level (Hajer & Reijndorp 2001:124; cf. Latour 2002). In this respect one can also see the role of materiality as related to recent discussions about bare life, and to the tendencies to politicise the "the simple fact of living itself" (Thrift 2004a:147, bare, or naked, life is a concept developed by G. Agamben, cf. Ek 2006; Thrift 2004b). Thrift describes a possible way of tracing and understanding bare life through the half-second delay between action and consciousness, the time it takes for consciousness to catch up with action. Material form and design can be used as a way of exploiting, aiding, guiding, restricting and determining some of the possibilities and limitations of bare life. Indeed, one could argue that by systematically engineering the relationship between materiality and body one could manipulate aspects of bare life by keeping many actions, movements and moral decisions at a corporeal and to some extent unreflected, or at least pre-reflective, level (cf. Thrift 2004a; 2004b).

Spatializing materiality

In recent years, many efforts have been made to find new ways of theorizing materiality in the social sciences (e.g. Dant 2005; Latour 2005; Miller 2005; Warnier 2001). Some of these studies (sometimes referred to as *Material Culture Studies*) have the advantage of accounting not only for what materiality and form mean but also for what they do. These studies, however, are often focused on the artefact (the object, the thing, the commodity), rather than on complex and spatially assembled artefacts (such as public places). To some extent, materiality also need to be studied and theorized in more spatial ways, for example by discussing how multiple artefacts are assembled in order to produce certain material effects of settings, frames, places or territories, and possibly spatial configurations and urban morphologies. Such settings or territories could act as mediators or actors in their own rights. This has to some extent also been investigated from the perspectives of phenomenology and semiotics (cf. Casey 1993, Hammad 2002).

Below, I make use some general insights and concepts from actor-network theory, ANT (Latour 2005), and deal with them from a spatial

(or territorial) perspective. ANT has been described by Latour as a sociology of associations, where important institutions or structures are not predefined, but traced as the effects, or networks, of associated human and non-human actors. Using ANT can thus be described as a way of dedifferentiating the world (Albertsen & Diken 2003), favouring detailed concrete descriptions and narratives rather than explanations given with the help of super-categories such as society, nature, the social, etc. One key feature of the theory is that it grants non-humans and artefacts a type of agency (Latour 2005:63-86). However, Latour's tracing of networks and artifacts has not been particularly elaborated in terms of spatiality (Murdoch 1998, being a notable exception). Neither has ANT been much used to describe the interaction between human beings and material objects (Dant 2005:81). In fact, Latour discourages his students from using place as a starting point for an empirical inquiry: "Places do not make for a good starting point, since every one of them are framed and localized by others./…/Circulation is first, landscape second" (Latour 2005:196). So landscapes, places, spaces, topoi are seen primarily as produced by networks (cf. Latour 1998). However, in order to account for the difference that places and territories make (their production); it is not enough to trace their networks and the stories/genealogies of network constructions. John Allen has pointed out the (Foucaultian) idea that power (in contrast to resources) is not pre-packaged, but is instead inseparable from its effects, criticizing Latour for losing sight of more simultaneous mediations of power (Allen 2003). ANT focuses on the possibility of overcoming distance (in time and space), and on the successive and incremental dimensions of power, constituted by enlisting more and more actors, making them obligatory and thereby stabilising the network (Latour 1992, 1996).

In this paper I draw upon a specific conceptual (and ontological) development of ANT, discussed in several articles by e.g. Law and Mol as spatial topologies (Law 2002; Mol & Law, 1994; Mol & Law, 2001). In these articles, they challenge "the tendency of networks to insist that there is nothing valuable, nothing firm, beyond the network." (Law 2002:97); supplementing network topologies with, for example, fluid topologies, Euclidean topologies and fire topologies (Law & Mol 2001). A network tends to be stabilized as tasks become delegated to more and more artefacts telling the same story, as certain actors become durable and indispensable, and as the network relations find a more stable shape. Law and Mol, however, suggest that there are other possibilities than networks for attaining continuity and stability. One point is that networks often depend on stability in Euclidean space. Stable regions or Euclidean objects/spaces might be made by means of networks, but they also make networks durable. Networks and Euclidean stability are in some sense co-dependent (Law 2002). Another point is that even if things change in

a network or in Euclidean space, an artefact might still keep its continuity in fluid space. Fluid spatialities imply that no particular structure (network or Euclidean space) is privileged, but that things might change shape and still retain their identity and use, as long as they change bit by bit, do not become defined by a particular boundary, and the actants[3] to some extent remain within the same family (having a family resemblance, Law 2002, Law & Mol 1994, 2001). A final and third point is that there always seem to be actants that are not part of the network, but that still are needed in order to sustain a certain effect, an effect that depends to some extent on an absent configuration or context thus not enlisted in (but other than, and made absent from) the network (Law & Mol 2004, Moreira 2004).

The topologies, as developed by Law and Mol, are quite abstract, but useful in investigating how stability is created in a world of transformations and change (an ontology of becomings), and thus suits the empirical case of this paper very well. However, these topologies have usually retained a very high degree of abstraction, making them too general for most empirical work. In the following sections I develop four different ways of organizing material stabilisation – each representing its own ways of contributing to the territorialization of the precinct. Although I am indebted to the concepts introduced by Law and Mol, the conceptualizations I elaborate on are not to be regarded as pure applications, but as transformations or more specific examples of these topologies in a more specific context, within the field of urban design studies. They are thus, first of all, a way of accounting for some of the ways in which materialities contribute to the territorialization of the pedestrian precinct. The pedestrian precinct as a territory is a result of a network of actants, such as rules, legislations, conventions, interacting people, objects, paving, etc. This territorialization is, however, accomplished not only by means of network stabilisation, but also by entities external to the network: by actants that gain and produce stability from outside the network through persistency in form and what that form can afford, e.g. in terms of bodily movements and gestures (bodies); actants that gain their stability from fluid and more ephemeral associations (sorts), and actants stabilized by absent, yet formative friends (framings).

Materialities 1: Territorial networks

A way of dealing with the materiality of the pedestrian street is to see it as part of a network topology. The pedestrian street is stabilized by actants, such as rules, artefacts, etc. that work together in networks in order to enable pedestrians to walk and dwell within the area. These actants (if, for the moment, we leave out the humans and non-humans not working from within the territory) supporting the territorial network

are, in the case of Malmö, for example, concrete plinths, speed bumps, and road signs that prohibit the entry of vehicles, as well as benches, paving, shops, and shop windows; objects that facilitate pedestrian uses and attract more people. Even movement itself could be seen as a territorialization in the context of a pedestrian mall. Shoppers and others walking to and fro within the area could be seen as actants who sustain and stabilise the borders of the territory, by marking a certain behaviour within it. This movement within the territory is, in turn, stabilised by the retail strategy of using malls as anchors at the ends of the pedestrian precinct (malls such as Triangeln and Hansagallerian). Furthermore, public transportation facilities within the territory, feeding the precinct with people, can be regarded as important actors in a process of territorialization. In short, the pedestrian precinct is a territory supported by a network of heterogeneous human and non-human actors (Latour 2005).

Basically, turning a street crowded with traffic into a pedestrian street makes it possible to accommodate many more artefacts such as benches, chairs, tables, sign posts, flower boxes, etc. In the case of Malmö, more and more objects have been added over the years, and as more and more actors work together mediating the same story (the precinct as a territory of a certain shopping culture) the *prescription* of the network becomes stronger (Latour 1996). We find new paving throughout the precinct, new entrances, the specialization of certain areas such as the restaurant-dense area of Lilla torg, or 'the fashion area' at Baltzar City, new themed malls, new outdoor restaurants, etc., in short: material, conceptual and programmatic modulations and delegations that are much more explicit, coherent and numerous at the pedestrian precinct than in other parts of the city centre, and that contribute to the stabilisation of the precinct as a territorial network.

We can also find sub-territories within the pedestrian precinct. One of the most evident examples of a territorial network within the Malmö pedestrian precinct, stabilized over the years, is *Lilla torg*. Lilla torg became an important part of the pedestrian precinct when one of its streets was closed to traffic in the late 1980s in order to accommodate restaurants. In 1995, the restaurant owners paid for new paving on the square. In 1996, one restaurant owner bought six LPG heaters for his open air restaurant, and soon many new artefacts such as new outdoor furniture, large sunshades, fences, blankets, new menus and more heaters followed (fig. 5). Ten years later, this small square has 150 heaters with underground gas conduits, and the restaurants have outdoor seating for a total of 2000 guests. Previously more occasional or mobile material actors (such as heaters and furniture) have now become fixed or, at least in practice, more and more stationary and obligatory to the network. Lilla torg has also become the venue of many events, including a beach

volleyball tournament, a squash tournament, different kinds of performances, a skating rink in winter, and a large screen television during summer sport events. This small square has become a place with a stable atmosphere/usage made durable through the enlisting of more and more actors. Today Lilla torg is a registered trademark, a tourist magnet and a restaurant dense area, playing its part as an important actant in the territorial network of the pedestrian precinct as a whole, affecting everyday practices and social interactions in urban life in Malmö. The square has even been used at times as a rough model for the development of other squares in Malmö, such as Möllevångstorget.

Materialities 2: Territorial bodies

Networks are often stabilized by linking more and more obligatory actants to them, but some actants seem to be more autonomous than others, mediating similar effects even when mobilized in different networks. The fact that certain artefacts are firm, material and embodied gives them some inertia. A wall that has lost the role of demarcating a territory (and lost its position in a former network topology) might still be difficult to climb or pass, and readily lend itself to a new territorial production. In theory, every object has possible effects outside the network at hand, and can be used in a de-civilizing way, inflicting pain, impeding movement, etc. In other words, it can be used in ways that undo its program and everyday meaning (Scarry 1985). Each artefact seems to have an inexhaustible range of possible uses. Still, empirical intuition tells us that something stable remains about the ways in which certain material things create recurrent bodily effects (not outside networks, or in all thinkable networks, but at least in several *different* networks). The effects of a speed bump on car drivers will probably remain more stable in different situations, cultures and times than would a Swedish road sign. So some relations between material form and body (in this case the body consists of car + human) remain more stable than others, and could thus better be described through a more traditional Euclidean topology, dealing with distances, heights, entrances, angle of slopes, textures, etc., than by their role in a certain network (Law 2002). The transformation of the pedestrian precinct in Malmö can, for example, be discussed in relation to two more basic bodily functions – *movement* and *occupation* (Hillier 1996). A similar distinction has been made by Rapoport (1987:83), who defines *dynamic* and *static* as the two main classes of pedestrian activities. The pedestrian precinct has encouraged the movements of pedestrians, and – in the spirit of shopping mall design – this encouragement has to some extent been accomplished (and set in stone) by means of material design. Many new materialities and artefacts have (since the start of the pedestrian street in 1978), been enlisted to support mobility and circulation, including smooth paving,

pedestrian crossings raised to the level of the pedestrian street, mobile furniture, sliding and revolving doors, etc. Looking at details we can easily detect differences between the pedestrian precinct and adjacent streets or areas, where the former have large smooth spaces to accommodate temporal networks such as festivals and markets, while the latter is more striated with kerbs, grass, low walls, hedges, traffic lanes, a.s.o. The latest renewal of the pedestrian street also ensured that shop entrances along the pedestrian streets were on a level with the street, whereas other central stores are usually connected to the street by a few steps. There are also more and more objects that set out to synchronize the rhythm of bodily movements with commercial interests, e.g. escalators, automatic doors, optic sensors, and ticket machines.

The logic of territorial circulation and movement go hand in hand with the production of discrete spaces for occupation within this landscape of walking bodies. Today more and more seats and tables crop up on the pedestrian streets, and the outdoor season is increasingly prolonged (Bianchini 1995, Gehl & Gemzöe 2001). In the early 2000s there was a clear increase in the number of open air cafés and restaurants that applied for (and were granted) licenses to serve outdoors even during the winter in Malmö. Seating possibilities ensure longer stays at the pedestrian precinct, and they keep up the number of people consuming, and circulating in the territory, for as long as possible. The seating areas are also very consciously designed as islands in a stream of circulating people – that is, they are subordinated to the function of movement, taking place in the stream of pedestrians rather than in an adjacent space. There has been a trend towards spatially integrating food courts, restaurants and cafés with the flows of consumers (fig. 6). In Swedish malls and department stores, as late as the 1980s, restaurants were often located on the upper floor, and much more clearly separated from the circulation spaces.

Material elaborations that support movement might also be viewed as actants in a territorial network. If this was the only way to describe territorial effects, however, important aspects would be missed. Some territorial effects seem to depend much more on the stability of material form than on the stability of the network organization. Some territorial rules are set in stone rather than by programs, thus keeping certain usages stable even if network actants and connections disappear and the network topology becomes distorted or transformed (cf. Law 2002, De Laet & Mol 2000). These usages have to do with our embodied being in the world, and the limitations/possibilities that materialities induce for our bodily actions and techniques; limitations/possibilities that are set by other means than the network organization and which are thus valid in other contexts as well. In the Malmö pedestrian precinct territorial form/body of the precinct stabilizes the consumer culture through a

material design that seems to allow for all sorts of different activities and programs. Nevertheless, it actually suggests and stabilizes certain bodily relations of these activities by sustaining a continuous system of distribution at the scale of the pedestrianized citizen (malls, walkways, entrances, etc.), keeping this system adjacent to discrete spaces of occupation (cafés, seating, shops, stalls, etc.). This balance between spaces that afford seating, standing, resting, and those that afford movement is important. The successive construction of such a fine-meshed spatial structure has well-known advantages for a shopping culture (cf. Chung et. al. 2001), whereas usages that depend on other and more large scaled spatial structures need to find suitable spaces outside the territory.

Materialities 3: Territorial framings

Materiality also participates in localizing the pedestrian precinct. In fact, many materialities absent from the territory still contribute to the stabilisation, definition and framing of its present qualities. This should not be interpreted as being synonymous with all extra-territorial actors that support the territory from outside the area (things happening at the city planning office, in the board room, etc.). In a network there are, of course, actants actively supporting the territory both from outside and from inside the territory.[4] Following Law and Mol, the spatial organisation of framing could be described by another topology, (fire), where constancy is dependent on "simultaneous absence and alterity" (Law & Mol 2001). It can thus, to some extent, be described through the logic of figure and background: the frame sets the figure; the territory takes its qualities from the background other than its figure (which is not part of its network). The territorial stabilisation of framing depends on a discontinuity between the territory and the stabilizing frame. It is "the unawareness of the presence of 'others' that sustains the stability" (Moreira 2004). Although some actants sustaining the territory as a network are lost, it remains effective to some extent as long as the frame is still there to support it.

One aspect of territorial framing is how the shops connecting to the precinct in different ways define and affect the milieu of the outdoor pedestrian street. Urban sociologist Mats Franzén has written about the unintended effects on public space brought about by more heavily controlled borders between open public space and shops, restaurants, etc. (Franzén 2001). Shops, restaurant and bars often tend to have explicit and implicit rules determining the kind of people and behaviours that are allowed inside. The unintended effects of these rules have a cumulative impact on the public space. Franzén calls this the "tyranny of small decisions" (Franzén 2001: 214), and points out that there might be a risk that well-adapted citizens hurry inside, whereas others are left outside,

leaving public space to be populated by some kind of lower class. The empirical case of the Malmö pedestrian precinct, however, indicates the opposite: more exclusive shops along the street and more alert guards inside the malls do not seem to result in a negative reflection projected on the outdoor street. Instead, it is the contrast between the pedestrian precinct (including the shops) and its surroundings that seems to increase, thus suggesting a tendency toward spatial homogenisation at the scale of the precinct as a whole, both indoors and outdoors. One of the classic Swedish urban examples of a micro-scale 'framing problem' is the "bench of the alcoholics", which is often established outside *Systembolaget* (the Swedish alcohol retailing monopoly). The usual debate is whether or not the bench should be removed (the debate is conducted in Malmö and Lund, and probably in most Swedish towns). In the pedestrian precinct in Malmö, this debate ended not with the removal of the bench, but with the closing down of that particular store, moving the problem outside the precinct altogether. At the moment, the only *Systembolaget* in the precinct is located inside one of the malls where patrolling guards can keep an eye on the crowd.

The main effect of territorial framing is, however, not on the scale of the shops or of a certain street, but at the level of the pedestrian precinct as a whole. In fact, the pedestrian precinct is dependent on many absent artefacts and structures, such as factories and workers producing goods (facilities impossible to have in a pedestrian precinct), as well as on residential complexes, housing potential customers and people with money. In terms of materiality the pedestrian precinct (being a small-meshed well connected net, designed for walking and shopping) plays, or may play in due time, a part in the production of suburban dwelling areas, large open spaces for parking, large-scale infrastructure and production sites – there is, in short, an interesting relationship and interdependency between the urban type and the morphology of the urban landscape. Many large-scale material structures are needed to sustain the fine meshed small-scale net of the increasingly mono-functional pedestrian precinct. This also includes a shift of territorial scales. As the pedestrian precinct has been territorialized as an urban type on a scale between the urban core and the street, a lot of issues, activities and forms, formerly handled or enacted on other scales, now seem to be taking place on the scale of the pedestrian precinct.

In terms of territorial framing, the pedestrian precinct is stabilised by the decreasing number of shops in the part of the city centre that is not pedestrianized, by the increasing capacity for traffic and parking at places adjacent to the territory and by the development of new housing areas in proximity, such as *Västra Hamnen* (whereas there is a decrease in the number of residential buildings within the precinct area). These activities need to be made absent from the pedestrian precinct, but still

they support the area and plays a part in its success. This is in some sense an absence that need to be present, because without it there would not be enough goods and shoppers to support it, whereas if all these activities were included in the precinct it would certainly risk losing its identity.

Materialities 4: Territorial sorts

John Allen describes ambient power in terms of the:

character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it [the urban setting] and which in turn seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt. (Allen 2006:445).

Materiality can contribute to this character or atmosphere in different ways ('character' and 'atmosphere' are both aesthetic concepts in architectural theory, Forty 2000, Albertsen, 1999). One way is through *territorial sorts*. A territory can be produced by way of association, where the proper usage is induced by the association of one place with another of the same 'sort' (Kärrholm 2005). For example, one might recognize a place as a 'public library', and therefore behave accordingly. This association and recognition a specific territorial sort is often quite dependent on the materialities that induces it (e.g. bookshelves, seating and an issuing counter). A certain scent, a configuration of artefacts, and the sense of an atmosphere can make us recognize a certain type or *sort* of place (a bakery, a city hall, a restaurant, a park, a dog exercise yard, etc.), and also bring to mind some of the 'proper' and territorialized ways of behaving at this sort of place. Indeed, one might relate the notion of territorial association with what Thomas De Quincey once called involutes. In *Suspiria de Profundis* he describes how: "our deepest thoughts and feelings pass to us through perplexed combinations of *concrete* objects, pass to us as *involutes* (if I may coin that word) in compound experiences incapable of being disentangled, than ever reach us *directly*, and in their own abstract states." (De Quincey, 1896:39). Involutes suggest that materialities can often be associated with human experience, and also that human experience can be structured and ordered by being embedded (and embodied) in the material world. These effects can be quite powerful, and are much desired and worked for today, for example in commercial enterprises such as advertising and branding.

Territorial sorts can be described as spatialized involutes, associated with a certain way of acting. Territorial sorts are central to architecture in general and building programmes in particular, where the desired functions of a certain building might be described in brief by the listing of territorial sorts, e.g., a dining room, a living room, a kitchen, broom closet, etc. (Markus & Cameron 2002). This listing of territorial sorts, although often associated with a more or less specific set of artefacts,

still guarantees a certain amount of freedom to the innovative designer, leaving him or her to explore and exploit some of the countless possibilities within the sort. By territorial *sorts* I thus mean a set of actants working within a fluid topology, sharing a family resemblance. Two places can be of the same territorial sort by sharing not the same actants, or similar actants, but actants from the same 'family'. Thus, none of the actants is obligatory to the territorial sort. The network might be transformed but the territory still remains effective (and to some extent 'the same'), since it can still be associated with the same *sort* of territory (cf. Law 2002; De Laet & Mol 2000). A disused bus stop that has changed both materially and programmatically, might still be associated with a bus stop, and thus temporarily used by someone waiting for the 'next bus'. Of course, there also comes a point where too many replacements have taken place, and the association is broken, the bus stop is no longer recognized, or it is transformed into a new territorial sort (for example 'a former bus stop').

The strength of the territorial sort lies in its creative possibilities; it is not dependent on a disciplined network but can spread, taking on connotations and making connections more freely (De Laet & Mol 2000). This means that sorts can often be produced through a territorial association, given that some material basics are provided for. An urban embankment is not usually a bathing place, but in Malmö, after the construction of such an embankment at the housing exhibition 2001, it unexpectedly became a much-frequented bathing place, and one of Malmö's most popular public places during the summer. The urban bathing place is a generous territorial sort that could be lent not just to planned urban beaches or swimming pools, but to almost any waterside venue.

Over the years, more and more territorial sorts have been added the city centre: the city festival, the open air restaurants, the fountains, and the farmer's market. Old urban sorts such as the piazza, the market, the festival, the carnival, could, thanks to their fluidity, be easily lent, represented and transformed in the context of the new urban landscape, and still remain recognizable as a certain territorial sort. The reproduction of uniform and similar places today is legion. In most middle-sized 'successful' Swedish town there are similar sets of chain stores, a central mall, a pedestrian street, a programme for the urban environment, etc. – an evolution of a city without qualities (*Eigenschaften* to follow R. Musil), or a generic city (Koolhaas 1995). This makes associations between places readily accessible. Through chain store concepts, urban environmental programmes, city festivals, etc., some territorial sorts have also been transformed in to networks, since actants are locked into certain network positions through the compulsory demand for a certain design, a certain colour, etc., and they

lose their fluidity and ability to transform (without breaking the association to the sort). Still, commercial planning is always experimenting with new territorial sorts, new concepts for stores (e.g. the internet café, the bookshop cafe, the library shop) and the material artefacts associated with them, making the pedestrian precinct the cradle for many of the new urban and commercial sorts. In Malmö, for example, we can see the coordination of different events, such as *Malmöfestivalen*, *Folkfesten*, sculpture parks, an art gallery night, a farmer's market, city walks, a horse & dog day, Saint Lucia day, etc. – mostly focused on the pedestrian precinct. The pedestrian precinct itself has become a stage for all sorts of events and temporary territories. This staging tend to be designed with material forms (together with sets of props), readily associated with other sorts of similar places, i.e. festivals, farmers markets, etc., to be found at precincts in other city centres. During the last decade public places have often been redesigned. In this respect the pedestrian parts of the city can be compared with those parts that are not yet pedestrianized. Davidshalls torg, Värnhemstorget, the west side of Gustav Adolfs torg, and other central but not yet fully pedestrianized squares are much more fixed in terms of territorial sorts. The territorial sorts at these places have a tendency to be moulded, homogenizing spaces, while pedestrianized areas often tend to leave potential for new and even overlapping sorts in the form, for example, of new or expanding outdoor restaurants, markets, festivals, commercial events, etc. (cf. Kärrholm 2005).

The possible effects of a subtle but readily associated territorial sort should not be underestimated. Territorial sorts seem to play a large part in the stabilisation of usages within the precinct as a whole, as well as within its different sub-territories, and it is important for retail and commercial enterprises to retain the possibility of transforming and establishing new territorial sorts.

The Material Territorialization of a Pedestrian Precinct

The territorialization of the pedestrian precinct should not be regarded as a story of city centre versus urban periphery. Rather, it may be regarded as a kind of liberation process; the city centre is no longer the given reference point of the city, but has become a place that has to be justified and judged on the basis of the things that happen there (like every other place in the urban landscape). Rem Koolhaas has tended to romanticize periphery, arguing for the advantages of blankness versus the disadvantages of identity and thus subscribing, as I see it, to the myth of the artistic genius or godlike inventor (Koolhaas 1995). Contrary to Koolhaas, I would argue (in sympathy with ANT) for an *ex nihilo nihil fit* view, since places throughout history (and on good grounds) tend to build on previous investments (monetary, psychological, social, etc.) and

do not start from scratch. The interdependency between a territory and its hinterland, between different de- and reterritorializations of the urban landscape is an important subject for further investigation. The pedestrian precinct is painstakingly mobilised and maintained by different activities, rules and regulations – as well as by delegation to a large number of non-human actants. In recent decades we have witnessed a proliferation of material artefacts (cf. Dant 2005) together with a homogenisation of material and morphological expressions that support this territorialization. The four suggested ways of discussing the material relations and paraphernalia that stabilise the territory of the precinct represent four analytical positions (and are not empirical phenomena that can be found in pure form). Most of the material designs of the precinct would benefit from being discussed from the perspective of all four proposed modalities. The four modalities can be discussed separately and might at times even counteract each other. An extended and contextual empirical investigation could put these modalities to use by looking at how they interact, comparing the pedestrian precinct with other public places. At a place such as the pedestrian precinct in Malmö, the territorial framing is strong and is also backed up by territorial networks, bodies and the proliferation of sorts. At other less meticulously designed public places, the territorial framing might be there, whereas the territorial body might be a relic of earlier usages, and the territorial networks might be weak, indicating that the place carries a potential for redesign (a 'design gap'). At places dominated by cars, there often seems to be a strong territorial body directing flows, separating traffic, etc., as well as a weakness of territorial sorts, since predictability is important, and the proliferation of new and unpredictable usages might be regarded as dangerous.

There are, indeed, interdependencies among the four modalities that need to be further investigated, which could be an important continuation of the work initiated in this paper. Based on the investigation at hand, it seems fair to suggest that the interference and aggregation of these four material means of stabilisation contribute to a strongly materially supported territorialization, as well as to the evolution of a kind of pedestrian precinct culture, enhancing a polarisation between the Malmö pedestrian precinct and the rest of the city. The territorial productions of the pedestrian precinct (outdoor cafés, markets, festivals, skating rinks, etc.) have opened up more activities and opportunities for the citizens of Malmö, and a lot of these territorializations also seem to be moving in the same direction, promoting consumption and further stabilising the city centre as a territory for shopping/entertainment, defining the pedestrian precinct as an increasingly mono-functional urban type. This goes hand in hand with more dystopian descriptions of the ubiquity of

shopping, and the city as a shopping mall (Hemmersam 2004, Mc Morrough 2001, Leong 2001).

4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have built upon John Allen's work on ambient power in order to demonstrate some material aspects of spatial power, mainly by using and developing some notions of ANT and spatial topologies (Law 2002; Mol & Law 1994; 2001) in the empirical context of a pedestrian precinct in Malmö. I have suggested four material forms of territorial stabilisation. To sum up, *territorial networks* are stabilised by the proliferation of increasing numbers of obligatory artefacts. In the pedestrian precinct, an increasing number of territorial productions mobilising larger and larger networks of material actants (both human and non-human bodies), contribute to the demarcating of a territory. The sheer proliferation and the formalization of the paraphernalia supporting different territories within the precinct (and the precinct as a whole), separates it from its surroundings. Also, the use and impact of stabilisation by way of *territorial bodies* seems to have increased and, at a general level, to sustain the area as accessible and comfortable for walking consumers. A proliferation of material designs (actants) that facilitate movements within the territory have been introduced to the pedestrian precinct during the last two decades, including smooth paving, automatic doors, optic sensors, street-level entrances, seating facilities, etc. The importance and scope of *territorial framings* has also increased. As the pedestrian precinct has become mono-functional, the morphological patterns seem to be developing into a more coherent, small-meshed structure, where large blocks are split up by indoor streets. This, however, also results in a greater dependency on absent materialities, for example on large-scale environments (housing areas, production sites, and parking areas) to support the precinct in terms of consumers and products. Finally, there seems to be a proliferation of new *territorial sorts* that are either specific to or at least concentrated in the pedestrian precinct. Old sorts of urban types from traditional European cities are transformed and sometimes disciplined or even locked into a network topology by companies such as JC Deceaux, or by Urban Environmental Programmes. However, new sorts are constantly being introduced, often by commercial interests, always on the lookout for something new to maintain the interest and renew the purchasing desires of the consumers. The pedestrian precinct has become the stage for more and more territorial sorts readily associated with similar places and pedestrianized areas in cities around the world.

How then do these four conceptualizations advance our understanding of urban transformations? First, they can be seen as analytical tools for

urban design and architectural research. Using them it might be possible to systemize and investigate more thoroughly what urban designers might know intuitively, namely the multiple spatial effects of certain material designs. This paper is, in some respects, a pilot study, presenting conceptual tools that make it possible to study how different spatial aspects and effects of materiality co-contribute to or interfere in different ways with different places, and to discuss the effects of different design proposals for the same place.

Second, theses new concepts have implications for discussions about public space and its transformation. Taking the perspective of ANT and territorial production, public and private space are not be regarded as two different, pre-defined categories found in the city, but as labels that can be more or less easily attributed to places of different territorial productions in the urban landscape. Territorial production and control is as much material as it is social. The suggested conceptualizations might advance our way of thinking about public space since it enables discussions of the relation between material design and territorialization. Through territorialization, material design plays a part in what you can, and what you cannot do at certain places, contributing to both factual control and a sense of direct or indirect control (cf. Kärrholm 2005). The pedestrian precinct in Malmö, and its proliferation of materially supported territorializations, is a good example of this point. For a more fully-fledge analysis of public place one might want to supplement this discussion with a more socially oriented one (cf. Mitchell 2003). However, the purpose of this paper was not to give an exhaustive description of commercialisation, its scope, its powers, or its full effects on public life and space. Instead, the aim was to acknowledge some of the differences made by materialities, which often tend to be overlooked. There is, in fact, a shortage of conceptualizations and theories that acknowledge the spatial impact of material design. Although it is often accepted that materiality makes a difference, the question of *how* this happens is seldom discussed.

The main focus in this paper on the role of materiality should not be read as a kind of determinism. People are free to oppose, misunderstand and transform the patterns of action these materialities tend to stabilise – people are not powerless; they always have the power to act (Foucault 1980) – but materialities will nevertheless always be there to have some kind of impact (predictable or not). I therefore conclude by pointing out one of the limitations or weaknesses of this study. Although it addresses some of the ways materialities organize and cause territorial effects and stabilisations, it does so at an abstract level, not fully describing the concrete power relations and contexts in which these stabilisations are enacted. This paper is mainly a study of materiality and how it can be described (in order to facilitate a detailed account of some of its impact),

and is therefore only suggestive when it comes to the scope of territorial power (or its history in a long-term perspective). Power is, as Allen has suggested, both associational and enforcing, and could involve different features such as:

The erosion of choice, the closure of possibilities, the manipulation of outcomes, the threat of force, the assent of authority or the inviting gestures of a seductive presence, and the combinations thereof/… (Allen 2003:196).

This view of power is related, as I see it, to the attempt made in this paper to evoke a material plurality, adding different modalisations of material stabilisation, and pointing out some (a small part) of the complexity of our engagements with the material world. By discussing materialities and how they are organized, I have suggested some of manifold ways in which they might participate in the different modes of territorial power that are enacted in public space. These material ways of stabilising territorial actions are otherwise easily overlooked, and different materialities run the risk of being reduced to a monolithic 'the material', or even worse, become merely passive products of social actors and institutions.

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Fig 1. Malmö pedestrian street, early morning, November 2005.

Fig 2. Temporarily pedestrianized street during *Malmöfestivalen* 2005

Fig 3. Areas where pedestrians will be given priority in Malmö planning (from Malmö Comprehensive Plan 2000)
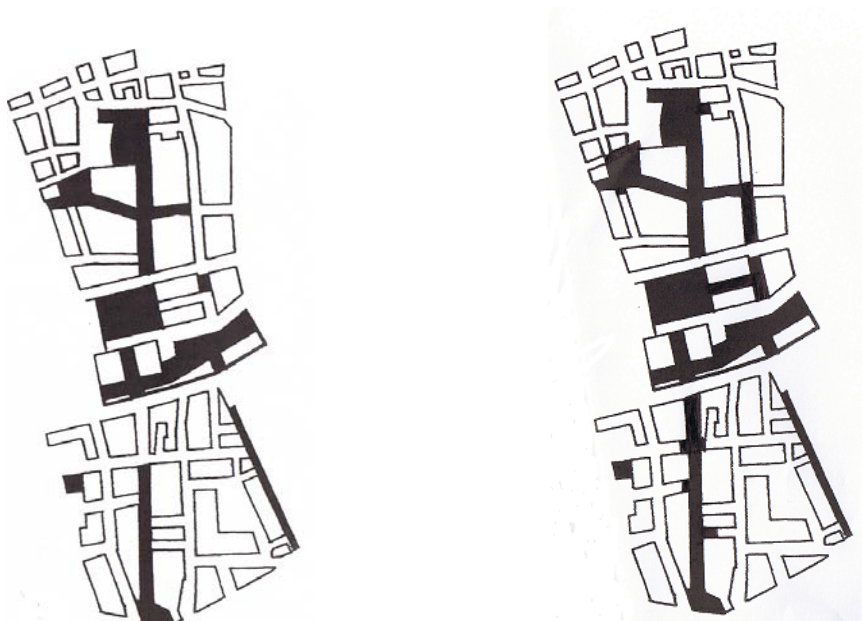

Fig 4. Malmö pedestrian precinct 1996 and 2006 (from Gehl & Gemzöe 1996:25, and updated by author)

Fig. 5. Tables, chairs and heaters (non-human actants) at Lilla Torg

Fig 6. Indoor landscape of circulation and occupation at a new shopping mall, Malmö pedestrian precinct.

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[1] In an empirical study of Gothenburg, Sören Olsson points out that city life during the twentieth century has tended to be concentrated to certain streets, at the expense of squares and other streets (Olsson 1998). In the late 1990s it seems clear that the most successful streets in this competition were the pedestrianized ones.

[2] In the mid-1990s Malmö had approximately 1,600 metres of pedestrian streets, more than the 1,360 metres in the larger Gothenburg at the same time (Gehl & Gemzöe, 1996: 25).

[3] The concept of actants is used both in ANT (Latour 1999:303) and in Greimasian semiotics (Hammad 2002, Sandin 2003). The concept, however, goes back to Victor Propp's analysis of folktales in the 1920s (Sandin 2003:120). In ANT actants and actors are sometimes used synonymously, where actant seems recently to be the most preferred term. I make a distinction here between actor and actant, related to the one initially suggested by Greimas (Greimas 1987, pp. 106-120, cf. Hammad 2002, and Latour 2005:71), following the line of semiotic discourse where actant is used to describe elements that modify a situation at an abstract level without figuration (and actor is something with figuration in a specific situation such as, for example, concrete individuals, a certain artefact, etc.).

[4] Territorial framing is similar to Latour's concept of framing (Latour 1996), only by adding *territorial* I suggest that it has more to do with localizing and placing the territory itself, rather than staging and framing territorial actions (whereas a *territorial* network to some extent already suggests a framed network).