THE SHARE OF FORM IN THE CREATION OF PUBLICNESS

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Abstract

This research was born out of concern, combined with curiosity for the state of the public realm. Inspired by Hannah Arendt’s belief that the public realm is an essential human condition that creates a setting for remembrance and for history, an entity that preserves humanity’s developments and assures it sustains - this research responds to the abundant assertions harbingering the impoverishment of the public domain, realm and sphere in modern and postmodern times. Concurring with the public realm’s ostensible decline, public spaces seem to be in a bad shape as well, as they are replaced by virtual spaces and by the media. The underlying impetus of this research was therefore to find out whether such assertions are apposite and just.

The public ‘world’ is intricate, comprising not only of people but also of nexuses that tie people together - artifacts and outcomes that pertain to the public, possessed by the public or made by the public, such as institutions, opinions, events, as well as places and spaces where the public reside. Public places are one aspect of the public world, and a very important one for that matter. Historically, they are the arenas of the public’s evolvement, the venue where history ‘was made’.

This research sought to delineate and unfold a concept - publicness, that is not defined in literary sources in any similar way and that links the social strata of a place with its physical strata, its form. Publicness is a qualitative feature defined as “the state and quality of the public place”, reflecting the place’s viability and vitality, ethos and atmosphere. The concept of publicness is reified in the profile of occurrences coming about in a public place. It can therefore be grasped, conceptually and empirically.

Publicness, or the profile of occurrences, exists in and amid two spheres - reality and imagination. Real publicness depicts the profile of real occurrences, and potential publicness delineates the profile of possible future occurrences that are likely to come about inside space, inside the form. Form is a receptacle that can sometimes dictate but mostly delimit all that can happen inside of it. Potential publicness lies dormant in every public place. It can presumably be scrutinized in form.

The juxtaposition of real and potential publicnesses raises the following questions: Are the spatial features of a space (form) colligated with what is happening inside this space? Is there a thread weaving form and occurrences together? Can this thread teach anything about the potency of space (form)? Attempts to answer these questions may infer on the share of form in the creation of publicness.

The research’s premise is that publicness, or the profile of occurrences, can be assessed. If publicness is analogous to the heartbeats of a public place, having intensity and rhythm, then it can be reflected in the place’s EGK. The research ultimately opts to offer a tool that not

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1. The manifold terms depicting the various aspects of the public world are expatiated in the research.
only grasps public places in a new way but also appraises them. Such a tool will expectantly test historical transformations in a public place, compare various coexisting places and even suggest ways to handle and hopefully improve the physical attributes of the public place.

The theoretical construction suggested by this research, the conceptualization and capturing of publicness, was tested on a historical case study - the Dam Square in Amsterdam. Results demonstrate how the six profiles of publicness in the Dam Square have altered throughout history, maintaining that contemporary publicness is not actually impoverishing, but rather undergoing a complex transformation. The study reveals that potential and real publicnesses are viable concepts that hold a veritable relatedness, asserting that form does take part in the creation of publicness, in intricate and latent ways that may be further explored.
**Abriss**

Diese Studie entstand aus Interesse für den Zustand des öffentlichen Raums. Inspiriert durch Hannah Arendts Ansicht, dass der öffentliche Raum zum menschlichen Grundzustand gehöre, der eine Szenerie für Erinnerung und Geschichte herstellt, ein Gebilde, das eine Momentaufnahme der Menschheitsentwicklung bewahrt und ihr Weiterbestehen sichert, antwortet diese Studie auf die weit verbreitete Behauptung von der Verarmung des öffentlichen Bereiches in modernen und postmodernen Zeiten. Gleichzeitig mit dem augenscheinlichen Rückgang des öffentlichen Bereiches scheint auch der öffentliche Raum in schlechtem Zustand zu sein, ersetzt durch virtuelle Räume und durch die Medien. Der ursprüngliche Anstoß zu dieser Studie ist also zu prüfen, ob diese Behauptungen zutreffen.


Publicness oder das Profil des Auftretens, besteht in und zwischen zwei Bereichen - Wirklichkeit und Phantasie. **Reale Öffentlichkeit** schildert das Profil vom realen Auftreten und **mögliche Öffentlichkeit** skizziert das Profil des möglichen, wahrscheinlich zukünftigen Auftretens innerhalb des Raumes, innerhalb der **Form**. Die **Form** ist ein Gefäß, das manchmal vorschreiben kann, aber meistens alles abgrenzt, was in ihr geschehen kann. Die **mögliche Öffentlichkeit** ist in jedem öffentlichen Platz vorhanden. Es kann in der Form vermutet werden.

Die Nebeneinanderstellung von **realer** und **möglicher Öffentlichkeit** wirft die folgenden Fragen auf: Sind die räumlichen Eigenschaften eines Raumes (einer Form) verbunden mit dem, was innerhalb dieses Raumes geschieht? Gibt es eine Verbindung zwischen **Form** und **Auftreten**? Kann diese Verbindung etwas über die Möglichkeiten des Raumes (der Form) aussagen? Versuche, diese Fragen zu beantworten, könnten rückschließen auf den **Anteil der Form in der Herstellung von publicness**.

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1. Die englischen Begriffe public domain, realm und sphere werden in der Arbeit in aller Einzelheit eingeführt.
2. Wörtlich übersetzt ist publicness Öffentlichkeit, aber hier ist die Ein- und Abschätzung der Öffentlichkeit gemeint.

Der hier vorgeschlagene theoretische Aufbau, die Konceptualisierung und Definierung von publicness, wurde auf eine historische Fallstudie geprüft - der Dam Square in Amsterdam. Resultate zeigen, wie die sechs Profile von publicness im Dam Square sich während der Geschichte geändert haben, behauptend, dass die zeitgenössische Öffentlichkeit nicht wirklich verarmt, eher eine komplizierte Umwandlung durchmacht. Die Studie entdeckt, dass mögliche und reale Öffentlichkeiten brauchbare und developmentsfähige Konzepte sind, behauptend, dass Form an der Kreation von publicness teilnimmt, in schwierigen und latenten Weisen, die weiter erforscht werden können.
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To Zurich. This research came into being while meandering in its streets.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“Only the existence of a public realm and the world’s subsequent transformation into a community of things which gathers men together and relates them to each other depends entirely on permanence. If the world is to contain a public space, it cannot be erected for one generation and planned for the living only; it must transcend the life-span of mortal men”.

In her seminal book ‘The Human Condition’, Arendt discusses the public and private realms, contending that between natality and mortality the public realm provides and preserves the world, creates a setting for remembrance and for history. For Arendt, the public realm is an essential human condition, the backbone of humanity, the entity that preserves its developments and assures it sustains.

Inspired by Arendt’s belief in the pre-eminence of the public realm, this research was born out of concern, combined with curiosity, for its state. It responds to the ongoing and ceaseless contentions claiming that the public realm is impoverishing. The underlying impetus of this research is therefore to find out whether such assertions are apposite and just.

The research is situated on two converging drawbacks: the ineptitude to assess contemporary public places in terms of their qualitative characteristics, and the disability to estimate historical transformations that public places underwent. This research aims to offer a tool that can appraise public places, a tool that will capture the publicness of public places, provide with a qualitative assessment, and not rely on the places’ spatial, geometrical or architectural attributes or on the personal experiences and reactions that the places evoke, as in various prevailing researches.

When relating to the ‘public’, one can either refer to the human dimension (the people that constitute this ‘public’) or to the products and artifacts that pertain to the public, possessed by the public or that are made by the public, such as buildings, opinions, events, and of course, the spaces where the public reside. Several prevailing keywords denote the different constituents of the public world, which will be presented in the literature analysis: public sphere, public domain, public realm, and public space or place. Their definitions and intricate relations are far from being unequivocal.

1. Arendt 1958: 55
2. When mentioned in this research, ‘public realm’ refers to the social human stratum of the public place – interactions and behavior. The social stratum is always embodied in space, which means that space constitutes its background. ‘Public sphere’ refers to the political power of the public (leaning on Habermas’ definition). It is perhaps that only term that draws away from the spatial features of place. ‘Public domain’ refers to the physical space that accommodates the human component, which means that it comprises of both the physical and the social (although inclining towards the physical); and ‘public space’ focuses on the physical (architectural, natural, corporeal), although this does not mean that the human component is totally absent from it. In other words, it is clear that all terms accommodate both the physical and human aspects. The only difference between them is the proportions between the two components, and which is being focused on. An elaborate explanations of how I see the differences between these terms, is presented in chapter 2, the literature analysis.
The public spaces, the territories where the public resides, physically, are only one aspect, and a very partial one for that matter, of the public world. Notwithstanding, it is an important aspect. Historically, the public place was one of the major arenas, if not the most important one, of the public’s evolvement. It was the venue of numerous important historical events, the place where people’s ‘history was made’. Although it was never exclusive, it was always conspicuously meaningful.

Numerous twentieth century voices herald the decline of the public realm\(^3\), as opposed to more current voices advocating the legitimacy of new social structures that express the changing lifestyles\(^4\). It is a big question if the public realm is indeed impoverishing, as some critics and writers lament, or if it is merely undergoing a metamorphosis, adjusted to society’s new cultural conditions.

The abundant assertions harbingering the impoverishment of the public domain, realm and sphere in modern and postmodern societies go in tandem with the evolution of the enlightenment and its inherent veneration for individualization and privatization. The dismantling of western society’s own traditional intrinsic structure has been studied by Habermas in his far-reaching theory on the public sphere\(^5\). This process has been supported by modern technologies (transportation, media, computer and information technologies)\(^6\), and propelled by psychological developments ascribed in particular to the western society\(^7\). Hence, the western public domain consists of an immanent contradiction: a place designated for the collective, in a gradually growing individualistic society. This inherent incongruity is the apodictic outset for all discussions in this research.

Concurring with the public realm’s ostensible decline, public spaces seem to be in a bad shape as well\(^8\). Public places are replaced by virtual spaces and by the media, drawing people into their privatized realm\(^9\). On the other hand, the physical condition of most modern-aged public places inherited from our modern predecessors is quite poor to begin with\(^10\). Most twentieth century public places are least attractive. On top of that, contemporary sprouting public places seem to cling, in growing portions, to pure hedonistic pleasures and introverted indulgences.

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\(^{3}\) Voices that explain the process from a different perspective, for example that of Davis 1990, Auge 1995, and earlier ones as Habermas 1962 (trans. 1989), Sennet 1974, Lefebvre 1970 (trans. 2003), Arendt 1958.


\(^{5}\) ‘the Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere’, 1989.

\(^{6}\) Mitchell 1999

\(^{7}\) Sennet 1974, Riesman 1961 and even Arendt 1958.

\(^{8}\) Referring to the diminishing importance of place as “global flows of people, ideas, capital, mass media, and other products have accelerated. The most common ways to describe this shift – both geographical and perceptual – are de-territorialization and placelessness” in Ellin 1996:1, or as Arefi terms these shifts also as ‘non-place’, describing a new era in which accessibility has become superior to proximity and propinquity, in Arefi 1999: 180

\(^{9}\) One can be under the impression that most people nowadays take part in public occurrences, via their TV screens, from their private realm. Does it mean that people experience less the public happening in real? or are there perhaps more opportunities to experience public happenings through the media as well? There is no doubt as for the power of the media in reviewing public occurrences. A public happening, and especially a political one, needs spectators, as discussed by Lofland (1998:186-88). All public manifestations need spectators for nourishment. Whether real or virtual audience, these two realities are inseparable when it comes to contemporary public sphere.

\(^{10}\) As criticized by endless writers, see Ellin 1996:3-4
Time spent in various western public places would prove that such a shift is taking place indeed. However, delineating this shift through impressions and sensations is problematic, as it leans on intuitions and nostalgic predilections, which the present generation seems to be prone to, perhaps more than former generations\textsuperscript{11}.

This research refers to two disparate yet inextricably linked literary discourses. The first delves into the philosophical concepts and terminologies of the public world, bolstering the conceptualization of ‘publicness’. This group of scholastic undertakings identified, defined and outlined the basic concepts that pertain to and establish the building blocks of the public world, for all its various facets (social, philosophical, spatial etc). To this group belong, for example, Habermas (delineating the concept ‘public sphere’ and the way its structure has transformed in history), Lefebvre (binding society and space in an unprecedented way, stressing how the latter is a product of the former) and Arendt (explaining the public realm metaphorically, as the backbone that keeps humankind together, referring to both its social and spatial aspects). This group tends to present conceptualizations that are innovative in character, offering ideational ‘break-through’s in the way we grasp the public world. The literature chosen in this research to be part of this first group focuses largely on the kinships of the public social world with space. This literature analysis has instigated to unfold the concept of publicness. Although some use the word ‘publicness’ obliviously, it has not yet been addressed nor defined, at least not formally. This research wishes to confront this concept and redefine it.

The second discourse consists of theories binding space and society (revolving around the public realm). These theories constitute the backdrop of the research’s aims and methodologies. Striving to establish theoretical interpretations to various phenomena, on the verge of theoretical approaches, these theories seized the space-society nexus and located it at the crux. Some of the chosen theories came from the social sciences, aiming to enlighten readers about society, while some emanated from the architectural field, opting to pave a route for ensuing architectural guidelines, on various levels of applicability. As opposed to the first group, this one did not wish to propose new conceptualizations, but rather unveil and unfold the inner connections between known actors – people and space. The approaches presented in this literature review consist of three disparate subgroups. The first are ascribed to the social sciences, including Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre and Mike Davis. The second subgroup pertains to the architectural discourse, comprising of Jane Jacobs and Bill Hiller. The third subgroup, titled ‘everyday ethnographies’, is presented as an ensemble, a unit corpus, comprising of a diverse array of researchers and texts\textsuperscript{12}. Choosing these six theoretical approaches was not done in oblivion. They all integrate space and society, in an exceptional manner. They are emblems of various epistemologies that were formulated in different epochs, comprising altogether of a colorful array and a varied picture.

\textsuperscript{11} As part of the postmodern romantic resurgence, ibid:4-7
\textsuperscript{12} e.g. Iain Borden et al. 1996, Chase et al. 1999
This academic discourse inspired the research’s methodology - its aims and methods of inquiry. Inspired by most theories presented in this analysis, this research subscribes to most of their concepts, premised and credos, adopting certain ideas while excluding others. However, the stark difference distinguishing the theoretical approach of this research from the rest is its aim. This research attempts to put forward a slightly different product, located in between inapplicable theories that formulate abstract philosophical ideas and applied quantitative, scientific theories. This research opts to delve into an abstract idea and assess it in quantitative measures. Instead of prescriptions, this research wishes to offer general schemas and directions, to infuse with food for thought and not with resolutions or any decisive rules. In other words, in between abstract conceptualizations and accurate quantitative measurement, this theoretical approach locates itself in an intermediate position, with the ability to assess situations and furnish with qualitative guiding tools.

Public places are unabatedly discussed and researched, either from personal experiences or emotional standpoints, or from rational and analytic positions. However, a grounded method that estimates and compares public places, their vitality and viability, is yet missing. All the abounding literary sources do not seem to respond in a sufficient manner to the needs that were posed by this research – to appraise public places in a qualitative manner. Hence, this research endeavored to exceed the confines of these above-mentioned theories in three ways: in the new concept it aspires to decipher (dealing with a new ‘what’), in the methods it offers for doing so (dealing with a new ‘how’) and to some degree, in its aim (offering a new ‘why’). This research attempts to present a new theoretical structure impelled by new motivations, while leaning on prior copious theoretical knowledge.

Publicness is a qualitative feature. It is defined as “the state and quality of the public place”, reflecting the place’s viability and vitality, its ethos and atmosphere. The concept of publicness reified in the profile of occurrences coming about in a place. If such a profile can be grasped, conceptually and empirically, then an applicable tool can emerge. Analogized to the EKG\(^{13}\) of a public place, capturing its viability, beats and rhythm, the research’s premise is that publicness, or the profile of occurrences, can be assessed. This tool will enable to test historical transformations in a public place, or to compare various places that exist simultaneously. Such a tool might eventually suggest ways and recommendations to handle, and hopefully improve, the physical attributes of the public place\(^{14}\), recommendations that will ultimately be directed towards the architectural expertise\(^{15}\).

Publicness is much more than a portrayal of disparate occurrences accumulated together. It does not merely reflect the contents and incentives of happenings \textit{per-se}, but also expresses their essence as a \textit{collection}, as a group. The profile of occurrences combines the ordinary,

\(^{13}\) albeit this EKG is qualitative in parameters
\(^{14}\) In existing public places, or in planned ones.
\(^{15}\) Reflecting my own personal propensities and upfront motivations revolving around this research, being an architect who is first and foremost interested in space and its materials.
the recurring and the habitual with the unexpected and the extraordinary. Thence, every profile consists of an intrinsic propensity towards variability, fluidity and mutability. Some profiles tend towards steadiness and stability, whereas some comprise of mercurial, contingent and unexpected divergences within.

The profile of occurrences exists in and amid two spheres - reality and imagination. Occurrences take place in the real world. Occurrences can also be imagined within various spatial contexts. If \textit{publicness} represents the profile of occurrences, \textit{real publicness} depicts the profile of \textit{real occurrences}, then \textit{potential publicness} delineates the profile comprising of all potential/future/possible occurrences that are likely to come about inside space, inside the \textit{form}. \textit{Form} is a receptacle, and receptacles can sometimes dictate, but mostly delimit, all that can happen inside them. The \textit{potential} profile of occurrences lies dormant in every public place. It can therefore be read and carefully captured, through the analysis of \textit{form}. The research hypothesizes that \textit{form}, grasped as a receptacle, embodies both \textit{real} and \textit{potential Publicnesses}. Form can thus delineate potential publicness just as all occurrences, accumulated together, can depict real publicness.

The research attempts to juxtapose and confront the spatial attributes of the place with the public's comportment taking place inside it. Do the spatial features of a space (\textit{form}) have anything to do with what is happening inside this space? is there a thread weaving them together? Can this thread teach anything about the potency of space (\textit{form})? The basic and most critical question is therefore: what is the role, or share, of the spatial properties of the \textit{public space} (\textit{form}) on the way that the public's behavior is generated? By juxtaposing real and potential publicnesses (the real and potential profiles of occurrences) one can infer on the share of \textit{form} in the creation of \textit{publicness}.

So far, most theories in Architecture and urban design, just as in social sciences, have succeeded in enlightening space and society's interrelations, but have fallen short in deducing desired implications for the architectural expertise\textsuperscript{16}. As already mentioned, the aim of this research is to assess the \textit{quality} of a public place, in a \textit{qualitative} manner through a diligent study of \textit{form}.

Hence, it is not surprising that all of the abovementioned motivations and impetuses were a driving force for a new research to emerge precisely within the architectural field. The intellectual sphere that tackled this space-people kinship provided some very interesting, even fascinating insights. However, from the standpoint of the architectural praxis, this endeavor seems contingent and unemployable for the most parts. This extensive intellectual endeavor has thus left architectural and urban-design experts to make their own personal deductions and interpretations within this vastness of philosophical theoretical understandings. From a

\textsuperscript{16}Architectural theories that produced eventual prescriptions have almost never derived out of researches that dealt with social sciences (referring mostly to the modernistic paradigm, the postmodern urban design approaches etc). Usually, they were formulated within the disciplinary field of architecture, for the disciplinary field of architecture, and remained isolated as such.
practicing architect viewpoint, it seems that the enormous gap between theory and practice is sometimes overwhelming, as if the two lobes of the brain, one in charge of ‘knowing’ and the other in charge of ‘doing’, are not necessarily in convergence. It is therefore extremely crucial to try to bridge the theoretical philosophical with the practical in the field of architecture.

This research addresses all people entangled with the urban surroundings in general, and public places in particular. It is first and foremost intended to give professionals who deal with space (i.e. architects, urban designers and planners) new tools to understand public places, and assess the potential implications of their design ideas in a qualitative way. It also addresses various other decision-making professionals that emanate from all spectrums of professional social world, such as: geography, urban-sociology, anthropology, urban-economy, politics and all other disciplines that consider the urban artifact to be their locus and objective. This research aspires to make them realize the meaning of form and its role on the public’s comportment, and thus learn how, armed with (hopefully) the right ethical values, form can be utilized for people’s benefit.

The lamentation of the public realm prevailed during the second half of the twentieth century (Habermas, Arendt, Sennett, Riesner, Lefebvre and others). Nowadays it seems that intellectuals are much less adamant about this ostensible resolute process, claiming that the situation is far more complicated (Hajer, Gastil, Borden, Oldenberg). Perhaps public spheres are less political - this is possible indeed. It is quite certain that western public spaces are more inclined to recreational and hedonistic experiences. How is this twofold tendency affecting the political facet of the public realm? It may be reasonably claimed that public spaces underwent transformations in the last century, responding to the changing society. However, it is not clear whether these changes are sheer negative.

In light of the above-mentioned, one must ask the following question: if the transformations of the public place and the public realm derive from the needs of society as part of its natural evolvement, who are we, architects, planners, policy makers etc., to suggest or even think it should develop otherwise? Why not let society take its course, and devote ourselves to serving people’s needs. Shouldn’t our preoccupations (or obsessions) with the public space be renounced?

The answer, as implied by this research pursuit, would argue that such a question could not be answered under contemporary short-sight perspective. Obviously, any answer carries personal values, oscillating between liberalism (‘yes, relinquish the public realm – it is not needed anymore’) and conservatism (‘no, maintain it – we like our cities as they are’). Regardless of any belief, current generations cannot predict the needs of future generations. By renouncing our duty to confront the changing conditions of the public realm and to sustain the role of the public places that are needed for the life of the public, we might be closing off opportunities
from our offspring generations\textsuperscript{17}. This emanates from a sense of responsibility more than from the fear of change. There is a great need to pay close attention to matters of sustainability, whether to the ecological aspects of the environment or to societal aspects that concern human beings.

Beyond matters of historical developments or future social needs, it seems that people are willing to maintain the public domain for rather hedonistic reasons. It is therefore the duty of professionals entangled with the urban creation to find clever ways to respond to contemporary societal and psychological needs without ceding on the concern for the public sphere and its political facet. If, by chance, contemporaries are imprudent enough to misunderstand the significance of the public domain as part of their well-being - then it must be the responsibility of professionals to make sure that they can always have the opportunity to use the public domain, by assuring that they do not lose it. However, if the decline of the public domain is not merely a local deviation or a provisional trend, but is part of an inevitable successive development of humanity (which is doubtful), then there will always be opportunities in the future to renounce this professional guardian duty. It is my believe that professionals must bear a social responsibility and propagate a concern for the public realm and its public spaces, for as long as they do not know otherwise.

An ideologically laden research has naturally merits and demerits. Any preoccupation with the public realm necessitates, in my opinion, strong credos and convictions. Perhaps true to any field of research, inciting researches usually have an agenda. Publicness is a term that consists of values - the state and quality of the public sphere. Although it can be depicted from a rather neutral position, by its definition, it is clear that there are better and lesser publicnesses, depending on the eyes of the beholder, and that there is an intrinsic aim - to chase and hopefully capture the better ones.

When conducting a research, the advent of ideology entails inherent problems, such as precarious objectivity, prior inclinations, unconscious and even biased decision-making. Throughout the analyses and the formation of the theoretical approach, I have tried to maintain a strong sense of self-criticism constantly guarding to avoid oblivious or mistaken decisions along the course, and if there are any such mistakes - they were unintended. The issue of validity is therefore at the crux of this work, and will be expatiated further on in this document. An ideologically laden research must entail a high amount of self-criticism. I hope to have succeeded with that to a fair extent.

\textsuperscript{17} Adhering closely to the discourse on sustainability, which defines its duty as "Meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs", in Brundtland report from 1987. I believe that the public domain should get some attention as part of the natural (human) ecology.
The research structure consists of three principle sections and an appendix:

- Frameworks (Backgrounds of the study);
- Body of research (Theoretical Construction and Case Study Analysis);
- Conclusions.

Subsumed in the first section (frameworks) and succeeding this first introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the research various backgrounds. Starting with introducing the major conceptual frameworks, such as the research question, hypothesis, glossary and so forth, it then continues to the literary survey, which is, as stated earlier, a twofold review. This chapter ends with scanning the preeminent epistemological backgrounds that the research’s methodology applies.

The second section includes the body of research. It comprises of two modules: a theoretical construction and a case study analysis. The former underpins the latter, whereas the latter tests the former. Each bulk is presented in a separate chapter.

The theoretical construction in chapter 3 constitutes of three concatenated stages: the conceptualization of publicness, the fragmentation of this concept into three pivotal properties (which are a threefold theme that runs throughout the research), and the methods to analyze these three properties in order to empirically capture publicness. This new theoretical approach ends with prescriptions for transcribing the results into a graphic portrayal. If publicness is analogous to the heartbeats of a public place, having rhythm and intensity, the graphic display of publicness reflects the place’s EGK.

Chapter 4 exhibits the analyses themselves, conducted on the Dam Square case study in Amsterdam. It begins with the accumulation and classification of every piece of data pertinent for the research, and proceeds to reconsidering the research’s spans of investigation. Knowing that the place’s ‘publicnesses’ have changed throughout the years, and that one must seize the moments or eras of change in order to identify the distinct, distinguishable and disparate publicnesses – it was required to rewrite the new historical spans according to the research objectives. If there were any historiographical work involved in this research, it was obviously been done in this part.

The chronological chart of developments taking place in the Dam Square was rearranged. Data was roughly divided into two: the history of the form and the history of occurrences. Scrutinizing the history of form, its chronology revealed the eras in which it underwent changes, as opposed to eras in which it remained abeyant. Generally, there were years of building expenditures, just as decades of stability. Publicness must be sampled during the times of stability in order to grasp differences between its various profiles, if these are indeed affected by form as the research asserts. Chapter 4 ends with the analyses’ outcomes rendered to graphical portrayals and with their eventual verbal explanations. The summarization thence
culminates in the third section, the conclusions, which consist of two chapters.

**Chapter 5** presents an exploration of the outcomes, their inspection and scrutiny. This recapitulation phase maintains conclusions divided into three, regarding the theoretical construction, the case study and the hypothesis. This chapter ends with some possible future elaborations for the research.

**Chapter 6** presents ideas and thoughts on the possible implications of this research’s enterprise for the architectural profession - regarding the spatial configuration of public spaces, the dispersal of social establishments and their institutions and the positioning of places in the urban system.

Last but not least, **chapter 7** appends thirteen additional profiles of publicness. Six publicnesses are well-known, reflecting European public places that most readers will find familiar. Some of them are not unique or exceptionally important places. On the contrary, one of the publicnesses depicts a generic housing street (to be found in this variation or another in most European cities). The other seven publicnesses are located in Israel. Five of them are eminent public places in the northern city of Haifa, and two are reputed public places in Tel Aviv: ‘Rabin Square’ and ‘Rothschild Avenue’. These thirteen profiles of publicness are juxtaposed with two profiles of the Dam Square: in the golden age and contemporary times.

**The appendix** attempts to offer a brief and swift assessment of various disparate public places, which can underpin a comparative analysis. This comparison can illuminate the potential range inherent to the concept and methodology of publicness. The appendix also aims to demonstrate the idea of publicness within broader contexts. Situating manifold expressions of publicness in wider urban settings can bring about inference on the structures and layouts of cities. This chapter was ultimately propelled by the imagination, demonstrating a possible future for this research methodology. It should be grasped as a conjectural outcome that has advanced, perhaps prematurely, a few too many steps ahead. This chapter also attempts to demonstrate the potential of the methodology and its possible ramifications for future studies, more than to present any accurate account of places. The work and development of these analyses, as imprecise they may seem, have stirred me to persist on this research and hold on to it throughout the years of study.
2 Background

This chapter presents the research’s three backgrounds - the conceptual frameworks, the theoretical and the epistemological backgrounds. It begins with introducing the major conceptual frameworks - the research questions, motivations, hypothesis, glossary, methodology and validity issues. It then continues to the literature analysis, which reviews two disparate yet inextricably linked literary discourses. The first delves into the philosophical concepts and terminologies of the public world, bolstering the conceptualization of ‘publicness’. This group of scholastic undertakings identified, defined and outlined the basic concepts that pertain to and establish the building blocks of the public world, for all its various facets (social, philosophical, spatial etc).

The second discourse consists of theories binding space and society (revolving around the public realm). These theories constitute the backdrop of the research’s aims and methodologies. Striving to establish theoretical interpretations to various phenomena, on the verge of theoretical approaches, these theories seized the space-society nexus and located it at the crux. Some of the chosen theories came from the social sciences, aiming to enlighten readers about society, while some emanated from the architectural field, opting to pave a route for ensuing architectural guidelines, on various levels of applicability. As opposed to the first group, the latter did not wish to propose new conceptualizations, but rather unveil and unfold the inner connections between known actors – people and space.

The second academic discourse inspired the research’s methodology - its aims and methods of inquiry. However, the stark difference distinguishing the theoretical approach of this research from the rest is its aim. This research attempts to put forward a slightly different product, located in between inapplicable theories that formulate abstract philosophical ideas and applied quantitative, scientific theories. In between abstract conceptualizations and accurate quantitative measurement, this theoretical approach locates itself in an intermediate position, with the ability to assess situations and furnish with qualitative guiding tools.

Public places are unabatedly discussed and researched, either from personal experiences or emotional standpoints, or from rational and analytic positions. However, a grounded method that estimates and compares public places, their vitality and viability, is yet missing. All the abounding literary sources do not seem to respond in a sufficient manner to the aim that was posed by this research – to appraise public places in a qualitative way. Hence, this research endeavored to exceed the confines of these above-mentioned theories in three ways: in the new concept it aspires to decipher (dealing with a different ‘what’), in the methods it offers for doing so (tackling a different ‘how’) and to some degree, in its aim (lead by a different ‘why’). This research attempts to present a new theoretical structure impelled by new motivations, while leaning on prior copious theoretical knowledge.

This chapter ends with scanning the preeminent epistemological backgrounds that the research’s methodology applies, namely, a theoretical construction and an analytic survey. The latter is
construed on a blend of two scientific strategies: a historical research and a (contemporary) case study research. It results in some amalgam that endows the *historiography* of a particular *case study*, which is the Dam Square in Amsterdam. This fused research strategy therefore hinges between two research paradigms. A study of prevailing research paradigms, or strategies, in recent years will be presented in this chapter. It reveals that the strategy presented here cannot be easily subsumed under any typical genre.

2.1. Conceptual framework

2.1.1. Motivations and impetuses

- The main motivation of the research is to find a tool that can perform EKGs on public places and thus assess its viability and vitality. It also endeavors to suggest ways of handling (and hopefully improving) the physical attributes of the public place\(^1\), which are consequently bound to affect the potentialities of the place. Such recommendations are ultimately directed at the architectural expertise\(^2\).

The research was born out of concern, combined with curiosity, for the state of the public domain. It responds to the ongoing and ceaseless contentions claiming that the public realm is impoverishing. The major task undertaken by this research is to find out whether such assertions are apposite and just.

- The urban artifact is a mirror of society. It reverberate the dynamics of society, reflecting both the people who made it and those who use it. Human dispositions hover above and inside the city’s artifact\(^3\). The public domain, which is one of the most important constituents of the urban artifact, if not the principle, is an emblem of society’s propensity towards itself and towards others – whether towards its own members, or people from without. When it comes to the conduct of people addressing others, altruism and egoism (the unselfish concern for the welfare of others as opposed to the selfish concern for oneself) loom upon the public domain, perhaps more than any other humanly propensity. The public domain can tell much about the ethos of its proprietors - of its society.

- The public domain, public realm and public sphere are markedly different concepts. Contemporary voices herald their decline (especially the former) as opposed to those advocating the legitimacy for new forms of expressions in the changing lifestyles. The complex interrelations between the three concepts, their location in different dimensions and occasional overlaps will be explained in the literature analysis. The abundant assertions harbingering the impoverishment of the public domain, realm and sphere in modern and postmodern societies go in tandem with the evolution of the enlightenment, with its inherent veneration

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1. After these have been studied in the case of an existing public place, or before they are erected in the case of a planned or renovated public place.
2. Reflecting my own personal propensities and upfront motivations revolving around this research, being an architect who is first and foremost interested in space and its substances.
3. Pertaining to the writings of Lefebvre “the production of space”, 1991.
for individualization and privatization. Western society has drifted apart from early collectivist societies, forging a rift with those who believe in collectivism (i.e. Islamic communities) while at the same time dismantling the traditional relations within its own intrinsic structure. This twofold process has been propelled and supported by technological developments: starting with transportation, media, and moving on to the computer and information technologies.

The root for understanding western public domains must consider this immanent contradiction: a collective place designated for an individualistic society. This inherent incongruity is the apodictic outset for all discussions.

The history of humankind consists of abounding pivotal incidents that literally took place within the public domain, in public places. Although it may seem that the importance of the physical public domain had dramatically dropped in the last century, and that the public sphere, especially that of the media and virtual worlds had taken over – there are nonetheless plenty of evidences that occurrences, powerful enough to be changing society, are taking place in the public domain still today.

The embodiment of the public, on occasions, has undoubtedly an unparalleled impact. Although political manifestations, petitions and the like are flying in the web ceaselessly, creating virtual communities with significant political power, yet the indisputable power of the real, of the being, seems to persist. This prevailing need lies in the potency of public gatherings, in the supremacy that the public gets from being within the scene, gathering strength from its own self, and from being watched by the rest of the world.

One can be under the impression that most people nowadays observe the public happenings via their TV screens, in their private realm. It is uncertain though if there are lesser spectators experiencing the public happening in real, or if there are just more opportunities to experience it through the filter of the media. One could wildly guess that the latter ruminations is truer. In that sense, there is no doubt that the media has immense power in reviewing public occurrences. A public happening, and especially a political one, needs spectators. Whether located in proximity around the precincts of the occurrence or not - any public manifestation needs spectators for nourishment, like air for breathing.

Is there anything wrong with the permeation of historical developments into the media? Online referendums seem to work. Is the physical public domain sincerely that important? Contemplating about mass society and how it is shifting towards a more virtual world, where

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5. Žižek 2002
6. This is a development to Lofland’s ideas on the public realm, in “the public realm” (1998), pp. 186-88.
physical reality is not only difficult to maintain but perhaps redundant, leads one to accept that this shift has happened because of changing needs, and because the mass must find different methods for organizing itself.

On the other hand, adopting Arendt's view on the world “… the existence of a public realm… gathers men together and relates them to each other depends entirely on permanence. If the world is to contain a public space, it cannot be erected for one generation and planned for the living only; it must transcend the life-span of mortal men”. Between natality and mortality, public realm provides and preserves the world, creating the condition for remembrance and for history. The public realm is therefore an essential human condition, the backbone of humanity, the entity that preserves its developments and assures it sustains.

In light of this outlook, can one do without the physical dimension of the public realm? Considering the public realm is viable for both the social abstract sphere (“public sphere”) and for its earthly arenas (“public domain”) - should the latter be relinquished?

The answer, as implied by this research pursuit, would argue that such a question could never be answered under contemporary short-sight perspective. Obviously, any answer carries personal values, oscillating between liberalism (‘yes, relinquish the public realm – it is not needed anymore’) and conservatism (‘no, maintain it – we like our cities as they are’). Regardless of any belief - current generations cannot predict the needs of future generations. By renouncing on our duty to confront the changing conditions of the public realm and to sustain the role of the public places that are needed for the life of the public, we might be closing off opportunities from our offspring generations. This emanates from a sense of responsibility more than from the fear of change. There is a great need to pay close attention to matters of sustainability, whether to the ecological aspects of the environment or to the societal aspects of its living organisms.

Beyond matters of historical developments or future social needs, it seems that people are willing to maintain the public domain for rather hedonistic reasons. It is therefore the duty of professionals entangled with the urban creation to find clever ways to respond to contemporary societal and psychological needs without ceding on the concern for the public sphere. If, by chance, contemporaries are imprudent enough to misunderstand the significance of the public domain as part of their well-being - then it must be the responsibility of professionals to make sure that they can always have the opportunity to use the public domain, by assuring that they do not forever lose it. However, if the western cultural process is not merely a local deviation or a provisional trend, but is part of an inevitable successive development of humanity (which is doubtful), then there will always be opportunities in the future to renounce this professional guardian duty. I believe that professionals must bear a social responsibility and propagate a

7 Discussed by Hannah Arendt in “the human condition” (1958), especially pp. 52-53.
8 Ibid pp. 54-55
9 Adhering closely to the discourse on sustainability, which defines its duty as “Meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs”, in Brundtland report from 1987. I believe that the public domain should get some attention as part of the natural (human) ecology.
An ideology-influenced research bears merits and demerits. The research began with the study of Public-Private Dualisms, attempting to understand how these powerful forces have molded the public realm. It would have ended, so it seemed to me then, in an informative research, one that sheds light on new issues located mostly outside the field of planning and designing, without necessarily offering a path for a better world, if that is at all possible, and certainly without new directions aiming towards my own professional field. It would have probably been a study of other disciplines and their impact on the architectural discourse (in accord with latest research trends), as part of the attempt to tie architecture with extrinsic disciplines. It did not locate Architecture (capital A) well enough in the center. Although the public-private theme is incredibly interesting, it lacks a professional incentive and a value-laden ideology. Any preoccupation with the public realm necessitates, in my opinion, credos and convictions. Perhaps true to any field of research, I have nevertheless discovered that instigating researches have always had an agenda. Whether I will succeed with that or not, I knew, I must at least try.

The shift from public-private into publicness marks a decisive turn in the research. Publicness is a term that consists of values: the state and quality of the public sphere. It can always be depicted from a rather neutral position, but by its definition, it is clear that there are better and lesser publicnesses, depending on the eyes of the beholder, and that there is an intrinsic aim – to chase and hopefully capture the better ones. The preoccupation with publicness determined from an early stage the aim of this research, which is to link publicness with architecture (capital A). This shift had merely set an end-point direction for the research, without ever knowing what its results will be. It induced the desired connection with the architectural professional field.

When conducting a research, the advent of ideology entails inherent problems such as precarious objectivity, prior inclinations, unconscious and even biased decision-making. I have tried to maintain a strong sense of self-criticism throughout the analyses and the formation of the theoretical approach, constantly guarding to avoid oblivious or mistaken decisions along the course. It goes without saying that if there are any such mistakes - they were unintended. The issue of validity is therefore at the crux of this work, and will be expatiated further on in this document. An ideologically laden research must entail a high amount of self-criticism. I hope to have succeeded with that to a fair extent.
2.1.2. The main research question(s) and hypotheses

The research central question is twofold. It first attempts to enquire whether there is any affiliation between form and publicness, and then continues into probing the essence of this affiliation.

**Main question 1:** *Does form take part in the creation of publicness?*

**Main question 2:** *How does form take part in the creation of publicness?*

The following hypotheses attempt to provide an answer to these research questions:

**Hypothesis 1:** *form has a share in the creation of publicness.*

The research assumes that form is a significant factor in the delineation of publicness. Although form delimits possible occurrences, it is definitely not the only factor affecting the formation of publicness, thence the nomenclature ‘taking part’ or ‘share’; it plays a part in the creation of publicness but is in no way an exclusive cause. Form is the receptacle that is hypothetically responsible for the demarcation of potential publicness. The extent of the rift between the potential and the realized portrayals rests in the hands of the public itself, and the culture in which it lives. Whether the public exploits space’s potential to its fullest or whether it makes only partial use of it - should not be ascribed in any case to the potency of form.

The answer of this research question lies in the existence (or non-existence) of a resemblance between the derivative of form (potential publicness) and real publicness.

**Hypothesis 2:** *the three properties of form (spatiality, content and context) are likely to bear some influence on the three properties of occurrences (spatiality, content and context).*

The three conceptions - *spatiality, content, context* - are three ubiquitous properties that pertain to every entity or action that takes place in our corporeal world.

*Spaciality* represents the physical embodiments of entities or actions, the way they are arranged or laid out in space. *Content* represents the motivations behind entities or actions, their *raison d’être*, which has always something to do with a necessity, either a private or a collective requisite. *Context* represents the wider circumstances of the entity or the action, considering every tangible thing in our corporeal world (whether a building or an activity of agglomerated people) has indeed circumstances.

These three properties pertain to form as they do to occurrences. They stand as a common denominator between form and occurrences, establishing an abstract meeting ground in their intersection. This intersecting space enables a methodological juxtaposition of the two.

If occurrences are local events that take place inside form, one can assume that their properties are contained or subsumed within the properties of form: the *spatiality* of form is likely to demarcate the *spatiality* of occurrences (their spatial boundaries), that will probably come about inside the form. The *content* of form, its social constellation will probably cast its
influence on the content of occurrences (their social motivations) that are bound to take place inside. The context of form will most likely constitute the contexts of possible occurrences. By juxtaposing these three properties vis-à-vis, one can deduce about the interrelations of form and occurrences, should such interrelations exist.

The first research question endeavors to probe whether form is indeed a factor in the formation of publicness, opting to render a yes/partial-yes/no resolution. The second research question attempts to unfold the ways in which form becomes such a factor, as emanating from the research methodology. The second question therefore brings about open answers. Answering this supplementary research question lies in the nature of resemblance between the derivative of form (potential publicness) and real publicness.

These two main research questions can be captured by pursuing the following three objectives:

1. Identifying publicnesses
2. Identifying correlations between real and potential publicnesses
3. Discussing correlations and processes between real and potential publicnesses, critically.

2.1.3. Sub-questions and basic premises

In order to answer the twofold research question, one must grapple with the following sub-questions:

**Sub question 1:** what is publicness?

*Basic premise:* publicness is an abstract concept that pertains to public places. It is sensed, but it has not yet been empirically grasped. The research basic assumption is that this abstract concept can be articulated in a qualitative manner.

**Sub question 2:** What are real and potential publicnesses?

*Basic premise:* there are two publicnesses existing simultaneously in a place: one is in the realm of the imagination and the other is a derivative of the real world.}

**Sub question 3:** How are real and potential publicnesses defined?

*Basic premise:* The three seminal conceptions, spatiability, content, context, are in fact three ubiquitous properties that pertain to every entity or action that takes place in our physical world. These three building blocks are the seminal constituents underlying form as well as human occurrences. They can therefore define the two publicnesses.

**Sub question 4:** How does form demarcate potential publicness?

*Basic premise:* The imaginary publicness is demarcated and defined within the physical

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10. Real publicness is constituted on the accumulation of all real occurrences; notwithstanding, it is an intangible abstract idea that does not exist outside the world of cognizance.
configurations and dispositions of the space, in which it resides. In fact, there is not any equally important feature capable of setting the place’s potential other then its spatial idiosyncrasies. To those claiming that culture (social, economical, political forces etc.) establishes the place’s qualities, and not the space’s spatial features – I will answer that culture indeed overarches all places, but that it still does not provide with a satisfactory explanation as to the differences and dissimilarities between one place and another. It is the research basic premise that the three above-mentioned properties of space lie in every place’s kernel and determine its quintessential idiosyncrasies.

Sub question 5: How do occurrences delineate real publicness?

Basic premise: all real occurrences can be accumulated into one coherent profile - ‘real publicness’. This assumption seems logical, but is far from obvious considering the fact that people experience occurrences separately, differently and individually. The profile of real publicness is based on a collection of experiences, which are individual properties by definition - a notion that surpasses and transcends reality. Notwithstanding, leaning on Alfred Schutz theorization of the phenomenology of the social world, such an idea is indeed viable.

Sub question 6: do real publicness and potential publicness interrelate?

The three properties are seminal building blocks underlying form and human occurrences. They echo in one another. The research assumes that because these three same properties underlie the concepts of real and potential publicnesses, both concepts can be juxtaposed and compared.

Basic premise I: if the context of both profiles, potential and real, is similar, in terms of culture, politics, technologies etc. – then there is grounds for comparison.

Basic premise II: interrelations can be depicted in qualitative ways. Comparisons do not necessarily have to be quantitative in essence.

If one finds some interrelation, and even a correlation between the two – then the answer for the main question ‘does form (and its potential profile of publicness) take part in the creation of publicness (i.e. the real profile of publicness)’ is positive. This sixth sub-question brings one back to the main question:

Basic Premises and hypothesis to be tested:

Publicness is a qualitative attribute of the public place. It is assessable.

Publicness delineates the place’s state and quality, manifesting its viability and vitality. It can therefore be presented as the EKG of a public place, albeit conveying qualitative parameters.

There are numerous profiles of publicness. What distinguishes one from the other is the profile’s intrinsic propensity towards variability, changeability and mutability: some tend to be steady,

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11. The physical dispositions are, again, the triad: spatial features, content (the social constellation of a place) and context.
12. This issue will be further elaborated in chapter 3 on the phenomenological stance of this research.
monotonous and repetitious while others diversified, contingent and even unsystematic. Public places that accommodate a profile that is diverse and versatile are probably prone to be more invigorating and therefore attractive and likable.

**Form** is a regulating vehicle, stimulating some occurrences while impeding others. It can hinder some occurrences from taking place and yet it cannot compel occurrence to come about. Although form delimits publicness - it has no power in bringing it about. This is in the hand of the people, the public, depending greatly on their cultural milieu. Hence, form has a notable power, even if a partial one, in influencing realities. Form has a share in the creation of publicness.

2.1.4. Key terms and concepts

This section will briefly delineate the pivotal terms and concepts of this work. For thorough and more detailed demarcations, please see chapter 3.1 (Conceptualizing Publicness).

2.1.4.1. Publicness

The term publicness is as pivotal to this research as much as it is obscure. It must be therefore elucidated linguistically, scholastically and as a recapitulation of the two.

Public is not merely a body of people, aggregated individuals, but also the nexus that ties them together, their common denominators. The true essence of ‘public’ comprises of both a body (a noun) and an abstract nexus that chains them together (an adjective).

‘Ness’ is a “suffix used to form abstract nouns expressive of quality or state, as goodness, greatness”\(^{14}\). According to Oxford dictionary, Adjective+ -ness = noun. ‘Ness’ therefore affixes ‘public’ as the adjective (and not as the noun), meaning “the state and quality of the nexus that ties people together in the public place”. The quality of this nexus can only be manifested in the public’s viability and vitality, presence and vigor, and can be only put to test via public’s being and doing.

The ‘being and doing’ of the public is carried out through and can therefore be tested only by the public’s occurrences.

**Publicness** is defined as “the state and quality of the public place”, reflecting the place’s viability and vitality, its ethos and atmosphere. It can be only put to test via public’s being and doing. This ‘being and doing’ of the public is carried out and can therefore be tested by occurrences - not necessarily by specific or particular occurrences but rather in their generality.

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13. Oxford dictionary: *public* (adjective) 1. of, concerning, or open to the people as a whole, involved in the affairs of the community, especially in government or entertainment: a public figure; 2. done, perceived, or existing in open view; 3. of or provided by the state rather than an independent commercial company. **Public** (noun) *the public* [treated as sing. or plural] ordinary people in general; the community. [with modifier] a section of the community with a shared interest or activity: the reading public.

14. Webster’s 1913 dictionary
The concept of publicness is therefore reified in the profile of occurrences coming about in a place, analogized to the EKG\textsuperscript{15} of a public place, capturing its viability: beats and rhythm.

**The profile of occurrences** comprises of all occurrences coming about in place, compressed into seemingly one multi-layered time-lacking reality. In this process, the identity and particularities of occurrences (date, location, reason etc.) are repressed. This profile consists of recurring occurrences (*everyday*\textsuperscript{16}), as also deviating occurrences (*events*\textsuperscript{17}). When the latter are often prompted, ever-changeability thus becomes part of the ethos of the place, blurring the distinction between everyday and events.

Publicness is depicted and assessed by the profile of occurrences coming about in a place

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{2.1.4.2. Real and Potential Publicnesses}
\end{itemize}

The profile of occurrences happening \textit{in real} is appraisable\textsuperscript{18}, yet, there is another profile, a \textit{potential} profile, which lies dormant in every public place.

If \textit{real publicness} is the profile of past occurrences - \textit{potential publicness} is the profile of possible future occurrences. The research asserts that potential publicness is defined, delimited and even dictated by \textit{form}, just as a receptacle delimits its material contents. \textit{Potential publicness} can therefore be captured by a diligent scrutiny of \textit{form}.

Potential publicness comprises of all and every occurrence that can be imagined happening within the \textit{form}. Assuming that the human comportment might develop in unknown future directions, the only factor delimiting these imaginary scenarios is the physicality of the place – inciting to some extent all that is probable, while dictating and even ruling out all that is improbable. Publicness is therefore hinging between the worldly and the imagined, between the palpable and the cognizant. The research is located in the fissure between real and potential publicnesses.

It would seem that \textit{real publicness} is one scenario that found realization within the multifarious \textit{potential} scenarios. In most instances it would indeed be the case. Nevertheless, it is also possible that an outstanding occurrence takes place, beyond the imagined. \textit{Real publicness} is usually, but not always, contained within \textit{potential publicness}.

There is no objective single \textit{real publicness}. Every person experiences a public occurrence differently; so much that two people can describe two disparate happenings for the same event\textsuperscript{19}. On the other hand, accumulating all individual \textit{real publicnesses} into one picture does

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{15.} albeit this EKG is qualitative in parameters
  \item \textbf{16.} The everyday scenario has no one specific date but many. It is repetitive, and can sprout occasionally or continuously, day after day, month after month, randomly or not. Its raison d’etre stems from daily needs and routines of laymen.
  \item \textbf{17.} An aberration from the everyday scenario, an occurrence that has spécificités such as a date, duration, location, reasons, participants etc. Such occurrences have usually less to do with the routines or daily needs of laymen.
  \item \textbf{18.} Occurrences that did actually take place in real are tangible and graspable so they can be appraised, although their accumulation into a profile exists only as a concept. On the task of their accumulation, see chapter 3.
  \item \textbf{19.} There are \textit{real publicnesses} at least in the same amount that there are people. The human inner world is a complex world in itself. This research wishes to avoid entering this infinite realm, acknowledging its paramount importance, believing it belongs to other disciplinary domains.
\end{itemize}
not produce potential publicness, but rather a multitude of individual pictures. Despite this inherent subjectivity - it is still possible to portray the sheer ‘dry’ information of every occurrence - where it took place, how many people, where they scattered etc. The research chooses to depict occurrences free of subjective experiences, as much as this is possible.

In sum, Potential publicness omits the layers of subjectivity although this profile is all about the imaginary; Real publicness accepts the subjectivity underlying all its documentation while attempting to delineate some objective profile.

Potential and real profiles of occurrences bind publicnesses and form, which is the ultimate goal of this research. Their comparison offers conclusions on form’s magnitude opting to open new directions for architectural and urban planning expertise.

2.1.4.3. Form

Form consists of architecture and more. Form is the settings that humans created for the public arena, whether consisting of manmade artifacts solely or also nature that is enlisted to serve as part of the settings.

Form is everything subsumed under the definition ‘physical’, that is NOT breathing (namely, fauna or human beings). It is divided to manmade artifacts and to natural substances (i.e. flora). This research assumes that men exploit “nature”, especially in urbanized and sub-urbanized places, as opposed to un-urbanized placed. For example, trees can be part of Form. Natural scenery is part of a promenade, composing one of its facades, and is therefore part of Form. Form can be conceptualized as a receptacle: a vessel that contains, and that is made out of various materials.

Form consists of three rudimentary spatial elements that mirror the properties of publicness. Form’s mass – substances, voids and particularly the boundaries in between. These delimit space and suggest where things can or cannot happen. For example, a place sized for a few hundred people cannot accommodate tens of thousands for a rally; a linear space such as a street would serve better for a procession then for a concert gathering.

Form’s envelopes - or surfaces, represent social establishments or agents of various sorts – casting their presence onto the place, affecting directly or indirectly the content of the place. Surfaces are symbolic; mildly implying what should or could happen in the place, content-

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20. Real publicness might seem on a first glance like the easier prone to capture, because occurrences are usually documented. In fact, this notion cannot be farther from the truth. People documenting occurrences always represent their own personal perspective and agenda: most historical documentations were requested by authorities. On the other hand, daily occurrences that were considered less significant (at least for authorities) were seldom documented, although they played a significant role in the lives of people. This problem of objectivity pertains to present day’s documentation as well: even an observer that theoretically speaking never leaves the site of research, cannot notice or ‘objectively’ interpret everything happening on site. In this research, the study of supposedly real publicness that took place hundreds of years ago cannot lean but on documentations of others. It is mandatory though, to acknowledge the shortcomings of such historical documentations study them critically and refrain from thinking that it represents an ultimate ‘truth’. Dealing with this difficulty was accomplished also by collecting as many documents as possible on every occurrence; validating and crossing information to present, at least, a point-of-view that is considered conventional. To read more about issues of data collecting and validating, please see chapter 3.3.
wise. The presence of institutions does not sweepingly dictate the content of happenings, but rather raise chances by prodding. For example, a place accommodating representatives of economical institutions is likely to come upon with economically-led occurrences; a place accommodating political institutions would plausibly encounter political activities inside, amongst other things.

Form’s outlets – indicate space’s connections with other places in the urban precinct. These represent the context of a place, namely, the array of options and alternatives available for the crowd outside. Is the place unique, irreplaceable? Or are there any possible substitutes?

One of the research’s basic premises is that form instigates occurrences just as occurrences are propelled by form, and that this tie pertains to all three spatial levels, touching upon the physical and the social.

The three underpinning properties of form (Spatiality, Content, Context) serve as the common denominators of form with occurrences. The question “What does space allows people to do, body-wise?” puts space as the object, whereas “What can I physically do in the space?” phrases the same question from the human perspective. Questioning the content of space “What do the social symbols represented through form instigate people to do?” stands vis-à-vis “In front of whom do I act in the public place?” considering people as the objectives. Regarding the context “What other competitive places does the urban structure offer?” equates with “Do I have other places in the precinct as alternatives?” from the personal standpoint.

Form is thus analyzed according to these three properties.

2.1.4.4. Occurrences

Occurrences refer to all human happenings that consist of everyday activities and events. These can comprise of private individual pursuits or collective ones. Examples for the everyday occurrences – buying and selling, passing from one place to another, distributing pamphlets, resting, loitering, etc.; events are for example – fairs, festivities, riots, organized meetings, demonstrations, processions etc. The line between an event and an everyday occurrence is sometimes vague: a street juggler can entertain people everyday, nevertheless offers some local event within the street scene. In 17th century Amsterdam, executions took place quite often, constituting the everyday scenes for its inhabitants. Distinguishing between everyday and events thus follows one question: does the occurrence have a particular characteristic? The previous two examples would then get the following answers: there is no major difference between the daily juggling, which is why it belongs to the everyday, whereas there is a different story behind every execution, which is why it belongs to the list of events. In any case, it is obvious that the line between the two types of occurrences is disputable.

21. In literature analysis – Lefebvre will be widely mentioned, De Certeau, and a few contemporary writers dealing with “everyday urbanism”. Tschumi will be discussed in relation to the term ‘event’.
2.1.4.5. Spatiality, content and context

These represent three ubiquitous properties that pertain to every entity or action that takes place in our physical world. They define form as well as occurrences, providing their common denominator and the substrata for their analyses. Spatiality represents the physical embodiments of entities or actions, namely, the way they are laid out in space. Content represents the driving forces and motivations behind entities or actions, their raison d’être, which almost always derives from a necessity, either private or collective. Context represents the broader circumstances of the entity or the action, taking into consideration that every tangible matter in our physical world, whether a building or an activity of a group of people, should be examined within its circumstances.
2.1.5. Methodology

The research consists of two major parts: a theoretical construction and a case study analysis, which opted to explore a historical precedent. The case study tests the theoretical construction, after having been, altogether with other precedents, the inspiration of its formulation.

The research final components are outlined in the following methodological chart:

Theoretical construction

[Diagram of theoretical construction]

Case study analysis

[Diagram of case study analysis]

Illustration ii/1-2: the research in the methodology and components
introducing methods to analyze each of them separately. These methods strive to pinpoint and seize some specified qualitative information. The outcomes of each of the three properties are eventually gathered into one graphical portrayal - the profile of publicness, set out as the EKG of a public place. This graphical tool attempts to bring the idea of publicness with the help of its three properties into a common denominator. It then lists the concatenated analyses that generate a new tool for the evaluation of public places.

The empirical part of this research, the case study analysis is presented in chapter 4. It leans on a preparatory phase of data collecting, which has been concomitantly accompanying the formulation of the theory. The data collected was simultaneously sorted and classified. The outcomes of this phase appear on the first section of subchapter 4.1., as the 'reedited history of the Dam Square'. This subchapter presents an incisive and concise historical account of the Dam Square, enumerating every occurrence that came about in the place, whether pertaining to people’s activities or to the changes in the square’s layout. This historical account is narrated from within the place’s perspective, touching upon all the information that is relevant to this research, neither more nor less.

After the phase of data collecting and sorting, a short pause was necessary to rethink and redefine the pertinent historical divisions, as per this research aims. As explained in subchapter 4.2, the history of the Dam Square was divided into six chronological spans, each reflecting a distinct publicness that is worthy of a study. This division was impelled by the changes that the square’s form underwent, bearing in mind that if publicness is indeed related to form as postulated by this research, then it is mandatory to examine publicnesses in accord with the space’s disparate spatial configurations.

In concordance with the six eras, data was sifted and allotted into two groups: data pertaining to form and to occurrences. This division to twelve subgroups was further fragmented into data pertaining to the spatiality, the social constellation and to the context of form. This data division prepared the ground for the analyses to come.

The third phase in the case study analysis probes form and occurrences in each era, separately. The survey of form began by preparing the initial layout plan. It then continued to analyze spatiality, content and context. The analysis of spatiality aims to find out what can happen in space, physically speaking, and how people may scatter in space. The analysis of content aims to find out what can happen in space in terms of the content of occurrences, or why people are likely to do what they do in space. The analysis of context aims to find out how the context of space might affect the way it is used, if it will bear any impact on the previous ‘how’s and ‘why’s.
Chapter 2

The analysis of form’s spatiality denotes form’s pedestals and the public fluxes that are dictated by these pedestals, in their proximity, are demarcated. Subsequently territories of dictations and expectations emerge from the blueprint, dividing the space into three types of territories, as the following:

1. Areas where people’s movement is dictated by form. It is therefore the expanse where expected activities are likely to be found.
2. Areas where abounding movements are colliding, where over-dictations converge. These are the places where unexpected occurrences are likely to come about, during everyday activities and events.
3. Areas that are free from any dictations of form, under-dictated territories. These are plausibly the places where grand events are likely to emerge.

Succeeding this first phase of analyzing form’s spatiality - the second phase followed with the analyses of form’s content. This analysis enumerates all the social institutions residing in the place, studying each and every one separately, tagging them with a color, and eventually accumulating them all into one coherent colorful portrayal, which represent the social constellation of the place. This graphical outcome epitomizes the social ethos of the place and its civic role being part of a broader civic society.

The last phase in the analysis of form, the study of context, examines two characteristics of the place, connectivity and exclusivity, by positing the space relatively to its wider urban structure. This analysis assesses the impact of context on the strengthening or weakening of the place, relative to other spaces in the urban precincts, bearing in mind that although the place’s basic features (spatiality and social constellation) are indeed crucial in demarcating the place’s character – its context can nevertheless alter them significantly.

In addition to the three properties of form that were each analyzed separately, the disparate occurrences were analyzed as well, each one alone, leaning on a different methodology while using the same graphic devices. Every occurrence was transcribed separately by using the same graphic tool, into its own EKG graph.

The fourth section of the case study analyses gathered all the outcomes of the various analyses of form and occurrences, and transcribed them into two graphical portrayals that represent the EKG of the public place: the profile of potential publicness (derived from the analyses of form) and the profile of real publicness (derived from the analyses of occurrences).

Transcribing the analyses of form’s three properties into their graphic expressions, abode to simple rules, as expatiated on chapter 3.3. This graphic outcome represents the profile of potential publicness. Regarding the analyses of occurrences, all graphic delineations were accumulated and transformed into one general portrayal that subsumed all occurrences together. This graphic outcome represents the profile of real publicness.

Last but not least, the research ends with concatenated conclusions. It begins with the juxtaposition of the two resulted profiles, potential and real publicness, offering some
preliminary conclusions on the two fundamental outcomes. It then continues to infer on the suggested theoretical construction, on the chosen case study, and on the postulated hypothesis as presented at the beginning of this research. The concluding part ends with implications and recommendations for the architectural profession, followed by an appending text that demonstrates the concept of publicness and the method of achieving it. The appendix digresses from and complements the concluding chapter at the same time. It analyzes thirteen additional disparate public places, eight in Europe and seven in Israel, attempting to demonstrate the potential that is embedded in the research’s theoretical approach.

The **methods of inquiry** utilized in all of the above-mentioned analyses vary from *graphical manipulations* conducted on *architectural drawings*, as in the case of analyzing *spatiality* and *context*, to graphical manipulations *per-se*, as in the case of analyzing *content*. Analyses could have not been performed without the architectural blueprints, which constitute their substratum. Although the analyses are conducted on the architectural drawings, they are rather simple; one does not have to partake in the architectural profession in order to perform such analyses, but rather pursue the rules as presented in chapter 3.3.

The following chart (ii/1-3) depicts the process that accompanied the first element of the research, the theoretical construction, as an outcome of iterations and reiteration of explorations and enquiries.

In the process of research formation - the theoretical construction was by far the most complex of all phases. It was construed on three inextricable steps - the conceptualization of the theoretical approach (indicated as 1 in the chart), its consequential adaptation and alteration when examined vis-à-vis various case studies (indicated as 2), and the ultimate formulation of the theoretical foundations (indicated as 3). This step consisted of an ongoing reciprocity, oscillating between the theoretical foundation and its subsequent examination by various case studies. The latter served as a yardstick, revealing incongruities, inconsistencies and problems with the methodology along the process of theoretical formation. In other words, the building and constructing of the theory was constantly revoked and contradicted.
by examples derived from the case studies. Along with the emerging ideas - the reality of the case studies was imposed upon them, negating and criticizing the theoretical ideas. This iterative process lasted until both theoretical structure and the case studies reached a point in which they began to explain and support one another, instead of negating and refuting each other.

The case studies that were evoked in this phase consisted of both generic and reputed public places in the western urban world. They include two shopping malls (in Haifa, Israel), the beach promenade (Haifa), a promenade on the Carmel mountain “Louis” (Haifa), the Bahnhofstrasse Zurich (the northern area of shops and central area of banks), Bellevue square on the lake (Zurich), Place de Vosges (Paris), Rabin Square (Tel-Aviv, Israel), Zion Square (Jerusalem, Israel), urban park La villette (Paris), urban park Westergasfabriek (Amsterdam), and finally - two eras in the Dam Square (Amsterdam): the golden age (17th-18th centuries) era and contemporary era. These referential precedents (except for the historical Dam Square) were often brought to mind during the theoretical evolvement, being familiar places where I used to spend extensive time. They do not constitute an integral part of this research; nevertheless, some of them will be briefly mentioned in the appendix in order to demonstrate what possible further researches on various generic publicnesses may bestow.

2.1.6. Choosing the Case study: the Dam Square in Amsterdam

The Dam Square came into being as an inborn part of Amsterdam, during the 14th century. Early documentations portray it as it was during the mid 14th century, based on presumably partial speculations. This square was situated by the main dam on the Amstel River, from which it had taken its name, as Kistemaker denotes, it is “a city shaped like a spider’s web with the Dam, the square at the heart of the city, playing the part of the spider sitting virtually in the middle”. It was one of the few city squares, overlooked by the medieval town hall, and an important one in the lives of the people, in all times22. At its beginning, the only two known buildings that molded the place’s character were the ‘new church’ (a noticeable stone building) and the town hall (known as the ‘old town all), a gothic wooden building, notwithstanding, of a great character.

Only a century later that evidences of the place’s architecture seem to be growing in quantity. The stock exchange and the fish market were not far off, and in the middle of the square stood the weigh house (Waag), inaugurated in 1556. If anything important happened in Amsterdam, it happened on the Dam24. The 100 years that followed have had some more building modifications, although they were not significant enough to change the ethos of the place. The building expenditure that did change the place significantly was the 1652 erection of the new town hall. The old one was deemed inadequate, in terms of size and needs, and

23. The novelist Cees Nooteboom describes his private experiences of the Dam Square in 1948, where he saw the old queen abdicate after reigning for fifty years, while thinking about the poets of the golden ages walking in this square, in Wolf 2001: 8
24. ibid: 67
was planned to be replaces. However, only a fire expedited the erection of the new building. In 1652-1655 the new building was finished, rendering the Dam Square a new European style public place.

The 18th century seemed to provide a setting for mere mild developments. There were a few important projects taking place around the Dam area (the major post office building, the printing center, coffee houses, and the ‘commandment’s house’), without changing the layout of the place. After the 17th golden age era, the political and economical climate of 18th century Amsterdam brought about degeneration in the condition of buildings and urban places, amongst which the Dam Square suffered greatly. Only in the first half of the 19th century that demolitions took place, after having a few important building subsiding. The end of the 19th century saw a new regeneration phase. A few new big architectural projects took place on the Dam, mostly of department stores and other economic facilities such as the Industria building, the new bourse, Krasnapolsky Hotel etc. In addition, the city infrastructure altered greatly, filling in canals and turning them to paved vehicular routes. The public transportation system developed concurrently. Two world wars have slowed down the place’s physical transformation. As a matter of fact, the Dam Square layout has changed only little since then. The Dam Square buildings that we know today are mostly a late 19th century product.

The history of the dam square is described briefly in chapter 4.2 and lengthily in chapter 4.1. The Dam Square case study was chosen for a couple of reasons, some prosaic while others scholarly profound:

- It is an emblem of central, significant major public places, reputed in the European history. Notwithstanding, it does not pertain to the group of monarchic public arenas subsisting mostly on their paramount political power, as for example the Parisian or British courts and squares. Amsterdam’s cityscape “has emerged untouched by grandeur of absolutism…. A very anti-image of a modern city: traditional in outlook, oriented towards individual citizens rather than a powerful aristocracy. Its wealth has always been quiet and discreet”25. The Dam Square was indeed a stronghold of political turnovers, yet retained throughout the years a humanly everyday scale of ordinary activities and proceedings. In this sense, it is big enough to present significant occurrences and happenings, yet, it is ordinary enough to teach about the everyday life of laymen.

- The Dutch society in general and the Amsterdamish one in particular consist of characteristics that I found extremely appealing for this research. First, the Dutch society since early days was by far the least religiously zealous culture in Europe. Not only the Calvinist coup of 1578 brought about a different and lighter religious atmosphere, it always kept a fair amount of liberalism towards external religious convictions, thus promoting a brighter societal ambiance. In this sense, I found the early phases of the Dam Square mindsets the closest to contemporary cultural backgrounds as possible.

25. Mak 1994:4
Furthermore, Amsterdam in the golden ages is considered as one of the first ‘global’
capitalistic cities in the world. A leading mercantilist city, Amsterdam’s evolution and sway
were based on capitalistic lineaments since the 16th century, bringing this case study closer
once again to contemporary features of capitalistic metropolises. An historical survey can be
conducted for many reasons; in my opinion, the predominant rationale to study the past is to
learn about the present. In this regard, I found the Dam Square historical case study with the
uppermost chances to illuminate corresponding contemporary conditions.

Plunging into a research in a European school, I was asked to choose at least one European
case study. This prerequisite was understandable yet uneasy for me, coming from a different
cultural background. Taking a few weeks to scan various possible European case studies
before taking any decision, I found out that literature is roughly divided to German and English
speaking on the European continent. Unfortunately, this eliminated potential case studies
in German speaking countries since my German knowledge does not suffice. Swiss and
German public places were rarely mentioned in English literature, certainly not enough for
producing a substantial body of research. Although I realized I would have easier time visiting
and investigating such places in real (due to my stay at the ETH on the winter of 2002-3)
– I found out that the language obstacle would hinder any research progress. This has left
me with French and English literatures (and therefore case studies) to be considered. The
French places were imbued with the monarchic historical facet that I so hoped to avoid, as did
many places in London and England. Ultimately, the Dam Square Dutch precedent revealed
a diversified range of literature possibilities. In addition, a couple of friends from Amsterdam
helped me search for material and eventually to take this decision.

Pertaining to the Dutch culture, the ethos of this society seemed to me at that time to bear
some resemblances with the Israeli society, in terms of its unabashed temper, impudence and
boldness, more than any other European society. Not that these two societies are alike at all,
but that differences seemed less blatant in comparison to the rest of European communities.
The impression from my acquaintance with various Dutch people was later supported in
literature. Books about the Dutch society and culture revealed my impressions were not far
off, as for example depicted by White and Boucke funny descriptions on the high self-esteem,
opinionated, directness, frankness, stubbornness, dissatisfaction and other propensities of the
Dutch society26, or Condon’s humoristic novel on his experiences in this city and its people27. It
was not a determining factor in the choice making, but rather, a supporting argument. Discovering
that the Dutch society feels more familiar to me than I firstly imagined - this decision to embark
on a new study of a new culture without any prior acquaintance or background seemed to me,
at that time, a bit less intimidating.

The concluding chapter of this research will consist of a section designated for the study of the
Dam Square case study. In this part, a few supplementary argumentations will shed some light
on the merits and demerits of this case study vis-à-vis the research’s theoretical preliminary

26. White and Boucke 1989: 6-7
motivation. The ramifications of this decision taking will be presented in retrospect.

2.1.7. Validity issues

Validity of researches deals with the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation and interpretation, which does not imply the existence of any “objective truth” to which an account can be compared.\textsuperscript{28}

The hypothesis of this research claims that publicness is assessable through the study of form. The successive theoretical approach suggests methods to do that, resulting in graphic expressions. The validity threats lie in the following phases:

1. Data collecting: was the data collected inclusive? Was the data reliable?
2. Data sorting: is interpretation of data consistent?
3. Methods of inquiry: are the rules of analyses clear enough for every researcher to submit similar results?
4. Conclusions: how can one assess the profile of publicness derived from the study of form? What will potential publicness convey?

The research sought to deal with these validity threats as follows:

Data collecting and recording – every piece of information pertinent to the case study was recorded. There was no ‘favoritism’ of any sort. The only reasons for excluding data were either they were partial (and therefore unclear, i.e. there was not enough information to make use of it) or misleading (i.e. known to be a myth rather than a fact). There were only two such incidents. Otherwise – every shred of evidence on the place (either its form or its occurrences) was documented.

As for the reliability of data, this issue is lengthily discussed in chapter 3.3.1. Briefly stated, this research relies on both contemporary and ancient sources. Although in contemporary days I have been also documenting events taking place on the Dam Square myself, I cannot ever presume to document them all. Therefore, in both cases, I have relied on other people’s evidences: the more eyewitnesses - the better. Other people have been therefore enlisted as my assistant observers. Every person documenting an event might have some agenda, including myself, and especially true in early epochs. However, since this research is interested in the eventuation itself and not in the motivations or specifications of events – most documentation was found trustworthy, even if it exhibited a blatant agenda. Moreover, much of the data was mentioned in more than one source of information, which enhanced its credibility over and above.

\textsuperscript{28} The view that methods could guarantee validity was characteristic of early forms of positivism, which held that scientific knowledge could ultimately be reduced to a logical system that was securely grounded in irrefutable sense data. Today it is claimed that all one requires is the possibility of testing the accounts against the world, giving the phenomena that we are trying to understand the chance to prove us wrong: how might the research be wrong? Validity consists of the strategies one uses to identify and try to rule out these threats, in Maxwell J. (2005), “Qualitative Research Design”, Sage Publications. Pp. 105-7; Creswell J. (2003) “Research Design”, Sage Publications, pp.62-67.
Data sorting – the procedure of transforming literal data into graphic data had to follow strict rules. The principles for such transcriptions are presented in chapter 3.3. I believe that every person adhering to these instructions in sternness and attentiveness will wind up with a similar product. Even if results are not exactly similar– consistency is by far more critical. The aim of this research is to compare one type of publicness with another. At the end of the day, all publicnesses have been analyzed by the same researcher. Should another person conduct similar analyses - these must only be compared against each other, and not with other researcher’s investigations. This means that more than the question of a closed and delimited set of rules - the issue of consistency is of greater importance.

Above that, the research procedural principles are open to the scrutiny of all readers, to voice their reservation should these exist. This procedure of sorting verbal information and grouping them in the various categories after endowing them with icons (a phase that bears affects on the rest of analyses and subsequent conclusions) was deemed critical. For this reason, it was carried out twice, in an interval of nearly a year. At the second time working on the sorting and classifying of data (which was broader and thicker as well) – classification was executed anew, to be later compared with the preliminary results. In most instances, results were similar. In cases of inconsistencies – it was examined where and when a mistake was done. Sometimes inconsistencies necessitated further thought about definitions and about the rules of classification. Such incidents were not taken lightly. It is obvious that an additional reiteration will evoke some further questions and problems around the methods of analysis. However, I believe that by now, most of these problems are resolved.

This first phase of sorting and classifying data (chapter 4.1) had hopefully kept a fair amount of uniformity and consistency. Although the categorizations and decisions taken by this research may be criticized, it had nonetheless attempted to retain a high level of consistency and therefore reliability.

The methods of inquiry - The analyses (or interpretation of data) can be criticized in the same manner as the data-sorting phase. This phase exhibits, again, procedures of data manipulation that have to abide to a strict set of rules. Notwithstanding, one can always find some measure of flexibility and leeway for interpretation within.

Even if all rules of analysis do not perfectly cover all situations, or if distinctions between situations are not always objective but sometimes open for subjective interpretation - nevertheless, I claim that the final picture, even if it is provisional and incomplete at this stage - is sufficiently competent for making an argument. Although an author might adjust the analyses and graphic indications of publicness to befit one’s own preferences and predilections, every researcher, following his or her own style, will be able to compare publicnesses and juxtapose the real and the potential, provided these two profiles are done by the same persona, in a consistent, coherent and decent manner.

The issue of validity was main reason for adding the profile of real publicness. Considering the
potential profiles were actually the true objective of this research, if they were analyzed solely, they would have remained a bare portrayal that cannot be validated nor verified. Moreover, because potential and real profiles consist of the same contextual background, their comparison is proper and legitimate. How can else one estimate the theoretical approach (the study of form and its consequent formulation of potential publicness) if there is nothing to contrast it with? This strategy offers two results to be juxtaposed, under similar contexts. Their comparison might better reveal if there is indeed verity to the process.

All procedures ordained to bring one towards the portrayals of publicness are transparently presented and can therefore be scrutinized by the reader. Even if these strategies were disparaged by some, I would nevertheless insist that when they are performed in a consistent manner by a meticulous attentive researcher, then they would eventually produce a reliable account. It is obvious that any attempt to provide with a new method of grasping and assessing public places stands at the risk of presenting an undetermined and irresolute method, at such an earlier stage. A critic of the research strategies and methods will only refine future researches.

**Concluding** - last but not least, the task of writing conclusions for a qualitative research paradigm necessitates in my opinion extra cautiousness. The results of this research stemmed from three disparate stages of qualitative analyses. Hence, the accumulation of the three qualitative empirical stages one on top of the other, assembled into one final concluding portrayal - is by far not an obvious task. The work of interpretation and deduction that leans on this final portrayal - necessitates some painstaking discipline.

Portraying results and inferring conclusions must be done clearly, accurately and faithfully, as much as possible. Self-criticism is an imperative, bearing in mind one’s own personal motivations that propelled the research, in order not to let them bias the findings. I believe that at this point of the research - the researcher must activate his uttermost strict self-discipline.

The major problem of drawing conclusion in this type of research would be to decide whether to infer on the case study or on the theory to begin with. For example, in case there is no evident correlation between *real publicness* and *potential publicness*, it is possible to draw two disparate conclusions: that perhaps the theory and its elaborations are problematic to begin with, or that in that specific case study, for reasons to be discussed, the particular situation caused a rift between the two publicnesses. If such a situation occurs, one should try to encompass and discuss all possibilities, without attempting to reach a resolution.

A qualitative research necessitates serious contemplation on validity issues. In my opinion, every type of research does, but perhaps because qualitative researches are considered less compelling by some academic departments, they may provoke harsher responses. I have tried to refer to all validity threats with hopefully fair self-criticism, as much as possible.
2.2. Theoretical background: space, society and the public world(s)

This subchapter will touch upon the major literature sources that have influenced this research evolution. It is divided into two parts: an analysis of literature dealing with the public world (for all its strata) and an analysis of literature dealing with theoretical approaches that bind society with the physical spatial world.

Literature on the public, for all its strata and spectrums (namely, public spaces, public places, public domains, public realms, public spheres etc., in sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, political sociology, political economy, law, planning and so forth), is practically endless. On the other hand, theoretical approaches that bind society with the spatial aspects of space and their literature surveys are not any less abounding. Any meticulous attempt to cover these two disparate fields in literature would terminate with a partial and disappointing result, as the materials available are in themselves sufficient for an entire separate research to be borne. Moreover, just the overlaps and congruities between these two ostensibly different subjects of matter (the public world and theoretical approaches that lie in between society and space) are in themselves enough to sustain a deep and long discussion, since abounding literary sources can nourish these two disparate discourses jointly and severally.

Consequently, the literature analysis presented here will merely touch upon the predominant texts and the preeminent writers constituting the foundations of these theoretical discourses, opting to convey the vastness and complexity of this topic, and lay the grounds for understanding these discourses’ underpinnings.

The structure of the literature analysis henceforth is depicted in the following chart. It attempts to convey the various axes that underlie this literary field, and through which one can sect information of many kinds. This abstract and simplistic structure demonstrates the areas of overlaps.

Illustration ii/2-1: mapping the public world from various fields of knowledge
The first analysis (2.2.1) indicated with a red frame, will fathom the prevailing terms and definitions that refer to the multifarious worlds of the public, attempting to put them in some personal order. This personal comprehension of literary etymological and ontological ruminations is naturally colligated with the research bedrock, publicness.

The physical-social dyad is addressed by and tackled from various disciplinary fields. Just as the spatial physical aspects of the world are not the exclusive estate of architecture, so do social aspects of the world do not solely pertain to the social sciences. Because this research hinges between the social and the physical worlds, bearing the perspective and backed with knowledge derived from the architectural field of knowledge, the second analysis will attempt to survey briefly the important theories that are located exactly on a similar social-architectural interdisciplinary position. It will eventually strive to explain the endeavor of this research's theoretical approach and its desired outcomes, in light of the surveyed theories aforementioned.

The second part of the analysis (2.2.2) indicated with two blue frames, will delve into various theoretical approaches that relate to the architecture and society dyad, revolving around the public world and its various contexts. It will begin by outlining the motley interconnections binding these two disparate fields of study, emanating from philosophical and social sciences writings (part one). The analysis will further pursue to delineate the (sparse) theoretical approaches hinging between the social and the physical, that seek to offer applicable strategies, ordained, naturally, only to the architectural expertise (part two). Lastly, the analysis will eventually explicate the position of the suggested theoretical construction, in relation to these aforementioned theories.
2.2.1. The public world: etymological and ontological investigations

The public world is an overarching term used to delineate all types of physical and/or conceptual domains, spheres, realms, spaces, places or any other abstract or concrete territories, which pertain to the public. This section will attempt to outline the various prevailing terms that relate to this issue, and present them in some personal order leaning on preeminent theoretical texts.

2.2.1.1. The mercurial meanings of the term public

According to the Oxford dictionary, *public* is both an adjective and a noun. As the former, it is defined as the following: 1. of ordinary people, connected with ordinary people in society in general (i.e. public opinion, public interest); 2. For everyone, provided, especially, by the government, for the use of people in general (i.e. public transport, public library); 3. Of government, connected with the government and the services it provides (i.e. public expenditures); 4. Seen heard by the people, known to people in general (i.e. public figure); 5. Open to people in general (i.e. a public inquiry); 6. A place where there are a lot of people who can see and hear you (i.e. let’s go somewhere a little less public). As a noun public means: 1. ordinary people in society in general (i.e. members of the public); 2. A group of people who share a particular interest, or who are involved in the same activity. Reading these various definitions it is clear that the notion of public is not conceptually delimited, not as a noun, and certainly not as an adjective.

Habermas inserts a pivotal distinction about this term. Public means open to all, but also related to the state. Habermas dives into his theory exactly on this interstice.

2.2.1.2. Public as an abstruse idea

Hannay begins his philosophical treatise “On the Public” by asking what public is. It sounds as “if we were asking for features of some abstract object, or trying to pin down the public on a chart of ‘kinds’. The question sounds abstruse and philosophical”, therefore it would be easier to answer ‘who are the public’. This question captures the idea we have, at least in western societies, of the public “as some kind of a thing, if not always a single body then at least a diffuse source if sometimes conflicting views… views that make headlines…. and that headlines also help to make”. Who are considered to form a public? Who can define a public? “Although by no means an abstruse exercise, the present attempt to throw light on the notion of the public may still be called philosophical” 29. Hannay asks who are considered a ‘member of the public’: are all those who are able to move freely in what is called a public space? Are these people active in the event, or do they constitute the audience? He argues that public spaces are where one finds the public. “The freedom to be there is enjoyed by anyone ‘belonging’ to

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it”. But then again, what sense of belonging is there in just being able to run across one another in places ‘open to the public’? Does this make one ‘belong”? Hannay argues that we nowadays tend to use the words ‘public’ and people’ interchangeably, although their meanings are really a meeting of ideas from opposite corners of the political landscape

Membership brings to mind ties that link a number of people. The types of ties and their motivations are endless, so much that it is “difficult to uncover any basis underlying the title ‘member of the public’” Hannay convincingly argues that the idea of ‘public’ is far from being unequivocal, thus nourishing philosophical queries. He has negative things to say about the public “directed at the idea itself and what is to be regarded as its highly significant lack of content. They are also directed at the damaging effect when made the cornerstone of political life. It is damaging because, as many writers have pointed out, the public is largely a myth

Attempts to define the idea of public through its antonym, private, prevail. Privacy (originally in Latin privatio) means ‘privation’ or ‘deprivation’, alluding to something taken away. In its etymological roots, and especially in Roman days, to be defined as a private entity was devaluing. Arendt remarks this was “a privative trait of privacy” feeling, indicated in the word itself. “A man who lived only a private life, who like the slave was not permitted to enter the public realm…was not fully human”. The distinction between the two concepts indicates a severe cleft in the value ancient societies ascribed to both, which surprisingly has little (if none) residues in contemporary western societies. Hence, the etymological study does not seem to aid in farther-reaching demarcations. Hannay argues that this customary distinction between public and private is a socio-political and especially a juridical distinction. “Even if we talk of the private domain there is nothing called ‘the’ private of which you and I, or even some non-personal entity, might be listed as a member” Sennett contends that the modes of public and private expression were not so much contraries as alternatives. “The public was a human creation. The private was the human condition”. For him, they are both complementary, like a molecule of society

Turning to the concept of private in search for a clearer understanding of the public, one discovers that the former is not any less complex. Hence, the attempt to understand the idea of ‘public’ through its converse concept turns comprehension all the more intricate. Boling’s interest is in the study of privacy as the politics of intimate life, explaining why this is feasible when we think in terms of public and private. “The distinction between them (public-private) is important at two levels: first, because privacy plays a key role in our law and society, and second, because the value of privacy and the ways in which public and private life are connected

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30. ibid:10
31. ibid: 4-5
32. ibid:8
33. Greek origin transmitted to us bearing a Roman stamp, Habermas 1989:3
34. Arendt 1958: 38.
35. “Why is it, then, that in modern societies privacy has become almost a holy concept, something to live and to die for, and certainly something everyone wants to keep?” Hannay 2005: 71
36. ibid:5
37. Sennett 1974:98-100
are deeply contested”. She sees privacy as the objective, to be demarcated by the existence of an encompassing ‘public’.38 Addressing Arendt’s distinctions of the private and the public, Boling writes that for Arendt, “the foremost theorist of the public-private distinction, the phrase ‘intimate-life political issues’ would have been a non sequitur.”39 Politics were considered by Arendt to be located outside the intimate private territory. Arendt feared that the modern age has lost its ability to appreciate the distinctiveness of the public and private spheres as ‘the social’ took over the public space. Arendt thought and wrote in terms of abstract categories, dividing the ‘public’, ‘private’ and their various constituents into stark rigid contrasts. Today it may seem that she was more concerned with isolating and separating public and private then with connecting them. Boling accepts Arendt’s concerns and insights about modern tendencies of the public sphere, yet, modifies them in light of postmodern feminist thoughts, who claim that the private sphere has politicized.39 Private life issues have undoubtedly entered our public life. The question is, according to her, not how to separate them, but rather, how to connect these realms.40

In his book ‘Privacy and Social Freedom’, Schoeman delineated the meaning and scope of the term ‘privacy’ with an introductory excuse to avoid definitions. He writes that “the best way to begin a discussion of a volatile and controversial concept like privacy is with a definition”. However, he claims that “there may be some benefit in not striving for verbal precision”, leading him to discuss the flexible boundaries of his personal perspective.42 The concept of privacy is historically described in the legal context “as a right more fundamental than any other rights”.43 This definition shifts to the debate about the constitutional basis for privacy, showing that there are broader and narrower conceptions of privacy. But there are other areas of debate, for example, the feminist perspective who deal with the ‘public-private’ distinction as primarily social control mechanism to maintain dominance of groups in power, and the institutions of privacy are seen as instruments for the marginalization of those without power. Schoeman continues on saying that the concept of privacy clearly represents different things to different people and, just as clearly, is valued differently. He elaborates his ideas further tackling the privacy-vulnerability aspect (the factors in our lives that have highly charged emotions attached to them, and which therefore tend to be most intimate and private), and with the privacy-autonomy angle (who has authority to govern the domains of private life). He broadens the boundaries of the concept from the political to the social as well. Privacy, he explains, is ordinarily part of the legal and economic context. However, the thesis that he develops regards privacy norms as serving the same function vis-à-vis social coercion that constitutional principles serve vis-à-vis legal...
coercion, protecting individuals from the overarching control of others. In other words, privacy is not just a matter of political control, but is also a severe and acute matter in the way people demarcate their confinements within the society to which they belong. In Schoeman opinion, delineating this sort of privacy is not any less important, or difficult.

The more one delves into philosophical accounts dealing with the concept of privacy, from whatever disciplinary fields, the clearer it becomes that the boundaries between the two concepts are volatile, flexible, and susceptible to individual interpretations. An ostensibly two definitions that seem simple to begin with, unfold into a complicated idea as one fathoms their meanings. These simple terms are in fact very complex. Moreover, all attempts to define the concept of one by its negation with the other, is unveiled problematic.

If the adjective ‘public’ renders an indefinite and unbound notion (when in fact adjectives are supposed to describe or make the meanings of noun more specific) - what is this obscurity’s implication on the idioms ‘public realm’, ‘public domain’ and “public sphere”, considering that ‘realm’, ‘domain’ and ‘sphere’ are nouns that demarcate an indistinct notion in themselves?

2.2.1.3. The public sphere

Habermas plunges into his famous book announcing: “the usage of the words “public” and “public sphere” betrays a multiplicity of concurrent meanings. Their origins go back to various historical phases, and, when applied synchronically to the conditions of the bourgeois society…. they fuse into a clouded amalgam. Yet the very conditions that make the inherited language seem inappropriate appear to require these words, however confused their employment”.

Low and Smith acknowledge as well the multiplicity of divergent meanings attached to “public”, “public space”, and the “public sphere”. By “public space” they refer to locations, enveloping the palpable tension between places, experienced at all scales of daily life, and space-less realms (such as the Internet, popular opinion etc). “Public sphere emphasizes the ideas, media, institutions and practices that all contribute to the generation of something we can call the public, publics or public opinion. So viewed, the public sphere is rarely if ever spatialized”. Low and Smith consider research on public space to be explicitly spatial, “seeking to comprehend the ways in which social and political, and economic and cultural processes and relations make specific public places and landscapes”, when in fact their definition implies it comprises of an additional societal layer. They contend, “The public space and public sphere literatures can certainly overlap but more often than not, they occupy quite separate domains. The public sphere remains essentially ungrounded while public space discussions insufficiently connect to meditations on the public sphere”. Hannay sees definitions similarly: “we spoke of public

44. ibid: 11-23
45. Oxford dictionary
47. Low & Smith 2006: 3.
48. ibid: 5
space, or public spaces in the plural. Not streets, markets or pedestrian precincts, but an abstract space formed by a shared political landscape. He claims that although physical public space is where you meet the public and become it, the notion of space that defines the modern public is abstract and complex. It is more than the occupancy of spaces by the public, indicating also the presence and possession of shared knowledge and interests: “the public sphere can exist before the public as such exists.” For Hannay, the public sphere is “the place where discussions occur, an abstract space collecting all the venues.” For these leading scholars, public space delineated the arena where public sphere permeates; this space can also be physical, notwithstanding, for its most part, it is not.

However, the chief and reputed definition of public sphere must be first and foremost ascribed to Habermas in “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere”. Habermas coined this aphorism, drawing much attention henceforth. He maintained that the public sphere is “the sphere of private people who come together as a public”. Analyzing historical social and political developments in Europe, Habermas presents a concatenated evolvement of the public sphere, starting with the bourgeois public sphere propelled by 18th century economic developments, also labeled the ‘literary public sphere’, that later developed into the ‘political public sphere’. This entity’s most important feature is to check on the power of the state and “through the vehicles of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society”. The public sphere has suffered a collapse in the modern world, due to changing socio-economical conditions, and so its existence is threatened. Habermas central idea is that the public sphere underwent a structural transformation, shifting from being the center of rational-critical debate to being a debased version of its former self. Throughout this transformation, the public sphere did not change its basic underlying feature: it is not so much an actual place, but a social realm that developed within various economical political and social structures. Habermas’ public sphere exists only in conversations and discourses. “It comes into existence whenever and wherever all affected by general social and political norms of action engage in a practical discourse.” Important to note - it came into being in ‘real’ venues, such as the coffee shops and theatres. In other words, the abstract social public sphere could have not taken shape without physical venues. In this regard, Hannay’s interpretation collates Habermas’ pivotal key term. Low and Smith are presumably a little more grounded, literally, in their attempt to connect the abstract public sphere to its physical whereabouts.

Fraser critical essay on Habermas' hypothesis argues “there never was, and never should be, just one public sphere, but rather a number of public spheres”. She contends that Habermas

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49. Hannay 2005:125  
50. ibid:15-16  
51. ibid:34  
52. From environmental psychology, anthropology and philosophy  
54. ibid: 51-66  
55. ibid:31  
56. Although Habermas still holds out the hope of its successful return, as also mentioned in Crossley & Roberts 2004:6.  
was short in developing a new, post-bourgeois model of the public sphere\textsuperscript{59}, and explains why his analyses were partial\textsuperscript{60}. However, regardless of her criticism, the concept of the public sphere steadily remains in the initial socio-political abstract strata of social interactions and interrelations that Habermas firstly suggested. Benhabib attempts to arrange three preeminent models of the public space in some order, pins Habermas’ positioning in the social abstract strata even deeper. She explains how Habermas “modernist understanding of participation yields a novel conception of public space”. Benhabib interprets public space according to Habermas as the location where “the creation of procedures whereby those affected by general social norms and collective political decisions can have a say in their formulation, stipulation and adoption”\textsuperscript{61}. Needless to say, public space thus lies in the sphere of conversation.

Habermas is one of the most acknowledged and criticized writers. Much that Habermas has written since Structural Transformation has reiterated, elaborated and added to his basic account\textsuperscript{62}. For the most part, the additions have been philosophical. Critics detect three main practical problems with Habermas’s argument on this issue. They all refer to his basic premises and the information he chose to disregard, refraining from criticizing his underlying definition of what the public sphere is all about. In this regard, it is just to claim that Habermas has coined this term, imbued it with meaning, and that it has not changed since.

\textbf{2.2.1.4. The public realm and public domain}

Coming from the urban sociology field of knowledge, Lofland gives her definitions for public space and public realm: the public space relies greatly on the public-private distinctions. Although Lofland acknowledges the enormous cultural and historical variations in the way people grasp this dualism, she believes there is a rough consensus in the way space is divided into public and private, at least theoretically. Public spaces (whatever their ownership) are generally more accessible (physically and visually) than private places. She backs her assertions with denotations from various dictionaries. For her, a public space pertains, indeed, to the physical world. The public realm, on the other hand, is the space where social interactions (of various levels of intensity) take place. “It is constituted on those areas of urban settlements in which individuals in co-presence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another”. She adds that “the public realm is a form of social space distinct from the private realm and its full-blown existence is what makes the city different from other settlement types. The public realm is the city’s quintessential social territory”\textsuperscript{63}. The public realm for Lofland is a social, and not a physical, territory. It is part of the triadic city realms (altogether with the private and parochial). The public realm came into existence with the advent of the modern

\textsuperscript{59.} Fraser, in Calhoun 1992: 111-112  
\textsuperscript{60.} Fraser, in Calhoun 1992: 113-116  
\textsuperscript{61.} Benhabib in Calhoun 1992:87  
\textsuperscript{62.} Crossley & Roberts 2004:7  
\textsuperscript{63.} Lofland 1998:8-9
city. Compared to Habermas’s distinction, if the public sphere is all about the political venue of interaction, Lofland’s public realm is all about societal and communal interactions.

Hannah Arentd’s philosophical explanation of the public realm delineates a rather original outlook on the concept. For her, the term ‘public’ signifies two interweaved phenomena. First, it refers to everything that appears and that can be seen and heard by everybody. “Our feeling for reality depends utterly upon appearance and therefore upon the existence of a public realm into which things can appear out of the darkness of sheltered existence, even the twilight which illuminates our private and intimate lives is ultimately derived from the much harsher light of the public realm.” The public realm therefore relies on simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives, since everybody sees and hears from a different position. Second, the term ‘public’ signifies the world itself, common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it. This world is not identical with the earth or with nature, but with the human artifact, the fabrication of human hands, as well as to affairs which go on among those who inhabit the man-made world together. To live together in the world means essentially that a world of things in between those who have it in common, as a table is located between those who sit around it. The world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time”. Arendt continues, “the public realm, as the common world, gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other, so to speak”. Arendt expresses her political credo saying that “the existence of the public realm... depends entirely on permanence. If the world is to contain a public space, it cannot be erected for one generation and planned for the living only; it must transcend the life-span of mortal men”. Without this transcendence into earthly immortality, no public realm is possible.

Comparing Arendt’s apperception of the term ‘public realm’ with Lofland’s, it is clear that the latter presents a rather earthly portrayal in relation to the former supra mundane. On the other hand, they both relate to the human interrelations as the public realm’s underlying constituent, thus bearing a similar fundamental component in common. Yet, in Lofland’s case, the venue of human interaction is physical (the city); in Arendt’s it is only conceptually physical (the table). Moreover, Lofland’s public realm is imbued with sociological interactions, which consist of relations of all sorts (including political, but also communal, economical and so forth), while Arendt refers predominantly to relationships revolving around political aspects.

For Hajer and Reijndorp the public realm is where “we encounter the proverbial ‘other’ and where we must relate to ‘other’ behavior, other ideas and other preferences. This means that it is also a domain of surprise and reflection. The public realm is ‘the sphere of social relations going beyond our own circle of friendships, and of family and professional relations’ Coming from political sciences, they further state that it is a realm of exchange rather than of meetings.

64. ibid:10
66. ibid:57.
67. ibid: 50-52.
68. ibid: 55
69. Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 12
Hajer and Reijndorp prefer to utilize the term ‘public domain’ in their search of new public domains for contemporary society. Referring in fact to similar attributes as that of the public realm they have just outlined, they contend: “public domain is not only used to refer to physical places in the city, but also has a broader political and philosophical meaning”. For them “public domain entails additional requirements” above the public space. Notwithstanding, the public space is a necessity in order for the public sphere to sustain. The public sphere needs to uphold physical meetings, requirements that only public places can satisfy.

2.2.1.5 Public space and public place in social sciences

Crang and Thrift try to draw out some of the ways in which space figures in the strata of current philosophical and social theoretical writing. To be comprehensive, they explain, is an impossible task. They wish to move away from the Kantian perspective on space, as an absolute category, towards space as process and in process. They denote spaces of language, spaces of self and other, spaces of place, spaces of agitation, spaces of experience and spaces of writing, in contemporary texts dealing with space. Most of these spaces, if not all, are pertinent to the public world. As stated by the editors “space is the everywhere of modern thought”, apologizing for the difficulty to write about it despite its literary abundance. Joining their apologetic posture, this part will briefly delineate the concept of space and place in the social sciences, opting to bestow an overall portrayal without subsiding into a theoretical domain that is located outside of this research’s boundaries.

Hubbard et al. present a fair adumbration of theoretical specifications pertaining to the space and place concepts. Surprisingly enough, the word ‘public’ is consistently omitted, despite alluding, in the majority part, to spaces and places that belong to the public. It is therefore taken for granted that in their texts, just as in Crang and Thrift’s book, which accumulate myriad of social scientist writings, there is a congruity between the terms—space and public space, or place and public place.

Although space and place have remained a matter of some dispute, Hubbard et al. present the new ways of ‘thinking geographically’ in recent history: beginning with mid twentieth century theories, space was considered a neutral container, a blank canvas that is filled with human activity, a straightforwardly empirical, objective and a ‘mappable’ thing. Here, as also in the abovementioned architectural discourse, space is defined and understood through Euclidean geometry. This absolute ‘empirico-physical’ conception suggests that space can be conceived as outside of human existence. Rather than playing an active role in shaping social life, it is regarded as a backdrop against which human behavior is played out. This period was marked with an enthusiasm for quantification, hypothesis testing and statistical analysis, a new

70. ibid: 11-12
71. Crang and Thrift (editors) 2000: 3-25
72. ibid: 1
73. Conversely, when these terms refer to the private domain—this fact is overtly stated.
74. Hubbard et al. 2004:4
‘scientific’ paradigm responsible for ushering in a new widespread conceptualization of space. It conceives of space as a surface on which relationships between (measurable) things were played out.

Reacting against this rabidly objective type of analysis, some geographers took inspiration from psychology, developing a behavioral perspective that explores the role of the conscious mind in shaping human spatial behavior. Replacing concepts of absolute distance with subjective distance, the theories emerged in the 1970’s deemed space to be inherently caught up in social relations, produced and consumed. Urban sociologists joined forces with geographers, documenting the role of urbanization in capitalist society (Manuel Castells, David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, Michael Storper, Doreen Massey and others). Lefebvre moved away from an analysis of things in space, to an account that sees space as ‘made up’ through a three-way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space. He contributed to the understanding that space is a socially laden receptacle, rejecting and discarding for once and for all the mid 20th century credo that space is a neutral empirical objective canvas. Lefebvre’s interpretation of space is pivotal for this research theoretical construction, and will be therefore mentioned widely.

Place emerges as a particular form of space, one that is created through acts of naming as well as the distinctive activities and imaginings associated with particular social spaces. Hubbard et al. explain that “for many geographers, place thus represents a distinctive (and more or less bounded) type of space that is defined by (and constructed in terms of) the lived experience of people. As such, places are seen as fundamental in expressing a sense of belonging for those who live in them, and are seen as providing a locus for identity.”

The humanistic geographers of the 1970’s challenged as well the former ideas of positivistic approaches, seeking to supplant the ‘people-less’ geographies by approaching human geographies that fed off alternative philosophies – existentialism and phenomenology. Yi-Fu Tuan asserts that people do not live in geometrical configurations, but in a world of subjective feeling and sensations. For him, place is subjectively defined. What constitutes a place is seen to be largely individualistic, although attachments and meanings were often shared. Another group of cultural geographers regards both space and place as culturally produced. Culture not only takes place, but also makes place. Doreen Massey for example defines place as “the locus of complex intersections and outcomes of power geometries that operate across many spatial scales, from the body to the global. Places are thus constituted of multiple, intersecting social, political and economic relations, giving rise to myriad of spatialities.” Sharon Zukin defines public spaces as “the primary site of public culture; the are windows into the city’s soul. As a sight, moreover, public spaces are an important means of framing a vision of social life in the city.” From her Sociological perspective, Zukin space is the space of public culture.

75. ibid:4-5
76. ibid:5
77. Yi-Fu Tuan 1977: 8-18, 136-138, and for that matter, his whole book.
78. Hubbard et al. 2004: 6-7
79. Zukin 1995:259
Leading writers pertaining to this group are the LA scholars Edward Soja, Mike Davis, Michael Dear and other. Rejecting universal definitions of place, their ideas stress that places are real-and-imagined assemblages, constituted via language\textsuperscript{80}.

Some geographers express a strong interest in the relationship between place and space, as evident in the literature on scale and the entwining of local and global with the creation of cultural hybridity. This strand refers to Neil Smith, Manuel Castells, Peter Taylor and others, approaching extremity in the apocalyptic writings of philosophers of all, Paul Virilio and Jean Baudrillard\textsuperscript{81}. Anthropologist Marc Augé’s depiction of super-modern ‘non-places’\textsuperscript{82} refer to place’s takeover by space. They all dwell upon the reciprocations between the local and the global forces, or between place and space, often reasoning the obliteration of the local (place).

Hubbard’s classification of ideas on space and place conclude by saying that “space and place need to become conceived as fragile entities, constantly made and remade through the actor network that involves people, things, languages and representations”. He maintains that “these perspectives interpret both space and place as entities always becoming, in process and unavoidably caught up in power relations”\textsuperscript{83}.

The concept of space has no distinct boundary in humanities and social sciences. It is therefore nearly impossible to delineate this concept unequivocally, from the multifarious viewpoints of these fields of study, an endeavor that will most likely end barren. In any case, fathoming space in the social sciences is not the objective of this research, but rather, to briefly touch upon this intricate realm.

\subsection*{2.2.1.6. Public space and public place in the architectural discourse}

Continuing from the social science enterprise to the architectural discourse, the latter presents digressing definitions for the prevailing term public space. The architect Lang begins his book claiming that “almost all definitions of urban design\textsuperscript{84} state that it has something to do with the public realm (or the public domain or with public space)”\textsuperscript{85}. He uses the appellation 'physical public realm' to delineate the physical spaces in the city that accommodate the public. This definition, he asserts, is notwithstanding difficult. The physical public realm is not necessarily conterminous with publicly owned property. The public realm and public open space — spaces to which the public has right of entry — may refer to the same thing. His definition, however, has been extended to include all publicly owned property, such as schools and libraries. Another way he grasps the public realm is by places where everybody has access, although this access may be controlled at times. It consists of both outdoor and indoor spaces. Access can also take

\begin{footnotes}
\item[80] Hubbard et al. 2004: 7-8
\item[81] ibid: 9
\item[82] Marc Augé 1995: 75-78
\item[83] Hubbard et al. 2004: 9-10
\item[84] Which he defines as “any design that takes place in any city setting” Lang 2005:3
\item[85] Lang 2005:6
\end{footnotes}
place in private ownerships. As the common domain of cities is increasingly privatized (or rather, the private domain is providing public spaces), this ambiguity is likely to continue.

Lang refers to three disparate strata: the spatial features of space (indoor and outdoor), ownership (public and private) and accessibility (open to all or controlled). Following his line of thought, it is clear that these three strata are not conterminous, but rather consisting of local overlaps and contiguities thus creating unique and disparate situations within the various urban locations. In other words, even the supposedly simple definition of physical urban space is evidently intricate for its own right, for both spatial but also legislative reasons.

Carr et al., architects and environmental psychologists, define public space as “the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds. The streets, squares, and parks of a city give form to the ebb and flow of human exchange”. In other words, for this group of environmental designers, public space consists of the container and the contained together, the architectural and spatial features of a place with the humans filling it with life. In their research premises, space and people are inextricably inseparable.

Conversely, as opposed to the concept of place held by environmental designers, Roussopoulos describes his effort, as a journalist and ecologist, to create a public place (or a public space) where citizens can actually meet to discuss, debate, argue and decide on questions that are most important to them. He organized a community newspaper called ‘Place Publique’ for the Montreal downtown neighborhood Milton-Park, thus forging a place for people to encounter on a monthly basis. This place is by far not a physical venue where people engage via their bodies, notwithstanding, it is a very significant place where communication modes do assemble. In many ways, communication and the media consists of advanced methods of encounter, closing the circuit by offering a renewed allusion to the public sphere. Roussopoulos grasps space as some sort of a tangible meeting place for the public sphere, but as opposed to Habermas, his place is embodied in words and papers.

When most environmentalists pertaining to all disciplinary spectrums apply to the term public space nowadays, they usually refer to the twofold entities, the (socially laden) physical receptacle and the human life that fills it. However, as explained previously, the mid 20th century positivistic approaches saw space as a one-dimensional, physical entity, lacking any human capacity. This tendency was evident also in postmodern urban-design theories, which used the term space from a rather different perspective, yet, presented a similar concept devoid of any human strata.

The architect and theoretician Rob Krier dealt with spaces in their geometrical forms. According to him, the objective is the aesthetic quality of a place, and that is evident in the plans, sections and elevations of the architectural artifact. Geometry is the basis for all artifacts, and for the two sole spaces prevailing in the urban whereabouts, streets and squares. If Krier exhibits

86. ibid: 6-7
87. Carr et al. 1992: 3
88. Roussopoulos 2000:3
89 Krier 1979:5
Background

a somewhat radical a-humanistic viewpoint, paying absolutely no heed (and certainly no concern) to the human dimension that enlivens the physical space, Row & Koetter present a softer and more tolerant outlook on what space should constitute, believing there is room for every design doctrine in the urban world. For Row & Koetter, spaces are defined by the ‘set-pieces’, the cornerstones of the compositional field. This constituting geometry should rely on all doctrines and their images, on all utopias. Row and Koetter’s contextual ‘collage city’ credo inheres an unequivocally appeasing humanistic disposition; yet, surprisingly enough - the human dimension, or put bluntly, people, are missing from the core of planning and designing considerations of urban spaces. Humanity exists in the design paradigm only indirectly, in the ethos that accepts all doctrines, from all ranges of the spectrum. Yet, space and geometry are the leading actors.

Rossi was by far the leading postmodern urban-design theoretician disbelieving in the human stratum as a factor in urban planning (or construction) considerations. His concern was to study architecture as a science, for its own sake, with little reference to outside disciplines such as sociology and other sciences, nor even, as he says, to the history of architecture although the use of historical examples is fundamental to his method. Considering the space-society axial theme of the public place, Rossi is by far the extremist theoretician situated on the edge of this axis. He affirms that ecology and psychology do apply to urban sciences, asking “how does the environment influence the individual and the collective?” Rossi is clearly interested in the answer for the sake of studying architecture, and not for reacting (or ameliorating) society’s conditions.

For these abovementioned postmodern theorists, public space is devoid of all the characteristics that turn it into a place, a locus of people, society, emotions and memory. This postmodern one-dimensional, one-sided outlook on public spaces has surely been the weakest point of these architectural postmodern theoretical endeavors. “Ultimately, despite its efforts to counter the negative aspects of modern urbanism, postmodern urbanism falls into many of the same traps. Despite its eagerness to counter the human insensitivity of modern urbanism, postmodern urbanism’s preoccupation with surfaces and irony makes it equally guilty of neglecting the human component.” Manuel Castells maintained that “although Krier’s typology ‘has a nice appeal’, it is reductive and ultimately meaningless.” These theoretical approaches have been harshly criticized during the 1990’s henceforth, to the point of reaching complete estrangement in contemporary researches on public spaces.

Of course, not all postmodern urban design approaches demonstrated such an acute ideology. Although the geometrical aspects of space were not in tandem with the social aspects of the

91 Rowe and Koetter 1978:10-31
92 Broadbent 1990:264 - 266
93. Rossi 1982: 107-111
94. Broadbent 1990: 166
95. Rossi 1982: 112
96. Ellin 1996:162
97. ibid: 136
public, as part of scientific vogues, other theoretical approaches present a somewhat milder and more appeasing outlook. During those same years Jane Jacobs, Christopher Alexander, Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen, amongst other theoreticians, formulated individual theoretical approaches that maintained a close connection with the human component. They did not diverge significantly from the prevailing strands of theoretical and methodological thoughts in the architectural field, which located the physical attributes of space in the spotlight. Jane Jacobs discussed issues as safety-ness and vividness, which indeed found embodiments in physical spaces, yet, were the outcome of the human comportment. Alexander, striving to come up with an applied theory (which he considers as ‘a language’) to supports the planner/designer with a set of complicated rules (which he calls ‘patterns’). This language will ultimately help to forge an intricate planning procedure98, “a quality without a name” that he is so eager to capture. Alexander has been continuously captivated by his desire to invent of a language, one that would support an intricate thinking procedure. His objective was always space and its features; however, in most of his patterns, it is evident that he has always kept contact with the human strata, even if inconspicuously, never forgetting why planning is needed in the first place.

Gordon Cullen’s attitude towards space-society is very much resembling Alexander’s. Deeply interested in spatial attributes (this time, in a picturesque ‘townscape’ style), Cullen advocated a different method of planning and designing (that draws upon visual experiences), explaining how to use this method with simple tools (hand drawings), how these can become art (the art of relationship) and hence, how one can infuse space with drama (leaning on the serial vision idea)99. Like Alexander, the social stratum was never at his focal point, yet, people always remained part of his considerations when taking design decisions100. He did consider space to invoke feelings, “unlooked for surplus” - an excess visual information that one sees without intending to. However, these feelings are considered a (secondary) tool for the formulation of (primary) space, and not the other way around. Today, many people would claim that feelings or the self, are of prime importance, whereas space is only secondary, pertaining to the contemporary postmodern tendencies in psychology101.

Lynch’s empirical research on the image of the city, involved three cities (Boston, New Jersey and L.A.)102. He captured and conveyed the relations between people’s cognitive perception of the city, urban legibility and imageability with a desired urban planning paradigm, claiming that cities should be designed according to the way cities are envisioned, imaged, or what he

98. A semi-lattice system of thinking, in Alexander 1965
99. Cullen 1971
100. See for example ‘the scanner’, which has in some of its parts a concrete reference to users, in Broadbent 1990:220-221.
101. With the growing expanse and importance of the self, as Sennett asserts: “to know oneself has become an end, instead of a means through which one knows the world. And precisely because we are so self-absorbed, it is extremely difficult for us to arrive at a private principle, to give any clear account to ourselves or to others” (Sennett 1974:4). He continues in his treatise on the end of public culture explaining the “trauma which the reign of intimacy produces in modern life. Often against our own knowledge, we are caught up in a war between the demands of social existence and the belief that we develop as human beings only through contrary modes of intimate psychic experience” (Sennett 1974:263).
102. Lynch 1960: 14-45
Background calls “a process of image-making”. A couple of decades later, Lynch present his theory for planning a ‘good city form’, discussing endlessly various doctrines of thinking, utopias, forms and shapes, bearing the human layer only in the back of the mind. Humans are there, imbued in every piece of his theory, but they are definitely not the objective.

Analyzing these aforementioned postmodern urban design theories, it is clear that if they refer to the human strata, they mostly cling to the psychological, emotional or cognitive aspect of the human being, on an individual level, and refrain from dealing with people as a group, on a societal, collective level. Jacobs, perhaps, alludes to societal aspects by mentioning issues of safety and security, although her empirical study is somewhat distant from the social sciences. It is therefore just to say that this era in the architectural theoretical field marked one of the feeblest connections made between space and people: a mild connection with people as a collection of individuals and an even weaker connection with people as a public, as a societal being. In rare cases, such a connection was absolutely missing. However, in most cases, even if it was not completely absent, it lacked any substantial backgrounds in the social sciences. These theories were therefore repudiated by subsequent theoreticians, from all ranges of the theoretical spectrum, not long after.

Notwithstanding the vast criticism these theories entailed, after a couple of decades with relative quietness in the emergence of space-oriented theories, it seems to me that this postmodern experience (some would think it poor, other perhaps barren, but I think it is eye opening) should not put a damper on, and discourage architectural theoretician from continuing further on. I hope that this research will pick up this gauntlet and present a sober return to dealing with space as an objective, but this time without disregarding or disparaging other scientific contiguities.

To conclude, the terms place and space, or public place and public space comprise of the society-architecture dichotomy within their own concepts and definitions. This tension between space as a vessel and its human content is evident is all disciplines, whether concerned with society or with the architectural artifact. Every theoretical interpretation of reality is thus located on a different and individual position on the imaginary space-society axis. The varied interpretations have been changing locations on this axis, due to the altering methodological vogues in recent history. The following part will elaborate further on this society-architecture nexus.

2.2.1.7. Publicness in varied disciplines

Referring to the term publicness in literature, surprisingly enough, the word is scarcely used. Not only it seldom appears, it seems to lack any substantial erudite meanings, constituting an adjective and not a noun bearing any content. It does not appear in indexes as a key term and in the sparse occasions that it is being used - it is descriptive, an explanatory part of
other extrinsic concepts, entwined in the text as a matter of speech. Any attempts to attach definitions to this term, as they appear in literature, have terminated in barren outcomes.

In his philosophical account, Hannay refers to the ‘public spirit’, being a tangible idea indeed and perhaps the closest concept to publicness. “we may wonder whether the public proves to be anything like a thing or even personage at all, as opposed to the more or less tangible things we call ‘public’ (affairs, services, officials, spirit to say nothing of holidays, parks, baths, libraries, schools, and houses)”\textsuperscript{104}. The term publicness appears in various articles and from all fields of knowledge, adjoining the public sphere concept quite often. It alludes to an abstract thing (artifact, idea, activity, etc.) ‘of the public’ or that ‘pertains to the public’, opting intentionally to remain vague. Marcuse counts five principles of publicly usable spaces, subsuming them under the title “the publicness of publicly used spaces”. However, elaborating on his five principles, their relation to the term publicness remains unresolved\textsuperscript{105}. Muge discusses the “’publicness’ of public spaces in postindustrial cities, using inverted commas for the term. His article “explores the changing “publicness” of a recently redeveloped space in the city center of Newcastle upon Tyne”, examining the bus station redevelopment in the center of the city as part of an image-led public realm improvement program\textsuperscript{106}. Muge utilizes the term publicness to convey an atmosphere and image, revolving around the word without impinging it. Similarly, in the filed of computer communication sciences, Holmes titles his article “Transformations in the Mediation of Publicness: Communicative Interaction in the Network Society” when in fact he refers to the various facets of the public sphere all along\textsuperscript{107}.

Searching for the term publicness in a wide range of literary sources from various disciplinary fields revealed it has not only been used scarcely, but also bore no concrete meanings or represented any substantial concepts of any sort.

\*\*\* 2.2.1.8. Typifying the public world

This section will attempt to arrange the various abovementioned definitions, and construe a schematic structure of the various epithets and their interrelations, according to my private understanding and interpretation, and from my professional point of view - architecture. This new construction will refer to the ideas presented above, to their ontological substance, rather than to the specific terminological usages (often misusages). It will then suggest an appellation for each idea, clinging as much as possible to the prevailing terminologies that are already in use in literature.

To begin with, there are two evident actors in all definitions: public (or something that pertains to the public) and space. Each time, both terms bear a different meaning. The public twofold facet consists of both the group of people (public as a noun) and the nexus that ties this group

\textsuperscript{104}. Hannay 2005: 1-2
\textsuperscript{105}. Marcuse 2003
\textsuperscript{106}. Muge 2005
\textsuperscript{107}. Holmes 2002
together, such as motivations, interests or social interactions (public as an adjective). Space is a variable in this equation, a more mercurial actor, embodied in different manners and according to different spatial features, depending on what the term public signifies. In other words, space represents a different idea, depending on the ontological adumbration of ‘public’.

This is to say that all scholars, writing about the various public worlds (each from one’s own perspective), refer to space, to some sort of a space. Every type of public world (whether realm, domain, sphere or place) has a space in which it resides and sustains. Of course, in each case, space is a completely different concept thus bearing altogether different physical and metaphysical features.

The following chart suggests my personal interpretation for this conceptually and philologically intricate field. It leans on the prevailing parlance used in literature, opting to cling to the widespread idioms, as much as possible.

The spaces of the following terms have been ‘graphically’ reified, indicated with color, hoping to convey the abstract ideas that they signify. In any event, these graphical depictions should be considered conceptual and not literal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public space</th>
<th>Public realm, domain</th>
<th>Public sphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People and their bodies, groups of people (everyday necessities)</td>
<td>The various social interactions between people and their groups</td>
<td>The (political) power of gathered people (publics in the plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Public – defining the subject of matter

- **People and their bodies, groups of people (everyday necessities)**
- **The various social interactions between people and their groups**
- **The (political) power of gathered people (publics in the plural)**

#### Space – the essence of the public’s locus

- **A palpable physical space: architecture as a receptacle, laden with societal meanings**
- **An impalpable space of social interactions, hinging between the mental and the actual**
- **Metaphysical abstract space of critical thought**

#### The venue of space

- **This is space: a mappable, physical, empirical entity. However, the origins of space can be traced in culture (societal, economical, political background)**
- **This space needs a physical venue in order to emerge or evolve (places for encounters).**
- **This space does not necessitate a physical venue in order to emerge or evolve, although it often uses mundane places in order to get organized, in addition to abstract venues (such as the media)**
2.2.1.8. Publicness in relation to the public world

This last part will attempt to bind the above-mentioned literature analyses with the research subject of matter - publicness. Returning once again to its definition, publicness denotes the profile of occurrences coming about in place.

The real profile of publicness accumulates all occurrences that happened in real into a coherent portrayal, whether they took place by individuals entangled with their own self-absorbed activities or by collectives involved with others in the public place, for various reasons. This entanglement with others on various activities instantly invokes the term ‘public realm’ for bearing a facet of sociological interactions and encounters. In other words, real publicness is colligated with the term public realm.

The potential profile of publicness on the other hand speculates the imaginary profile of occurrences that are likely to come about in the public place, due to the immanent spatial properties of the physical receptacle (and its social representations). In this regard, potential publicness brings to mind the term ‘public space’ for its architectural, spatial facet. The concept of publicness, which lies in-between potential publicness and real publicness, interweaves both the physical and the social, binding the public realm (or domain) concept with the attributes of public spaces. Publicness thus turns these two inextricable constituents, space and society, inseparable.

The notion of public sphere, on the other hand, is not embodied nor forged in any physical settings, thus appearing to hold no ostensible relations with the term publicness. Public sphere refers to the political power that people, as a group, carry together, usually viable for its criticism on regional, national and international affairs. The public sphere’s sway is spread on vast material and immaterial expanses, comprising of very different characteristics (altogether with an immense scope of impact) than those of the local public place (and its inherent publicness).

108. The three social realms (private, parochial and public) are all evident in the city, in Lofland 1998: 10-11
109. Hannay 2005: 5-6
110. This division pertains only to some aspects in the writings of these contributors. If this division is taken out of this context, it will do severe injustice to the various writers and their discourses, and especially to those floating in between undefined disciplinary boundaries.
However, at times, the public sphere concept may be reified, find manifestations, in specific local mundane occurrences. Thinking about the Dam Square case study for example, what comes to mind is the initiative to protest against the cultural and religious conditions that lead to Van Gogh’s murder on November 2004. This was a spontaneous act of the Dutch society, expressing their very fundamental credos. In fact, all political demonstrations, especially those directed towards international affairs, can be ultimately considered as local reifications of the public sphere.

The concept of publicness is conterminous with the public place and public realm concepts, hovering above and comprising them both, continuously and unabatedly. Yet, from time to time, space can offer the public sphere an arena and an opportunity to reify itself in the real world. When this happens, publicness incorporates (even if provisionally) the public sphere as well.

2.2.2. Space and society (in the public context) – reviewing theoretical approaches

The following section will divide the theoretical endeavors that bind the concepts of public with spatial features into three inclusive groups, each holding a distinct perspective and expressing a different interest in the world: social sciences and philosophy, architecture and the sciences of the built world and everyday ethnographies. One of the major differences between these groups is their underlying aim: the first aspires to understand and interpret society according to some overarching hopefully systematic structure, whereas the second opts to offer new insights that support and nourish future action on (and in) space. The third lights both constituents (men and the environment) equally, believing they cannot be understood independently of each other, opting to put the spotlight on small-scaled occurrences and give up any grand theoretical structures or narratives. The first two as opposed to the third, consist of some very different epistemological backgrounds and motivations, as also belong to an earlier historical scientific era. They (social sciences and architectural theories) seek to come up with structured theories, as opposed to the third, which strives to enrich theory with small bits of interpretations and illuminations.

All three groups of theories present a strong society (public) – space (architecture) nexus. Six theoretical endeavors will be presented altogether: three pertaining to the social sciences (Walter Benjamin 1930’s; Henri Lefebre 1970’s; Mike Davis 1990’s), two to the architectural urban design discourse (Jane Jacobs 1960’s; Bill Hillier 1980’s), and one to the ethnographies of the everyday (1990’s-2000’s). The first five will exhibit a specific text, or texts, of a particular renowned theoretician, whereas the sixth will portray a collection of scientific enterprises.

111. Hillier explains the structure of architectural theories: they contain precepts about what designers should do (the normative intent), and a prior framework which describes how the world is (an analytical method). He claims that careful examination will show that this is always the case with architectural theories, Hillier 1996:58. Jencks also describes the dual components of architectural theories: a motive to change the world - a crisis or a feeling of imminent catastrophe, and the pure theory which is based on science and logic, Jencks 1997: 6-7
that pertain to a group of researchers and not just one in particular. The reason for breaking
down the method and portraying a collective-endeavor instead of one particular theory will be
explained in length as part of this group’s underlying credo.

There are many additional theoretical approaches, from all possible disciplines, that are not
least important or interesting, and that will not be presented in this literature review for reasons
of scope. The theories chosen are, in my opinion, significant emblems of reputed methodologies
and epistemologies, pertinent to their times and to their cultural contexts, and paramount to the
society-space discourse.

2.2.2.1. Society and Space in social science theories

The first group of theories is ascribed to the social sciences and to philosophy, in terms of
their epistemologies and methodologies. As opposed to the sequential group of theoretical
approaches accredited to the architectural disciplines, these have one sole intention that is to
interpret societal dynamics and processes. Three theoretical enterprises will be mentioned:
Walter Benjamin’s writings on cities and societies during the 1920’s and 1930’s, making a
poetic bond between the two; Henri Lefebvre’s work on the urban political society during the
1960’s and 1970’s, offering a pivotal philosophical account that is not yet deciphered; and
Mike Davis dealing with the postmodern society in the 1990’s postmetropolis urban context,
demonstrating close reciprocity between space and society and their mutual effects.

These three writers were chosen for their significant and unprecedented theoretical
preoccupations that managed to forge a strikingly memorable connection between the social
and the physical-spatial worlds. Underlying all these writers, as a common denominator, is
their attempt to decode and decipher societal dynamics and processes, for a mere better
understanding of historical processes.

2.2.2.1.1. Ideational poetic bonds between modern mass society and
metropolitan spaces in Walter Benjamin’s writings (1930’s)

As the pupil of philosopher Georg Simmel at the beginning of the twentieth century, Benjamin
took plenty from his work, reworking it into his own take on capitalist metropolis, and on the ties
of money economy and individuality. Simmel’s reputed essay “Metropolis and Mental Life”
dealt with the way individuality is upheld in the face of the overwhelming social forces that
dramatize modern life. The inhabitants of the modern city, whose everyday existence is
bombarded with nervous stimulation, crowding of changing images and intensifies emotional
life, undergo deep anxieties. The city streets set up new sensory foundations of psychic life.
Simmel explained how the metropolitan person becomes detached, aloof, avoiding eye contact

112. Originally from 1903, in Leach 1997: 69-79
113. Simmel in Miles et al. (editors) 2000:12-19
114. ibid:13; Merrifield 2002:50-51
with fellow passers-by. This ‘defensive precaution’ is caused by the metropolis’s brusque shifts, noise and bustle, density and so forth. In such a modern life, money becomes the true mediator of people. It is embedded in the realm of urban experience – in both the macro social relationships and the micro psychological impulses. However, this alienation caused by money and the metropolitan mass, has another facet that Simmel and Benjamin found captivating: modern life “opens up human potentiality, lets people breathe and lose their fixed identities, liberates from prejudices and binds. As such, the metropolis becomes the locale of freedom” 115.

Benjamin was enchanted by this alienation/liberty ambivalence, spending the rest of his life trying to straddle it, pin down its dialectical basis. He wrote extensively, literary criticism, translations, philosophical accounts, and treatises, as named by Savage ‘urban writings’, revolving around cities and their distinct urban experiences. Particularly two of his essays demonstrate a creative and unusual bond between societal dynamics and the space in which these transpire: “Naples” (1924) and his magnum opus “The Arcades Project” (which he started collecting material for in 1927 and writing during the 1930’s, and has never completed). Benjamin used urban phenomena as devices for exploring intellectual problems, a textual approach that became intensified and more complicated towards the later phases of his life 116. In Naples, Benjamin noted the ‘porosity’ of the buildings and social interaction; “the two spoil over each other in courtyards, back alleys, squares and stairways. Everything in Naples became a theatre of the contingent, a popular stage”. Merrifield explains how “for Benjamin, porosity results from the Neapolitan’s ‘passion for improvisation’, a southern Mediterranean thing. Public and private lives get commingled: every private attitude or act is ‘permeated by streams of communal life’. The home is less a refuge. Neither is the private self restricted by four walls. In fact, homes aren’t so much places people retreat to as somewhere to flood out from. Life gushes out on to the street, while the street migrates into the living room, as open doors let the outside cascade into the inside” 117.

Benjamin’s type of linkage of the social and the spatial is ultimately poetic. It is chiefly symbolic, metaphoric and emblematic. His treatise compares the proclivities of people and spaces, how they become similar to one another, reverberating propensities towards each other. This type of comparative research represents an essential etic account, leaning on data derived from the scholar or theorist own feverish mind, pertaining to his or her own interpretation of reality, and not from any external autonomous information 118.

During his Naples days, Benjamin started getting fascinated by glass-roofed structures that

115. Merrifield 2002:52
118. Emic and etic are terms used by some in the social sciences and behavioral sciences to refer to two different research ethos. An “emic” account of behavior is a description of behavior in terms meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor. An “etic” account is a description of a behavior in terms familiar to the observer. Scientists interested in the local construction of meaning, and local rules for behavior, will rely on emic accounts; scientists interested in facilitating comparative research and making universal claims will rely on etic accounts. Examples for these research ethos in Moudon 1992: 336
house shops. Day and night, these mighty pavilions “glow with pale, aromatic juices that teach even the tongue what porosity can be”. This is his first encounter with arcades, of the prototypical shopping malls soon to mesmerize him in Paris. “These ‘fairy tale galleries’ were key arenas of the commodity fetish, new forms of urban life dedicated to servicing the commodity. They were new forms of public space, ambiguous and dialectical, like modern life itself, blending together the outside public street with the interior, quasi-private store. Outside became inside, and inside outside”\(^{119}\). In 1935, after a few years in Paris, Benjamin wrote Adorno on the Arcades Project that it’s “the theatre of all my struggles and ideas,” his “dialectics at a standstill”, meaning that he wanted a Marxism that was grounded, made more graphic. He wanted to intervene in the dialectical flow of history.

Most of the long and tall iron and glass edifices came into being during the decade and a half after 1822. These were forerunners of the grands magasins – the opulent department stores that would flourish after 1850- and of our very own shopping mall. Advances in iron construction technology and the emergence of gas lighting\(^{120}\) energized and dramatized these spaces, what Benjamin called the passages. For him, this single phenomenon was most emblematic of Parisian modernity\(^{121}\). In these spaces, people began to eye other people, and strolling and parading became favorite pastime. It was the setting for modern men and women to bloom, the metropolitan types, typically blasé about everything, slumberous with ennui. Benjamin wanted to be part of this life, although he knew that the bourgeois world was shallow and hollow inside, snobbish and privileged. In one sense, Benjamin was perhaps the greatest 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century urban Marxist. In another, he was one of the most troubled Marxist thinkers\(^{122}\).

Benjamin’s cult hero, epitomized in the poet Charles Baudelaire, was the flâneur\(^{123}\). Paris invented this type, by permitting the fine art of flânerie – aimless strolling losing oneself in the crowd, populating one’s solitude. In flânerie, a man can fulfill dreams and surpass graphic fantasies, an experience that is also available to women, who can expand their freedom\(^{124}\). Benjamin revealed magnificently the drama and dynamics of the city street. Streets were his cockpit into modernity; he knew how to read into them. Benjamin’s city is a city of hope, a place full of pedestrians, sexiness, and bustling streets. In his streets, exteriors become interiors, private individuals become pubic citizens, and strollers become dandies and Flâneurs who blush before the eyes of no one. In this way, Benjamin sings a paean to an expansive and inclusive urban public space, one that releases the unconscious yearning of the collective and internalizes the whole wide world. Marx’s wish image of a world literature finds its democratic dwelling place here.

Adorno thought the major problem with Benjamin’s epic was that it lacked any sense of ‘mediation’. He thought the endless accumulation of facts and quotations added up to nothing.

\(^{119}\) Merrifield 2002: 59  
\(^{120}\) Leach (editor) 1997:34  
\(^{121}\) Benjamin 1999: 31-35; Cohen in Ferris (editor) 2004: 211  
\(^{122}\) Merrifield 2002: 62-63  
\(^{123}\) Benjamin 1999: 446-448  
\(^{124}\) Merrifield 2002: 64-65
in themselves. All the empirical material, gossip, citations, anecdotes, did not constitute anything alone, and certainly did not constitute ‘knowledge’. Facts piled up don’t speak for themselves. Adorno believed that Benjamin text screamed out for theoretical interpretation, and that Benjamin’s dialectic had nothing to hold it together, no mediation. The omission of theory bothered and surprised Adorno most. Consequently, he suggested that Benjamin’s study ‘is located at the crossroads of magic and positivism’ \(^{126}\). Adorno’s remarks on Benjamin’s work and generally, are relevant today and have been developed in many strands of contemporary critical theory, media theory, and sociology. His criticism of Benjamin’s work is understandable. Yet, Cohen claims that “the Arcades Project has also informed recent critical and cultural theory with a distinctive mode of historiography, that yokes the principle of writing history from the archive with the imperative to invent an alternative to grand narratives of progress” \(^{126}\).

Benjamin refers himself to his revelations as a phantasmagoria \(^{127}\), an idea that took pride of place in the 1939 expose, where he gave his last statement on the Arcades Project saying that “the world dominated by its phantasmagorias is modernity” \(^{128}\).

Either way, Benjamin’s controversial methodological bedrocks introduce a strong, surprising and creative bond between cultural and societal currents, and urban spaces in which these occur, or as Savage suggests, “a distinctive view of urbanism, stressing the relationship between the built environment, personal and collective memory, and history. Benjamin’s insight is that the urban built environment has a number of qualities which allow meanings to be encoded and decoded” \(^{129}\). Society and space are inextricable constituents in Benjamin’s writings, explaining urban and social shifts in late 19th and early 20th European cities. Benjamin, and his tutor Simmel, are most likely the earliest philosophers to offer such an immediate, innovative and inspiring linkage between the public and its space.

2.2.2.1.2. Philosophical bonds between political society and (urban) spaces in Henri Lefebvre’s writings (1970’s)

Henri Lefebvre is arguably the pre-eminent and most influential theorist of space of the twentieth century. He claims and convinces that space is socially and historically produced, and not natural. He provides a total theory of space, a metaphorical schema that accounts for all kinds of space-production in all cities at all times. He argues that space is made up of spatial practices (buildings and actions), representations of space (conscious theories and figures) and representational spaces (imaginations, experiences). Lefebvre’s ideas are central, encompassing both the production of space through professions such as architecture and planning and its experience and negotiation through the practices of everyday life \(^{130}\).

\(^{125}\). ibid: 66-67  
\(^{126}\). Cohen in Ferris (editor) 2004: 200  
\(^{127}\). Benjamin 1999:14-15  
\(^{128}\). Cohen in Ferris (editor) 2004: 208  
\(^{129}\). Savage in Crang and Thrift 2000:46-47  
\(^{130}\). Miles et al. 2000: 257
Lefebvre’s interest in urban spaces is twofold. First, he interprets the ways in which space in general is being produced, bestowing it with heavy social and political meanings. Although he does not refer to public space in particular, there is no doubt that the public hovers above his overall ideologies. Otherwise, if the spaces he refers to were private, Marxist Lefebvre would have probably not found any interest in probing them in the first place. Secondly, Lefebvre’s space can only be a public one knowing his former writings, and his rich history in demonstrating interests in the political public realm and the way it is spread in the city. As a matter of fact, this twofold interest in the public space is not chronologically in order. In “Introduction to Modernity”, Lefebvre writes about two French towns, ennui Mourenx and intimate Navarrenx, touching upon the significance of spontaneity in everyday life. Festivals are crucial components projected onto the urban canvas, the street, which are the stages of everyday life. In his opinion, cities should provide the means for ‘free conscious activities’, for reclaimed everyday life. Events such as festivals, demonstrations, strikes etc., might be serious, sometimes deadly serious, as well as playful. For Lefebvre, such lived moments should be luminous ‘festivals of the people’, Marxist politics with a rambunctious, carnivalesque spirit - demanding people’s “right to the city” 131.

In the early 1960’s Lefebvre’s works bemoaned the sacking of the central city core. Without a center, there is simply no ‘urbanity’. The urban center was conquered by the bourgeoisie, whereas middle class has fled the center for low-density, decentralized suburbs. Both tendencies are anti-urban. The center becomes a real-estate artifact, dancing to the tune of finances, capital and tourism “attracting wealth and monopolizes culture just as it concentrates power” 132, whereas suburbs engender the very experience of urbanism. For him the city has to survive as a place of encounter, a space prioritizing use value. Only the working class can become the agent, the social carrier or support of this realization. Lefebvre demands the “right to urban life”, stating this as a cry and a demand 133. For him, urban life can be located only in the center of the urban space 134. It is clear that space, for Lefebvre, is antonym with public space. There is no other space worthy to write about.

Half a decade later, Lefebvre gives his insights not only on space’s role and essence, but also on its production. Space is re-described not as a dead, inert thing or object, but as organic and fluid and alive; it has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces. These superimposed interpenetrations create a present space. It is the outcome of a process 135. Shields stresses that as well as being a product, Lefebvre reminds us that space is a medium 136. The production of space can be likened to the production of any other sort of merchandise, or commodity. Leaning on Marx rendering in the fetishism of commodities, Lefebvre assumes that space is also not a passive surface for reproductive activity. Of course, spaces do permit commodity transactions and the reproduction of labor-power to all ‘take place’. But to leave

131. Shields in Hubbard et al. 2004: 209; Merrifield 2002:80-84
132. Lefebvre 2003 (originally 1970):91-93
133. Merrifield 2002:84-85
135. Merrifield in Crang and Thrift 2000:171
136. Shields in Hubbard et al. 2004: 212
it at only that would miss much, and fall into the trap of treating space ‘in itself’. Space is actively produced as part of capitalist accumulation strategies. Space gets produced before it is reproduces\textsuperscript{137}.

The gist of Lefebvre’s message is that critical knowledge can capture in thought the actual process of the production of space. But how? Lefebvre constructed a complex heuristic device, which he calls the ‘spatial triad’, forming the central epistemological pillar of his theory. However, he sketches this out only in preliminary fashion. It is not a mechanical framework or typology he has bequeathed us here, but a dialectical simplification, fluid and alive\textsuperscript{138}.

Lefebvre identifies three moments: \textit{representations of space}, referring to conceptualized space, constructed by assorted professional and technocrats. This space is always conceived; \textit{representational space}, is directly lived space, the space of everyday experience; and \textit{spatial practices}, the space of society, practices that structure everyday reality and broader social and urban reality, the perceived space\textsuperscript{139}. Lefebvre is vague about the precise relations between the conceived, lived and perceived\textsuperscript{140}.

Lefebvre’s theory has not yet been deciphered for the practicalities of professional use. Savage and Wards argue that “Lefebvre’s laudable project to find a bridge between experienced space, representations of space, and spaces of representation has proved too hard to put into operation empirically. The crucial link between the construction of place in representation and at the level of the everyday experience has not been demonstrated”\textsuperscript{141}.

Envisioning Lefebvre and Benjamin, they belonged pretty much to the same generation, and had many interests in common: the world of minutiae, fascination with commodities, surrealism and the desire to ground Marxism in everyday affairs\textsuperscript{142}. However, they present disparate methodological investigations and eventual urban understandings. If Benjamin demonstrates a close relatedness of undergoing currents in 19\textsuperscript{th} century Parisian space and society, these currents may shed a light on the role of space in the performance of society, but do not suggest any further implication to it. Lefebvre on the other hand, focused mainly on space while society remained in the background. Castells, his pupil, thought that Lefebvre caught a whiff of spatial fetishism going on. In Castell’s universe, the city was indeed a container of social and class relationships, but these relationships had primacy over any explicit ‘urban’ or ‘spatial’ category\textsuperscript{143}. Lefebvre strayed irrevocably, coining his project \textit{spatiology}. Space became the dominant factor amongst the two. Although he did not bestow any methodological tool to be implemented for manipulating space, he did change the way professionals, entangled with the physical world, grasp space.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item[]\textsuperscript{137} Merrifield in Crang and Thrift 2000:172-173
\item[]\textsuperscript{138} ibid:173
\item[]\textsuperscript{139} Lefebvre 1991 (originally 1974): 37-41
\item[]\textsuperscript{140} Lefebvre in Miles et al. 2000: 265
\item[]\textsuperscript{141} ibid: 257
\item[]\textsuperscript{142} Merrifield 2002:71
\item[]\textsuperscript{143} Merrifield in Crang and Thrift 2000:169
\end{thebibliography}
2.2.2.1.3. Interdependencies between postmodern society and the postmetropolis archipelago in Mike Davis’s writings (1990’s)

Leaving the European and French urban landscapes of early and mid 20th century and moving towards contemporary American sceneries, Mike Davis writes about Los Angeles but inspires our understanding on multifarious urban phenomena taking place all around the world. In his book “City of Quartz”, Davis describes the postmetropolis in general through the L.A. experience as a Carceral Archipelago. Compelling depictions of what he calls the ‘proliferation of new repressions in space and movement’ and the ‘security-obsessed urbanism’ that feeds off the spreading ‘ecology of fear’.

Davis depicts L.A. as a fortress city, “a zeitgeist of urban restructuring” and a “master narrative”, pertinent to the late twentieth century capitalist post-liberal era. This contemporary postmetropolis is filled with “invisible signs warning off the underclass ‘other’. Although architectural critics are usually oblivious to how the built environment contributes to segregation, pariah groups – whether poor Latino families, young Black men, or elderly homeless white females – read the meaning immediately.”

Fortress cities are constituted on a combination of architecture, urban design and policing artifacts. “Many ‘ingenious design deterrents’ keep the persistent street people in their proper place. Barrel-shaped or metal-spiked benches make sleeping impossible and even sitting uncomfortable; sprinkler systems installed in a local park go on randomly through the night to serve a similar purpose.”

Davis describes fortress L.A. with a stirring attack on the disappearance of ‘genuinely democratic’ public place under the thickening blanket of privatization and the declining welfare state. He links the destruction of public space directly to a conspiratorial ‘security offensive’ on the part of public officials, developers, and the citybuilding professions to meet the ‘middle class demand for increased spatial and social insulation’. This market-driven and class-orchestrated effort is buttressed by post-liberal tactics of privatization and deregulation, insidious welfare reforms, new electronic technologies for controlling spatial access and mobility, and the knowing participation of policing power.

Davis attacks the prominent architect Frank Gehry for leading the ‘bunkering’ design in prestigious architectural projects, an architectural stream termed by Ellin as ‘defensive architecture’. The proliferation of fences, petit gateways, windowless walls, surveillance systems, observatory towers over public spaces (usually shopping malls) and so forth, are all meant to protect and serve the middle-class consumer. This architectural style pertains not only to public places, but also became the planning foundations of closed residential areas, shut neighborhoods and gated-communities. These are defined as “residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized. They are security developments with designated

144. Soja 2000: 299
145. Davis 1990:223-226
146. Soja 2000: 305
147. ibid: 304
148. Ellin 1996:72-74
149. ibid: 69-71

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perimeters, usually walls of fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by nonresidents\textsuperscript{150}. The list of writings dealing with this contemporary obsession with security is endless\textsuperscript{151}.

These spatial characteristics are driven by fear, but more worrying than that - they perpetuate fear. As Ellin observes "certainly, the gates, policing and other surveillance systems, defensive architecture, and neo-traditional urbanism do contribute to giving people a greater sense of security. But such settings no doubt also contribute to accentuating fear by increasing paranoia and distrust among people. In addition, the escapist nature of neo-traditionalist urban-design may emit signals that the present is too unsavory: let's pretend it's not here… such reluctance to embrace the present and happily anticipate the future inevitably contributes to an atmosphere of foreboding which casts a pall upon the quality of life at all levels, from the most intimate to the most public\textsuperscript{152}.

Soja claims that indeed the notion of the public space seems to be in a destructive process in Davis's carceral metropolis. The abounding evidences suggest this is indeed true, yet, there are also many who may argue that the distinction between public and private was never clear-cut, and that what is happening today is only a restructuring. Soja is trying to maintain an optimistic viewpoint eventually, regarding the future of public places.

Whether one relates to his pessimism or not, Davis binds society and space on both the macro and the micro urban levels. In his analyses, they affect one another in a reciprocating relationship. If Benjamin demonstrates how societal trends are embodied in space, and Lefebvre shows how space is the embodiment of society, Davis corroborates both directional processes: space is the outcome of societal dynamics, and these in return are the outcome of space. Davis methodology is academically unorthodox; in many ways, it reminds of Benjamin’s methods in the ‘Arcades Project’ half a century earlier, however, more saturated with an agenda. MacAdams writes about Davis attempts not just to “catalog the counterintuitive, to list the minutiae of disasters real and imagined” but to search for a deeper truth. Davis collects every piece of information that suits his agenda, without rejecting any possible source. “After examining every disaster movie about L.A. ever made, every apocalyptic paperback ever written, and hundreds of religious pamphlets and survivalist tracts”, that Davis comes to his conclusions. He continues: “Davis is the first to admit that he won’t let a fact get in the way of a good story. Davis is more theoretician than historian, more instinct than research. The point is less what he discovers than which part of the record he chooses to look at”. Yet, “those who argue with his facts must still grapple with his argument”\textsuperscript{153}.

Davis has managed to convince that space and society perpetuate one another, and demonstrate how this happens in the L.A. case. Despite his arguable methods, the connections he forged are here to stay, nourishing a vast amount of academic enterprises.

\textsuperscript{150} Blakely and Snyder 1997 in Soja 2000:316
\textsuperscript{151} To name but a few, Carmona et al. 2003:119-120; Zukin 1995:24-35
\textsuperscript{152} Ellin 1996:153-154
\textsuperscript{153} MacAdams in L.A.Weekly, 1998
2.2.2.2. Space and society in architectural and urban design theoretical approaches

The effort to bind space and society has a long history in behavioral sciences, as in the architectural / urban design discourse. Despite the inextricable connection between space and its users / producers, most architectural and urban design reputed approaches since modernism did not attempt to tackle this connection directly or straightforwardly.

Hillier discusses the differences between architectural and scientific theories (as those presented in the former section, 2.2.2.1). The latter is a ‘rational construct intended to capture the lawfulness of how the world is', help understand phenomena, whereas architectural theory apparently seems to be a ‘set of guidelines as to how it should be... and by that express aspirations rather than realities'. This reflects, in fact, the difference between an analytic and a normative intent – a description how the world is, or a prescription how it ought to be\textsuperscript{154}. However, they both hold, as a common denominator, the intention to devise a structured systematic understanding of phenomena.

Although these two groups of theories see space and society together, as their subject of matter, each one, with its immanent premises and methodologies - places these two actors differently under the spotlight. More than that, these groups’ methodological backgrounds comprise of different agendas: if the former has no pretensions to change society, but rather take on a passive goal, observe and learn, or at most, criticize, the latter aspires to manipulate space and sometimes even (arrogantly and vainly) sin with the thought of changing society.

Comparing these two groups of theories, social sciences and architectural, is problematic. Social science researches remain valid, even if, and precisely because, they present the analytical part solely. Architectural theories have usually both parts (normative intent and analytical method)\textsuperscript{155}. There are precedents for inspiring architectural theories that chose to emphasize the analytical constituent alone. They usually result as ‘pragmatic’ accounts (often a historical-cultural interpretation, however creative), such as in the cases of Koolhaas ‘Delirious New York’ or Venturi et al. ‘Learning from Las Vegas’. The prescriptive part of architectural theories can be analogized to a two-edged sword: it provides the impetus for formulating the theory in the first place, but it also, very often, thrusts them to failure the minute they are confronted with reality.

Hillier et al. are perhaps the most reputed architectural theoreticians obsessed with this environment-behavior connection, and with the need, as they see it, to come up with an applied theory for architects and urban designers. They establish a noteworthy theory to be presented hereinafter, justifying it by showing how a theory like theirs has no equal. They write: “several attempts have been made in recent years to develop theory and method directly concerned

\textsuperscript{154}. Hillier 1996:57
\textsuperscript{155}. Although some may think, like myself, that architectural theories without the normative intent are redundant, since as theories, they epitomize a struggle to reach a better world. Otherwise, the profession will remain in the confines of pragmatism, which can equally let practitioners take command.
with the relation between society and its architectural and urban forms. Some review of these
theories is needed, if for no other reason than because in our work we have not found it
possible to build a great deal on what has gone before”\textsuperscript{156}. Trying to explain why this is so,
they claim that none defines the central problem in the way which they believe is necessary “if
useful theories are to be developed”. And useful theories are only those that can be applied.

Before diving into their theory, Hiller et al. offer an analysis of the space-society theoretical
field, that I wish to present here just briefly\textsuperscript{157}. They discern three groups of theories that offer a
particular bond between space and society: theories of ‘territoriality’, which exist in innumerable
variants, dealing with the organization of space by human beings as some universal truth, as
biologically determined impulses, claiming and defending their territories. It is defined by Hillier
et al as “an attempt to locate the origins of spatial order in the individual biological subject”\textsuperscript{158}.
This theory Hiller claims, is less sensitive towards physical configurations, because it is
propelled by universal drives, and physical settings are a variant. Some of these approaches
try to locate space as a model in the individual mind, models that condition and guide reaction
to and behavior in space. These approaches find the human response to an environment that
is already given. The order that is being sought lies in the mind and not in the social structuring
of the physical environment.

The second group of approaches, according to Hillier et al., is distinguishable as being
concerned initially with the environment as an object rather than with the human subject. The
focus of these researches shifts to the problem of describing the physical environment, its
differences and similarities from one place to another, as a prelude to an understanding of how
this relates to patterns of use and social activity\textsuperscript{159}. The general aim of these works is to describe
environments and then relate them to use, whereas Hillier et al. conceive of the problem more
as describing how environments acquire their form and order as a result of a social process.
They strive to learn how order in space originates in social life, pinpointing the ways in which
society pervades those patterns of space that need to be described and analyzed.

The third group of theories, according to Hillier et al., counterpointing the approach to an
objective environment, in itself devoid of social content, is the approach of the architectural
and urban semiologists who aim to describe the environment solely in terms of its power to
operate as a system of signs and symbols. The objective of these researches is to show how
the physical environment can express social meanings through its appearance, by acting as
a system of signs in much the same sort of way as natural language. However, criticized by
Hillier, these theories attempt to show that buildings represent society as signs and symbols,
ignoring the way they constitute behavior with their physical configuration. They are in effect,

\textsuperscript{156.} Hillier et al. 1984: 6
\textsuperscript{157.} It is quite different from my division of space-society theories, because it is bisected according to different dispositions, not to mention
the 20 years time gap in which proliferating everyday theories were meanwhile introduced.
\textsuperscript{158.} Its acknowledged theory according to Hillier et al. is Oscar Newman’s ‘Defensible Space’ from 1973, ibid:6-7
\textsuperscript{159.} Of particular interest is the work centered around MIT, that brings together a range of studies with the central thematic aim to analyze
the differences in the organization of architectural and urban space, and see how they relate to and influence social life, as evident in
Stanford Anderson’s ‘On Streets’ from 1978. ibid: 7-8
dealing with social meaning as something which is added to the surface appearance of an object, rather than something that structures its very form\textsuperscript{160}.

Hillier et al. conclude by saying that “an impossible problem is thus set up, one strongly reminiscent of the most ancient of the misconceived paradoxes of epistemology, that of finding a relation between abstract immaterial ‘subjects’ and a material world of ‘objects’”\textsuperscript{161}. Of course, they offer their own theoretical understanding for this problematic epistemological condition, which has a somewhat stronger environment-men connection, yet, can be criticized for its own right. Their theoretical approach will be presented shortly.

Sharing Hillier’s criticism on what he feels as an insufficiency, this literature analysis will present only two worthy researches located on the space-environment intersection, which contributed a great deal to the architectural discourse. The first theory, written at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century is the work of Jane Jacobs, and the second emerged towards its end, with the work of Bill Hillier et al. Regardless of their professional training\textsuperscript{162}, these texts have inspired generations of architects\textsuperscript{163}, urban designers and urban planners\textsuperscript{164}, not to mention other professionals entangled with the urban creation\textsuperscript{165}. Jane Jacobs’ book ‘the death and Life of Great American Cities’ written in 1961, defies and contravenes the predominant veneration for modernistic planning paradigms that were so prevailing in those days, with striking determination and courage to go against the stream. Bill Hillier’s theory ‘space syntax’ written in the late 1980’s, and still worked on today, opts to give a quantitative tool that assesses the social functioning of public spaces. They both signify a departure from the epistemological era in which they emerged, retaining strong influence still today.

These two theorists were chosen for their significant impact on the evolvement of the architectural profession knowledge, and for their admirable success in establishing a noteworthy connection between the social and the physical worlds that is ultimately intended to give tools for people entangled with the creation and formation of the physical. As opposed to the former group of theories delineated in this review (social sciences), and the subsequent group yet to be presented (everyday ethnographies), these two architectural theories were predetermined not only to understand society, but also to bestow the architectural profession with an applied theory.

\textsuperscript{160} ibid: 7-8
\textsuperscript{161} ibid:9
\textsuperscript{162} Jane Jacob was a journalist critic
\textsuperscript{163} Schurch attempt to define the urban design field of profession begins with mentioning Jacobs’ book amongst others. Schurch 1999:5
\textsuperscript{164} Moudon scans every theory she thinks that ‘every urban designer should know’ in her important essay. Acknowledging the place where Jacobs comes from, journalism, she mentions how powerful her work is, not only for the sake of criticism, but also for providing “a vehicle for systematic and continued critiques of implemented ideas”. Moudon 1992:338
\textsuperscript{165} For example, coming from economy and public policy, in Florida 2002:41-42
2.2.2.2.1. How to keep urban spaces safe and lively, by Jane Jacobs

Published in 1961, during urban modernism’s heyday, Jane Jacobs attacks current city planning and rebuilding\textsuperscript{166}, infuriating those who’s lives had been devoted to the design, planning and building of brave new worlds based on Le Corbusier’s visions\textsuperscript{167}. Jacobs states “I shall be writing about how cities work in real life, because this is the only way to learn…how to promote social and economic vitality”\textsuperscript{168}. Observing people’s behavior in Greenwich Village, Jacobs offers basic rules for planners. She offers an extensive applicable theory that is based on a new thinking strategy\textsuperscript{169}, what she terms as “inductive reasoning”, for a new understanding of the complex urban systems entwining architecture and space with social endeavors of various sorts.

For Jacobs, the streets and squares of her neighborhood, the Greenwich Village, are an ideal environment for urban living, one that must be explored. City streets are full and lively with people. Many of them may be strangers, giving the street the vitality it should have. But strangers can also be menacing. The bedrock of a true urban city street is that people feel safe and secure, even among strangers. For Jacobs, a street should not be patrolled by the police, like in so many contemporary instances. On the contrary, this does not bestow any feeling of safety ness. According to her, streets should be kept by an intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves\textsuperscript{170}. Such control cannot be achieved in low-density areas. They need a certain minimum of audience, and therefore of buildings and building-use. A well-used street will most likely become a safe street.

Jacobs explains what gives a street its safety feeling and liveliness: first, it must clearly demarcate public space and private space. These two spaces cannot ooze into each other, as they do in suburban settings. Second, there must be eyes upon the street, belonging to the natural proprietors of the street. Buildings should face the streets (and not turn their backs to them), and thus enable all those observing eyes. Third, the sidewalks must have constant users, adding the number of effective eyes watching the street space\textsuperscript{171}.

Jacobs believes in giving people chances and freedom to use space, as they will. Freedom comes with diversity, and that is entailed by an effective mixture of land uses. She exemplifies with concrete illustrations: people must appear on the street at different times, on a daily basis\textsuperscript{172}. Districts must have a variety of stores, amenities and services, of all sorts and types\textsuperscript{173}. Districts should have at least two, preferably more, primary functions (such as living, working, shopping, eating etc.). Street blocks must be small, to create frequent opportunities

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{166} Jacobs 1961: 3
\bibitem{167} Broadbent 1990: 138
\bibitem{168} Jacobs 1961: 3-4
\bibitem{169} ibid: 426-30
\bibitem{170} Broadbent 1990:138-139
\bibitem{171} Jacobs 1961: 35
\bibitem{172} ibid: 152
\bibitem{173} ibid: 154
\end{thebibliography}
on its corners. Districts should consist of aged buildings, in some mixture, including a good proportion of old ones. Districts must have a sufficiently dense concentration of people, including people who reside there.

Jacobs continues further on to give her advices and prescriptions for reassuring vital and lively urban spaces. Bearing in mind the people, their interactions, and the ways these come about in urban spaces, Jacobs infers, in fact, on the spatial conditions, knowing they affect psychological and societal dynamics, without offering any critical view or opinion on society itself. In other words, the way people act in public urban spaces is studied, and deduced on the spatial features of space. Jacobs believes, rightfully, that planners have influence over space and not over people. By learning how and why people comport, and by diligently studying how their behavior is embodied in space, planners can indirectly affect people’s comportment. In some ways, Jacob’s methods resemble this research methodology as well.

But then again, Jacobs has no intents to consider other urban fabrics as valuable and worthwhile apart form the Greenwich Village one. Should her prescriptions be closely followed, planning endeavors will result with numerous Greenwich Villages, replicated. As against such malformed design conceptualization, this research hopes to instigate multifarious and disparate situations to come about.

2.2.2.2.2. Space syntax - the social logic of space, by Bill Hiller et al.

The second influencing applied work that binds society and space is Bill Hiller’s et al ‘space syntax’. His scholastic credo is lengthily explained at the beginning of this section. He begins his book claiming that,

“by giving shape and form to our material world, architecture structures the system of space in which we live and move. In that it does so, it has a direct relation- rather than a merely symbolic one – to social life, since it provides the material preconditions for the patterns of movement, encounter and avoidance which are the material realization – as well as sometimes the generator – of social relations. In this sense, architecture pervades our everyday experience far more than a preoccupation with its visual properties would suggest. But however pervasive of everyday experience, the relation between space and social life is certainly very poorly understood. In fact, for a long time it has been both a puzzle and a source of controversy in the social sciences. It seems as naïve to believe that spatial organization through architectural form can have a determinative effect on social relations as to believe that any such relation is entirely absent.”

Hillier’s greatest criticism towards urban and architectural contemporary theorists is the fact...
that “space is desocialised at the same time as society is despatialised”\(^{178}\). He criticizes urban semiologists for “dealing with social meaning as something which is added to the surface appearance of an object, rather than something that structures its very form” thinking that “the physical environment has no social content and society has no spatial content, the former being reduced to mere inert material, the latter to mere abstraction”\(^{179}\). Hillier corroborates the existence of the second spatial feature presented by this research, social constellation: “building do express social meaning through their appearances”.

Hillier’s *social logic of space* theory attempts to remedy the desocialising-space and despatialising-society problem, by describing society in terms of its intrinsic spatiality and space in terms of its intrinsic sociality. Hillier suggests empirically mathematically based theories that eventually offer a quantitative tool for the measuring of qualitative human dynamics in space\(^{180}\), resulting in accurate assessments of urban configurations and the way they affect human distribution and interaction. Hillier’s computerized work is applicable to such an enormous degree that authorities demand that contemporary urban projects undergo his scientific scrutiny before being carried out\(^{181}\). Their work presents one of the most diligent persevering contemporary works that locates the architecture - society dyad in the focus.

However, mathematically based theories such as Hillier’s et al., might stand at the risk of becoming distant, drawing away from human intuition and scholastic perception. It goes without saying that only scholars adhering to such qualitative ‘scientific’ epistemologies can relate to these methods. Hillier et al. present a close, rigid and very inflexible method. One can either take it, or leave it, but probably find no way to cling to some parts of it, or even be inspired by only some components in their theory. It is a whole package. Except for clinging to the theory’s underlying credos, its methodological package cannot be disentangled and unraveled. Notwithstanding, the strong men-environment bond that they have constituted is by no means unprecedented, and worthy of a sincere solute.

**2.2.2.3. Space and society in everyday ethnographies**

The third group of theories appearing in this literature analysis is presented as an ensemble, a unit corpus, comprising of a diverse array of researchers and texts, and not depicted through a particular text or a unique research that is considered preeminent, as in the case of the two former groups. The reason for this is perhaps the relatively young age of this group, especially when compared to the former two groups, as also the undoubtedly credo underlying their researches, to retain modest motivations.

Although this group was inspired by reputed ancestors who laid down the basic ideas for this doctrine and its methodologies already in the mid twentieth century, as a collective research

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178. ibid: 84-9  
179. ibid, pp. 8-9  
group they did not gain dominance until the last couple of decades. Apart from providing collections of essays, this research group did not supply with any eminent notable theory. That is not surprising considering this group’s credo is to investigate the small domains of everyday life, locale case studies, and avoid Meta narratives or scientific overarching structured theories.

Probing the geographies of everyday urban life, “the belief that everyday life is important governs our work”. Its pioneers and inspiration, Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and Michel de Certeau, laid down the concepts of everyday life. They investigated the completely ignored spheres of daily existence, identifying the everyday as a crucial arena of modern culture and society. While acknowledging the oppression of daily life, each discovered its potential as a site of creative resistance and liberatory power182. The everyday life of cities is often hidden away. It does not feature in the glossy brochures advertising the city to investors and tourists183.

Lefebvre was the first philosopher to insist that apparently trivial everyday actually constitutes the basis for all social experience and the true realm of political contestation. He distinguishes two simultaneous realities: the quotidian - the timeless, humbles, repetitive natural rhythms of life; and the modern - the new, constantly changing habits that are shaped by technology and worldliness184. Lefebvre’s approach was lead by the constant desire to link the conceptual with the experimental185. Michel de Certeau recognized ‘strategies’ by which the powerful produce instrumental or functional space but argues that through the ‘tactics’ employed in the experience and negotiation of these spaces everyday life is able to subvert or elude the imposition of dominant meanings of space186.

Everyday life is grounded in the commonplace, rather than the canonical, the many rather than the few, and the repeated rather than the unique. It is therefore comprehensible to ordinary people. Chase et al. assert that not surprisingly, since everyone is potentially an expert on everyday life, everyday life has never been of much interest to experts. Lefebvre pointed out that although experts and intellectuals are embedded in everyday life, they prefer to think of themselves as outside and elsewhere. Convinced that everyday life is trivial, they attempt to evade it. Contemporary writers pertaining to this doctrine believe that there is no universal everyday, only a multiplicity of responses to specific times and places. They do not seek overarching solutions. Their solutions are modest and in small scale – micro utopias perhaps, contained in the sidewalk, a bus bench, or a minipark187. Lefebvre explains that everyday methodologies (analytic and critical studies) are particularly suited to the bringing together of facts and concepts. They bestow a ‘theory of needs’ rather than a ‘theory of desire’.

182. Chase et al. 1999: 9
183. Miles et al. 2000: 257
184. Lefebvre elaborated this idea further in his book “Rhythmanalysis”. These concepts, pertaining to the ‘everyday ethnographic field, have influenced this research greatly, as will be explained in the third chapter on the theoretical construction, Lefebvre 2004 ;also Chase et al. 1999: 10
185. Lefebvre 2002: x
186. Miles et al. 2000: 258
He elaborates on this scientific ways of thinking\footnote{189}. De Certeau disparages the “ministers of knowledge” that have always assumed that “the whole universe was threatened by the very changes that affected their ideologies and their positions”. He suggests, instead, to try another path. To analyze the microbe-like, singular and plural practices which an urbanistic system was supposed to administer or suppress, but which have outlived its decay. De Certeau suggests a methodology: a comparison with the speech act. The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language. He calls it “pedestrian speech acts”, and suggests we can learn through reading the “walking rhetoric”\footnote{192}. Of course, his methodological proposal is one out of many, yield under this doctrinal way of thinking.

In their book “Strangely Familiar”, a group of researchers, forming a multi-disciplinary team (including architectural history, art history, urban history, feminist theory, urban geography, urban planning, cultural theory and sociology), presented a wide range of essays. They choose different objects for study, utilizing different methodologies to bring their studies about. In this sense, it seems, everyday ethnography present a new scientific expanse that provides a refreshing setting and values, and not so much a strict methodological doctrine. “By using a narrative format, a route is provided which can introduce the unexpected and unfamiliar. The different kinds of events which people experience and find significant all provide a questioning of our understanding of the city. If you dig beneath the surface then you discover the unexpected”\footnote{190}. The common denominator of this group of researchers is their interdisciplinary essence. Coming from diverging disciplinary fields, they all aspire to “tell real stories about real places”. Although many of contributors are driven by or founded on social, cultural and urban theory, they largely foreground the material and ideological reality of architecture and cities\footnote{191}. They bind society and space, focusing on the everyday encounters and juxtapositions of these two aspects. However, since this is a collective enterprise, some writers may lean on one aspect whereas others may lean on the other. It is redundant to try to find one focal point in their research endeavors.

An impressive work pertaining to this group of theoretical endeavor is Duneier’s “Sidewalks”, observing and documenting the life of people on the Sixth Avenue block for four years, and especially around the book vendor Hakim Hasan\footnote{192}. He was committed to the idea that the voices of the people on Sixth Avenue need to be heard. His research is all about fieldwork, citing Whyte saying that “the actual evolution of research idea does not take place in accord with the formal statements we read on research methods. The ideas grow up in part out of our immersion in the data and find out the whole process of living”\footnote{193}. Another important research, worthy of mentioning, is Iain Borden’s “Skateboarding, Space and the City”. His work fits into the “emergent body of work that examines this performative aspect of the city and the ways in

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{189} De Certeau 1984: 95-101
\bibitem{190} Borden et al. 1996: 8-12
\bibitem{191} ibid: 9
\bibitem{192} Duneier 1999:17-42
\bibitem{193} ibid: 333
\end{thebibliography}
which spaces are used, experiences and negotiated by their users’.”

Two important studies should also be mentioned at this point, although they are not traditionally subsumed under this group. However, in terms of their underlying premises, they are very much a part of it: the first is the study of what is called ‘the third places’, which are alternative public places that pertain in many senses to the everyday, such as “coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons and other hangouts at the heart of a community”. These third places are created by people who need them, frustrated with what the American urban space has to offer. Writings on this subject proliferate in the United States, a suburban nation in search for a better future (as Oldenburg says, “we are not happy about where we are”), lead by American researchers. Another essential scientific route that yields resembling outcomes, of fathoming a local situation, or in her case – a particular place, is lead by the anthropologist Low. She chose to focus on the design and meaning of two plazas in contemporary Latin American city, San José, Costa Rica. Using first-person narratives and ethnographies present what people are thinking and doing in these public spaces, and what the plaza means to their everyday lives. Stating so, Low belongs to the group of researchers dealing with personal experiences of places in the everyday. She manages to extract conclusions on the spatialized culture, that is, to “locate – physically, historically and conceptually – social relations and social practice in space”. Coming from the human sciences, space is for her the settings of culture, and not the other way around.

The third group of theories presented in this literature analysis, is less about particular theoreticians or specific theses, and more about a new scientific endeavor to penetrate fields of knowledge that are unfamiliar, that have not been dealt with before, using unprecedented tools to their deciphering. The relation of the research presented in this dissertation towards this theoretical doctrine is ambivalent, as will be further explicated.

2.2.3. The position of this research within the theoretical field

The magnitude of theories dealing with the men-environment dyad is enormous. As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the bond between the two fields of knowledge, society and space, is of a natural sort, and is therefore inextricable. It becomes very complicated when one tries to classify the various theories that deal with this bond: they vary in their viewpoints, methodologies, objectives, agendas, and so forth, depending on their professional background and scientific credos. Some theories look onto the world with an interest in the physical-spatial (geographies of all sorts, architecture and urban design) others carry a concern for the human-social (social sciences); some opt to learn, teach and extend wisdom (ethnographies,
humanities), other deal with the need to find tools for future action (since being active is an architectural and urban design prerequisite).

It is ultimately a question of what one is looking at, and with what glasses does one do that. There are two directions involved in this constellation: the location of the subject of matter relative to the world - whether form, society, or both (the nuances commingling the two); and the position of the observer, relative to the same world. And then, on top of everything, there are the glasses with which the observer chooses to discern everything, reflecting the mindset of the observer, the scientific methods and ideologies to which he or she pertain, which also relate to epistemological trends (for example, contemporary postmodern critical stances, such as postcolonial or feminist outlooks, as opposed to early modern positivistic perspectives).

The following illustration (ii/2-3) seeks to simplify the intricate situation between these two fields of knowledge and the theories that tackle them both. In reality, it is an impossible task to delineate the boundaries of these fields of knowledge, where one begins and the other ends. It is also impossible to sort the various theoretical approaches or categorize them under a field of knowledge to which they ostensibly belong. However, despite the shortcoming of such simplistic portrayal, this categorizing effort is still worthy for the sake of understanding, attached with an apology for any incongruence that might have been caused due to this simplification process.

This literature analysis has introduced six theoretical approaches, adhering space, or form, with society. Three pertain to the social sciences and philosophy (Benjamin, Lefebvre, Davis); two are ascribed to the architectural discourse (Jacobs, Hillier), although one was not written by a professionally trained architect (Jacobs) and the last was written by a group of writers pertaining to everyday ethnographies. One theory was written at the beginning of the twentieth century, comprising of one of the earliest men-environment bonds probably made in the scientific field (Benjamin). Two theories were written at the beginning of the postmodern era (during the 1960’s-1970’s), one emanating from the social field of science (Lefebvre) and one from the critical architectural discipline (Jacobs). The rest were conceptualized and written during postmodern heyday, the 1980’s and 1990’s, one from the socio-political outlook (Davis)
another from the sheer architectural stance (Hillier), and one from an interdisciplinary position (everyday ethnographies).

Although these reputed theories are by far not the only ones providing a connection between society and space, they are prevailing and influential still today. They are emblems of various epistemologies, coming from a wide spectrum of scholastic enterprises. In this sense, they comprise of a colorful and varied picture altogether, one that tries to touch upon all the major important endeavors. The demerit of such a collection is naturally, the risk of falling into the trap of depthlessness. As in every situation in life, any attempt to cover a wide ‘horizontal’ array of information results with a shallower penetration into the depth, ‘vertical’ data. Although it is impossible to have the cake and eat it too, I have tried to give a somewhat wide overview, even if partial, and still delve into some of its details, with hopefully a reasonable, mild success. My aim was to portray the boundaries of this theoretical scope, as it appears in literature, more than delve into its inner, and endless, expanses.

2.2.3.1. Suggesting a new theoretical approach for binding society-space: form and publicness

The theoretical construction presented in this dissertation, hopefully an initial embarkment towards a theoretical approach, is some sort of an amalgam of the above-mentioned theories, embedded in a renewed conviction, a reiterated version of recent stances, and a firm one for that matter. First, like all six theoretical efforts, this research clings to the belief that form and society are inextricably interlinked. Like most of them (Jacobs, Davis and especially Hillier), it is also convinced that form has a significant influence over society’s comportment (although it is definitely not the sole constituent affecting it). It adheres to Lefebvre’s distinctions that space is imbued with social meanings, and that form is laden with signs and symbols of society. It also subscribes to Hillier’s point of view that form’s spatial attributes bear a strong impact on people’s movements and spatial behavior. Conceptually speaking, this theory considers Benjamin’s space-society reciprocity as rightful: society mirrors the space in which it lives, just as space mirrors the society, which brought it about, or adapted it to its current use.

Referring to the sixth theoretical endeavor, this research holds an ambivalent position. For starters, it believes in the enormous importance and significance of everyday life, which hauls a new color into science that should definitely penetrate and dye scholastic domains. On the other hand, the adherence of everyday ethnographies to what might seem as determined and fixed methodologies entangled with small-scaled occurrences and local case studies, not to mention their avoidance, even evasion from confronting big ambitions in the shape of grand structures - seems to me as a fundamentally epistemological phase that thrusts a hindrance on any genuine scientific progress. It is my belief, perhaps a misleading belief, that a far-reaching wisdom, a serious grave lore that will guide future generations, will not entail out of this theoretical group. This research relies greatly on everyday ideas (and especially Lefebvre and
Bakhtin’s concepts), but presupposed the ‘old fashion’ need to offer a theoretical construction, and an applicable one for that matter. In this sense, the concepts of the everyday paradigm are subsumed under this new theory, incorporated within, whereas the methodological process is inspired by the more traditional and chronologically veteran group of theories.

In sum, this new theoretical effort hovers above and touches upon all three groups and their above-mentioned theories, finding partial or full manifestations in them all, in credos or methodologies.

As for the methodologies of the surveyed theoretical approaches, I will cautiously claim that they consist of three generic types: Benjamin, Lefebvre and Davis present a philosophical account, a concatenated list of argumentations, more or less poetic, more or less prosaic, that builds up a new theoretical structure on logical steps. Although Benjamin and Davis collected endless sources of data, they did not construe an empirically based research with it. Jacobs’ theoretical approach has more of an empirical element, which is the study of Greenwich Village. It has another part, not any less important, and that is the prescriptive component – teaching how (good) urban spaces should be planned. However, these two sections are intertwined in the text in such a way that they are hardly discernable as separate entities. Jacobs can begin with a story about her neighborhood and end the same paragraph with an advice about the architectural layout. Although she deals with a concrete case study, that she even lives in, her empirical research is not entirely intelligible. It may sometimes appear as if she transcribes her own personal experiences into architectural prescriptions. Notwithstanding, her advices seem justifiable for the most part, even if one can argue her methods. Conversely, the opposite type of methodology presented in this group of space-society theories is naturally Hillier’s et al. They present the most diligent and rigorous empirical study, a scientific mathematical model to be implemented by computer aid, according to a strict set of rules. As opposed to all other theories setting forth an abstract quantity-less findings, Hillier et al. offer a quantitative outcome. Last but not least and as always, standing in stark contrast to the first five depictions, the everyday ethnography proposes a different methodological foundations, which has always something to do with a case study research, and a research that opts to blend various disciplinary masteries. The case study is always a small-scaled, obtainable and humanly graspable phenomenon.

The methods of this research are not subsumed under either type of the above-mentioned methodologies. This research methodology consists of two (or even three) parts: an underpinning theoretical construction and a case study historical analysis. The theoretical construction is construed upon a collection of thoughts and conceptions derived from various theories (in the social sciences and in architecture), accumulated into a presumably coherent line of thought. The case study historical analysis tests the theoretical construction (whilst the theoretical construction tests the case study), hopefully the first appraisal of the theory, out of others to come. The empirical part, which is the case study analysis, is in fact a twofold substance: it is a case study research, but it is also, and even more - a historical analysis. The empirical part is constituted on three defined steps, with clear rules. It leans on a qualitative methodology
which results in qualitative outcomes. In fact, one of the research basic premises is that the most pertinent stipulation for studying publicness must rely on a qualitative methodology. In this sense, the research presents a theoretical conceptual treatise, supported by an empirical analysis that propels a qualitative research and results.

Last but not least, the aim of this research – like the two theories ascribed to the architectural discourse (Jacobs, Hillier), is to come up with an applicable theory. Prescriptions and practicalities, by definition, cannot be directed towards society, but only ordain space and its physical features. Thus, society will be affected indirectly. In this regard, the research opts to be listed within the group of architectural theories.

2.2.3.2. Summary

This subchapter attempted to touch upon the major literature sources that have influenced this research development. It was divided into two parts: an analysis of literature dealing with the public world (for all its strata) and an analysis of literature dealing with theoretical approaches that bind society with the physical spatial world.

These two fields of literary knowledge are practically endless. The interconnections between these subjects of matter are in themselves enough to nourish abounding essays. Consequently, the literature analysis presented here merely sought to touch upon the predominant texts and the preeminent writers constituting the foundations of these theoretical discourses, opting to convey the vastness and complexity of this topic, and the mercurial boundaries of every one of its concepts, and lay the grounds for understanding these discourses’ underpinning.

The first analysis (2.2.1) surveyed the widespread terms, definitions and concepts that refer to the multifarious worlds of the public, attempting to put them in some personal order. These terms and concepts were chosen out of preeminent theoretical accounts, derived from various disciplinary fields of knowledge. This part ended with an explanation of the research’s pivotal term, publicness, its newness, and its position relative to all related terms and concepts in literature.

The second analysis (2.2.2) delved into six prominent theoretical approaches (five particular theories and one collective enterprise), which tackle the architecture and society dyad, and which revolve around the various contexts of the public world. It then explained the epistemological position (credo, methodologies and aims) of this research’s theoretical construction, in light of the formerly presented theories. Briefly stating, this research’s theoretical underpinnings subscribe to most of the concepts, premised and credos of the theories presented in the survey, adopting certain ideas from certain theories, excluding others, as mentioned in length in the summarizing section. However, regarding the methodological foundations - this research’s theoretical construction attempts to put forward a slightly different product: In between inapplicable theories that formulate abstract philosophical ideas on the one hand, and an
applied, quantitative, scientific theory on the other, this research opts to bestow an applicable theory that elaborates an abstract idea and assesses it in quantitative measures. It does not wish to fall into the pitfalls of a prescriptive theory, that when taken outside of its context, almost always, seems impertinent. Instead of prescriptions, this theory hopes to offer a general schema delineating directions as to what to think about during planning, infusing with food for thought instead of resolutions or any decisive remarks. In other words, in between abstract conceptualizations and accurate quantitative measurement, this research wishes to locate itself in an intermediate position, with the ability to assess situations and furnish with guidance, in a qualitative manner.

The following section will refer to the position of this research’s credos and methodology within contemporary generic research paradigms.

2.3. Epistemological background – a combined research paradigm

A study of prevailing research paradigms (or strategies) in recent years reveals that the one presented here cannot be subsumed under any typical genre. In fact, it is formed as an integration of various paradigms in an altogether unique constellation.

As presented in the above scheme, this research methodology consists of two parts - a theoretical construction and an analytic survey. The latter is construed on a blend of two scientific strategies: a historical research and a case study research. It results in some amalgam that endows the historiography of a particular case study, which is the Dam Square in Amsterdam. This fused research strategy therefore hinges between two research paradigms.

The theoretical construction is construed upon a collection of thoughts and conceptions derived from various theories (in the social sciences and in architecture), cumulated into a hopefully coherent line of thought. As already stated in the first chapter, the theoretical construction evolved through manifold analyses of various case studies, including two eras in the Dam Square. After the theory had consolidated, the Dam Square was put to test for all its six major phases. In this regard, the theory and the various case studies that brought it about were part of an intricate interconnected process.

The theoretical construction probes the case study in its critical historical phases, while the
case study is analyzed, or tested according to the theoretical construction. Hopefully, the historiography of this case study is only a prefatory preliminary appraisal of the theory, that will encourage additional ones to come.

The analytical survey (which results in the historiography of a case study) is constituted on three defined steps, with clear rules, all expatiated in the theoretical part. These rules lean on a qualitative strategy- not only qualitative evidences but also a philosophical belief that a qualitative research is pertinent to this kind of a research question. Naturally, such a strategy propels qualitative outcomes.

Last but not least, as already stated, the aim of this research is to come up with an applicable theory, taking into consideration that practicalities are an integral part of the architectural profession.

This research presents a theoretical construction supported by a twofold analytical survey that comprises of historiography and case study paradigms. This research, in its entirety, relies on the belief in qualitative measures - evidences and results.

2.3.1. A historical case study research

As previously mentioned, the theoretical construction is tested via one case study, the Dam Square in Amsterdam, for its various transformations since the 15th century. The decision to entering the route of historical researches has had one major reason: a reaction to recurring (perhaps voguish) assertions that contemporary urban realm is impoverishing. This is an historical assertion in essence: “those who profess to ignore history are nevertheless compelled to make historical assumptions at every turn…. We are all naturally curious about how our society came to be the way it is, and we all entertain some explanation on the subject, however half-baked and ill-founded it may be”199. A critical statement about contemporary condition of the public world is better efficacious when understanding prior ones. “The function of the historian is to…. Master and understand the past as the key to the understanding of the present”200.

As a matter of fact, there is more in common between these two strategic researches than not. As Yin explains, a case study method s used because one wants to cover contextual conditions, believing they are highly pertinent to the phenomenon of study. A history by comparison, does deal with the entangled situation between phenomenon and context, but usually with noncontemporary events201. In other words, the difference seems to lie in the context, time wise. In this research, there are five historical and one contemporary analyzed épóques, and although their analyses are based on different data sources, the process relies on the exact similar methodological procedure. Yin’s comparison between historical and case study researches suggests that in this particular case – the contemporary analysis is a subset,
or a particular case, amongst all historical surveys, and vice versa. This way or the other, regardless of the time span to which they belong, they both present a similar strategy that is merely cast on a different contextual era.

The reliability of data sources is an acute issue. This complex and often-problematic aspect is traditionally ascribed to historical researches, because one has to rely on other people’s accounts, which were by definition documented in a culturally different era based on different mindsets that are not always legible to us. However, the more I found myself deep in this research, the more I thought that this problematic issue pertains to contemporary case studies on at least a similar extent. This complex aspect will be expatiated in chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), before presenting the research’s data.

2.3.1.1. The historiography of publicness in the Dam Square

The research’s ultimate aim is not to establish any pure or truthful revelation on the Dam Square, but rather to narrate the historiography of publicness and the way it changed in one particular case. In fact, as much as this particular case is interesting for its own right, it is even more fascinating as a generic case, as it enables one to infer and yield broader generalizations on various cases alike. Moreover, the research’s raison d’être is to offer a tool, to assess the development of public places of all sorts, and not only study this particular generic ‘ancient-western’ type, that is embodied in the Dam Square case.

In other words, this research has no intentions or ability to provide a historical account, but rather, a historiographical portrayal. Cartledge explains the difference: “history – whether the past or the study of it” remains an ambiguous term, “whence the coinage of historiography, struck in order to distinguish the study of and writing about some past facts from the facts themselves.” Historiography is thus a currency “of reason-attributing and of highly individualized explanations” characterized as a type of knowledge and enquiry. Publicness pertains to Dray’s definition. It is a narrative. Historiography of this kind is thus an artificial construction and not a portrait of substance. It is not arbitrary though,

202. Important for me to note: the Dam Square serves as a figurehead, although an interesting one, it was chosen for its generic attributes, and for enabling further inferences later on. Referring to the discussion on mainstream history, as opposed to contemporary streams that challenge its orthodox conventional route, I believe that this research pertains to none. It is not a conventional historical research per-se, just as it is not a critical survey intending to challenge historical conventions, like for example Parenti’s attempts to criticize orthodox history and give his own interpretations for historical events (Parenti 1999: xv-xvii). This research attempts to offer a renewed and fresh narration for historically known facts.

203. Bentley 1997:3

204. Dray in Bentley 1997:769

205. Moreover, publicness is a value-impregnated subject matter. Historiography as such can never reflect reality, but can only, in the end, be ideological

206. Dray in Bentley 1997:775

207. Munz in Bentley 1997:855
but an interpretation\textsuperscript{208} construed by a diligent collection of raw material. “There is no objective history. History is what the historian makes. He must seek to bring into one picture all relevant facts, to fit the interpretation purposed”\textsuperscript{209}.

The historiography presented in this research is not subsumed under one particular category or disciplinary rim. Publicness is clearly a narrative that pertains to the world of architecture, as well as to social sciences. Following Arnold’s distinction\textsuperscript{210}, the two orders of narrative used frequently in architectural history are the narrative of style and the narrative of the author (architect). The narration of publicness does not appertain to either one, precisely because it does not deal with architecture solely but with a concept binding architecture with human occurrences. Therefore, the historiographical account presented in this research will hopefully be considered innovative in the architectural academic circles.

Just like Arnold, Borden et al. also classify the prevailing historical and critical methodologies that pertain to the architectural profession in the last 50 years or so (apologizing that the list is far from exhaustive): empiricism, iconographies, Hegelian history and theory, social history, politicized history and theory, operative history and theory, interdisciplinary studies, social sciences, personal writings and visually-based studies\textsuperscript{211}. Because their categories, as opposed to Arnold’s, seem more inclusive and comprehensive and therefore delimiting, I do not completely subscribe to their division and to the values that they implicitly tag on each methodology. The presented research methodology does not pertain to any particular one of their categories, but presumably to some combination of part of them.

\textbf{2.3.1.2. A historiography of architecture & society}

Marwick explain that some see history as a science, other see it “as a \textit{sui generis} so that if it can’t be in a Faculty or school of its own, it might, as well remain with the arts”\textsuperscript{212}. Considering its contents, history, as a body of knowledge, does not exist without other sciences. Historians have much interest in “trying to discover universal laws of human affairs… If such laws are logically required for the explanations they want to give, historians will therefore have to derive them ready made from other sources: if not (dubiously) from the common wisdom, then from sociology, economics, political science or some other ostensibly generalizing social science”. However, if discovering some rationale characteristic in a certain time and place, there is ground to regard it historically ‘autonomous’. This is not to say that historians can do without

\textsuperscript{208} An interpretative narrative rather than explanatory narrative means the generalizations made on the past befit the 21\textsuperscript{st} century way of thinking, which also means that this type of historiography cannot claim to be truthful in the sense that explanatory narratives can (Munz in Bentley 1997:865). Nevertheless, they help us towards a critical outlook (ibid pp.870)
\textsuperscript{209} Arnold 2002:20-1, but also Dray in Bentley 1997:774
\textsuperscript{210} Arnold 2002:2
\textsuperscript{211} Borden 2000: 18-24
\textsuperscript{212} Marwick 1989: 157

convergences of history with sciences, social sciences, geography, psychology, economics, computer sciences and politics (1989).
other disciplines. On the contrary, “findings from other disciplines, where these appear, serve their purposes”\(^{213}\).

Historical endeavors converge with all fields of knowledge\(^{214}\). In his essay on history and anthropology, Goodman explains their hybrid connections (anthropological history, historical anthropology but also others), their different outcomes and mainly - their different credos, for historians and anthropologists pursue disparate practices, use different tools and behold different outlooks on the need of theory as opposed to being propelled by pragmatism\(^{215}\).

Inferring from the anthropology-history dyadic experience, this research is done by an architect, a professional concerned with the spatial world that chooses to observe the past, rather than by an historian (concerned with social developments) observing the spatial world. Texts written by historians on the history of the Dam Square are to be found in abundance. A text written by an architect on the spatial features of the Dam Square, will hopefully offer a fresh view, and from a new angle.

\section*{2.3.2. A qualitative research}

Yin explains how case study researches (whether historical or contemporary or both, as in this case), are, more often than not, qualitative in essence. However, the quantitative and qualitative evidences do not distinguish between the various research strategies. Historical research can likewise include enormous amounts of quantitative evidence as well\(^{216}\).

The analytical survey of this research is constituted on three concatenated and defined steps, that all lean on a qualitative strategy: qualitative evidences and qualitative methods that propel qualitative outcomes. It is in the kernel of the research’s philosophical belief that a qualitative mindset is pertinent to this kind of a research question. Publicness delineates the state and quality of a public place\(^{217}\). Hence, it can only be its qualitative feature.

Although there are sharp debates within the field of evaluation research, both qualitative and quantitative share a strong common ground\(^{218}\). However, Maxwell explains that they are not simply different ways of doing the same things. They have different strengths and logics, and are often used to address different kinds of questions and goals. The strengths of the qualitative research derive primarily from its inductive approach, its focus on specific situations or people, and its emphasis on words and their meanings rather than numbers\(^{219}\). According to Maxwell, qualitative researches comprise of five intellectual goals, and three practical goals: understand the meaning of phenomena, understand the context of phenomena, identify unanticipated

\begin{flushright}  
\footnotesize  
213. Dray in Bentley 1997:770  
214. Bentley presents essays about historical connections with philosophy, anthology, archeology and art (1997); Marwick discusses  
215. Goodman in Bentley 1997:796  
216. Yin 2003: 14  
217. See the etymological and philological discussion about the term in the glossary (chapter 2.1).  
218. Yin 2003: 15  
219. Dey 1995: 3  
\end{flushright}
phenomena and influences that generate new theories, understand processes, and develop causal explanations. In practicable terms, qualitative theories strive: to generate theories or results that are graspable and experientially credible, conduct evaluations that are intended to improve practices and engage in collaborative research with practitioners and participants\textsuperscript{220}.

Although some people refer to the ‘qualitative paradigm’, three are many different paradigms within qualitative research, some of which differ radically in their assumptions and implications. When using the term ‘paradigm’ Maxwell refers to Thomas Kuhn’s general philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world (ontology) and how we can understand it (epistemology). Paradigms typically include specific methodological strategies linked to these assumptions\textsuperscript{221}. In qualitative researches, the number of types of approaches became clearly visible during the 1990’s. Creswell summarizes the literature dealing with qualitative approaches, dividing them to five subgroups: ethnographies, grounded theories, case studies, phenomenological researches, and narrative researches. Although this research is backed with multivalent phenomenological texts, it is, by all means, not a phenomenological survey. It is also not an ethnographical depiction, for lacking one particular context, but more than that – for revolving around space and its ethos as the objective of the research and not people. It is also not a narrative research, according to Creswell definition, which is a form of inquiry in which individuals provide stories about their lives. This research therefore presents an entwinement of a grounded theory\textsuperscript{222} with a case-study research\textsuperscript{223}, reflecting quite nicely the twofold constituents of this research endeavor.

Maxwell explains that a research does not need to cling, necessarily, to one single paradigm or tradition. It is possible to combine aspects of different paradigms and traditions. Moreover, the selection of the paradigm (or paradigms) is not entirely a matter of free choice\textsuperscript{224}. The assumptions taken about the world, its undertaken goals and the way it observes the world – all lead and direct towards the appropriate method. Inferring form the literature survey, the qualitative research presented here is indeed a combination, of presumably two strategies.

Regarding their methods of analyses, qualitative researches can consist of structured and unstructured approaches. Structured approaches are usually identifies with quantitative researches. Moreover, qualitative methods of analyses tend to evolve and unfold along the process. Some believe that a preordained structured method might lead to lack of flexibility and to biased results\textsuperscript{225}. Through this research experience, I have learnt that a tentative plan indeed helped in keeping an overall direction for the research, but had still left a significant amount

\textsuperscript{220} Maxwell 2005: 22-25
\textsuperscript{221} Like positivism, constructivism, realism, pragmatism, or at a more specific level, interpretivism, critical theory, feminism, postmodernism, phenomenology and many others.
\textsuperscript{222} “In which the researcher attempts to derive a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction, grounded in the views of participants in a study. This process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information”, Creswell 2003: 14-15, citing Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998
\textsuperscript{223} “In which the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bound by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time” Creswell 2003: 14-15, citing Stake 1995.
\textsuperscript{224} Maxwell 2005: 36-37
\textsuperscript{225} Maxwell 2005: 80-81
of leeway for taking small tactical decisions along the way. This freedom is essential for the unfolding of any qualitative research strategy, since it can never consolidate in perfection at an earlier stage. This research’s methods of analyses have been constantly evolving throughout the years of study, and with them, the research question, hypothesis and results have altered accordingly.

Qualitative researches are fundamentally interpretive, namely, the researcher interprets the data. The methods to do that are practicably endless. Dey presents some very creative ideas how to collect qualitative data and how to analyze such data. Whichever method one uses, this data is filtered through a personal lens that is situated in a specific sociopolitical and historical moment. Qualitative researches must therefore clear the bias that the researcher brings to the study. Self-reflection is thus crucial, for creating an open and honest narrative that will resonate well with the readers. This must be the first step of entrusting validity. The motivations and impetuses of this research endeavor have been laid down upfront from starters. My personal ideology tinged this research direction and evolvement all along. However, I sincerely believe, it did not sway results or coerced them in anyway. One of the reasons I claim this, is, perhaps, the vast amount of surprising results.

Validity refers to the “correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or any other sort of account”. Maxwell asserts that there is no need to prove an ostensible ‘objective truth’, or some ‘gold standard’. Rather, “all we require is the possibility to test these accounts against the world, giving the phenomena that we are trying to understand the change to prove us wrong”. Validity does not carry the same connotations as it does in quantitative methods. If reliability and generalizability play a minor role in qualitative inquiries, validity, on the other hand, is considered pivotal. There is not one right way to vest readers with trust. Every phase in the research must be transparent, and comprise of self-criticism. Creswell suggests that the provision of rich, thick, detailed descriptions ensures reliability, as well as a detailed report of the data collection and analysis. Maxwell proposes some quite similar strategies: provide with ‘rich’ data, search for discrepant evidence and negative cases, triangulate (collect information from a diverse range of sources and methods), compare, retain a long intensive involvement (referring to the researcher conducting the research), etc.

The confrontation of this research with validity issue is expatiated in chapter 2.1.6. I have tried to refer to the validity threat that underlies qualitative research strategies with hopefully fair self-criticism and unabashed vigor, as much as possible.

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226. Dey 1995
228. Maxwell 2005: 106
229. Maxwell 2005: 106
230. Creswell 2003: 204
Chapter 3: Theoretical Construction

This third chapter presents the theoretical underpinning of the research. Its objective is twofold: firstly, it attempts to offer a new theoretical approach that examines public places through new lenses. This viewpoint, although construed on familiar and known perspectives, is fused in a new combination that rests upon new interpretations. Secondly, the theoretical part endeavors to establish the grounds for the case study analysis as presented in chapter four.

This chapter comprises of three successive parts. The first part presents the concept of publicness and the process that brought about and instigated its conceptualization. This part depicts the idea of publicness in general terms, deciphers its prevailing keywords and eventually elaborates on the philosophical strand in phenomenology that underlies and influences this concept’s evolvement.

The second part fragments the idea of publicness into three sub concepts: spatiality, content and context. In fact, these three ubiquitous properties could pertain to every entity or action that takes place in our physical world. These concrete, obtainable and assessable seminal properties are seeking to pave the way for new methods of analyses that may subsequently lead to the capturing of publicness.

Spatiality represents the physical embodiments of entities or actions, namely, the way they are arranged or laid out in space. Content represents the motivations behind entities or actions, their raison d’être, which almost always derives from a necessity, either private or collective. Context represents the broader circumstances of the entity or the action, taking into consideration that every tangible matter in our physical world, whether a building or an activity of agglomerated people, should be examined within its circumstances. This second part presents the general idea of each property, its share in the delineation of publicness, and the way it is reviewed and acknowledged in literature.

The third part fathoms these three properties furthermore, introducing methods to analyze each of them separately. These methods strive to seize some very specific qualitative information. The outcomes of each of the three properties are eventually gathered into one graphical portrayal - the profile of publicness, set out as the EKG of a public place. This graphical tool attempts to present the idea of publicness through its three basic constituents (the three properties) into a common denominator. This way, manifold publicnesses can be compared and juxtaposed, whether in different historical eras, in different geographical locations or even in different contextual backgrounds. The list of concatenated analyses attempts to offer a new tool for the evaluation of public places.
3.1. Conceptualizing Publicness

3.1.1. Publicness - The Profile of occurrences

Public means a body of people, aggregated individuals, but not merely. The term public also consists of the nexus that ties individuals together by various common denominators, such as affairs, opinions etc. The true essence of ‘public’ comprises of both a body (noun), and an additional abstract nexus that chains this body together (adjective). This surplus determines and is liable for the public’s viability and vitality—its presence and vigor.

Publicness, a socially laden frequently used nevertheless obscure appellation, should be defined philologically as “the state and quality of the public”. ‘Ness’ is a “suffix used to form abstract nouns expressive of quality or state, as goodness, greatness”¹. According to Oxford dictionary - Adjective+ -ness = noun. ‘Ness’ can therefore affix ‘public’ as the adjective (and not as the noun)², meaning “the state and quality of the nexus that ties people together in the public place”. This nexus is manifested in the public’s viability and vitality, and can be only put to test via public’s being and doing. This ‘being and doing’ of the public is carried out and can therefore be tested by occurrences³ - not necessarily by specific or particular occurrences but rather in their generality. Publicness epitomizes the place’s ethos.

The concept of publicness is reified in the profile of occurrences.

The profile of occurrences comprises of all occurrences taking place. Whereas occurrences are always particular in essence (having date, location, motivation etc), the profile conceptualizes them as generic or prototypal (even when they are exceptional or untypical), consciously erasing (or at least repressing) their particularities⁴. The desire to create a ‘profile’ resembles in some way the concept of calculating the average, an abstract number that does not exist in real and that is nevertheless very much comprehensible.

The profile of occurrences consists of recurring occurrences (everyday⁵), as also diverging occurrences (events⁶). When unusual occurrences are prompted often, changeability and transmutability thus become part of the ethos of the place, resulting in manifold events on an everyday basis. When events seem to recur, then the exceptional becomes prevailing. In such cases, the distinction between everyday and events is often blurred.

Publicness is an attribute of the public place, one out of many, depicting the profile of occurrences coming about in a place. It is a qualitative attribute of the public place. Publicness

¹. Webster’s 1913 dictionary
². Concise Oxford English dictionary, Oxford University Press, Editors: Soanes Catherine, Stevenson Angus
³. Occurrences of the public (sphere) and in- the public (domain)
⁴. The work of generalization involves a deliberate disregarding of details. This has naturally demerits (loosing precision and accurateness) but also merits: the capturing of a wider-angle picture.
⁵. The everyday scenario has no one specific date but many. It is repetitive, and can sprout occasionally or continuously, day after day, month after month, randomly or not. Its raison d’être stems from daily needs and routines in the lives of laymen.
⁶. Reflecting occurrences that stray from the everyday scenario. These have specifications, such as a date, duration, location, reasons, participants etc, as they happened once, or a few times on specific occasions. Such occurrences have usually less to do with the routines or daily needs of laymen, but more with wider social cultural and political necessities.
can be analogized to the EKG of a public place, capturing its viability – beats and rhythm. The research’s premise is that publicness can be assessed.

The profile of occurrences is much more than a portrayal of disparate occurrences accumulated together. It does not merely reflect the contents and incentives of happenings per-se, but also expresses their essence as a collection, as a group. The profile of occurrences comprises of the ordinary, the recurring and the habitual with the unexpected and the extraordinary. Thence, every profile consists of an intrinsic propensity towards variability, fluidity and mutability.

Some profiles tend towards steadiness and stability, whereas some comprise of mercurial, contingent and unexpected divergences within. The disposition towards changeability differs greatly between various public places. The propensity of the profile can also alter throughout the years, the seasons, or with cultural changes.

Illustration iii/1-1: fictional profiles of publicness: calm everyday with occasional aberrations or frequent events with repeated fluctuations. Every place has its own idiosyncratic profile, with its tendency towards changeability.

\[\text{3.1.2. Real & Potential publicnesses}\]

The profile of occurrences exists in and amid two spheres: reality and imagination. Occurrences take place in the real world. Occurrences can be also imagined within various spatial contexts. If publicness represents the profile of occurrences, real publicness depicts the profile of real occurrences, then potential publicness delineates the profile comprising of all potential/future/possible occurrences, that are likely to come about inside space, inside the form.

In addition to the profile of occurrences happening in real, which is appraisable, there is another profile, a potential profile, that lies dormant in every public place and that can be read, analyzed and carefully captured – through the analysis of form. One of the research’s basic premises is that form is a receptacle. And receptacles (of all sorts), to some degree dictate, but mostly delimit - all that can take place within.

The research hypothesizes that form, grasped as a receptacle, embodies both real and potential Publicnesses, as it is the vessel that contains real occurrences but also potential (imagined) ones. Form can thus delineate potential publicness just as all occurrences, accumulated together, can depict real publicness.

7. albeit this EKG is qualitative in parameters
8. Occurrences that did actually take place in real are tangible and graspable so they can be appraised in multifarious ways, although their accumulation into a profile exists only as a concept. On the other hand, the work of their accumulation does not go without reservations and difficulties, as will be mentioned later.
It would seem that real publicness is one scenario that found realization within the multifarious potential scenarios. In most instances it would indeed be the case. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the real scenario exceeded beyond the imagined scenario. This can happen when the people, who use the space, are exceptionally creative, and when the imagined is very uncreative and unimaginative. Real publicness is usually, but not always, contained within potential publicness.

It is inappropriate to think that there is a sole real publicness. Every person experiences a public occurrence differently; so much that two people can describe two disparate happenings for the same event⁹. In addition to that, accumulating all individual real publicnesses into one picture does not add-up to potential publicness, but rather ends in a multitude individual pictures. This is to say that the definition of real publicness, which seems to be more graspable than potential publicness, is by all means not unequivocal. Despite its inherent volatile definition - it is still possible to try to portray the sheer ‘dry’ information of every occurrence - where it took place, how many people, where they scattered etc. The research chooses to depict occurrences free of subjective experiences, as much as this is possible¹⁰.

If real publicness is an accumulation of real occurrences, and potential publicness is an imagined profile of possible occurrences taking place in some form, then these two profiles bind publicnesses and form, or human comportment and architecture, which is the ultimate goal of this research. The comparison between these profiles can offer conclusions on form’s magnitude, opting to pave new directions for architectural and urban planning expertise.

3.1.3. Occurrences – everyday and events

The terms everyday and events carry heavy meanings in various theoretical discourses, and mostly the social sciences, philosophy and literature. They have permeated the architectural discourse in the last couple of decades, resulting in an intellectual domain denominated as ‘everyday ethnographies’. Dwelling upon these terms would reveal the intricate bond between architecture and the social sciences that evolved within the post-modern post-structural and post-colonial tendencies. The relation of this research to this theoretical field will be raised in chapter 2, as part of the literature analysis.

⁹. There are real publicnesses at least in the same amount that there are people. The human inner world is a complex world in itself. This research wishes to avoid entering this infinite realm, acknowledging its paramount importance, believing it belongs to other disciplinary domains.

¹⁰. Real publicness might seem on a first glance like the easier profile to capture, because occurrences are usually documented. But in fact, this notion cannot be farther from the truth. People documenting occurrences always represent their own personal perspective and agenda: most historical documentations were acquired by authorities - national, municipal etc. On the other hand, daily occurrences that were considered insignificant (at least for authorities) were seldom documented, although they played a significant role in the lives of people. This problem of objectivity pertains to present days documentation as well: even an observer that theoretically speaking never leaves the site of research, cannot notice or ‘objectively’ interpret everything happening on site. In this research, the study of supposedly real publicness that took place hundreds of years ago cannot lean but on documentations of others. It is mandatory though, to acknowledge the shortcomings of such historical documentations, study them critically and refrain from thinking that it represents an ultimate ‘truth’. Dealing with this difficulty was accomplished also by collecting as many documents as possible on every occurrence; validating and crossing information to present, at least, a point-of-view that is considered conventional. Notwithstanding, I believe that this is one of the issues that researches in general and historical researches in particular face and are doomed to grapple. It is definitely not exclusive to this research.
Everyday and events are demarcated in this research according to the following definitions, and indicated by the following signs:

*Everyday* is divided to

**Regularly everyday occurrences** – that take place during most of the hours or the day, usually everyday (i.e. daily customs as going markets, walking to the bus, jogging in the park).

**Fluctuated everyday occurrences** that can be seen on a regular basis but that appear on special hours, on specific days, as if having a rhythm (i.e. the Amsterdam sixteenth century bourse that opened for a couple of hours during noon, the closing and opening of the medieval city gates every morning and evening, Sunday gatherings in church etc).

*Events* are divided to

**Unique occurrences** - which take place only once, and are by all means outstanding and extraordinary (i.e. solemn visits of incumbents, riots, rebellions etc).

**Recurring events** are exceptional happenings that repeat themselves, even if not in an entire similar fashion. For example, executions in seventeenth century Amsterdam were a repetitive event. Although they were hardly scarce, they were always esteemed as events; annual feasts were an important occasion that reiterated once a year, and should therefore be ascribed to this category.

3.1.4 Form & potential publicness

“I believe in absolute space as the substratum of force: the latter limits and forms”, *Nietzsche.*

The term form, in this research, refers not only to architecture but also to everything that is corporeal and that does not breathe (i.e. fauna). Corporeal is divided to manmade artifacts and to natural substances (i.e. flora), either grown by nature or planted by humans. Nature that is exploited by men moulds the settings of a place, and is therefore part of *form:* for example, a promenade overlooking some beautiful scenery is located in its place to exploit this natural resources. The scenery is therefore part of the form; it constitutes one of its encircling surfaces. Form is apperceived as a receptacle: a vessel capable of containing living creatures (humans or animals), that is either natural or manmade or both.

11. Nietzsche 1968:293, also referred to by Lefebvre 1974:22
Form subsumes architecture and more. It is the stage set of a place, and in this research – the stage set of the public place. Form consists of everything present (except living creatures) in and around the public place that is part of its existence and function.

3.1.5 Relations between form, publicness and occurrences: the research triad

After explaining each of the terms separately, this part will attempt to illuminate the relationships between these concepts by juxtaposing them with each other. This conceptual triad and their inter-and-intra relations are pivotal to the understanding of this research.

Publicness & form

The premise that not only Form and Publicness are inextricable intertwined but that form has a power in delimiting, regulating and even dictating Real Publicness – lies in the research’s kernel. This powerful impact ascribed to form is plausible according to Schutz because “the individual, in his orientation within the life-world, is prodded and guided by instructions, exhortations, and interpretations offered by others to him”. One can naturally claim that our physical surroundings constitute an important part of this instructing world. “If he [the individual] constructs his own view of the world around him, he does so with the help of the raw materials offered to him in this constant exposure to follow men”. Again, the physical settings, their meanings and the way they are beings used by fellowmen, are part of this raw material. “Both the exposure to these cultural materials and their selective and interpretative acceptance of them, presupposes a common language as a means of communication between persons as well as an instrument of cognition for the individual”\(^{12}\). It is one of this research’s basic premises that our physical surroundings hold a significant part in establishing this instrument of cognition, which sets our common language and our subsequent behavior in public places.

Form and potential publicness

Form is forged by a built mass (a substance) that confines space within (a void). Form’s porosity enables the public to scatter within: whether in the void (the confined space) or even in the substance itself (namely, the buildings).

Potential publicness comprises of all and every occurrence that can be imagined happening inside the receptacle, within the form. Form delimits occurrences. Form is a regulating vehicle that prompts and prods some occurrences and impedes others. It therefore has some power in dictating realities. The only delimitation these imaginary scenarios hold is the physicality of the place – inciting to some extent all that is probable, while dictating and even ruling out all that is improbable.

Although Form delimits potential publicness - it has no power in bringing it about. This is in the hand of the people, the public(s), depending largely on their cultural backgrounds. Form

\(^{12}\) Wagner, 1970: 18
excludes the impossible, nevertheless does not determine the possible.

The research asserts that not only there is a profile of occurrences existing (whether real or potential), but that it can be even captured. Moreover, it argues that potential publicness is defined, delimited and even dictated by form, just as a receptacle delimits its contents. Potential publicness can be therefore captured by a diligent scrutiny of form.

Publicness is thus conceptually located between the corporeal world (form), and the human social domain (occurrences). Just as form has spatial and societal features, so do occurrences have spatial and social features. These can be juxtaposed.

The intricate relations between form, publicness and occurrences are central to this research, and should therefore be expatiated fully, thoroughly and exhaustingly. The illustration attempts to offer a visual description that corresponds to the texts. These sketches should not be considered as blueprints of spaces, but rather as abstract metaphysical concepts of relations, of inclusions and exclusions, containers and contained.

Publicness and Occurrences: occurrences are the basic constituent that determines publicness. Their accumulation creates the profile of Publicness (whether in real or in potential). The profile of occurrences is brought about by many specific particular happenings, although its essence is nevertheless of a general portrayal.

Form and Occurrences: Occurrences occur (or come about) in a place. They are bound by form, analogized to a receptacle that delimits everything happening inside it. Form sets the occurrences’ physical context. Conversely, occurrences are spatial. The verb ‘to take place’ depicts the inherent spatiality and temporality of occurrences. Form thus comprises of occurrences whereas Occurrences are confined within form.

Form and Publicness: this dyad comprises of the research kernel and raison d’être: if every occurrence has a spatial attribute, then the accumulated profile of occurrences (real publicness) should have a respective accumulated spatial configuration. Conversely, if form inheres a potential publicness, then its spatial features demarcate the spatial features of potential occurrences. The research’s methodology rests upon these concepts’ reciprocation, claiming that potential publicness can be compared to real publicness.

The inevitable basic premise that emanates from these definitions is that if every real occurrence is confined within form, then the accumulation of all occurrences into the profile of real publicness must be subsumed within form as well. Furthermore,
since potential publicness is intrinsic to form, then the profiles of potential and real publicnesses must consist of some kind of affinity. Potential and real profiles can and should be compared and juxtaposed. Their rapport is not only intriguing, but also crucially important.

The research asserts that form and publicness have complex interrelations that are worthy of a study through the juxtaposition of real and potential publicnesses. Once their affinity is better understood, it will enable to infer on the power of form in the creation of publicness.

3.1.6. Publicness as a phenomenological stance

Publicness is an idea and not any tangible substance that can be caught in any moment in reality. It is a reflection of human comportment, tested by all happenings together - as if compressed and grasped all at once. Such a collection of occurrences creates a profile that cannot be conceived other than by a collection of people - since it is unlikely that one person can experience everything, all day, every day. Since society has no perception, but rather its individuals, real publicness can only be construed on accumulated disparate impressions of private people.

According to Alfred Schutz “the manifold private interpretations of the components of the relative natural conception of the world, in any cultural community, can combine into a common world-view…provided this group arrives at, and maintains, a collective self-interpretation”\textsuperscript{13}. Leaning on Husserl, Schutz extends beyond the boundaries of the individual consciousness: “Husserl spoke of an ‘intersubjective reduction’ of a ‘common consciousness’ to ‘that which unites individual consciousnesses’ in the ‘phenomenological unity of the social life’. The phenomenologists must not only examine ‘the self’s experience of itself’ but also ‘its derivative experience of other selves and of society’\textsuperscript{14}. Conjoined with Weber’s sociology that is “concerned with subjective meaning of social conduct”\textsuperscript{15}, Schutz embarked on his lifelong endeavor to lay the foundations of a phenomenological sociology\textsuperscript{16}, proceeded from a preliminary individualistic perspective to the direct analysis of social relationships. The phenomenologically most basic problem, here, is that of intersubjectivity.

“Immediate experience of others arise on a “communicative common environment”, a situational environment which two (or more) persons share who are able to communicate with one another. Although experienced from different subjective vantage points, this (interactive) environment is filled with objects and events apperceived by both. Consequently, the interactive and communicative relationship between them allows for mutual understanding and consent. Of course, the situation is elliptical: it has two subjective foci. Each of the

\textsuperscript{13.} Wagner, 1970: 17.
\textsuperscript{14.} Schutz, 1967: 102-116; Wagner, 1970: 7
\textsuperscript{15.} Wagner, 1970: 8-9
\textsuperscript{16.} ibid p.3
\textsuperscript{17.} ibid pp. 31-32
persons in it lives through his own experience of the situation, of which the other is a part. But he not only experience himself in the situation, he experiences the experiencing of the situation by the other. This is the experience of the ‘we’.”

Publicness is a conception that is built on an ongoing experience of occurrences, and their emanating perceptions, sensations and psychological projections. These are always a private property. Notwithstanding, drawing on Schutz’s ideas, this conception can be implicitly communicated as part of people’s intersubjective experiences of the public place. People hold personal notions on the public place’s vitality and vividness, which they communicate to others. Publicness is therefore an idea construed on private perceptions, residing in the public’s collective cognition. It is at once private and the public.

The experience of being in and part of the public realm is an important part of humans' social world. It constitutes a complementing aspect in Schutz phenomenological theory of the social world.

3.2. The three properties of publicness – spatiality, content and context

The three seminal conceptions, spatiality, content, context, are in fact three ubiquitous properties that pertain to every entity or action that takes place in our corporeal world.

Spatiality represents the physical embodiments of entities or actions, the way they are arranged or laid out in space.

Content represents the motivations behind entities or actions, their raison d’être, which has always something to do with a necessity, either a private or a collective requisite.

Context represents the wider circumstances of the entity or the action, considering every tangible thing in our corporeal world (whether a building or an activity of agglomerated people) has indeed circumstances.
3.2.1. The methodological role of three properties

These three properties pertain to form as they do to occurrences. They stand as a common denominator between form and occurrences, establishing an abstract space in their intersection. This intersecting space thus enables a methodological juxtaposition of the two.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The three properties in form:</th>
<th>The three properties in occurrences:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Form has, naturally, spatial features. Form moulds a <strong>space</strong> to be used, occupied and filled with people;</td>
<td>1. Occurrences have, naturally, spatial boundaries and spatial qualities. The way people spread, move or occupy space can be depicted in <strong>spatial</strong> features;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Form has a <em>raison d'être</em>, often complex, which serves some agenda of people in society, whether privates or collectives¹⁹. It reflects a specific cultural anecdote, and is thus imbued with a social <strong>content</strong>;</td>
<td>2. Occurrences have a <em>raison d'être</em>. They emerge in order to answer people’s necessities, whether private or collective needs. Occurrences are thus laden with a social <strong>content</strong>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Form is part of a larger environment to which it is connected in various ways. It is part of a bigger structure or system. Form has a <strong>context</strong>.</td>
<td>3. Occurrences come about in specific places with respect to their environment. Whether because they have no other optional locations, or because one specific location is ideal for them, they are part of a broader <strong>contextual</strong> consideration system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If occurrences are local events that take place inside form, one can assume that their properties are contained or subsumed within the properties of form. By juxtaposing these three properties vis-à-vis, one can deduce about the interrelations of form and occurrences, should such interrelations exist.

The following chart attempts to illuminate the bond that form and occurrences hold with the three properties, in a visual manner, and in the context of a public place. The illustrations abstractly emphasize each of the properties with a different color. One side of the chart focuses on the properties’ relations with form, whilst the other focuses on their relations with occurrences.

¹⁹. See the ideas of Henri Lefebvre in ‘The production of Space’ 1974.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>The three properties</th>
<th>OCCURRENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spatiality</strong></td>
<td>Human (social) comportment has spatial features because it is spread in space. The spatiality of occurrences is liable for the answer to: Where can I physically be/move in space?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content</strong></td>
<td>Human doings have intents and motivations, whether done privately or in groups, whether taking place in the private or public realm. The content of occurrences is liable for the answer to: What do I want to do in space? In front of whom do I act?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Context</strong></td>
<td>Happenings are affected by circumstances. The context of occurrences is liable for the answer to: Do I have other alternatives in the precinct?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Form delimits the room available for human comportment, (namely, the purple layout indicates the potential space for moving about).

The spatiality of form is liable for the answer to: Where does space enable one to be?

Form’s encircling buildings can be grasped as social representations that infuse space with societal meanings and motivations.

The content of form is liable for the answer to: What do the social settings encourage or instigate people to do?

Form’s outer precinct creates further opportunities that affect the function and utilization of a place.

The context of form is liable for the answer to: What do other places in the precinct offer?

Illustration iii/2-1: The three properties of form and occurrences reverberated in architecture.
1. **Spatiality** is evident in the form’s **mass** – the volumes of substances, the voids and the interfaces between these two. This interface between mass and voids delimits the spatiality of occurrences. It determines, to some degree, things that might and things that cannot be physically done in a place. For example, a place sized for a few hundred people cannot accommodate tens of thousands for a rally; a linear space such as a street would serve better for a parade then for a gathering such as a concert.

2. **Content** is evident in the form’s **surfaces** (or envelopes) which are also, in fact, the interfaces between the mass and the voids. Surfaces of buildings represent social establishments of various sorts, casting their presence onto the place. They affect directly or indirectly the way people grasp the space, in terms of its societal role, because of what these institutions represent to the crowd. Since these institutions stand in front of peoples’ actions, they may channel the things that should or could happen in the place, in terms of their societal content. The presence of institutions in a place does not sweepingly dictate the content of happenings, but rather raises chances because of the deep meanings which they convey. Such societal meanings can be sometimes powerful in goading, spurring and prodding people’s behavior. For example, in a place accommodating representatives of economical institutions, one is likely to encounter economical activities. In a place accommodating political institutions, one would plausibly come across political activities amongst other things.

3. **Context** is discernable in two architectural scales. It is evident, on the smaller scale, in the form’s **outlets**, which connect the place with other places in the urban precinct. Outlets come in the form of underground or public transportation stations, openings to new streets, etc. In other words, outlets are every spatial feature that indicates the exits, the vents, to other annexed spaces. The larger scale of the context finds manifestation in urban fabrics (as they appear in maps). The context is sometimes beyond the visible, which does not mean it is inconspicuous. Outlets and urban fabrics delineate the context of occurrences – what are the other options available for the crowd in its urban precincts. Is the place unique and irreplaceable? Are there many similar places that one can choose from?

The three architectural features of the three properties impose delimitations. Within their demarcations, everything that can be imagined - constitutes **potential publicness**.

The research asserts that the likelihood of occurrences to come about in a place is mould by the space threefold properties, as are evident in the three architectural features. If one could diligently study these three architectural features and consequently outline the profile of possible occurrences (namely, potential publicness), and if this result can be juxtaposed with the real profile of occurrences – then perhaps form carries enough information to assess the publicness of future places to be, or by the same token, help in manipulating (hopefully improving) existing publicnesses.
3.2.2. Perceiving the three properties - a phenomenological account

The impact of form on human comportment is twofold: the first is on the physical level – as a receptacle directs, prevents and prods the way people scatter within. The other impact is on the socio-psychological level – form displays societal establishments, which therefore define one’s position within society and its institutions. As mentioned in the previous section, such psychological impact pertains to all individuals that consider themselves part of society. These two entangled levels of impact - the physical and mental, are evident in psychology, philosophy and biology, as explained drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Schutz and other Phenomenologists.

The explanation of publicness as a phenomenological stance is inextricably interlinked to the ways in which the three properties and their congruous architectural features are perceived. The following text should therefore be read as a sequel of subchapter 3.1.6.

3.2.2.1. The meaning of form – the depth of surfaces

Schutz not only provides the legitimacy for a conception that is based on collective perceptions; his ideas also endorse the strong relatedness of publicness with form.

As mentioned, potential publicness comprises of all and every occurrence that can be imagined happening inside the place, within form’s constraints and facilitations. This powerful impact ascribed to form, being an artifact that delimits realities, is plausible according to Schutz because “the individual, in his orientation within the life-world, is prodded and guided by instructions, exhortations, and interpretations offered by others to him”, and our physical surroundings constitute an important part of this instructing world. “If he [the individual] constructs his own view of the world around him, he does so with the help of the raw materials offered to him in this constant exposure to follow men”. Physical settings are part of this raw material. “Both the exposure to these cultural materials and their selective and interpretative acceptance of them, presupposes a common language as a means of communication between persons as well as an instrument of cognition for the individual.” It is one of this research’s underlying premises that physical surroundings pose an important component in this common language.

The impact of form on human comportment is twofold: the first is on the physical level – as a receptacle directs, prevents and prods the way people scatter within. The other impact is on the socio-psychological level – form delineates one’s position in society. According to Schutz, such psychological impact pertains to all individuals that consider themselves part of society.

These two levels of impact, the physical and the mental, are inextricably intertwined in psychology, philosophy and biology, as will be explained shortly drawing on Merleau-Ponty. They pertain to all spatial properties, although one can assume that not in similar ways: spatiality has its major influence on the body, whereas the content has its major influence on
the mental cognition. It is clear that there is no clear-cut division and that any attempt to split the influences of the body/mind on the properties is artificial and unjustifiable: people’s moving about in space involves mental apprehension just as the perception of societal institutions or the wider urban context involves a ‘biological’ work of the body.

The physical level, the way space affects the movement of the human body, seems more palpable and therefore appraisable\textsuperscript{23}; the second mental level needs additional clarifications: Schutz saw physical appearances as merely a potential vehicle of meaning. Aspects of expression and communication appear in some physical form. Schutz was referring mostly to the concepts of marks, indications, signs and symbols\textsuperscript{24}, as distinct and different categories of expressive and communicative vehicles of meaning. \textit{Form} clearly inheres most of these categories, if not all, exposing the underlying societal dynamics that brought it about and sustained it. \textit{Form} is thus a vehicle that carries symbols of society and its dynamics. Merleau-Ponty explains this “passage from the sign to the signified”: the coherence of the visible thing…”makes visible, and not only comprehensible, a depth of latent being”\textsuperscript{25}.

“(Social) space is a (social) product", claims Lefebvre\textsuperscript{26}, emphasizing how space represents social relations of \textit{production and reproduction}\textsuperscript{27}, incorporating social actions “of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who dies, who suffer and who act". Social space is expressed “in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art. Such frontal (and hence brutal) expressions of these relations do not completely crowd out their more clandestine or underground aspects”\textsuperscript{28}. \textit{Form} is for Lefebvre not a mere vehicle that carries symbols of society, but also a tool of society in exercising living.

Lefebvre claims that one can diligently scrutinize space (or \textit{form} for that matter) in order to reach a deep understanding if its generating society\textsuperscript{29}. It necessitates the study of the history of its representations, and the history of its forces of production (nature, labor, technology and knowledge). These social forces all have codes that must be deciphered\textsuperscript{30} that "served to fix the alphabet and language of the town or city – its primary signs, their paradigm and their syntagmatic relations”\textsuperscript{31}.

\textsuperscript{23}Although can be endlessly elaborated on. To briefly exemplify this physical level - a wall or a fence prevents a physical passage from one side to another, just as a door in a wall dictates the location (and only location) for crossing this wall from one side to another. These are examples of physical barriers that affect the dispersal of people in space. There are various types of such physical regulations and dictations imposing on the body, that will be presented in the research. Hillier makes the strongest connection between architecture’s spatial attributes and the way if affects human’s conduct around it “a cell is not just a cell… the simplest building is, in effect, consisting of a body, a space within the boundary, an entrance, and a space outside the boundary defined by the entrance, all of these spaces being part of a system. All these elements have some kind of social reference” Hillier, 1984: 19.

\textsuperscript{24}Wagner, 1970: 19

\textsuperscript{25}Lefort, 1968: xlii.

\textsuperscript{26}Lefebvre, 1974: 26

\textsuperscript{27}Social relations of \textit{reproduction} (organization of the family) and the \textit{relations of production} (the division of labor in the form of hierarchical social functions). “Social space contains specific representations of this double or triple interaction between the social relations of production and reproduction”. ibid, p.33.

\textsuperscript{28}ibid, pp. 33-4

\textsuperscript{29}By the following conceptual triad as three ways of experiencing space: \textit{spatial practice} (the realm of the \textit{perceived}), \textit{representations of space} (the realm of the \textit{conceived}) and \textit{representational spaces} (the realm of the \textit{lived}), demonstrating complex and overlapping layers abiding in societal practices. ibid, pp.36-46

\textsuperscript{30}Merrifield, 2002a: 89

\textsuperscript{31}Lefebvre, 1974: 47
3.2.2.2. Form’s indications of one’s position in society

The image of all societal establishments, private or public, reputed or unknown, that dwell in the public place - comprises of some local ensemble that will henceforth be termed ‘social constellation’. It presents a segment of society and its institutions that is part of civic, national or even global societal systems. The individual abides temporarily in a relationship with this social constellation, for as long as he lingers in the place. He walks, talks and acts in front of these forces manifested in buildings, signs, billboards, colors, and the like, a human vis-a-vis establishments – authoritative or economic, religious, cultural, private or municipal - reminiscing of men standing in front of mythological gods.

Two generic relationships are formulated between the individual and society when abiding in a public place. The first prevailing relation, one that is widely mentioned in contemporary literature, is forged between the individuals – the people constituting the public and their various groups (publics). Considering that the people operating the place, which are often also residences in the place - are users on occasions, in different hours, under different guises - the division between those using and those operating, between those visiting and those residing is impossible and sometimes unnecessary.

The other generic relationship is between the individual and the social establishments dwelling in and around the place, who formulate the place’s modus operandi: firms, institutions, private corpuses, reputed or incognitos. This generic relationship is in fact the one this research refers to. Form, saturated with societal codes and representations constantly reminds the individual of his position in society for as long as he bides in the public place, and after.

Schutz discusses the relationships forged with contemporaries, dwelling upon the degrees of anonymity, using criterions of closeness. “Pure thou-orientation consists of mere awareness of the existence of the other person. Pure they-orientation is based on the presupposition of such characteristics in the form of a type. Since these characteristics are genuinely typical, they can in principle be presupposed again and again.”

This individual-establishments type of relationship pertains to mostly ‘they-orientation’. This temporal relation is seldom consciously apperceived. Merleau-Ponty’s explains that “human experience is not (always) mental – that is, not conceptually articulated or constituted”, unless we consciously direct ourselves to perceiving it. Following his line of thought – the social constellation of a place is not necessarily perceived consciously by our mind, but more often it is done through our body, not-consciously. In fact, apperceiving a place is first and foremost

32. The individual is often posited small and powerless relative to the institution of society, which bears significant psychological impact on the experience of being in a public place. However, it is not in the intention of this research to dwell into personal psychological imprints. It is obvious that people react differently to societal establishments – and that these reactions are incomparable. Nevertheless, I would advertently claim that whether one feels stronger or lesser for some establishment – reactions are always invoked.


35. Things that are not consciously apperceived can be structurally posited in various realms, which are termed in psychology unconscious, subconscious, repression, but also bodily automation. The latter pertains to the research’s explanations. Tuan asserts that this automation comes about when spatial ability becomes spatial knowledge, such as with riding a bicycle. In such cases, self-conscious knowledge is not required, and can even stand in the way of perfecting the skill. Tuan, Space and Place, p.68.
bodily work, performed to some extent by automated skills.

Kant paid close attention to the ‘first data of our experience’, discerning the special bond between body and place. How can one be in a place except through one’s own body?\(^{36}\) Disrupting the mind-matter dualism, Merleau-Ponty’s introduces a third term that is irreducible to either of the other two – the lived body – that binds our bodily experience with the mental experience\(^{37}\). He explains the significant role of the body in human perceptions as the vehicle of emplacement, the sine-qua-non for being-in-place\(^{38}\). In the ‘visible and the invisible’ he takes a few steps further, trying to overcome the mind-body dichotomy\(^{39}\): the body has a capacity to hinge between being and perception. This is why “there is correspondence of my inside and the world’s outside, just as there is a correspondence of its inside and my outside”…“the body’s perception simply is the world’s manifestation and vice versa”\(^{40}\).

Returning once again to the twofold experience of form – the physical and mental (or social), Merleau-Ponty elucidates why the one cannot be severed from the other. Body’s motility in space is propelled by the mind, just as the mind perceives and reacts psychologically instigated by the body’s grasp of space.

\[\diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \quad 3.2.2.3. \text{Bodily perception of form}\]

For Merleau-Ponty body and world are conceptually, not just causally, two sides of the same coin. “The world and I are intelligible each only in light of the other”\(^{41}\).

For if it is true that I am conscious of my body via the world, that it is the unperceived term in the center of the world toward which all objects turn their face, it is true for the same reason that my body is the pivot of the world: I know that objects have several facets because I could make a tour of inspection of them, and in that sense I am conscious of the world by means of my body\(^{42}\).

Differing from other phenomenologists, Merleau-Ponty asserts at the beginning of *Phenomenology of Perception* that “objects see one another”. This claim is central to his understanding of the way in which a person experiences objects as transcending, or going beyond, one’s experience of them. For him objects are three-dimensional entities, despite only ever seeing them in perspectival presentations. We almost always experience objects and not mere façades\(^{43}\), because objects are three-dimensional, there is no single point of view on the object that would reveal it maximally.

The notion of an ideal point of view has a rich history; one traditional name for the ideal view

\begin{itemize}
  \item [36.] Casey, 1997: 204.
  \item [37.] ibid, p. 112
  \item [38.] ibid, p. 238-9
  \item [39.] Carman, 2005: 234
  \item [40.] ibid, pp. 243-244
  \item [41.] ibid, p. 68
  \item [42.] Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 94-5
  \item [43.] Carman, 2005: 76-7
\end{itemize}
on an object is the ‘view from nowhere’. It is true that no single point of view reveals the object fully. Each point of view reveals something about the object’. Merleau-Ponty therefore claims that “the view from everywhere is the optimum perspective from which to view the object, the perspective from which one grips it maximally”\(^{44}\). This perceptual synthesis is accomplished by the subject\(^{45}\).

Returning to the spatial features of publicness, it is forged by three-dimensional masses and voids that can never be grasped from one point of view. Due to the magnitude of architectural artifacts, as opposed to the small ones with which Merleau-Ponty demonstrates his arguments (usually objects located in a room), architectural entities can only be grasped as façades, seen from various angles, framing one or two surfaces in every image and not much more. When being confined within such surfaces – one has to move around in order to envision the place’s complete cyclorama. Regarding this disability of the human body to apperceive spaces all at once – Merleau-Ponty explains that experience is not dependant on one single position, but in fact, a collection of multifarious perceptions gathered into one, and stored.

Merleau-Ponty’s interpretation of the human apperception of space has strong implications on the research’s methods of analysis. All three features of form are perceived through the accumulation of all facades, or encircling surfaces, based on the underlying assumption that it is legitimate to offer an altogether ‘view from everywhere’, that this point of view does eventually exist in our minds, owing to our body.

As mentioned earlier, supported by Schutz, the research asserts that it is possible to communicate other people’s perception of space through mediums such as arts, photography, literature and historical portrayals. Opting to understand historical publicnesses in the research (in order to compare present-day with historical ones), and since past eras are inaccessible to researchers as observers – the research claims it is nonetheless possible to lean on other people’s perceptions of space as mediators. This does not mean however that what we interpret out of what we see today is by all means similar to what people interpreted in their time, but rather, that we can try to make out an historical public place through present-day eyes.

Interpretation problems do not merely belong to the faculty of historical vocation. Publicness cannot be but a collective perception since no single person can seize everything. This means that even in contemporary case studies – the researcher would necessarily have to rely on other people’s accounts. Realizing there are no truisms and no one objective documentation of an event, just as there are infinite point of views as there are human beings – the research carefully asserts that there is not an abyss of difference between reports done by a coetaneous or a predecessor, if one acknowledges the contexts in which documentations were inscribed.

\(^{44}\) ibid, pp. 90-1
\(^{45}\) Moran, 2002: 439
3.2.3 The theoretical underpinning of the three properties

An abrupt shift from the philosophical facet of publicness to its concrete and applicable facet, this subchapter epitomizes the moment of change. The following part will attempt to show how the seemingly abstract idea is very much graspable and seizable.

3.2.3.1. Spatiality

3.2.3.1.1. Defining territories according to levels of dictations

Spatiality depicts the physical expanse standing at people’s disposal for meandering, namely, the layout that can be used and occupied by them. The mobility of throngs or individuals, and the flows that they forge as groups, are confined within spatial boundaries, regulated and delimited to various degrees by the form.

There are presumably three major intensities of spatial regulation:

1. Territories in which spatial movement is rigidly regulated, or in other words, territories in which the flows of people are pretty much preordained. These will be termed henceforth ‘dictated territories’.

2. Territories that leave relative freedom for bodily motility, namely, territories in which there are no expected preordained fluxes of people. These will be termed henceforth ‘under-dictated territories’. These places instigate spontaneous practices, according to the order of the day. These places can go in two ways: either nothing will come about in them, or conversely, everything could come about inside of them.

3. Territories that contain a conjuncture of overlapping regulations due to congested architectural situations, or in other words, territories in which several flows collide. These hyper-territories will be termed henceforth ‘over-dictated territories’. These areas would be the busiest, hectic and therefore most surprising places, due to the presence of an abounding audience (the public). It means that within over-dictated territories - unexpected practices have high prospect to realize.

Territories can be thus demarcated pertaining to the rough division of dictated, under-dictated, and over-dictated. Although the division between the territories is volatile and inaccurate, it is still possible to roughly estimate the rudiment presence and location of each type of territory. The methods of inquiring the above-mentioned three types of territories are expatiated in chapter 3.3

The above-mentioned three types of territories instigate different types of occurrences – expected and unexpected in the everyday or at events - as they have naturally different spatial layouts. Territories of expected everyday (“dictated territories”) are usually located in close vicinity to the architectural artifacts, whereas territories of the unexpected, “under-dictated territories”, are positioned in some remoteness from the architectural artifacts. Territories of
collisions, where the unexpected is bound to happen, are usually located at intersections and junctions, as also around freestanding small architectural artifacts, such as booths, podiums or stairs.

3.2.3.1.2. Form’s artifacts as impeding and instigating public fluxes

People’s movements (fluxes) are subordinated to some amount of coercion caused by the form. To give the simplest trivial examples, people tend to walk in contiguous lines parallel to walls (i.e. along building elevations) and not in zigzags, for practical reasons. A human being cannot cut across a built wall, but will traverse it only where a door is available. On the other hand, a human being is bound to move freely, in all directions, and according to his or her free will on an open expanse.

Some architectural forms are therefore more coercive, some are less; all architectural artifacts are doomed to bear effect on their abutting human comportment. In other words, the way people’s fluxes are spread in space is compelled to various degrees by form’s regulating power.

The following table delineates a plausible inventory of prevailing fluxes, depicted from their spatial aspect. Although it is impossible to claim that this list is utterly exhaustive, it is nevertheless reasonable to maintain that this list does present the majority of familiar prevalent and acknowledged flows, if not all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linear progressions</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movements along linear architectural elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="Diagram1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingering (a shopping street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advancing (a plain street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlooking (a scenic view)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centrifugal/centripetal streams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movements of scattering, usually around hubs such as stations, door entrances etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="Diagram2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break through (a door)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wavelet, spread (a station)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Directionless
dispersals

Spreading out in space,
either on a slow strolling
speed, or at a standstill (a
static state)

Standstill (no
movement) - sitting,
squatting around street
benches, cafes, stairs
etc.

Directionless dispersal
- meandering in
aimless movements
around booths, stalls,
markets etc.

Relocation (high
speed bypassing via
apparatuses)

(Skipping spaces by cars,
buses, trams)

While being alone:
private cars

While being in
company: trains,
trams, buses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directionlessdispersals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spreading out in space, either on a slow strolling speed, or at a standstill (a static state)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standstill (no movement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- sitting, squatting around street benches, cafes, stairs etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directionless dispersal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- meandering in aimless movements around booths, stalls, markets etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocation (high speed bypassing via apparatuses)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Skipping spaces by cars, buses, trams)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>While being alone:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>private cars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>While being in company:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trains, trams, buses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further explanations for all these types of flows are presented in section 3.3.2.1.

Actually, the range of fluxes presented above is not delimited to matters of mere movements and corporeal bodies. An additional diverging thought (that will not be expatiated here for reasons of scope) refers to the entanglement of the body’s occupation with the mind’s preoccupation. People located in the public places can have multivalent ‘public’ mindsets. Such states of minds refer to a mental attitude that determines how people interpret and respond to a situation, in this case - the being in the public and with the public.

When people go out to the public realm, they can be in roughly three disparate mental states. They can be introverted within themselves, self-absorbed, such as in the cases of people jogging, doing ‘window-shopping’ etc. They can be in the public realm for practical needs (for example, when moving from the tram to the office), in an indifference mindset, to both themselves and to their surroundings. Lastly, they can go out to the public realm in order to interact with something or somebody, to actively take part in happenings (such as in cases of demonstrations, street feasts etc). When Arendt advocates the political life in the public realm, she refers to the third mindset (*Vita Activa*[^46]). For her, the first two mindsets are not worthy

[^46]: Arendt 1958: 12-17
to be part of public life. In my opinion, not only these two other mindsets are worthy, they are mandatory and eternal.

The linear fluxes may accommodate all three generic mindsets (self-absorption, in the case of lingering along window shops; indifference, when crossing the residential street getting back home from work; and active, when participating in a religious procession or a political march). The centrifugal / centripetal fluxes pertain to mostly indifferent mindsets (getting in to or out from various focal points). Deployment will usually convey the self-absorbed mindset (when sitting in a café) or the active mindset (smoking on some footsteps observing passers-by or when participating in a demonstration while holding a banner). The fast bypassing fluxes pertain mostly to the indifferent state of minds, as by their definition, people are encapsulated in small boxes (vehicles), detached from their surroundings (either in private cars or public containers), making the least effort to either interact or enjoy.

This above-mentioned thought does not evolve further in the research, which is the reason why it is only briefly adumbrated. It has nevertheless been mentioned in order to leave a small window open that will not only re-illuminate the idea of fluxes by adding an intricate stratum to it, but also leave room for its elaboration in the future.

3.2.3.1.3. Territories of the expected and the unexpected

The more a territory is dictated – the more likely that expected public movements (and practices) would appertain. The less dictated a territory is – the more chances for creative public happenings to occur. Although unconventional occurrences can always take place, even in territories that regulate conventional behavior, chances are that it will seldom happen.

Territories of expected practices consisting of the routine public behavior are those who mould the everyday. If architecture has a raison d’être – it would be exactly for imposing this everyday, preordained scenarios. On the other hand, territories that are left free of spatial regulations and dictations - leave room for the unexpected. In these cases, the people are in charge of the territory’s fate - enabling the accidental, the unforeseen or the unanticipated to generate events and sometimes make history.

Since under-dictated territories are often empty – they are bound to host unexpected occurrences. Because of their emptiness – everyday conventional occurrences are unlikely to happen inside of them, unless someone initiates them, which turns them respectively to be considered as events. Moreover, if these under-dictated territories are of a large size – then unexpected events are bound to take place. In other words – under-dictated territories would presumably instigate unexpected events.

Over-dictated territories are by definition imbued with colliding regulations of the everyday. They are therefore likely to be crowded with people. These are the areas where panhandlers, jugglers, pickpockets or pamphlet distributors are likely to be found, as they all need an
audience, and preferably a big one. Such areas are likely to instigate unexpected events on a small scale, perhaps divergences from the everyday life every now and then.

Dictated territories are by their definition flooded with everyday preordained occurrences. In cases that an event emerges, in an adjacent under-dictated territory - when the event is expanding in size and scope - adjacent territories of all kinds conjoin the territory wherein the event began. In other words, when a big event spreads - this territorial division turns insignificant.

The territorial division presented in this chapter alludes to the chances of various spatial conducts to come about – distinguishing between those pertaining to the everyday and to events. Scrutinizing the spatial features of form teaches about the areas designated for preordained public doings, as opposed to areas that are left free for creative use. The proportions between these two (the regulated and the free), their sizes, let alone their absence or presence – can reveal much about the prospects of potential human comportment in space, in spatial terms.

Revealing the possible expected/unexpected occurrences resulting from the methods of inquiry on the three types of territories will be further explained in chapter 3.3.3.

3.2.3.2. Content

Merleau-Ponty’s interpretation of the human perception of space has strong implications on the research’s objectives and methods of analysis. The social constellation of a place results from the perception of all encircling surfaces (or building elevations) accumulated together, all at once, based on the underlying assumption that it is legitimate to offer an altogether ‘view from everywhere’, a view that, according to Merleau-Ponty, does eventually exist in our minds.

After explaining how the human body apperceives space (see subchapter 3.3.2), this section attempts to explain what exactly the body perceives. It will hence dwell upon the objectives of perception - society and its establishments, drawing upon philosophical anthropology. This section will demonstrate how these two theoretical fields, the phenomenological perception in philosophy and the institutional imperative in the social sciences, converge in this research into a unique condition that pertains solely to the experiencing of public places.

3.2.3.2.1. Institutions and their establishments

Institutions are essentials of the self-preservation of the human species\textsuperscript{47}, helping to shape social life\textsuperscript{48}. They are patterns of behavior, traditional ways of acting, thinking and feeling, which are stable, valued and recurring\textsuperscript{49}. Unlike habits which are individual patterns of behavior, institutions are collectively shared and enacted modes of thinking, feeling and acting which are

\textsuperscript{47.} Zijderveld 2000:17
\textsuperscript{48.} Goodwin 1995:2
\textsuperscript{49.} Thomas et al. 1987:12; Goodin 1996: 21; Zijderveld 2000:22
passed on through education and emulation\textsuperscript{50}. Emil Durkheim called institutions ‘social facts’ and treated them methodologically as ‘things’. They are abbreviated, short-hand ‘names’ for scores of incredibly complex actions and interactions of individual human beings\textsuperscript{51}.

**Institutionalization** is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability\textsuperscript{52}, the process by which a given set of unites and a pattern of activities come to be normatively and cognitively held in place, and practically taken for granted as lawful (whether as a matter of formal law, custom, or knowledge)\textsuperscript{53}. Institutionalization is a historical process in which initially individual and subjective behavior is imitated, and then repeated in time to such an extent that it develops into a collective and objective pattern of behavior, which in turn exerts a stimulating and controlling influence on subsequent individual and subjective actions, thought and feelings. This creates taken-for-granted routines that may clear the way for the design of new actions, thought and feelings. Institutions not only satisfy human needs, biological and social, as the functionalist theory asserts, but offer much more for the human emotional and social development\textsuperscript{54}. Knight and Sened define institutionalization as “a problem of collective action”. For them, “social institutions provide groups of individuals with the means of resolving collective action problems and provide benefits of collective activity”. Maintenance and stability are crucial factors for that\textsuperscript{55}.

The most important function of institutions is their relief function. Just like culture, it is a second nature that surrounds human beings, adjusting the outer reality to their basic biological and emotional needs, something that, as Zijderveld contends - animals have in their instincts sufficiently for their survival\textsuperscript{56}. Institutions help people to reduce the overwhelmingly complexity of behavioral alternatives. If people did not learn to perform roles on the stage called ‘society’, they would act erratically. They would be exposed to clashes of inner impulses and outer stimuli and then parish into chaos and confusion\textsuperscript{57}. When institutions lose their grip over people, an institutional phase-out appears. According to Gehlen\textsuperscript{58}, this phase-out took place in western societies ever since the industrial revolution, intensified after WWII, and once more in contemporary IT revolution\textsuperscript{59}. As much as post-modern individuals may dream of life without limits\textsuperscript{60} – they will have to cope with the biological bottom line that human existence is

\textsuperscript{50} Zijderveld 2000:22
\textsuperscript{51} ibid:28
\textsuperscript{52} Goodwin1995:22
\textsuperscript{53} Thomas et al. 1987:13
\textsuperscript{54} Zijderveld 2000: 32-33
\textsuperscript{55} Knight & Sened 1995:2
\textsuperscript{56} Zijderveld 2000: 52-56
\textsuperscript{57} ibid 71
\textsuperscript{58} The theory of human action (lead by Gehlen, a prominent representative of philosophical anthropology) which was also the theory of institutions and institutionalization – should be seen as a brand of ‘empirical philosophy’. Gehlen’s anthropology took the human action, and not the mind as its point of departure (Zijderveld 2000: 52). In the first half of the 20th century – there were two philosophical schools of thought which did not develop into ideological –isms, and which, probably for that very reason, were not able to maintain their place in the center of philosophical discourse in the past few decades – phenomenology and philosophical anthropology. Both claimed ‘scientific’ status and tried, not always successfully, to shield their philosophical methodology from metaphysics and ideology. However, both of them have been seminal for the sociology of knowledge and the related school of sociological thought, known as cultural sociology. This research and its pivotal conceptions lie exactly on the intersection of these two philosophical currents. Here institutions and institutionalization play a crucial role (ibid: 43-4).
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid: 57
\textsuperscript{60} Referring to many postmodern philosophers who propagate the anti-institutional mood (ibid 13)
impossible without institutions. In other words, according to Zijderveld - there is an institutional imperative.

The basic human actions and interactions – love relations, procreation, economic production and consumption, political power and authority, religious rites and ceremonies, work and leisure, etc. – are proven by cultural anthropologists to be universal. Notwithstanding, such universal institutions can change and modify according to the changing conditions and contexts of disparate cultures.

Institutions are traditional artifacts, which existed before we were born, and will probably continue to exist after we have died. They are handed over from generation to generation. They cannot be the same as they were a hundred, fifty or even fifteen years ago. Even in the twenty-first century, we will not be able to survive without institutions, albeit they will be quite different from what they were in the nineteenth and have been for most of the twentieth century. The idea that contemporary institutions are socially constructed and handled by human beings according to their needs and interests has become widely spread. Today they are, and must be, far less rigid and authoritarian, without, however, losing their capacity to both control and stimulate human behavior.

In the pre-modern world institutions were religiously motivated and driven structures which men were admonished not to alter as they had been handed down by God or the gods. After the Enlightenment, the place of (non-rational) God was assumed by (rational) Nature which was subsequently defined as the ultimate legitimacy. Even today, patterns of behavior that are clearly ‘cultural’ are defined as being ‘natural’ and ‘normal’.

Modernization has changed the ethos of institutions significantly. The further and deeper modernization had advanced – the ‘thinner’ and ‘lighter’, the more ‘open’ and ‘flexible’ institutions have become. This is not the demise of institutions but rather an intensive transformation of their nature. Institutions are morally less binding. Obviously, prime institutions such as marriage, family, neighborhood, school, state, law and so forth are still present and functioning. Yet, they are no longer the thick, greedy, grave and closed institutions they were not that long ago.

Institutions have a much wider and more universal character then any particular setting they constitute.

Religious beliefs and rites are universal, the Roman Catholic Church or the Russian Orthodox Church are not. It is heuristically helpful to distinguish the universal patterns of behavior from

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61 Zijderveld 2000: 71
62 Ibid: 37
63 Ibid: 17
64 Ibid: 30
65 Ibid: 123-124
66 Ibid: 17
67 Ibid: 12568 According to Meyer et al., this is true in two closely related senses. First, these institutions embody universalized claims linked to rules of nature and moral purpose. Particular conflicts or claims are couched within general cultural elements that are in principle applicable everywhere, across class and societies. Second, specific institutional claims and definitions tend in practice to be very similar almost everywhere., in Thomas et al. 1987:27
their particular, historically and culturally specific, empirical realizations. The former could be called institutions, the latter institutes. This conceptual distinction helps to grasp adequately the phenomenon of cultural change. Historical changes thus occur on the ‘superficial’ level of the institutes, and not on the ‘deeper’ level of the institution. Institutes are therefore the empirical and historical realizations of institution. Zijderveld claims that institutions change very slowly, if at all\(^69\).

Following Zijderveld distinction, the research clings to the idea that institutions are historically universal, legitimizing the comparison of social constellations between various publicnesses, whether in different époques or in different cultural contexts. Since the nature of institutions persists, despite their changing particular manifestations (institutes) – the research therefore asserts that institutions can indeed be compared, offering a bridge over different time zones and geographies.

The concept of institution is not equivalent to that of organization. Institution refers to substantial rationality, to authority, and to ideological values and norms. Organization refers to functional rationality, to differentiations of power, to formal structures\(^70\). These two terms refer to two dimensions of socio-cultural reality, not to two components or sectors of reality. The rationality of an institution is not merely functional, but due to the values and norms involved rather substantial. In this type of rationality, the concern is not with the careful matching of ends and means, but rather with the definition of ends to be realized\(^71\).

Organizations, the functional rationality of institutions, must reside, inevitably, in buildings. Every organization reflects the motivations, interests and missions of its corresponding institution, whether these have a specific architectural expression or not. Even in case an organization has no ‘formal’ or immanent architectural expression – the mere presence of the organization, for everything it represents, is enough to make people grasp buildings as imbued and saturated with ideology, the ideology of institutions. Expressions of organizations can be architectonic (such as in the case of religious structures) but can also pertain to other modes of visual communication (i.e. billboards, advertisements). In other words, the motivations, interests and missions of an institution are indirectly represented through and reflected in the face of the buildings where organizations reside. When institutions move out, and new ones move in, even when their accommodating building remains intact - the permanent architectonic artifact utters a completely new expression, as the building is dressed with a new countenance.

\(^69\) Zijderveld 2000: 38-41  
\(^70\) Ibid: 22  
\(^71\) Ibid: 35-36
3.2.3.2. Surfaces of buildings as the faces of institutions

In practical terms, the only way to perceive architectural form is through its elevations - whether exterior or interior. Because the term ‘elevation’ is strongly linked to the canonic architectural jargon, the research rather refers to surfaces as the spatial planes to be examined, being a scale-less concept. A sole surface can consist of multiple elevations (for example, a street façade consisting of manifold row houses), and vice versa. Surfaces can consist of multifarious materials, design styles, transparency levels and so forth. Surfaces can also comprise of mere images - of remote sceneries, two-dimensional pictures or landscapes. Surfaces can be straightly flat, curvilinear or molded in any shape.

Form is defined in this research as an accumulation of surfaces.

The appearance of buildings have always been, and still are, preeminent in the architectural discourse, revolving around their morphological attributes and what these represent, in terms of predilections. For example, inclinations towards technology (and its subsequent metal and glass materials), biology (with shapes and structures such as blobs), environmentalism (re-use of water, vegetation or recycled materials as part of infrastructures) etc. The ways buildings are designed, whether in contemporary or ancient orders (modern, classical and all that is in between), are part of design paradigms and their ideologies, and have usually less to do with the institutions these buildings accommodate. Buildings have a dual role in the public place: as meanings and as appearances. Beyond matters of aestheticism, buildings are the storehouses of institutions. As such, they have a greater impact on the public place’s ethos.

3.2.3.2.3. The social constellation of a place embedded in the form

The surfaces that encompass a public place, whether interior or exterior (depending on the space – if it is open or closed, introverted or extroverted, etc.) veil establishments behind, which represent institutions of society, casting their social statuses and ideologies onto the public domain. I would assert that design issues of these surfaces (i.e. materials and colors), albeit touching upon the senses, are merely secondary in their affect on space. However, the social message that surfaces cast onto the public domain through the institutions that they represent - is primary. This social message transcends matters of sensations or aesthetics.

To give an example, two identical buildings in shape, size and materials that accommodate two different institutions can nevertheless cast a completely different aura on their abutting space. For instance, a bank and an apartment building can be hosted in similar forms, whereas their adjacent public space will be grasped differently. Every institution that exposes itself to the public realm is sensed by the people, whether consciously or not. The window curtains or lighting fixtures peeking from the interior reveal much about the institution in front of which one stands: an apartment building will consist of different curtains and diverse furnishing while...
a bank would probably chose commercial lighting or industrialized blinds for all floors, in all rooms. On the other hand – the same institution can be accommodated in a different form, in terms of design and material, and nevertheless cast a similar message onto the public domain. For example, a department store can dwell in a classical renovated marble building or in a modern glass building, yet, it will cast similar social traits onto its imminent surroundings.

This notion contradicts Aldo Rossi’s idea of immutable architectural artifacts. He contends that functions bear only little meanings for architectural primary elements, celebrating the eternity of architecture. I believe that function indeed has a smaller relevance, but that the institutions accommodated within the architectural artifacts do bear significant impact on their adjacent public places. Functions have no immediate connections with institutions, which mean it is probably the wrong concept to use. Comparing these two points of views quite figuratively - Rossi sees form clearly, stripped out of meanings, whereas I opt to see the social meanings behind form clearly, and their ‘pallid’ (‘semi-transparent’ like) form standing before them. It is a matter of focus tuning: Rossi focuses on the buildings and walls, I prefer to focus a little bit behind the walls, in the spaces behind and the roles that these hold for society.

Although materials and design paradigms are secondary to this research, this does not mean to say that they are insignificant in their affect on publicness. On the contrary – materials and design reveal latent characteristics on the social “institutes” standing behind it, aspects such as wealth, ideological preferences and so forth. A surface inlaid with intricate stone details or clad with marble reflects a different approach to wealth then that of plaster, just as bare materials (i.e. concrete, steel structures) radiate elementariness and ‘truthfulness’ as opposed to sophisticated concealing materials. A mirror curtain window radiates distance and aloofness by obstructing any possible gazes into the interior, thus preventing any eyes contact. On the other hand, a surface is communicative and cordially inviting when it is transparent, waiving on visual and cognitive partitions between outer and interior spaces. In other words, materials are emblems of societal forces and ideologies. They should therefore be analyzed as such, unveiling messages and symbols.

Scrutinizing all surfaces that encompass a place can offer a list of the establishments that inhabit a place. Since the various particular establishments are of less significance, but rather what they represent - bringing them into a common denominator by transcribing them into recurring generic institutions - allows for the construction of the place’s social constellation, a portrayal that can easily be compared with other historical portrayals, or with portrayals of other cultural contexts.

The social constellation is the face of the place. It can be envisioned. Once the social institutions are graphically depicted – it is rather easy to sense the place’s true nature and distinct character in terms of its societal role.

75. Edward Soja writes beautifully about the cordiality of buildings in Amsterdam, by mentioning windows and their transparently and opacity. In Deben et al. 2000: 117-141
Within the colorful display of all actors (institutions and privates), some can be more dominant than others. Bold or delicate colors represent the dominance of institutions or establishments. Not only the social constellation can be envisioned – it can also imply which of the institutions comprise of the place’s leading actors.

According to Zijderveld, institutions are often held to be structures that curb creativity and stifle individual freedom. In a sense they do, but apart from being unavoidable, institutions can and usually do create a space in which creative ideas, feelings and actions emerge, while they stipulate the appropriate contexts (the limits as well as potentialities) of liberty. Institutions set creative energies free precisely because they liberate us from the time and energy consumed in task to plan our actions, thoughts and feelings each time we set out to act in and upon the world76.

The research hypothesizes that the content of a place projects on the content of occurrences taking place within it. It will attempt to investigate whether such a relation indeed exists - if social forces and interests inhabiting a place influence the content of potential occurrences.

The methods of analyzing institutions will be expatiated in subchapter 3.3.2.2.

3.2.3.3. Context

A place has a local and a global dimensions: it is a multivalent arena that functions in its own right, but it also part of a wider system. Being part of a wider whole may change these place’s role and meaning significantly.

If the first two properties (spatiality and content) yield a picture that depicts the nature of a place, in terms of the potential public occurrences bound to come about in it – the third property (context) presented in this section – re-locates this picture in a wider context. This information adds to the so-called ‘absolute’ portrayal of a place the layer of relativity: do the surroundings of the public place change the chances of potential occurrences to come about in the place? Are these chances diminished or enhanced? Asserting that specific types of occurrences are likely to come about in a place because of its spatial and sociological configurations – how do the chances for these potential occurrences to realize change, if one takes into consideration the rest of the possibilities located in the approximate and distant areas of the urban surroundings? Do they grow bigger or smaller?

The research’s aim is not to create a comprehensive portrayal of publicnesses scattered throughout the urban expanse, but rather to produce a rudimentary evaluation of the given place relative to the other options located around it. Such an assessment will shed a new light on the preceding (ostensibly ‘absolute’) portrayal, knowing it can alter because of its context. Metaphorically speaking, if the first two analyses create some colorful graphic expression of potential publicness – the third analysis will turn these colors either bolder or more pallid.

76. Zijderveld 2000: 22
3.2.3.3.1. Structures and places in urban design theories

The location of a place within the overall urban system was a meaningful issue to some recent theoretical approaches. One of the two prominent theoretical approaches that touch upon the idea of urban structures is Hillier’s et al.: “space syntax”\(^{77}\). Realizing the strong bond between spatial features and social behavior “spatial organization...has a crucial effect on the ways people move through urban area, and therefore on the ways people become automatically aware of each other”\(^{78}\). Hillier et al. prove that the architectural structure has an affect on society’s conduct, opting to delve into the form-society dyad. They claim that the independent features of a place are far less important, but rather that the dependant factors of “how a place fits into an area - is a more important determinant” for the production of urbanity\(^{79}\). In other words, the context can sometimes be more significant then the essence of a place, as the former alters the latter.

**Hillier’s idea of connections and concatenations**

Hillier acknowledges the significance of the location of a place within the structure. He suggests the concept of depth as one of the most important relational properties: depth exists where it is necessary to pass through a number of intervening spaces in order to reach a specific location. Depth alludes to the complexity of the system – in terms of the number of intricate connections existing between places and nodes. The more connections a place has with other nodes – the higher its indices are. According to this method, depth can be seen and experienced from any given point inside or outside the system, and then turned into a graph. It results in a precise numerical index of relative depth or shallowness of any spatial system, as seen from one particular point. This way, Space Syntax assigns a value to every space that characterizes its relation to all other spaces in the system, thus providing a global index for each space\(^{80}\).

Assessing the depth of a given place is not in the interest of this research, but rather, to bring forward the idea that the status of the place’s connectivity can be evaluated, in terms of its relative position to its overall system.

**Lynch’s idea of significant places**

Some decades earlier, Kevin Lynch formulated his theory of perception of the urban realm. He identified the legible constituents of the urban structure that people perceive, which serve as guidance in finding one’s way around\(^{81}\). The fact that people are aware of *spaces* means that they are in fact, *places*. They carry meanings for the people who use them. Places can be of

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\(^{77}\) Space syntax is a method analyzing patterns of architectural space, both in the building and the urban level, investigating how well environments work, rigorously relating social variables to architectural forms. This method demonstrates how the spatial organization of towns and urban areas affects patterns of movement and use according to the defined principles – intelligibility, continuity of occupation and predictability. The method grasps the urban structure as a two-dimensional system, which does not mean that the third dimension is unimportant but rather that people’s movement is limited to two dimensions.

\(^{78}\) Hillier et al. 1983: 49

\(^{79}\) Hillier et al. 1983: 49

\(^{80}\) Hillier et al. 1983: 54

\(^{81}\) Lynch identified five urban elements: paths, edges, districts, landmarks, and nodes, in Lynch 1960: 46-83
various sorts: streets, squares, commercial centers, etc. Referring to his division - districts, edges and landmarks are not conventional places where people physically stay, but are in fact spatial features of urban areas that are observable from without. Paths and nodes are on the other hand spaces where people can occupy. According to Lynch, paths tend to be linear in their spatial attribute (i.e. lines), whereas nodes are more concentrated and introverted, because they serve as the connecting point at which several lines come together. Hiller rejects this rigid division to linear and concentric spaces propagating for “the idea that every point in the system has both a one- and a two-dimensional aspect, which is different from the idea of streets and squares, where spaces are expected to be either one- or two-dimensional”\textsuperscript{82}. In both cases, regardless of terminology and even methodology- it is quite clear that the two theoreticians acknowledge the elongated and concentric spaces as generic types.

\section*{3.2.3.3.2. A new way of perceiving urban structures}

This research wishes to offer a new way of perceiving urban systems, which sets the grounds for the assessment of publicness, invoked by the insights and distinctions of Hiller and Lynch. Urban systems can be grasped as consisting of two generic elements: nodes and connections. Nodes have societal roles: functions and social significance. As such, they shall be termed henceforth ‘places’. Connections are significant for doing the work of connecting, a pragmatic space that usually bears a single purpose. As such, connections are subsumed under the term ‘spaces’. Places bear various meanings for people, above their functional role. Spaces tend to carry just the functional role. Places can appear in multifarious shapes - linear, concentric etc. Spaces tend to be linear, especially when they serve as passages, leftovers, the residues of places. The geometrical shapes of spaces are intrinsic to their pragmatic role. A place is also a space, geometrically, functionally and conceptually. A space is not necessarily a place.

What defines a place or a space? it is ultimately a distinction built upon personal impressions and experiences. If Hiller attempted to offer a rather scientific study of urban structures (the study of spaces) and Lynch referred to the subjective perception of these structures (the study of places), then the conceptual structure presented in this research superimposes both the cognitive (places) and the rational (spaces).

The urban structure of places is not identical to the structure of spaces but is in fact assimilated in it. The structure of spaces is always broad in expanse, incorporating the structure of places in it.

\textsuperscript{82} According to Hillier, every space has two features "their one-dimensional extension is termed axially. The width or the two-dimensional extension which varies considerably is termed convexity. This means that every point has both a local and a global dimension. The way the two come together distinguishes the different morphological features of different types of urban areas. Hillier et al. 1983: 50
3.2.3.3.3. The position of a place in the urban structure

The task of this research is to rank the given place relative to the encircling places located around it. It is therefore mandatory to identify the various nodes (places) located on the urban map, and their interconnections (spaces).

Two features define the status of a place in a system, just like organs in the living body or entities in the machines – uniqueness (the functional role of the ‘organ’, especially if it exclusive) and connectedness (its location relative to- and relation with- other organs). In other words, uniqueness is defined by comparing the place to other places. Connectedness is defined by studying spaces around the place. These reveal the geometrical relations of the place with its adjacent places.

**Exclusivity**, or the place’s role relative to others, can be crudely assessed by its uniqueness relative to other places within the precinct.

**Connectivity** is measured in terms of accessibility, convenience of use - believing it is not enough to hold a significant role in the structure but also crucially important for a space to retain practicability. Both attributes can be roughly evaluated, studying the interconnections found between the given node and its counterparts.

Connectivity can be scrutinized from within, by identifying the place’s outlets. Outlets are openings that permit entrance or exit to-or-from the place. An outlet inevitably leads to another place. However, connectivity can be also learned from the analysis of maps that indicate interconnections.

There are two sorts of outlets: those serving human traffic and those serving vehicular traffic that carries human beings. Outlets are evident in openings in the Form that enable passing through, serving as entrances or exits to and for the place; Vehicular outlets consist of various apparatuses, usually ‘boxes of all sorts - trains, cars, carriages, coaches, barges etc. The size of these apparatuses and their mechanical systems depend, naturally, on technological conditions. The vehicular traffic can be spatially conspicuous (i.e. street cars) or obfuscated (i.e. undergrounds) both at once. In every case, it dominates the way an urban scene functions.

The amount of vehicular systems present in a place relative to the amount of systems available in the entire city depicts one aspect in the place’s level of practicability.

When a place is closely linked to other prominent public places in a city, chances for interconnected occurrences is higher. There are three types of interconnected occurrences: those that begin in one place and end in another, for example – a parade (a moving occurrence). The second are occurrences that take place on various locations simultaneously such as feasts (simultaneous occurrences). The third reflects swarming occurrences that can stream into adjacent spaces by pullulating people (a growing occurrence). The higher the level of connectivity is – the higher chances for occurrences to come about in general, and to interlinking sprawling occurrences in particular.
The more unique a place is, in terms of its role in the urban field - the more likely that particular, unique or pertinent occurrences will adhere to it. Places that seem ostensibly similar and thus offer the same possibilities as their counterparts – hold smaller chances for occurrences to come about, as the chances are now divided between numerous places.

The statuses of places can be learned from textual and visual references such as commercials, advertisements, brochures etc., and from historical occurrences that came about in it: when an event takes place in one location and not in another, it conveys information about both locations. A place can be unique for its physical attributes: bigger in size, longer, more beautiful, or just different. A place can be unique for symbolic reasons, for hosting historical precedents, accommodating special institutions, collective memories, habits, myths and the like. Information as such can only derive from texts.

This research has no intentions to rethink or redefine theories of urban structures. Rather, the aim of this research is to enable a simple ‘ranking’ of places, to offer an uncomplicated method that classifies places by their contexts, which is needed in the overall estimation of publicnesses for turning ostensible ‘absolute’ appraisals into ‘relative’ ones.
3.3. Capturing publicness – methods of analysis

This part of the chapter renders the theoretical approach applicable, suggesting empirical methods of analyses that comprise the pedestals for an emerging applied theory. The methods presented henceforth are backed themselves by various theoretical approaches and literary sources, generating an altogether original empirical endeavor that is construed on concatenated actions, related to and derived from the architectural expertise (namely, the drawing of blueprints, outlines, schemes etc.)

The first phase consists of data collecting and sorting. This phase is presented in section 3.3.1.1. The end of this phase will set forth interim conclusions, clearing the way for the following steps.

The second phase consists of the empirical analyses of form and occurrences (potential and real publicness, respectively), manifested in drawings: schematizing and blueprinting of various sorts.

The third phase explains how the analyses and their resulting products, can be transcribed into graphical expressions, and how these, in return, utter potential and real publicnesses.

In due course, both graphical utterances can be compared. Their comparison will enable an appraisal of real publicness and its historical transformations and of potential publicness and...
the power of form in its creation. It will then enable the evaluation of the research theoretical underpinnings.

3.3.1. Data

3.3.1.1. Data sources

3.3.1.1.1. Historical and contemporary data

The data collected for the analyses of the Dam Square is multifarious and multivalent. Since this case study is an historical one stretching till current days (aiming to offer comparison between contemporary and past publicnesses) - both historical and contemporary data were equally addressed.

The essential differences between historical and contemporary data must be acknowledged: first, accessibility to information is utterly different. Whereas historical information is forever gathered and written by intermediaries, contemporary information can be accessed directly by the researcher choosing when, how and what to study. It may seem that historical information is therefore a secondary source whereas contemporary information is a primary one. But in fact, it is even more complicated, as historical sources are distinguished between primary and secondary according to the traditional convention. This orthodoxy is gradually abated nowadays, realizing that every human artifact is always subjective, despite its attempt to represent a supposedly objective institution or authority.

It is important to note that data on the classical period derived from essentially different sources than data on the modern period.

Second, the researcher’s ability to check the information’s reliability is utterly different. Both historical and contemporary data must be validated, each in a different manner. “Traditionally, historians have referred to their documents as ‘sources’ as if they were filling their buckets from the stream of truth.” It is quite clear nowadays that a whole chain of intermediaries stands between the historian and his or her source - early historians, archivists who arranged the documents, scribes who wrote them or the witnesses who recorded them. This research therefore endeavored to cross information by using different historical sources on the same event, as much as this was possible.

Contemporary data stands not any less at the risk of being partial or biased. In both cases, multifaceted converged information is crucially important, since in all types of sources the reliability of data must be suspected. Yin delineates the data sources deployed in contemporary case study researches: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-

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83. Munz, in Bentley 1997:854
84. The changing point from ‘classic’ to ‘modern’ is debatable, but for the sake of the research it clings to the technological and urban changes that the enlightenment era brought about, namely the first half of the 19th century). The reason for change in the sources of data is naturally the invention of the camera.
85. Burke 2001:13
observation and physical artifacts\textsuperscript{86}. A scrutiny reveals that sources which do not necessitate the direct presence of the researcher - pertain to historical researches as well. In all cases he asserts, one should use multiple converging sources and try to maintain a chain of evidence, in order to increase the reliability of information on the case study\textsuperscript{87}. In other words, a recorded event that happened in present tense, does not necessarily turn it more trustworthy.

Third, historical and contemporary data might emerge in different mediums, although they can present similar outcomes (paintings and webcams offer both a visual portrayal of a place). Photography changed the nature of the visual world and its representation, adding to the world of painting. Artistic 21\textsuperscript{st} photography is a new medium of documentation evidently different then that of 19\textsuperscript{th} century, just as art in general and paintings in particular offer completely different understandings changed throughout the centuries. Historical and contemporary sources therefore lean on disparate mediums.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{3.3.1.1.2. Verbal and visual data}
\end{itemize}

Data is divided also to visual and literal. In both cases– the author depicting the information on the occurrence is enlisted as my observer. Visual information must be separated from verbal depictions, especially when referring to space’s physical attributes. \textit{Form}, or the architecture of the Dam Square and its surroundings, appeared mostly in visual sources (paintings, engravings and architectural drawings), while occurrences taking place in its precinct (categorized under events or everyday) derived from both verbal descriptions as also visual documentations. Sources on contemporary Dam Square are different in essence and comprise of websites, web-cams, artists’ work and of course, personal observations.

The architectural historical survey in general and this one in particular, is inclined by nature to use visual evidence. “Images… record acts of eyewitnessing”\textsuperscript{88}, are by definition subjective. It is mandatory to understand the limitations of visual sources (portraits, iconographies, material culture etc) before using them in the research, as explained in length by Burke.

In this regard, one must emphasize the fact that Dutch paintings tended to depict the everyday life of Amsterdammers in the simplest way possible, especially when compared to other strands in the art of painting. It is nevertheless very clear that as much as renaissance Dutch artists tried to cling to reality, they used abounding symbols and emblems of their culture that should be acknowledged before embarking on the analyses\textsuperscript{89}.

Whether pertaining to visual or verbal documentation, there are those who tend towards the depiction of ‘truth’, and those who believe in offering an interpretation of it. The reputed historian Mak who had written extensively on Amsterdam is known for his exaggerated and colourful

\begin{itemize}
  \item 86. Yin 2003: 83-97
  \item 87. Yin 2003: 105
  \item 88 Burke 2001:14
  \item 89 Howell & Prevenier 2001: 104
\end{itemize}
displays of ‘realities’. At any case - all interpretations of history are thematic, narratives, just as every understanding of historical facts or processes ultimately lies in the eyes of the beholder.

3.3.1.3. Sources of this research

In this research, historical data was collected from texts of various sorts – books and articles, art works and also from documents found in the Amsterdam archives that can be considered primary sources – usually recorded by people in their time. Contemporary data was collected from books, articles, art works (usually photography), but also from two sources that pertain to recent days: the internet (various web-sites and a web-cam located on Kalverstraat next to the Town Hall); and personal observations documented in two different times throughout the span of research, altogether with other people’s observations, whether familiar to me (such as friends from Amsterdam documenting for me), or unfamiliar (such as people posting their own documentation on blogs and private web-sites).

In all sources of data, visual and textual, historical or contemporary - the author depicting the information on the occurrence is enlisted as my observer. It is self-evident that humans, most certainly in the past just as nowadays, have had and have depicted a subjective standpoint (whether their own, their patron’s, etc). Since my interest is not so much in way an event was interpreted, but more in the actuality of its existence (whether it truly happened on this specific site, why, where exactly etc.) - subjective standpoints are ultimately reliable because they say that an event did come about. Naturally, there were authors who created documents according to rumors, stories, myths etc. In such cases of incertitude, and since I am interested in “real” happenings and not in myths, the juxtaposition of documents referring to the same incident but derived from more than two authors was essential, preferably one author that has already tackled the question of the incident’s true existence.

The major part of the data presented in this research seems to be veritable and unarguable. The research begins in the 16th century, much because the documentation of historical evidences was rather progressive in Amsterdam, and because the 17th century fire-fighting systems were introduced, therefore documents remained. If there is a doubt about the actual coming-about of any occurrence – it is indicated. When an event is indisputably known to be a myth (and there were two such cases) – it was left out.
The types of sources used in this research are briefly outlined in this chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visual</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photography</strong> (as art, by photographers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Art</strong> (various techniques)</td>
<td>The web in the last 5 years, and especially a web-cam located in Kalverstraat (a few meters from the Dam) giving a constant online peek to the place, in real time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art books, museums, and museums’ websites.</td>
<td><strong>Television</strong> (freely accessible on the web)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal documentation</strong> (myself and my friends, always photographs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Visual art is sparse and much less indicative]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Textual</strong></td>
<td><strong>Books</strong> on modern history (since the enlightenment), or on contemporary Dutch situation (culture, society, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Books</strong>: since first sources are not easily accessible (such as certificates, recordings etc, for logistic reasons as well as for linguistic ones) - second-sources, which are analyses of first-sources by historians, supply the information for this research.</td>
<td><strong>Regarding contemporary information: also – e-journals, and web articles</strong> (usually the formal sites of institutions around the Dam Square)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table iii/3-2: the list of data sources in classical and modern times
Regarding the visual modern data sources, the following story can enlighten the complex ways of my 21st century research work. In the last two years I have been entering the web-cam site\(^{90}\) on a regular basis (about 4-5 times a week), to see occurrences taking place on Kalverstraat (the most important commercial pedestrian street connected to the Dam Square). I can easily spot the difference between holidays and working days, between tourists and locals, between everyday and events. I see through the web-cam when seasonal sales begin, and when tourist seasons end. On April 31\(^{st}\), 2005 I have seen garbage on the street in unusual amounts. Browsing the web, I entered a few Dutch electronic journals (written in English)\(^{91}\), to learn that the annual queen’s birthday festivities took place the night before in the Dam Square and inside the new church. The official royal website\(^{92}\) revealed the queen’s itinerary on that day, and her location in the Dam Square during the evening. The official Dutch television web site\(^{93}\) offers the four major TV news programs (morning, noon, evening and night) on the web. Knowing when the queen had visited the Dam, I easily found the news program in which her visit was covered (some three minute report quite in the middle of the program). This information was possible to reach although I hardly understand Dutch, and despite the fact that most web sites are written in Dutch, thanks to the on-line translator of the web\(^{94}\) that offers free translations from Dutch to English by a mouse click. Since the TV report was in Dutch and was therefore incomprehensible (for me), I drove 8 minutes to a family friend (Dutch speaking) who lives close by in Haifa, to get his help with translating. This was an unforgettable experience, feeling I am physically and mentally situated in one part of the world yet I am also very much in another.

During the surveys on the modern part of the Dam Square, a few Dutch friends helped me connect to events and to information in better ways than I could ever have done myself, just by drawing my attention to websites and news articles. I am forever indebted to them all.

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\(^{90}\) http://www.amsterdam.info/webcam/ in Amsterdam.info

\(^{91}\) for example http://www.iamsterdam.com/ and especially http://www.iamsterdam.com/news/press_room or http://www.amsterdamnews.net/ or http://www.simplyamsterdam.nl/news/news_frontpage.php and there are many more...


\(^{93}\) http://www.nos.nl/nosjournaal/voorpagina/index.html

\(^{94}\) http://www.babelfish.av.com/tr
Data collecting and assorting (preliminary content analyses)

While reading books about the history of Holland in general and Amsterdam in particular, every occurrence that took place on the Dam Square or in its precinct or that had implications on the Dam Square was marked and recorded. Information on the Dam Square was divided to two: either pertaining to its physical attributes (new buildings, demolitions, renovations etc.), or to human incidents that took place within it (riots, executions, markets, festivities etc). After the preliminary scanning of data on the events that took place in the Dam, a lengthy search in the Amsterdam archives for visual material followed. It gave the opportunity to juxtapose textual information with visual one, while studying the source (mostly who the author was, and when the source was created), thus hoping to reassure its level of reliability.

Every piece of information about the Dam received an automatic classification with an icon. Icons establish the preliminary sifting of data into the various categories, preparing the grounds for an easier analysis afterwards.

When pertaining to matters of Form (the physical environment), data was indicated with the letter F. There was a distinction between information on spatiality (layout), the social constellation (s.c.) or the structure (structure). In some cases, a piece of data could have been labeled by more than one of these properties, in rare cases even all three.

**Spatiality**: indication on human movement around layout \( \sim \) indication that a building (with some institution) exists \( \text{□} \)

**Social constellation**: the indication of institution \( \text{□} \) hauls annexed colors \( \text{□} \text{□} \text{□} \text{□} \text{□} \), testifying for the type of institutions (or societal establishment) residing in the building. The legend of colors is explicated in length in the next subchapter, 3.3.2

**Structure**: information on the exclusivity of the place \( \text{★} \) or of its being less exclusive but part of a larger whole \( \text{●} \text{●} \), information on the connectivity of the place \( \text{●} \) or on its location outside the center, when it is badly connected \( \text{●} \text{●} \)

In cases of data pertaining to Occurrences, information was indicated with the letter O. There was a distinction between everyday life (everyday) and special events (event). It was sometimes hard to draw the exact line between the two. Some events are recurring (i.e. annual festivities, or death executions), just as the everyday can have peaks and rhythm (the ‘rush hours’ at the bourse during noon). Following these four fundamental situations, every occurrence got a befitting icon:

**Everyday**: indication of constant everyday occurrences \( \text{□} \) or everyday occurrences that have a rhythm, a local aberration \( \text{□} \text{△} \)

**Events**: indication of events that are recurring \( \text{△} \) or that are unique \( \text{★} \)

Every piece of information on the Dam Square that pertains both to the place itself (its
physicality—buildings and space) and to occurrences that came about in it - was collected and recorded. This data is presented below in a chronological list. All events taking place on and in the Dam Square are concisely described and classified according to the relevant information, attempting to establish solid foundations that will serve for further analyses. Data collecting and sorting (preliminary content analysis) is hence exemplified:

**1577 (November 23)** ▶️ O – event Forty Beggars gathered on the Dam, standing on the steps of the Waag to occupy it, beating drums, marching and shouting against monks, priests and nuns. (Mak 1994:87) **Pic 31: Fighting on the dam. Amsterdam**

The date of occurrence – the identity ‘badge’ according to which an occurrence can be identified.

Division of information into either “O” -information that pertains to occurrences taking place in the Dam Square, or “F” – information that pertains to changes in the form of the Dam Square (buildings, space, infrastructure etc). This initial division indicates whether this piece of information belongs to the physicality of space (and will later serve for the analyses of potential publicness) or to the human comportment in space (that will later serve the analyses of real publicnesses).

Occurrences are divided to either “event” or “everyday”. There are two types of ‘events’ (unique events or recurring events) and two types of ‘everydays’ (permanent occurrences or rhythm-based occurrences) for all the information about everyday and events - see subchapter 3.1.3.

The most befitting type is then graphically represented with an icon:

A brief description of the event or the physical change that took place on / in the Dam Square. The extracted description only consists of information that pertains to the research. The text also refers to the original source or literature that mentioned the information, where one can find further details. Icons depicting the societal motivations (represented with colored quadrangles) either appear in the end of the description or right after specific indications of their existence. To read more about the institutions / motivations of occurrences and their colors – see subchapter 3.3.2.2.

Reference to the visual data, if such exists (appearing in a compacted way at the end of the data accumulation).
3.3.1.3. Data reorganization: dividing the spans of research

After accumulating all data that pertains to the Dam Square\(^95\) and inserting it into a chronological chart, the resulted product evolved into a ‘re-edited history of the Dam Square’, which is a historical account discerned from the perspective of the Dam Square.

At this stage, subsequent to the data accumulation and prior to the analyses, the need to distinguish the spans for analyses and divide history into phases, takes place. This following phase entailed some rethinking about the research spans of investigation, knowing that the place’s ‘publicnesses’ have changed throughout the years, and that one must seize the moments (or eras) of change in order to identify the prevalent, distinct, exoteric, distinguishable and disparate publicnesses to be tested. The division to the eras was not a simple task: I opted to identify historical spans that are reputed and well known in literature and to people’s collective knowledge, spans that are ascribed to or associated with particular epochs and cultural settings, so that results can be intuitively compared by people vis-à-vis their prior perceptions. Inversely, I have tried to avoid definitions of spans that are not too familiar. At the same time, it was also crucial to establish spans that are distinct in character and that can be easily compared. Again, the motivation behind this division was to lay down the best conditions that I can think of, that would entail a clear comparison, one that can illuminate the latent prospects the theoretical construction, and one that will touch upon (even provoke) readers’ prior knowledge. Delineating an accurate historical portrayal was not at any moment part of this research tasks.

Returning to the basic premises of this research that potential publicness is defined by form and that real publicness is defined by real occurrences - the chronological chart of developments taking place in the Dam Square was rearranged accordingly. Data was roughly divided to two: the history of the form and the chronology of occurrences. Looking at the history of the Dam Square's form, separated from any social political or human developments - its chronology revealed the eras in which it underwent spatial changes and alterations as opposed to eras in which its form was abeyant.

Considering the historical development of public places in a more abstract manner, there are times in which places undergo significant physical changes (generating some temporary tumult in the way they are used), as there are times in which places function regularly, routinely. There are years of building expenditures, as there decades of relative stability. Although there are usually constant changes in the form, it is possible to detect eras in which the changes are minor as opposed to eras in which changes are notably significant. According to the research premises, publicness should be sampled during the times of relative stability if one wants to grasp differences between the various publicnesses. Since this research claims that potential publicness is affected by the changes in form - publicness and real publicness should be

\(^95\) Waiving on information on wider historical developments that relate to the city, society, politics, economy etc, (although these are inseparable from the history of the dam square) for reasons of scope. It is clear that many of the occurrences taking place on the Dam Square are ultimately the by-products of urban processes or of societal transitions. Unfortunately, since this in an endless pit of information - the research will not manage to encompass it all.
viewed and appraised vis-à-vis the changes in the Form.

Illustration iii/3-3: an abstract representation of historical division

The division of the Dam Square chronology into the six spans of research will be presented and explained in subchapter

3.3.2. Methods for analyzing form’s three properties (potential publicness)

The following section will list the analyses needed for revealing publicness and attaining the final desirable graphic expression.

The first phase necessitates a preparatory work of formulating a blueprint with the place’s layout: the architectural pedestals, the societal institutions accommodated within them and the map of the city at the time of the survey. In historical case studies, this phase is not at all simple, as it is very difficult to find plans that depict the exact situation one wants to analyze. In many cases, chances are that the exact plan had never even existed, which necessitates the formulation of a plan based on multifarious maps and other pieces of information (whether derived from visual sources or textual ones). When it comes to the identification of societal institutions, this task is even more complicated, especially in cases where institutions are not preeminent. Listing them one after the other is a detective work, that may end with some missing information, in some cases. However, even if information is partially missing, this fact can be utterly stated, bearing responsible consequences on the outcomes and their recapitulations.

The methods of analyses are presented in a concise list in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A preparatory phase</th>
<th>Products:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>formulating a blueprint of the initial spatial condition: form’s pedestals and a</td>
<td>drawings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>list of societal institutions that are accommodated within it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This following table subsumes a list of six analyzed stages (two stages of analysis on each property):

**Spatiality: studying the layout (plan)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I:</th>
<th>Phase II:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>delineating spatial movements and public fluxes</td>
<td>Demarcating the territories that are laden with dictations and expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drawings</td>
<td>drawings &amp; verbal conclusions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Content: studying the institutions (surfaces)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I:</th>
<th>Phase II:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>decoding the present institutions according to their basic motivations</td>
<td>Accumulating the colors altogether into one portrayal: social constellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored iconography</td>
<td>Colored iconography &amp; verbal conclusions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Context: studying the urban maps (outlets)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I:</th>
<th>Phase II:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mapping places and spaces in the whereabouts</td>
<td>Delineating the perceivable status of the place (exclusivity), and its position, relative to other spaces (connectivity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drawings</td>
<td>drawings &amp; verbal conclusions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following part will dwell into every phase in the analysis in a greater detail.
3.3.2.1. Spatiality

The aim of this section is to delineate the course of action in which one has to follow in order to find out form’s impact on the various territories in space, and how they in turn affect people’s comportment. For that, one must list and locate the prevailing architectural elements that stand on the ground, the pedestals of form, and study their affect on the spatial dispersal of people. This section demonstrates how to apply the theoretical understanding presented in section 3.2 (and in particular 3.2.3.1).

The implementation of the theoretical construction is achieved by following the below mentioned steps of analyses:

3.3.2.1.1. A preparatory phase: form’s pedestals and their impact on movements

In order to study form’s impact on the public’s dispersal on the ground, this section begins with the formulation of a plan that indicated the place’s layout and consists of form’s pedestals. The plan must denote all generic architectural artifacts that appear on the ground in the place: impervious walls, interactive walls, openings indicating the location of passages, hubs, routes etc.

Note: In the following graphical illustrations, the color black represents the physical layout of a place (a wall, an opening etc) whereas the red color represents the movement expected to be found/seen near it. A dashed red line represents mere visual contact.
**Linear progression**

**Impervious walls**: blocked, shut, unsocial, ungenial walls (such as fences, obstructed walls of buildings located on the streets etc.). Movement along such walls streams decisively, straightforwardly, without intermission.

**Communicative walls**: open, visual, engaging walls (such as commercial streets, passages, porticos, colonnades and constructed markets). Movement along these walls lingers, meanders, interacts actively (talking, touching, smelling) or passively (observing, gazing).

**Experiential lanes**: exposed to landscapes, sceneries, etc., such as promenades (along the beach, on mountain slopes etc); Movement in such linear headway is accompanied by experiences of various sorts, usually the exalted experiencing of nature.

Each of the abovementioned linear progressions does not only represent the occupation of the body, but also suggests the accompanied preoccupation of the mind. Drawing upon Lefebvre’s ideas on the rhythms of the urban realm, “everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm”⁹⁶ - it is quite clear that the first linear progression represents the most rapid pace of walking amongst the three, having little interest in the space around, but for crossing it. The second represents a slower rhythm for it involves some engagement with space, often on a voluptuary and hedonistic character. The third represents the slowest pace, expressing a leisurely comportment accompanied with pleasure, on the verge of meditating experiences. This is not to imply that all people in such spatial situations will necessarily comply with the rhythms presented here, but that generally speaking, one can think of these fluxes in such terms.

**Centrifugal and centripetal streams (local congestions)**

**Apertures**: openings, entrances, exits, sales counters, places of accelerating pressure, a point of importance or interest; Movement is always perpendicular to the wall, in bursting streams.

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⁹⁶. Elden in Lefebvre 2004: xv
**Station:** a hub, a node that concentrates people, creating temporal pressures and relieves, such as bus stations, underground entrances/exits etc.  

**Movement** from or to such nodes is concentric, dispersing to and gathering from every possible direction, provided the hub is located uninterruptedly in space.

These two local congestions depict a collision of space, people and time. The major difference between the two is the angle of the circle’s segment that is occupied by the public fluxes: the latter depicts a wavelet active area, in which all rings around the node are streamed with people. The former expresses a segmented active area, which tends to be perpendicular to the opening. The movements around such nodes are centripetal (towards the center) and centrifugal (from the center).

### Directionless dispersals

**Stands, counters and stalls:** interspersed elements, often transient, that fill space in a-hierarchical uniform diffusions.  

**Movement** in between such elements is directionless, aimlessly drifting, hither and thither wandering.

**Resting apparatuses:** Elements, on which one can sit, stay, linger and even squatter, such as chairs, benches, stairs or any protruding element above the ground that enables the human body to find rest on it. **Immobility** around such elements expresses the inverse, different yet crucially important type of un-movement held on public places.

These two modes of movement in space are not vectors as the rest of the movements depicted here, in the sense that they are not a physical force with a certain direction. Theoretically, they occupy space in a homogeneous manner (depending naturally on the layout of space). if the first movement depicts some soft and slow constant motion, the latter delineates a complete halt. Just like the linear fluxes, these two movements present a similar geometrical dispersal in two different rhythms.
Relocation (high speed bypassing via apparatuses)

**Passing alone in a box** (a car), done always on a road path. Movement is always efficient and fast, allowing for little interaction with- and gratification from- the space which it intersects.

**Passing in groups in boxes** (a public vehicle such as a bus, a train, barge etc.), in various geographical situations (above or below ground, on water). Movement is also efficient and fast, but it is done in a none-private setting.

Referring again to Lefebvre's rhythm analyses, these two types of passing modes are the fastest, the most efficient and the most pragmatic. They have one sole raison d'être and that is to change one's location in the quickest possible way. Although the body is indeed being transported from one place to another, it is barely motion in itself. In many ways, this is the most conspicuous movement of the body, in terms of relocation, but it involves the bluntest bodily passivity.

3.3.2.1.2. Stage I: delineating public fluxes (graphic analysis)

This phase involves the placement of all expected spatial fluxes onto the layout plan, aligned with architecture's pedestals. Such an indication will reveal the areas where people's movements are likely to take place. This can be done by clinging closely the list of architectural entities and their neighboring fluxes.

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Despite the lack of bodily occupation, the mind is preoccupied immensely in such situations: listening to radio or music, conversing on the phone, observing the scenery etc. Writers and musicians acknowledge this type of unique experience. In classical Amsterdam, the haulage boats were the settings for interesting conversations and interactions between people of different social classes. Even today, it is perhaps the only situation which enables a total social mix on a daily basis, remaining, still, a truly unique experience.
3.3.2.1.3. Stage II: territories of dictations (graphic analysis)

Indicating all the areas where publics’ movements are bound to take place because their neighboring architectural pedestals coerce some measure of bodily dictations – will result in the demarcation of areas that are regulated and designated, as opposed to areas left free (unregulated), and to areas that are congested with more than one type of regulation, designated for multifarious purposes. These represent dictated territories; under-dictated territories and over-dictated territories respectively.

The critical question here, which poses reservations on this method, is how to decide where exactly the line around the area of activity must be drawn, how to decide where to delimit the regulation in spatial means. The answer to this question lies in the objective of this research, as understood philosophically: it is probably not necessary to delimit spaces in their accurate dimensions or precise spatial layout, because the research opts to identify their existence and presence and not their sizes. The wish to identify existing territories with their intrinsic features, and to locate them in space – this is what this research hopes to attain and present. Whether the breadth of space where people walk measures one, two or three meters is less important, but the fact that a territory comprising of some linear shaped movement ordained for the walking of people – that is on the other hand paramount to the understanding of how people scatter in space. In other words, the presence of movements, their general shape and immanent nature - are what the research pursues. Sheer dimensions are of less importance to this research’s aims. It is again the place to remind that this research opts to offer qualitative portrayals rather than quantitative ones.
3.3.2.1.4. Stage III: territories of expectations (graphic analysis and verbal conclusions)

Being less interested in the specific types of bodily movements within each and every territory, but rather attuned to the mere presence or absence of dictations, the final graphic analysis refers to all types of dictations similarly, subsuming them under three categories: territories that contain dictations, no matter which type of dictation, are colored yellow in the illustration. Places that contain overlapping dictations or where there are no dictations at all – are marked in a two different colors to be distinguished for the rest. Over dictated territories are marked with blue, and under-dictated territories are marked with purple.

One can assume that in territories designated for particular uses and therefore accommodating specific spatial movements– that one is likely to confront expected everyday occurrences within them. In fact, if there is any ‘political’ power to architecture – it is exactly to be found in this type of territory that coerces peoples’ moving about. This does not mean that so-called abnormal comportment (namely, unexpected occurrences) will not find place in such territories, but rather, that the higher chances are to find the preordained.

Except for the ‘dictated’ territories, there are two additional types of terrains: the first consist of colliding dictations, usually two and more. Such over-dictated territories accommodate people and activities in condensed and overlapping situations, to which Alexander refers in his famous essay and aspires to achieve by his theories. These areas are the places in which one is most likely to expect street vendors, paupers, jugglers, pamphlet distributors etc., for two reasons: one is the abounding passers-by crossing such places, offering a sound audience. The other is the fact that such areas are not perceived as being part of any building or attached to any institution, which means that the various street occupations will not be perceived as trespassing. In the illustration, over-dictated areas are colored blue. These are the areas where one can assume to find deviating occurrences on the everyday, which are ‘unexpected everyday’ occurrences.

Lastly, apart from the dictated areas and the condensed over-dictated areas, there seems to be territories that are left empty, without any regulation or dictation. Such areas are termed here ‘under-dictated’ territories, indicated in the illustration with purple. These are terrains where architecture is distant enough to refrain from bearing any direct influence on the everyday pragmatic level. Such spaces are left to be creatively exploited by people. The way they might use such territories thus depends on their culture, conventions, needs and so forth. These are the places where unexpected events are ultimately expected.

As he writes: “In Berkeley at the corner of Hearst and Euclid, there is a drugstore, and outside the drugstore a traffic light. In the entrance to the drugstore there is a newsrack where the day’s papers are displayed. When the light is red, people who are waiting to cross the street stand idly by the light; and since they have nothing to do, they look at the papers displayed on the newsrack which they can see from where they stand. Some of them just read the headlines, others actually buy a paper while they wait. This effect makes the newsrack and the traffic light interactive; the newsrack, the newspapers on it, the money going from people’s pockets to the dime slot, the people who stop at the light and read papers, the traffic light, the electric impulses which make the lights change, and the sidewalk which the people stand on form a system - they all work together”, in Alexander 1965
Indicating all the areas where publics’ movements are bound to take place because their neighboring architectural pedestals coerce some measure of bodily dictations – will result in the demarcation of areas that are regulated and designated, as opposed to areas left free (unregulated), and to areas that are congested with more than one type of regulation.

Illustration iii/3-8: delineating territories with expectations

A short verbal conclusion will append the last graphic analysis, explaining how the territories affect the prospects of occurrences. It will dwell upon the territories where expected occurrences of the everyday are bound to come about; territories where unexpected occurrences of the everyday are possible; and territories where events (which are by their definition unexpected) are expected to occur.

3.3.2.2. Content

This section presents the idea of surfaces and the ontology of institutions in convergence, offering their methods of analysis. The aim of this section is twofold. It first attempts to encompass the essential theoretical knowledge that underlies the tools of analysis. It then opts to exemplify how to execute such an analysis, relying on the previously mentioned theoretical understandings.

As opposed to the previous part (form’s spatiality) that consisted of a four-stage analysis, this section necessitates the pursuing of a one-stage course only: listing the institutions evident on site. However, the theoretical underpinnings, which are significant to the execution of this one-stage analysis (and that is to understand what is considered to be an ‘institution’ and how those are distinguished and discerned), consist of various complementing aspects that must be acknowledged and grasped all as one. The multivalent aspects of the theoretical component are hence presented successively, offering altogether the framework for this analysis.

This section will briefly overview a broad and comprehensive theoretical discourse revolving around institutionalism - a discourse that pertains to sociology and social theory, political
sciences, history, economics\textsuperscript{99} and law\textsuperscript{100}, with so far very little reference to the architectural discourse. The tie of this research to this above-mentioned intellectual endeavor is merely sprouting, offering a budding and perhaps immature connection at this stage, nevertheless - containing high potential for further researches to come.

\textbf{3.3.2.2.1. Elevations, surfaces and institutions}

Form consists of adjoining surfaces. Form’s myriad surfaces are projected onto the observer. The appearance of surfaces and the relations between the surfaces are changing with the movement of the observer. Although Form cannot be experienced at once, humans have the ability to perceive it as a whole (see chapter 3.2.2).

There are three generic complementing surfaces: the ones on which we stand (A1), the ones erected in front of us (B+C), and the one hovering above our head (A2). These generic surfaces are the estate of some prominent sectors in society to be mentioned shortly. When they are not – they pertain to nature. Nature is as an important counter-component standing vis-à-vis societal institutions. Each of these three surfaces is also an emblem of human’s position in the world for all the meanings it carries and conveys: the surface above our head symbolizes our existence and therefore our location in the universe (A2). The above surface may represent nature so some people whereas others might associate it with transcendent authorities such as a mighty god. The surface on which we stand symbolizes our position vis-à-vis mundane authorities - those who take charge and run our whereabouts (A1). These are usually civic or municipal institutions, although can also be private bodies (i.e. privately owned shopping malls). A single surface can accommodate one or many institutions (B+C). There is no essential correlation between the amount of institutions, and amount of surfaces.

The surfaces in front of us symbolize our position vis-à-vis society and its institutions, public or private, formed by humans - whether individual or collective, commercial or cultural and so forth. These three types of surfaces reflect our relationship with society and with the world at large. Institutions on the ground level (B) are usually there to make use of the potential

\textsuperscript{99} As Goodin contends, theories of institutionalism are the objective of numerous disciplines and subdisciplines, as each has their say, in their own way (Goodin 1996: 1)

\textsuperscript{100} Ziderveld 2000: 11
interaction it can have with the public (i.e., shops, hotel-lobbies etc). Institution above the ground might have a more complex interest regarding their interaction with the public (C). In case of private entities, interaction is often minimal or even non-existent.

3.3.2.2. Methods of classifying institutions

There seem to be at least two possible methods according to which institutions (embodied in establishments and represented on various surfaces) can be sorted, in terms of their impact on the public domain. The first is their public-private facet, radiating an attitude towards the public that defines the nature of relationships they conduct with the public, whether of exploitation or benevolence, altruism or egocentrism, thus presenting an inviting or an uninviting face. The most acute forms of such relationships are expressed in what is often termed ‘public institution’ and ‘private institution’. In reality, I claim that such downright definitions are inexistent: if the public-private dualism is historically associated with a black-and-white situation, in reality, blacks and whites are scarce in the myriad tones of gray

The second method to classify institutions refers to their seminal motivations, the basic interests that brought them about, disregarding the quality or value of the relationships they hold with the public but rather focusing solely on their raison d’être, whether it is economical, regulative, political, religious and so forth. The myriad raison d’être behind institutions can be very complex and colorful, nonetheless find manifestations in ultimately ‘simple’ expressions. For example, the propelling economical motivation that can be discerned behind religious institutions is enough to cater endless books. It is obvious that the religious motivation is not exclusive amongst religious institutions’ inclusive set of motivations. The same goes to cultural, political and other types of institutions.

The first type of classification (the quality of relationship between the public and the institution) can be valued as ‘good’ and ‘bad’ and the various intermediate values (metaphorically expressed in white, black and grays). The latter type of classification cannot be ‘graded’ but

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101. Distinguishing between public and private institutions is not at all simple, and gets more complicated in contemporary Capitalist economy. In fact, it is almost an impossible task to label institutions, for the following reasons:

Legal ownership: A public institution does not necessarily permit entrance. Although estates of the state, municipality or any other authoritative body are considered public, they are not always open for the public. People might be considered trespassers even on a territory that is legally public (i.e. military barracks, government offices, etc.)

Economical domination: A public place is not necessarily operated on public money (although a private place would most likely run on private funding). The matter of investment and profit are another two layers adding to the complexity of public-private definitions: who pays for the place’s maintenance, and who enjoys the revenues - the public or the private sector?

Social belonging: Aren’t estates that are accessible to all, whose raison d’être is to interact with laymen – to be considered an ultimate public place? What are the implications of legal status or economic control on the place, if it is open to all people? It is a well-known fact that ‘genuine’ public places (in legal or economic terms) are often contested by various groups of society, in some parts are even occupied by subgroups. This means that even when a place is formally public – community itself creates social discriminations quite often, whether intentionally or not.

It is impossible to claim that there is a sole configuration reflecting a genuine public place, in the widest sense of the word – open to all, belonging to all, operated by all. If public and private are forces that color our surroundings with blacks and whites – reality suggests that life is consisting of endless hues of gray. Social establishments cannot be assessed or valued according to their public-private facet, as these are too complicated, unrevealing, and have no ability to label places or situations as ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Such values are nonexistent, or at best, they are subjected to the beholders’ point-of-view. The research wishes to raise this idea of public-private facets in societal institutions, and to bypass the prevailing definitions of public and private. The too often attempts to depict bold situations of public and private as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ should cease.

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rather compared, according to generic fields in life, such as economic, religious, political, regulative, recreational etc. (analogous to a diverse range of colors).

Depicting social institutions according to the second type of classification presented above - was found more pertinent for the research. Institutions’ raison d’être enable to grasp the accumulated interests residing in one specific place, which comprise of the place’s role in its whereabouts. These, in turn, give a fair idea about what the place endues to society.

### Division of institutions in literature

Dividing institutions into generic types, according to the basic fields of social life - is not an easy or unequivocal task. Zijderveld contends that there are in particular six universal and basic institutions of humanity, which constitute the solid core of the institutional imperative: family, state, religion, law, care and education. They all have one common denominator: their imperative is a moral imperative, as institutions pass on to new generations the basic virtues needed to establish a truly civil society. Goodwin offers a different classification, according to the diverse range of social activities in which they appear: the spheres of family and kinship (procreations and biological relations between individuals), education (raising generations, maintaining cultural heritage), economics (regulating the production and consumption), politics (control of the use of force), cultural institutions (religious, scientific, artistic) and stratification (regulating, distributing, etc). Notwithstanding, just as there is no clear cut incision between the various fields of knowledge, so there are intricate impingements and overlaps between the various institutional theories, and even between what they hold to be ‘their’ idiosyncrasies. Demarcating the objectives of recent researches on institutionalism (“new institutionalism”) in history, sociology, economy, political sciences, social theory, Goodwin demonstrates mutual influences altogether with disparate ontological approaches for the various institutions. In short, there are manifold social institutions that cannot be ascribed to one particular field of knowledge, and therefore to one particular social interest, because all fields find almost all institutions pertinent for their ontological inquiry. On the same token, there are multivalent institutions that cannot be considered to have one major interest or motivation (such as economical, regulative, religious), reflecting the complexities of social arrangements and behavior.

### Division of institutions in this research

The following list is a development of the literary division of institutions, adapted to the needs of this research. This list is therefore specific for this research. It refers to institutions while constantly bearing in mind the way they appear in the urban realm, how they are reified in shapes of establishments and buildings, how they are manifested in the physical world.

The list presented below should not be considered ultimate or unchangeable. On the contrary, a different view might offer a rather different method of classification. Nevertheless, it is

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102. Above these six basic institutions, Zijderveld mentions various others such as the urban traffic system (Zijderveld 2000: 72), markets (ibid: 37), defense and security systems (ibid: 39) etc.
103. Ibid: 174
104. Goodwin 1995:22
possible to cautiously claim that the contents of the list and the way it is being sorted is of less
ingimportance, but rather, its consistency is crucial - enabling comparison between the various
publicnesses.

Institutions are divided in this research as follows:\(^{105}\):

**Existential institutions** – what Goodwin mentions as *family* and *kinship* institutions, focusing
on the regulation of the procreative and biological relations between individuals\(^{106}\). The very
basic need to exist lies perhaps in the bottom of all interests, nevertheless, on some occasions
can be identified as an institution in its own right. Establishments of existential institutions find
spatial manifestations in the various shelters where human beings live and operate, namely,
dwelling buildings. Another such existential establishment would be the *transportation systems*,
which was originally invented to mobilize people and relocate them, consisting of nothing more
than pragmatic existential motivations. Transportation systems became quite early economic
entities, otherwise they would never persevere. Yet, they were not invented for economic
reasons, nor for entertainment – but ultimately for fulfilling very basic
needs to relocate quickly and efficiently.

**Economic institutions** – ordained to “regulate the production, distribution and consumption
of goods and services”\(^{107}\). The need to transact began with existential motivations – the need
to exchange merchandise (food, clothes) that developed into further sophisticated motivations
ascribed in particular to the western world such as the desire to possess commodities\(^{108}\) growing
even further into pathologies of profusion and the incontrollable urge to consume\(^{109}\). In terms of
corporeal establishments – economic institutions are divided in this research to three generic
types: the basic institutions represent economical necessities without which men would not
(easily) survive in an urban civic society, for example, markets, commercial devices etc. The
second level represents institutions that are keen in controlling the spread and circulation of
capital amongst society’s individuals and organizations, for instance banks, bourses, financial
institutions etc. The third level represents institutions of cornucopia\(^{110}\), inciting opulence and
profusion, offering a superfluous type of economy. Such institutions would find expression in
agglomerations or in abounding commercial centers (such as spectacular shopping malls), in
luxurious trade, haute couture, etc. this group is distinguished as disparate in this research
because it conveys a different meaning, and subsequently,

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\(^{105}\) This division clings mostly to Goodwin (1995:22), although I disagree on some points. It is important to note that this list is by no
means complete, and that it can continue to grow and change. I believe that it has reached a point in which it can offer a solid ground
to start making the analyses, nevertheless, it is possible that a few institutions evaded my mind, or perhaps that I missed institutions
pertaining to other cultures that I am not familiar with. In such cases, the list can and should further change.

\(^{106}\) Ibid: 22

\(^{107}\) Ibid: 22

\(^{108}\) As Baudrillard explains, possession is fused with happiness in western values 1998: 49

\(^{109}\) Baudrillard 1998:25; also Toffler writing about “the throw away society”, Toffler 1970: 49-51

\(^{110}\) Goodwin 1995:22
casts a different aura on the urban realm where it is located.

**Political institutions** deal according to Goodwin with “the control of the use of force, and the maintenance of internal and external peace of the boundaries of the society, as well as control of the mobilization of resources for the implementation of various goals and the articulation and setting up of certain goals for the collectivity”\(^{111}\). The underlying motivations of political institutions are the need to regulate, to put life in order by the use of power. When it comes to establishments residing in our physical whereabouts, the research distinguishes between national and local-municipal political authorities that reflect and affect, respectively, civil and civic societies. These two disparate political forces are separated in this research for one major reason: public places in the urban precinct are part of the city which is an entity with an identity in its own right. The influence of both political authorities on the urban place is enormous, albeit very different.

**Communal institutions** – answering the human need to associate, to socialize, to belong to a community. These types of institutions are hardly mentioned in literature. Their establishments vary from (contemporary) community centers to (historical and current) pubs\(^{112}\), taverns etc. Historical guild houses can also be considered as having a communal facet, gathering people with mutual economic interests under one roof thus creating a distinct community. Although communal establishments can carry economic, educational, religious and even political missions – they are nevertheless, in essence, ordained to serve a community. Within this category, there is an important subset of institutions that holds charitable and even philanthropic motivations of all sorts such as almshouses, orphanages, asylums and so forth. Expressing concern towards some segments in the community, especially to its weakest, can sometimes appear in combination with other (regulative) motives, such as social reconstructing and reforming functions as penal institutions, prisons etc.

**Cultural institutions** – defined by Godwin as “dealing with the provision of conditions which facilitate the creation and conservation of cultural artifacts”. Goodwin subsumes in what he considers to be cultural institutions the scientific, artistic and religious artifacts\(^{113}\). However, I would claim that subsuming religious institutes under this title unveils a rather secular western standpoint, which is why this research chooses to allocate a separate category for

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\(^{111}\) Zijderveld 2000: 15
\(^{112}\) Pubs, where alcohol is served, are derived from the idiom ‘a public house’. This institution’s rich history began in the British Isles, offering a genuine communal public arena for get-togethers.
\(^{113}\) Goodwin 1995:22
it, believing there is no one ultimate title for this intricate sort of human pursuit called religion.
Cultural institutions can be divided to multifarious subcategories. Both Goodwin and Zijderveld
acknowledge education as a disparate category pertaining to culture. Goodwin explains why
education is a basic human need\textsuperscript{114}. Arts, on the other hand, express a completely different
social endeavor through their multifarious establishments (museums, theatres, concert halls,
galleries etc). The motivations underlying art endeavors are complex, and will not be fathomed
in this research. Notwithstanding, art is presumably a particular manner of voicing oneself,
uttering criticism or merely expressing private thoughts about every possible subject in our
existence. Within such a definition, art inevitably carries an inherent motivation to see mankind
grow and develop, quite similar to the motivations of education. However, art has another facet
of providing pleasure and pastime, especially in contemporary days. The research distinguishes
between the endeavor to support humanity’s growth and development and between the need
to satisfy individual needs of entertainment, beholding both as complementary, filling the wide
range of cultural activities. This division clings in some way to Adorno’s dichotomy of high and
pop cultures\textsuperscript{115}, although this research has no intent to label each cultural endeavor or building
with either value. In many contemporary establishments (from museums
to shopping centers), the fine line
between both categories blurs.

**Religious institutions** – For Zijderveld, religion is the third universal institution (after family
and nation-state), despite its decline in Europe and North America since modernization. He
asserts that even after the steady decline of the western religious institution, it is far from
reaching its end. As stated above, Goodwin believes that theological institutions are part of
cultural exerts. I believe that religion is a primeval complex human invention that intertwines
multifarious human needs in an inextricable and not always conscious way. Zijderveld asserts
that “the most basic function of religion is to construct a nomos, i.e., a meaningful order which
provides human beings with a sense of security. The other institution that creates such order
is law”. Whereas modern societies have created their modern legislative institutions, religion
remained the beacon for mass society for all that is considered moral and ethical conduct.
Other roles of theological institutions are to supply with faith and enable the handling of life,
but mostly - to confront the idea of death. Religion also played a severe role in gathering
communities and maintaining a rich and healthy communal life, which until the emergence of
19\textsuperscript{th} century nation-states, might have
otherwise remained forsaken.

**Nature** – this category depicts neither social institutions nor establishments, but rather the
strong presence of nature in our urban surroundings which is an emblem of everything that is

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid: 188
\textsuperscript{115} Adorno 1991 :61-65
not (yet) social. Lefebvre depicts natural space as being “the common point of departure: the origin, and the original model of the social process – perhaps even the basis of all ‘originality’… natural space has not vanished purely and simply from the scene. It is still the background of the picture; as décor, and more than décor, it persists everywhere…”\textsuperscript{116}. Nature stands in sharp contrast vis-à-vis manmade world, as counterweight to every erected artifact. Although nature is a tool and a means in space design, incorporated extensively by landscape architects, still, planting and coercing flora does not diminish its authenticity. Nature is a blunt reminder of societal institutions’ absence that even within contemporary densest urban surroundings - still exists.

\textbf{An excursus: graffiti on institutions, an interpretation}

“At least in your lifetime you can say you’ve done something. There’s all these people just floating in and out of tubes, going home, going to work and you’ve actually left your mark and that’s good feeling, knowing you’re not just one of the lemmings, sort of thing, that you stand out from the crowd”…. Zaki, a Graffiti writer, in Macdonald 2001: 155

In her insightful research on the Graffiti Subculture, Macdonald explains how graffiti carries a label of ‘mindless senseless vandalism’. “It is vandalism” she contends, “no matter how you look at it. It is defacement of property which costs the transport authorities money, the taxpayer money, and the people who write them, sometimes, their lives. It is dangerous, uninvited and illegal”\textsuperscript{117}. However, graffiti for her is far from mindless and senseless. “We are unaware that the city walls are alive with its social drama. We have no clue that the tangled mass of names crawling across their surfaces speak. We don’t hear the intricate commentaries they have to offer us about the lives, relationships and identities of those who wrote them”. Macdonald asserts that most of the people do not even notice graffiti. Some are obsessed with it, but they are usually the ones who write it or the ones who are dedicated to fighting it, this “rash on the skin of our city”\textsuperscript{118}. Most of the people are indifferent to this background scenery, this urban white noise. “Writers use the city as their canvas aware that outsiders know nothing or little of the markings they see. This public yet very private parade of their subculture appears to give them a sense of power. The subculture is flaunted in the face of the public, but it remains out of their reach…. Rather then resisting, members play with the only power at their disposal – the power to discomfit… to pose a threat”\textsuperscript{119}.

Graffiti is located at the intersection of power, control, ownership and space, revolving around the domains of illegality. Graffiti writers, predominantly young men, use their activities as a tool to construct and express their ‘self’. The building surfaces of institutions that have been painted by graffiti writers cast a renewed message that was not intended nor desired by the

\textsuperscript{116}. Although he claims that everything conspired to harm it, and that it will soon be lost to view, Lefebvre 1974: 30-31
\textsuperscript{117}. Macdonald 2001: 2-3
\textsuperscript{118}. Ibid: 1
\textsuperscript{119}. Ibid: 158
institution. The institution’s prerogative is thus damaged by an anonymous character, an incognito, who becomes part of the institution at a brush stroke, often drawing the majority of the attention to himself while scorning the institution all at the same time. As a result, the surface of the institution represents an additional body, a private body, a rebellious, illegal and defiant entity that is often an emblem of the exact opposite values of those held by the institution. Graffiti is, in my opinion, an individualistic troubling need to posit oneself amongst society’s institutions, as part of its structure. It is not merely stating, “I exist”, as one person amongst many people, but rather “I am part of society’s institutions”, even perhaps “I am on top of society’s institutions”. Naturally, the type of institution on which graffiti writers chose to work bears notable meanings. The wall of a residential building is far from being the wall of a bank or a train station. Notwithstanding, the essence of this activity remains.

Graffiti (or all other fingerprints of human activities for that matter), changes the social constellation of a place at a stroke. It does not affect just the mere aesthetic aspect of the place, but changes its total message. It induces a stratum of social rebellion, of clandestine subgroups, of people who live on the edge, thus inserting a strikingly different bold color into the social constellation. This new color does not pertain to any institution presented above, is definitely not an institution in its own right, and does not even refer to any institution society has ever known in history⁰¹²⁰.

¹²⁰. According to Macdonald, Graffiti has a history of merely 30 years.
3.3.2.2.3. Stage I: Endowing colors to institutions

Institutions are indicated with graphic means, using colors and groups of colors. Each color represents a basic generic interest, as stated above. The colors were not chosen obliviously: green, for example, represents nature or fundamental interests. The various types of green represent institutions that pertain to existential needs. Blues represent the economical interests, reds represent authoritative and regulative interests, purples represent communal interests and so forth. The idea behind this graphical transcription is to enable the reader, on a short glance, to ‘sense’ the social constellation of a place intuitively - to communicate the social essence of the place without words.

The above-mentioned institutions were divided into 5 supra-categories (or groups of color):

- **Reds** – depict the political regulative authorities, secular and religious, national and local. Religion (yellow) belongs to authoritative interests, although this is debatable.
- **Greens** – depict all that is existential in the human manmade world (dwelling and trading), altogether with nature that has not yet been taken by humankind.
- **Blues** – depict all that pertains to economy, whether essential or superfluous.
- **Purples** – depict all that belongs to the community
- **Pinks** – depict high and pop culture

This color division attempts to help the reader in identifying the nature of institutions residing in a place (and therefore the social content of this place) by a very brief glance, and in a non-literal way. The translation of colors should be done automatically and instantaneously.

When establishments clearly represent one particular motivation then color transcription is clear as well, for instance: housing; bank; church; House of Parliament

When institutions exhibit a complex constitution, this task becomes more complicated and should therefore stand for a close inspection.

For example – Food Market; Flower Market; A local Suburban Church; A shopping center;
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The accurate use of colors depends very much on the constellation and functioning of the establishment, which means that they all must be critically scrutinized. Notwithstanding, when it comes to historical institutions – there is always a chance that colors would have been different if they were chosen by the people of their time. There is also a chance that some ‘by-functions’ of the establishments are invisible to contemporary eyes (for example, churches in the frontier served small communities in past days, and perhaps even still today, as school, community centers, etc. such information is not always accessible). In case there is not enough documentation of the building’s functions – one can only indicate all that is known to be the conventional.

3.3.2.2.4. Stage II: Coloring surfaces and occurrences

The interests and motivations that propel institutions and their establishments are presumably in congruence with the motivations of people running their daily lives. There is not an endless list of motivations reflecting the necessities of life. Institutions are ultimately an ‘invention’ of humankind answering human’s needs. It is therefore plausible to think that institutions cover quite hermetically all (or most) of humanly motivations.

Motivations of institutions and individuals are by no means similar, but rather, complementary. For example, on the very basic level - an economically oriented business would want to sell whereas individuals would want (or need) to buy. They both hold a complementing interest subsumed under the economic institution of trade.

In short, the colors that represent social institutions are the exact same colors indicating the interests and motivations of human occurrences, and for simple reasons: people create institutions because of their needs. Institutions exist because people need them for various reasons.

Excerpts taken from chapter 4.1 (Data collecting and sorting) exemplify how motivations pertain to both the form (coloring the establishments identified as present in the place, resulting in the space’s social constellation) and to occurrences (coloring the content of events and everyday activities). The range of colors stands as their common denominators:

Example of coloring institutions (through surfaces):
The Dam was busy and noisy. There were traffic regulations and allocation of parking place for wagons. Ships had to lower their masts on the Damark, on the way to the sluice. Five-six ships had to move together (Cotterell 1973:36-7).

A new weighing building, the Waag, where goods were weight in order to collect taxes, inaugurated in the center of the Dam, dominated the Dam for nearly two and a half centuries (Kistemaker:102, Cotterell 1973:68). On its roof were two weather vanes, a reference to the city's prosperous maritime trade. It had one main door and six side doors. Inside hung large weighing scales, and two smaller ones. The building was always surrounded by a crowd of porters, carriers, and carters bringing goods in and out.

Example of coloring occurrences:

1679 (February 8) O – event Joost van den Vondel funeral, buried in the Nieuwe Kerk at the age 92. Although he took over his father's shop in Warmoesstraat, he wrote a huge number of plays and epic poems, verses for special municipal occasions and satirical verses. His coffin was carried by 14 poets and poetry lovers, and was given a prominent place in the Nieuwe Kerk. That same day the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre put on one of his greatest plays. (Amsterdam archives)

1690's O – everyday Hustle and bustle in the marketplace: From the Middle Ages until 1841, the fish market was on the Damsluis. Saltwater fish were sold near River IJ, and the freshwater fish on the Rokin side. It was forbidden to sell fish anywhere but the market, except for the cheapest varieties. Storks were always to be found around the fish market, waiting to snatch a fish. Nearly all goods were sold at separate marketplaces, examples being the apple market, the butter market and the flower market.

1748 O – event rebellion: the population started demanding the return of the House of Orange, and the end of nepotism, especially when Holland faced dangers. A rebellion erupted on the streets: the Town Hall was stormed, a group climbed into the building. Although the militia cleared the building on that same day, the anger of the people made a profound impression: the House of Orange returned, and many administrators left their posts (Mak 1994:172-3, Kistemaker 1982:196-7).
3.3.2.3 Context

The aim of this section is to demonstrate how to re-define the urban structure by using the ‘space’ and ‘place’ concepts solely. Like the two former parts, this one will also delineate the course of action in which one has to follow in order to apply the theoretical understanding presented in section 3.3 (and 3.2.3.3 in particular). The implementation of the theoretical construction is achieved by following the below mentioned three steps of analyses:

3.3.2.3.1. Stage I - Studying exclusivity

This stage consists of indicating additional important places, apart from the one at stake, in the urban surroundings. It is firstly performed by studying maps, by spotting other places in the whereabouts that are of importance (greater, lesser or similar). This must be further supported by texts that unveil information on the other urban places.

Deciphering urban structures in general and ‘places’ in particular is problematic, because it relies on subjective accounts. Nevertheless, by using both modes of analyses – a personal study of maps and reading other people’s reports (texts, brochures and other mediums) – the subjective picture can be affirmed and validated by multifarious accounts.

These two ways of interpretation relate closely to the two distinct traditional manners of comprehending a city\textsuperscript{121}. One is from below, from the eyes (and mind) of the beholder, or through the eyes of mediators for that matter (those who wrote their accounts) – accumulated into some cognitive grasp of the structure\textsuperscript{122}, whether personal or collective. The other traditional manner uses the rationale of various graphic representations (i.e. drawings, maps etc.), looking at a place from above (or from without). Studying these two complementing manners of perception is preferable.

3.3.2.3.2. Stage II - Studying connectivity

In this twofold stage, one must indicate all spaces (and not just places) that are connected physically to the analyzed place: physical spaces that serve pedestrians and physical spaces that accommodate transportation systems. A map of connections can reveal if a place is highly or badly connected to its whereabouts, in relative measures.

This exploration will reveal the options available for people by either using various technological apparatuses or by walking, in order to move freely to and from the place. This stage is performed, again, by studying the surroundings of the place from within, together with the study of maps, brochures, pamphlets, municipal websites and so forth – which are all mediums that observe a place from without.

\textsuperscript{121}. As eloquently stated by de Certeau, the ‘voyeur’ and the ‘walker’ (or ‘flâneur’ according to Walter Benjamin), in During (editor) 1993: 126-128.

\textsuperscript{122}. Following the theoretical approach of Kevin Lynch “the image of the city”
Lastly, this part must eventually appraise the place’s position within the urban structure. This involves no graphic analyses but rather answering two basic and rather simple questions. The answers, which are not always simple, must be chosen out of three possible answers, which delineate a generic situation. The task is to choose the most befitting answer within this range of possible answers. By doing this, the given place will be rudimentarily located within the range of recurring urban situations.

The questions are:

How unique is the place, in terms of its ‘aura’, or reputation?
   a. It is unparalleled and unequaled: there is no other place like it in the area.
   b. It is important and special but not exclusive, like a few other places.
   c. It is like many other places, there is nothing special to it.

How well connected is the place?
   a. All urban transport systems and pedestrians have easy access to it.
   b. Part of the urban systems (transportation and pedestrians) has access to it.
   c. Only partial systems, if any, have access to it.

The meaning each answer carries in the delineation of publicness is further explicated in section 3.3.5.

◊◊◊ 3.3.3 Expressing (potential and real) publicness in graphical means

Like a living organism - public places have a rhythm, heartbeats. This research attempts to invent a tool (conceptual and methodological) that senses the place’s Publicness, namely, the pulses and beats of life taking place within it. Publicness is the ethos of a public place, reflecting its liveliness and viability.

A graphic representation appertaining to the three properties is necessary for making a comparison between potential publicness and real publicness. Otherwise, if these publicnesses are depicted verbally, there is no common ground for any comparison.

After a long span searching for the right graphic mode of representation and a few barren attempts, the technique elucidated. If publicness is analogous to the heartbeats of a public place, having rhythm and intensity, the graphic display of publicness must reflect the EGK of the place. This graphic tool must construe the pace of the everyday altogether with its aberrances, the oscillations of events and their intensity, the relatedness of the beats to external factors, and naturally, the reasons for their generation in the first place (i.e. their essence, or contents) which can be expressed literally in the coloring of occurrences.
The arrangement of the three properties’ graphical expressions, as presented in illustration iii/3-11 bears meanings:

**Spatiality,** [I] is located in the middle section of the graph, depicting with a diagrammatic line the intensity of occurrences ranging between calm and steady everyday (indicated with horizontal lines) - and charged aberrations, excitement and even agitated events (indicated with peaks). This feature of occurrences (whether potential or real) is cardinal, which is the reason for its central position in the graph. The spatiality of occurrences is in fact the sine qua non of publicness, because there cannot be contents and contexts to occurrences without their first and foremost embodiment.

**Content,** [II], located beneath spatiality, is represented by colors. All colors are pregnant with social meanings as elaborated on the previous subchapter. Colors bestow essence to the embodiments of occurrences: a gathering is rendered meaningless without understanding its causes. Colors are symbolically located at the bottom of the graph since content, or reason, underlies every human deed.

**Context,** [III] is posited above the two pedestal properties, spatiality and content. It is delineated by arrows of various sorts and lengths, expressing each a different situation. The location of the third property above the first two bears a symbolic meaning as well: if the first two properties mould a rather ‘absolute’ portrayal of the public place (regardless of its whereabouts) – the third feature aspires to place this portrayal in its appropriate context. The idea is that the absolute portrayal consisting of the first two properties (spatiality and content), offers some kind of a ‘fact’, a given, and that the third feature, the context, is a variable that can alter this portrayal to some degree. The research claims that a context can either ‘strengthen’ or ‘weaken’ the qualities of a place, which are immanent to its physical features. Transcribes to graphic emblems, arrows can either stretch an absolute portrayal of EKG and make it longer, or can have no effect on it, and leave it as it is. Arrows are the most symbolic graphic means
that express this act of stretching, strengthening or enhancing. When the context creates a
greater opportunity for occurrences to emerge, the arrow is long. When the context does not,
or hardly, affects opportunities – there is no arrow.

The graph of publicness has an inherent time axis, on the X plane. This axis exhibits two
parallel strings: the lower one depicts large spans (months, years) pertaining to the rhythm of
events (peaks with a higher volume, or intensity), while the upper one depicts shorter spans
(hours, days) – pertaining to rhythm of the everyday (peaks with a milder intensity). The time
axis is qualitative in essence, meaning that the graph has no pretense in determining the
exact spans between events, or any desire to foretell when an occurrence will actually take
place. While events can occur five times a year, once a year or even once in a dozen years
—the scale of the axis still remains, and reflects the larger spans of months-years.

The three properties are brought forth and expressed by the same graphical medium, in both the
analyses of Form and Occurrences. This graphical tool serves as their common denominator,
and can therefore prepare the grounds for a comparison between potential publicness (analyzed
through Form) and real publicness (analyzed through occurrences)

The following table (no. iii/3-12) exhibits all possible situations of the three properties, and their
matching graphical modes. The task of studying each property’s condition and choosing the
pertinent situation (and consequent graphic representation) is elaborated in section 3.3. The aim
of this table is to present the range of possibilities inherent in this graphical representation.
## Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connectivity</th>
<th>Connected place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Curvilinear Arrows" /></td>
<td>Represented with curvilinear arrows (expressing the idea that occurrences can spread out further):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
<td>Occurrences (real P'ss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - place is highly connected to others</td>
<td>- dispersed and multifarious occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - partially connected</td>
<td>- swarming occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - no connection</td>
<td>- local occurrences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Exclusivity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusive place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Straight Linear Arrows" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Represented with straight linear arrows (expressing the idea that occurrences can become more significant):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - unique place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - important place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - common place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Spatiality

#### Expected Everyday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictated territories</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Dictated Territories" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
<td>Occurrences (real P'ss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - territories with no dictations</td>
<td>- no ongoing happenings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - few types of dictations (1-2)</td>
<td>- meager everyday occurrences (thin horizontal line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - many types of dictations (over 3)</td>
<td>- rich everyday occurrences (thick horizontal line)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Unexpected Everyday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over-dictated territories</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Over-dictated Territories" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
<td>Occurrences (real P'ss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - territories with no overlapping dictations</td>
<td>- no unexpected everyday occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - few overlapping dictations (in 1-2 areas)</td>
<td>- meager everyday aberrations (short peak in the thick horizontal line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - many overlapping dictations (in over 3 areas)</td>
<td>- rich everyday aberrations (long peak in the thick horizontal line)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Unexpected Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under-dictated territories</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Under-dictated Territories" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
<td>Occurrences (real P'ss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - no territories free of dictations</td>
<td>- no indications for unexpected events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - a small area free of dictations</td>
<td>- meager events (a low crest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - a large area free of dictations (one and more)</td>
<td>- rich everyday events (a high crest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Content

#### Motivations and Interests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social constellation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Social Constellation" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thick lines: dominant institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin lines: low-leveled institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend of colors please see chapter 3.3.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Forms" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrences (real P'ss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>institution’s raison d’etre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motivations behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Table iii/3-12: transcribing the three properties into the graph of publicness – a summation
Some of the data outlining occurrences is verbal, and some is visual. Their dispositions are different:

Verbal data
The context of the occurrence (the reasons for its coming about) is always denoted in the text, for it is usually the most important information about the occurrences, and the reason for its indication in the first place. Notwithstanding, interests are never indicated in their proper terms, certainly not as they are defined for this research, which is why there was some work of interpretation to do. It was relatively easy to distinguish between everyday and events in texts.

Visual data
In images or pictures there is usually no way to estimate whether occurrences were connected (and in what way) to the rest of the city. This means that in cases of missing verbal data – the third spatial system (structure) was not being referred to.

Distinguishing between everyday and events was not always a simple task. It involved scrutinizing the people’s activities, whether they seem quotidian (commercial, communal and existential activities of all sorts) as opposed to gatherings that seem inordinate (whether in large or small scales), and that seemed to have different purposes, such as political, religious etc. In cases that it was easy to distinguish between an everyday occurrence and an event – there was no explanation added. In cases of quandary, visual clues were inspected and denoted, so that any objection or criticism on the decision taken was transparent. As for the interests, in the case of visual data, a close up on the characters, scrutinizing their behavior, could suggest their doings and therefore the interests that instigated their doings.

Distinguishing between events, everyday, and their intermediates, was also done by discerning the way people are scattered or grouped, although critically done. For example, on everyday occurrences people tend to be more scattered, whether in singles, couples or in very small groups of threesomes and foursomes.

Unexpected everyday occurrences usually draw a few more people around the happening, which is why there are small clusters in space consisting of a few individuals in small flocks. As events grow, the bigger the flocks become. In such cases, events tend to consist of either one local conglomeration occupying a sub-area in space, or a huge conglomeration occupying the whole area.

In any case, it is obvious that the process of sifting and interpreting information out of visual data in order to transcribe it to graphic means is equivocal and at times even problematic. For this reason, the process of decision taking is described as fully and clearly as possible in

Theoretical Construction
the chapters of analyses, inducing freethinking and enabling criticism on behalf of the reader. Most pictures were scrutinized on two scales: the location of people within the square revealed information about the size and spatial attributes of occurrences, while zooming-up on their doings revealed information about the content of the situation. Contexts were usually revealed through verbal data. The research strived to validate verbal with visual data, and vice versa, for as many occurrences as possible, in order to circumvent such problems of partiality, and to bestow the soundest analysis possible for every occurrence.
4. Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square

Chapter 4 exhibits the analyses conducted on the Dam Square case study in Amsterdam. It begins with a preparatory phase of data collecting. Its outcomes appear on the first section of subchapter 4.1., as the ‘reedited history of the Dam Square’. This subchapter presents an incisive and concise historical account of the Dam Square, enumerating every occurrence that came about in the place, whether pertaining to people’s activities or to changes in the square’s layout.

The second phase consists of rethinking and redefining the pertinent historical divisions, as per this research aims. It eventually divided the history of the Dam Square into six chronological spans, each reflecting a distinct publicness that is worthy of a study. This division is impelled by the changes that the square’s form underwent, bearing in mind that if publicness is indeed related to form as postulated by this research, then it is mandatory to examine publicnesses in accord with the space’s disparate spatial configurations. Following this division, data was sifted and allotted into two groups: data pertaining to form and to occurrences. This division to twelve subgroups was further fragmented into data pertaining to the spatiality, the social constellation and to the context of form, preparing the ground for the analyses to come.

The third phase in the case study analysis probes form and occurrences in each era, separately. The survey of form begins by preparing the initial layout plan. It then continues to analyze spatiality, content and context. The analysis of spatiality aims to find out what can happen in space, physically speaking, and how people may scatter in space. The analysis of content aims to find out what can happen in space in terms of the content of occurrences, or why people are likely to do what they do in space. The analysis of context aims to find out how the context of space might affect the way it is used, if it will bear any impact on the previous ‘how’s and ‘why’s.

The analysis of form’s spatiality denotes form’s pedestals. The public fluxes that are dictated by these pedestals, in their proximity, are demarcated. Subsequently, territories of dictations and expectations emerge from the blueprint, dividing the space into three types of territories, as the following:

1. Areas where people’s movement is dictated by form. It is therefore the expanse where expected activities are likely to be found.
2. Areas where abounding movements are colliding, where over-dictations converge. These are the places where unexpected occurrences are likely to come about, during everyday activities and events.
3. Areas that are free from any dictations of form, under-dictated territories. These are plausibly the places where grand events are likely to emerge.

The next step follows with the analyses of form’s content. This analysis enumerates all the social institutions residing in the place, studying each and every one separately, tagging them with a color, and eventually accumulating them all into one coherent colorful portrayal, which represents the social constellation of the place. This graphical outcome epitomizes the social ethos of the place and its civic role being part of a broader civic, national and global society.

The last step in the analysis of form, the study of context, examines two characteristics of the place -
connectivity and exclusivity, by positing the space relative to the urban structure. This analysis assesses
the impact of context on the strengthening or weakening of the place’s status and role, relative to other
spaces in the urban precincts, bearing in mind that although the place’s basic features (spatiality and
social constellation) are indeed crucial in demarcating the place’s character – its context can nevertheless
alter them significantly.

In addition to the three properties of form that were each analyzed separately, the disparate occurrences
are analyzed as well, each one alone, leaning on a different methodology while using the same graphic
devices. Every occurrence is transcribed separately by using the same graphic tool, into its own EKG
graph.

The fourth step of the analyses gathers all the outcomes of the various analyses of form and occurrences,
and transcribes them into two graphical portrayals that represent the EKG of the public place: the profile
of potential publicness (derived from the analyses of form) and the profile of real publicness (derived
from the analyses of occurrences). The transcription of form’s three properties into graphic expressions
abides to simple rules, as expatiated on chapter 3.3.

Last but not least, this chapter ends with preliminary conclusions, juxtaposing the two resulted profiles,
potential and real publicness, offering some thoughts on the two fundamental outcomes. Further
inference on outcomes will be presented in the next fifth chapter.

The methods of inquiry utilized in all of the above-mentioned analyses vary from graphical
manipulations conducted on architectural drawings, as in the case of analyzing spatiality and context,
to graphical manipulations per-se, as in the case of analyzing content. Analyses could have not been
performed without the architectural blueprints as their substratum. Although the analyses are conducted
on the architectural drawings, they are rather simple; one does not have to partake in the architectural
profession in order to perform such analyses, but rather pursue the rules as presented in chapter 3.3.
4.1.1. Data during medieval era: 1345-1652

1345 (March 15) ■ O – event
A religious event occurred in a house on Kalverstraat: a sacrament was vomited up by a sick man and thrown into a fire, but was not consumed. The event was grasped as a miracle. (Mak 1994:44; Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:97-8, Hibbert 1987:117).

1345 ■ F – s.c. a chapel was built around the fireplace, on the Rokin canal, called Heilige Stede (Locus Sacer), later named the Nieuwezijskapel (chapel on the new side).

1340 ■ F - structure Amsterdam developed around a dam in the Amstel river, late 12th century, forming a network of dikes along the IJ bank. (Amsterdam heritage site). The dam allowed for an inner harbor upstream and stable land for the extension of the town between the riverbed and the canals. The prized central space of the dam (as in other towns) received important public buildings (Kostof 1991 :57). Characteristic to such a city is that when one arrives on boat – one enters not from the city’s periphery but in its center. Kostof distinguishes between economically vivid waterfronts and cultural aesthetic ones. To civilize the former is not only a formidable task, but also counterproductive (Kostof 1992 :39-41). The early fortifications were ditches without walls, later converted to urban waterways (ibid:38)


1350 - ■ O – everyday tourism flourishes because of rich economic (trade) and religious life (Mak 1994:46; Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:98).


1400 ■ F – layout+s.c. the erection of the new Town hall on the Dam Square (Mak 1994:36-37). A purpose-built gothic building, with a bell tower, a large assembly room and a porch (Mak 1994:36), a celebration hall, a guest hall and on its right – the Wissel bank, and Wissel chamber.
inaugurated in 1609, secretary, administration and various other rooms (Amsterdam archives). **Pic 4** - plan dating 1639. The dam, the four shears and the elizabethsgasthuis The Vogelstee with a dwarstraat, the Gasthuissteeg and a part of the Kalverstraat. Source: Amsterdam archives **Pic 5** - Plan from 1843 and 1909. Source: Amsterdam archives **Pic 6** - Elevations from 1893. Source: Amsterdam archives

1410's **F-structure** small town crossing medieval Amsterdam in a stroll of no more than half an hour. (Mak 1994:37)

1413 **O – everyday** New statutes announced to the ringing of bells in the Dam. Prostitutes were permitted to work only in Damstraat. (Amsterdam archives).

1414 **F – layout+s.c.+structure** A large new gothic stone cathedral was built at the Plaetse, dividing Amsterdam into two parishes, sponsored by the a private merchant on a privately owned plot on the Dam. Amsterdam was then a large agglomeration of small wooden houses with this one stark stone structure. (Mak 1994:37). Finished on 1470 (Amsterdam archives). **Pic 7** - Nieuwe kerk around 1345. date: unknown. **Pic 8** - Source: Amsterdam archives. Date 1700-1725 **Pic 9** - Source: Amsterdam archives, 1710 **Pic 10** - Source: Amsterdam archives, 1645-64

1421 (April 23) **background** A large fire burned the Dam, the Kalverstraat and the precinct. Little of medieval Amsterdam remained. (Mak 1994:56)

1400-1450's **F – layout, s.c.** Housing fabric: slow transition of wooden dwellings into partial stone buildings. Change took place only well into the 17th century. Houses had inclining facades towards the street, for various reasons (Mak 1994:26-9)


1450's **O – everyday hearing and smelling senses** : animals on the Dam, musicians playing 1-3 songs every evening and morning from the tower of the Town Hall, and on all holidays and celebrations (Mak 1994: 38-9).

1450's **F – structure** the city enclosed within the city walls, with three city gates. The size of the city amounted to 79 hectares (Amsterdam heritage site).

1450's **F – s.c. (of infrastructure)** streets were wet and muddy (Mak 1994: 26, 38). Animals and lack of infrastructure maintained its rural image for a considerable time (Mak 1994:26, 29).

1450 **F – layout** The Dam is the center of the town (Kistemaker 1982: 22). The Amstel River was closed off with locks; ships could pass with lowered masts. Houses were built over the supporting
arches, and a square developed on the left bank of the river, the Plaetse, soon becoming known as the Dam. It was only later that these houses were demolished to make space for a square again (Mak 1994:36).

1480's 
F – layout
The original harbors, the Damark and the Rokin, had become too small, so that ships had to moor side by side on the quays. More spaces were used as harbors, including the canals. (Mak 1994:35).

1489 (Feb 2nd)
O – event
civic event: Maximilian grants Amsterdam the emperor’s crown and the town’s weapon, in the New Church (Amsterdam archives). Pic 15- Engraving from 1648. source: Amsterdam archives

1490's -
O – everyday
professions and ranks were recognized by apparel. Daily happenings (buying and selling, weddings and funerals) were accompanied by noisy processions (Mak 1994: 42).

1492 -
O – everyday
A weekly market on Mondays: a cattle market in Kalverstraat; a diary market on the Dam; fruit, vegetables, wood and medicine were sold on the Damark; Sea and river fish were sold on the locks, sometimes even a seal or a porpoise (Mak 1994:42-3, Kistemaker 1982:22).

1492 -
F – s.c.
There was a chapel inside the Town Hall. Consecrated places were in abundance all around the town (Mak 1994:44).

1492 -
O – event
An annual free market was the climax of the year (an elephant was there in 1484).

1492 -
O – event
A yearly religious ritual, the “miracle procession”, a colorful display that drew the entire city out on to the streets, guilds and other groups all dressed appropriately. It started at the Nieuwe Kerk, went via the Kalverstraat (crossing the Dam), and ended in the Oude Kerk. (Mak 1994:42-3).

1500's
F – layout + s.c.
Change in the structure of private houses (due to technological changes of fireplaces and chimneys in the stonewalls): Houses were divided into the public area voorhuys, or “front house” (shop, merchant’s office or workshop, and also as a living space) connected to the street, open all summer, whereas the inner hearth remained intimate and enclosed (Mak 1994: 26-9).

1508
F – structure
The completion of the wall around Amsterdam (Mak 1994:58-9).

1508 -
O – everyday
Secular rituals - every evening the city closed its gates at 09:30 p.m. Soldiers brought the keys to the Town Hall, placed them in a special box, and then carried the box to one of the burgomasters. At sunrise the whole ritual took place in reverse. (Mak 1994:46).

1510's
F – layout, s.c.
The Dam was busy and noisy. There were traffic regulations and allocation of parking place for wagons. Ships had to lower their masts on the Damark, on the way to the sluice. Five-six ships had to move together (Cotterell 1973:36-7).

1510's
F – s.c./ O-everyday
The bell ringing from the town hall’s tower meant the Schout (sheriff)
would appear to read a new regulation or law. There was a system for news announcements: one horn blow meant good news while two meant bad news (Cotterell 1973:36-7).

1510’s Market ordinances: there were booths and stalls to hire, reserved for nonburghers. Peddlers had to change location to prevent unfairness. The fish market around the sluice and the new bridge at the mouth of the Damark had merchants and brokers using sophisticated business methods. Atmosphere of liberty for the sake of trade (Cotterell 1973:36-7).

1500- Law enforcement rituals - three concentric circles on the Dam served as a ceremony of expulsion. If a burgher committed a crime, he was led around these circles three times. The assembled populace was asked to vouch for him. If none agreed – he was evicted or cast into prison (Mak 1994:46).

1524 Religious alterations - The spread of the Lutheran movement to Amsterdam. Increased even more after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. (Amsterdam archives).

1534 (March) Two beheadings on the Dam of Anabaptists who tried to revolutionize Amsterdam. (Cotterell 1973:41-2)

1535 (February 25) Clandestine rituals of Anabaptist caused turmoil when they were found, bringing all citizens to the Dam. A few weeks after, seven men were beheaded on the Dam. Their heads were exhibited on the IJ. (Mak, 1994: 65-7, Cotterell 1973:43)

1535 (May 10) Anabaptists planned to execute a general rising (for religious intents) on the night of the Town Hall banquet. They hid in the weigh-house (Waag) meaning to occupy the Town Hall. The plan failed (for indefinite reasons) after a nightlong fight. One burgomaster was killed. The next day the attack resumed, the Dam was barricaded, ending in a long hard fight. Almost 50 people were killed. 12 Anabaptists taken alive were tortured in various ways on the Dam and in the Town Hall (Mak, 1994: 67-8, Cotterell 1973:43-5). Source: Amsterdam archives

1535- 1552 In memory of the Anabaptist defeat, a festive procession accompanied by the ringing bells parades through the town in May (Kistemaker 1982:44)

1535- 1580 In a fervently Catholic intolerant town people were often executed: men beheaded, women drowned:

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1. Between 1500 and 1650, in medieval Amsterdam, crimes against burghers and non-burghers were perceived differently. (Mak 1994:46)
2. In 1537 two men, “ordinary” Lutherans were decapitated on the Dam because of their beliefs. In 1543 seven Anabaptists were put again on trial. “In 1546 two members of the sect, tied to ladders, were lowered face first into the flames on the Dam. On March 2 1549 eight men were burned on the Dam and three women ‘executed with water’ – that is, tied in a sack and dropped in a water filled wine tube”. (Mak, 1994:68, Cotterell 1973:45-6). On November 27, 1555, Meyns was sentenced to the stake for the crime of witchcraft by the Amsterdam magistrates (her interrogation has remained intact). On the same year Anne Jans was “doomed to fire” with her two daughters because they “bewitched several people”… and “were allied with Satan”. (Mak 1994:51). Between 1536 and 1576, a total of 29 Mennonites were burned at the stake on the Dam while further twelve were beheaded, six hanged and four drowned in the IJ (Mak 1994:89).
Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square

1538 F - structure The oldest surviving map of Amsterdam. Pic 19: a painting by Cornelis Anthoniszoon in Amsterdam heritage site.


1549 (March 20th) O - event riots of the wederdopers. Pic 27: Amsterdam archives.

1549 (September) O - event The 22-year-old Prince Philip the count of Holland arrived on a visit, entered by rowing from the Damark to the sound of firing and bell ringing. Town was decorated, and there were festivities. The next day, the prince swore in the Town Hall to maintain Amsterdam’s privileges, taking an oath with burgomasters and officials. There was a decorated ‘gate of honor’ on the Dam. “But the town retained its sense of proportion: Traders on the Dam who were inconvenienced with the royal pomp could claim a compensation of two guilders”. After that, executions on the Dam were rare events. (Cotterell 1973:46).


1556 F - layout + s.c. A new weighing building, the Waag, inaugurated in the center of the Dam, dominated the Dam for nearly two and a half centuries1 (Kistemaker:102, Cotterell 1973:68). On its roof were two weather vanes, a reference to the city’s prosperous maritime trade. It had one main door and six side doors. Inside hung large weighing scales, and two smaller ones. The building was always surrounded by a crowd of porters, carriers, and carters bringing goods in and out4. Pic 30: Waag on the Dam, 1560s Pic 31: Dam, 1570 (Kistemaker 1982:54 and Mac 1965:97). Pic 32: A Calvinist cartoon press showing the orthodox doctrines of Gomarus outweighing the ragbag views of his rival Arminius (Haley 1972:84, Kistemaker 1982:54), the weigh house is part of the changing in the religious foundations.

1565 background New Building Ordinances were written, that lasted till the 19th century. They were an expression of a more thoroughgoing attention to the condition of health and social life (including sanitary provisions, draining, sewers and house construction – caring mostly for the foundations) (Cotterell 1973:88; Mumford 1961:503).

Mid 16th century O - everyday Street was an extension of the house, a large room belonging to all inhabitants. They sat, worked and played in the street. A rattle sounded every hour at night, to indicate the time. By day – there were bells and horns: the baker blew a horn to announce that bread is for sale.

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3 The first renaissance style building in the Netherlands, made of massive blocks of stone. (Kistemaker:142).
4 In 1617-8 (during the city’s period of sudden expansion) the waag did not suffice, therefore a gate in the walls turned into the weighing office. In 1628 another third weighing office was opened in a gate, for dairy products. (Kistemaker:102).
**mid 16th century background** Civil rights – the burghers of Amsterdam and their children had full rights. Outsiders were scrutinized and had to stay five years. Only then they were formally registered in the Town Hall. Loss of citizenship was a severe punishment. **Taxes** – everything was taxed, collected at any point where tax was gatherable, and went to the Town Hall. Excise masters had no problem entering private domains to ensure there’s no black market. The control over people’s lives was close, and often protested. Guilds were also looking after burghers with sternly paternal eye. There were guilds for almost all occupations. (Cotterell 1973:50)

1566 [F – s.c.] An inn on the Dam called “The Prince of Orange” (Mak 1994: 83-4)  

1560’s – 1640’s [F – s.c.] the town council (vroedschap) had 36 councilors appointed for life. There was a sheriff (schout), and four burgomasters, often but not always members of the council. The burgomasters were independent of both the stadholder and the council. They were appointed by ex-burgomasters and ex-magistrates for a year, although one served a second term to ensure continuity. Burgomasters and council together mounted to 319 men. They were the ‘power elite’ of Amsterdam at that period. (Burke 1974:20)

1566 [O – event] The “Beggars” wanted to take over the city. Under pressure from a great number of people assembled on the Dam – the city council appointed their leader as “captain of war supplies” giving him military control. He resided in an inn on the Dam (called “The Prince of Orange”) (Mak 1994: 83-4).  

1567 [O – event] A large banquet was held by the city council in the honor of the Baggars’ leader, before sailing abroad (Mak 1994:84)  

1567 [O – event] The drowning of a boy in a wine barrel on the Dam, for throwing a slipper at the statue of Marie in the Oude Kerk during uprising. (Mak 1994:84)  


1573 [O – everyday] Hunger and deprivation (evident all over the town), were documented mainly around the Dam: a crowd pushing outside the bakery on the Dam because only one bread was available; A starved women who’s clothes and blanket were stolen; a woman throwing herself to the Damark (Mak 1994:74).  

1577 (November 23) [O – event] Forty Beggars gathered on the Dam, standing on the steps of the Waag to occupy it, beating drums, marching and shouting against monks, priests and nuns. (Mak 1994:87) Pic 35: Fighting on the dam. Amsterdam archives  

1578 (January 1) [O – event] Catholics assemble before the gentlemen of the Town Hall, expressing opposition to the growing spreading Beggars. (Mak 1994:87)  

1578 (May 28) [O – event] An organized coup by Calvinists: five entered the Town Hall. Raising a hat near the window was a sign for the uprising. Monks were haunted all over the city, brought to the
new Waag, while excitement and cheerful tumult reigned around the Dam. They were eventually sent away on boats in a very civilized manner. A new non-Catholic council was appointed. This bloodless revolution is termed in history books as the “alteration”. (Mak 1994: 88-9, Regin 1976:6, Cotterell 1973:67-8). Pic 36: 26 May 1578 source: amsterdam archives. Pic 37: source: amsterdam archives. Pic 38: Leading away the magistrates and the clergy. source: amsterdam archives.

1578 background the beginning of Amsterdam’s unique burgher’s society, the Alteratie, as it was called, probably the only true revolution that the Netherlands has ever experienced. (Regin 1976:6). After the Alteration, Catholics were no longer allowed to worship in public, but they continued to celebrate Mass in so-called clandestine churches. (Amsterdam archives).

1578 F – s.c. The real estates of the Catholic Church were confiscated (change in colors. less ). Large buildings were transformed into new purposes5 (Regin 1976:7).

1578 O – everyday The religious tunes performed by the carillons were replaced by popular ditties (Regin 1976:7)


1580’s O – everyday The Dam – the center of exchange of news and gossip6 supplied the old-style lustiness and the salient custom of drinking. This place accommodated all protestant refugees, and puritan severity (Cotterell 1973:73). The city is a hubbub of activity. (Mak 1994:90).

1580 (March) O – event visit of Prince William arriving on boat to the Damark, a procession of barks, sloops yachts and galleys. The Town Hall, Waag and fish market were all lit up. There was a recital of panegyrics on the Dam, a great spectacle with fireworks, gunpowder, flags etc., a symbol that the town had joined the revolt and the religious changes (Cotterell 1973:68, Kistemaker 1982:54).

1585-1604 O – everyday ambulatory of the guilds taking place every Monday. Pic 40: source: amsterdam archives

1585 F – structure This first expansion plan after the Alteratie for military reasons: the medieval city walls no longer met the requirements of modern warfare. Between 1585 and 1593 a state-of-the art city wall was built. The city was enlarged to the east and west, amounting in total to 168 ha. (Amsterdam

5. Such as hospitals, sugar lactunes, warehouses, old people’s home, orphanages and prisons. One cloister became the prince’s house (prinsenhof – the present day Town Hall) (O’Brian 2001:130, Cotterell 1973:68). In the 16th century there were no fewer than 16 convents and three monasteries in Amsterdam (Amsterdam archives). Some church land was employed to improve connections to the inner city (O’Brian 2001:130). Not surprisingly, the physical ambience of Amsterdam at once took on a more reserved and austere appearance. Religious statues on the facades of the guild houses and in the streets were removed, and so were the innumerable stalls on squares and bridges, which had been selling candles for the worship of Mary. The city could no longer see processions to celebrate Palm Sunday or to commemorate miracles. Even names of churches changed under the pressure of Calvinist members (for Saint Jan to South Church). Regin 1976:35.

6. (it was not called ‘the Dam’ until 17th century). The space in front of the Town Hall was called the “Plaetse”, and the easterly side from the Waag to the fish market was the “Middendam”.

 Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square

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heritage site). The surrounding canal was incorporated into the city, with three semicircular concentric canals 25 meters wide each (enabling the entrance of ships), each 3 ½ - 4 – 4 ½ km in length. In 1593, a semicircle of fortifications was built (Benevolo 1993:132). Paul Zumthor explains the typical geometrical layouts of Dutch cities, with Amsterdam pertaining to the rounded circular shaped streets and canals (in Vance 1977:219). Pic 41: After 1585. source: Amsterdam heritage site

1592 [F – layout] An English traveler depicts Amsterdam—its port is near the “field” (which is the Plaetse) rather than near a marketplace, the place for merchants during summer (moving to the Nieuwe Kerk during winter). (Mak 1994:90).

1592 (August 14) [O – event] The lottery was an ingenious civic occasion made for charitable or public municipal purposes, balancing godliness and greed. It took place in prominent public places, scrutinized by the citizenry. (Schama 1987:307, Amsterdam Historical Museum). Pic 42: Rusland, a street of old Amsterdam with a crowd draw a lottery, painting by Coignet (Kistermaker 1982:34), Pic 43: Print announcing the lottery held to the benefit of the Lunatic Asylum, 1592. Source: Amsterdam Archives.

1597 [F – s.c.] A crowded city: there is not a single spot of green, countless huts are appended to the city wall; families live under its arches. Whereas the total area remained about the same as a century earlier, the population has quadrupled. There are also some quite tall houses, three-four stories high. Mak 1994:93.

16th century [F – s.c.] Between about 1580 and 1700, many immigrants earned their living by teaching mathematical arts, and by selling books and instruments or providing expert advice. They concentrated close to the centers of trade, shipping and finance; one is the Nieuwendijk (near the Dam), (Davids 2001:314).


1600 [F – s.c.] Enlarging institution: The orphanage Burger-Weeshuis located on the Kalverstraat, was granted in 1600 the confiscated St. Luke’s monastery in the immediate vicinity. In 1634 it was razed and replaced with a new structure, that later in the century grew towards the Nieuwe Zijds Voorburgwal (Regin 1976:126).

1604 [O – event] the annual lepers procession on a copper Monday, year 1604. Pic 46: source: Amsterdam archives

1609 (May 5) [O – event] A celebration of the twelve-year-truce on the Dam: a show of allegorical scenes on an elaborate stage, with carved dragons and flaring torches. (Cotterell 1973: 85)

1609 (end May) [F – layout + s.c.] the foundation stone for the new Exchange building (finished 1611) on the river-harbor side of the Dam (the Rokin). It accommodated merchants and brokers who did their business previously on the Nieuwe Bridge (Damark), or in St. Olaf’s Chapel and Oude Kerk in bad

Boats had access to the building. It was not exactly on the Dam. One had to go through one-two small streets to reach it. The building – 200 feet long, 124 feet wide, had an inner courtyard with 123 offices and shops. A clock tower with a carillon stood at the southeast corner overlooking the water (Cotterell 1973:85-6, Schama 1987:348). It was a copy of the Exchange in London, which was a copy of that in Antwerp. It was not functional (Regin 1976:37). It was designed by De Keyser, the city’s head architect during 1591-1621 (Benevolo 1993:132).

Pic 47: Borsa di Amsterdam 1612 from the Rokin by Cornelis de Visscher Pic 48: Interior of the Commodity Exchange, print by A. A. Bolswert and M. Colijn, 1609. Source: Amsterdam archives

1609 (end May) O – everyday Inside, people from all over the world carried on trading of worldwide articles. It was publicized (as early as 1585) all over Europe (Kistemaker 1982:93, Regin 1976:98, Amsterdam archives). Trading was limited to fixed times: from 1 to 2 o’clock in the afternoon. Latecomers paid a fine to the poor and orphans. There were strict rules of behavior inside (Kistemaker 1982:93). Money was traded as well. From 1650 there were speculations, shares and public loans.


1600-1615 F – s.c., structure Amsterdam’s rise to supremacy in the world trade came along with the emergence of a few economic institutions: the chamber of assurance (1598), the United East India Company (1602), a special bourse for the transaction of grain “Vroedschap” (1616), the new bourse and the exchange bank (1609), and the lending bank (1614). Revenues from customs more than doubled between 1598 and 1611 (Barbour 1963:17). The prosperity of Amsterdam leading to its golden era is largely the result of the East India Company establishment (Hibbert 1987:117).

1609 F – layout + s.c. The establishment of the exchange bank on the ground floor of the Town Hall. Money was in a vault underneath. One could deposit money, open an account, transfer money and exchange to local currency very safely (Kistemaker 1982:101-2)⁸. There were more financial institutions closed by: a lending bank and a corn exchange (Cotterell 1973: 86). The two major institutions (the stock exchange and the exchange bank) were working sophisticatedly together, so much that the Spanish plotted to blow them in 1622 (Cotterell 1973: 114-5). This was not the first European bank (Venice introduced one in 1587) – but its success was on a far larger scale, helping to

7. In the middle ages and a long time after, the circulation of money was chaotic. Cities, provinces and states issued all kinds of coins that wound up all over the world. For any cash transaction, merchants had to have their money valued first, or exchanged into agreed currency.

8. The “greatest treasure” was a legend, for no one except the burgomasters knew the exact amount of hoard stashed there (Regin 1976:99). This exchange bank aggressively enlarged the scale of operations by building up a reputation of reliability, verging on the legendary (Regin 1976:99).
make Amsterdam the principle money market and the most solid one in Europe for nearly two centuries (Haley 1972:40-1).

1609 O - everyday A constant flow of merchants from the Exchange to the Town Hall (the bank). Draft could be written instead of the cumbersome exchange of coins (Cotterell 1973: 86). Visitors came from all parts of Europe to marvel at the wealth, beauty, and populousness of this queenly city the primacy of the city was threefold: as shipping center, as commodity market and as market for capital (Barbour 1963:18). Pic 52: Activities around the waag, 1613-1648. source: amsterdam archives

1609- F - layout, structure The location of the Bourse was well chosen, in proximity to the fish market, as the inner city constituted the social and economic hub. Not far from the bourse were the warehouses storing Polish grain, Swedish copper, Spanish wool, American tobacco, Brazilian sugar, East Indian spices (Haley 1972:43). Pic 53: The new beurs from the damark, 1611. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 54: The fish market, 1613. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 55: The bourse, the rokin, the fish market and the dam. From 1760, depicting the time between 1611-1670. source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 56: A detail. source: Amsterdam archives

1609- F - s.c The Doelen, the inns of the militia, were frequented by magistrates and artists. They were used for the reception of official guests of the city till early 1650’s. The building was significantly enlarged in the1630’s. (Hart 2001:140).

1609- O - everyday / F - s.c luxury stores, books, art dealers, maps, curiosities, several market places - a multitude of shipping connections - were all located within a minute’s walk of the Town Hall. Also - renowned painters, artists’ workshops, the Doelen (the inns of the militia where performances were staged), the (public) theatre and the public library. The Dam was a center for information exchange, and a site of major festivities. (Hart 2001:131-2). Pic 57: A detail from “Dam”, 1610. Source: Amsterdam archives pic 58: The market on the dam, a look from the north, 1611. Source: Amsterdam archives

1609- O - event The annual parades of the militia - colorful processions, accompanied by music and military shows, presented an idealized image of urban independence. In other Dutch cities these annual processions lasted one day, but in Amsterdam they extended over several Sundays (Hart 2001:132).

1612 general 125,000 inhabitants (Benevolo 1993:135)

1613 F- structure The third expansion plan - In 1613 the implementation of the major 17th century expansion plan begun, necessitated by the staggering growth of the city. The three main canals and the Jordaan were built. The Singelgracht became the city boundary (Amsterdam heritage site, Kostof 1991:136-8). The canal layout expanded the city’s waterfront in ways that allowed development to proceed incrementally as trade and population expanded (Konvitz 1985:62). The layout was determined by the trading function requiring direct water access to individual merchant’s houses and to warehouses. The canals predated the plan, excavated in 1585 (Herengracht), 1593 (Keizersgracht) and 1622 (Prinsengracht). (Morris 1993:222-3). The plan was a joint venture of both public and private sectors,
carried out by the latter for reasons of profit making, maintaining responsibility for- and a view to- the public good. Their combined work is an outstanding example for a collaborative economical endeavor. For more information, see Mumford 1961:504-7. The transition of the city from middle ages henceforth did not cause the city to lose its unity and its form. This expansion plan is an example for physical growth that need not have raised insuperable obstacles to order (Mumford 1938:139).

**Pic 59**: After 1613 Source: Amsterdam heritage site

1615-34 F- s.c. + structure traffic regulations, mostly one-way streets (Hibbert 1987:118; Cotterell 1973: 86). Paved streets followed shortly upon the advent of private carriages (French ‘coaches’, horsebacks or carts). In 1615, all roads leading to the bread market changed into “one way streets”. In 1634 the municipal corporation further forbade private carriages to circulate within the urban limits (Hibbert 1987:118; Zumthor 1959:15-6).

1617 F - layout + s.c establishment of Bank van Leening on the Oude Zijds Voorburgwal (5 years after founding the exchange bank), because the latter did not advance loans to private business. It fought the old style of usury, as indignation arose about its excessive profits. The bank became very popular, as it was lucrative, causing loan banks to spring up in other cities of the United Provinces (Regin 1976:100).

1618 F – structure Amsterdam skyline. **Pic 60**: Amsterdam-façade. Source: Amsterdam archives

1620 F- structure change in the religious structure. An additional church, the Westerkerk, was built in the middle of the newest extension to the city (1620 – 1638). In the 17th century the Reformed congregation of Amsterdam had four new churches built, one for each point of the compass: the Zuiderkerk (South Church), Westerkerk (West Church), Noorderkerk (North Church) and Oosterkerk (East Church). (Amsterdam archives) **Pic 61**: Keizersgracht with the Westerkerk (West Church), drawing by Jan van der Heyden, c. 1660 Source: Amsterdam archives

1625 F –layout The Dam square. **Pic 62**: detail from Balthasar Floriszoon van Berckenroode’s map of the city (Kistemaker 1982:65). **Pic 63**: Maquette van de Dam omstreeks 1625 Het water stroomde nog tot aan het plein. Het oude stadhuis bevindt zich aan de westzijde van het plein

1630’s O- everyday music was seldom heard in church, but often on the streets, especially on the Dam during morning, by a company of musicians paid by the city. This ban on music during services (by Calvinist church) was lifted only in 1680 (Hart 2001: 140, Cotterell 1973: 131, Regin 1976:47). Amsterdam was a city of carillons. The steeples resounded an almost constant solemn chorus of bells: on Sundays to call the worshippers, on weekdays to remind of the time on each half hour (Regin 1976:48). The Baroque wood-carved organ in the New Church dates from the 16-17th century (Hibbert 9). Various tunes were played by the carillons. According to John Evelyn, ‘the harmony and the time…were the most exact and agreeable’. The clarity of their sound was outstanding, owing to the foundry of pure bells of Francois and Pierre Hemony. They had moves to Amsterdam in 1655, making the city famous for advanced method of bell-casting (Hart 2001:147, Regin 1976:48). The art of the carillon may be a minor one, but as a legitimate expression of popular daily life. The most impressive bells in Amsterdam were those of the Zuider Kerk (35 bells), the Wester Kerk (with 35), the Oude Kerk (with 38), and the New Town Hall with 37 bells. They played the tunes of Psalms. Since the bells were untempered, there was an oddity in the air, compounded by the echoing overtones (Regin 1976:48).

1633 O- event Lepers Procession on Copper Monday (the first Monday of every year). Pic 64: by Adriaen van Nieulandt

1636-7 O - everyday People taking about tulips around the Dam area. Starting in 1633, this preoccupation burst into a widespread gambling fever in 1636 (Regin 1976:92, Cotterell 1973: 131-2). On that year, it was possible to buy a tulip for 5000 guilders, equivalent to a house with a large garden (Mak 1994: 155).

1630's F – s.c. + structure Additional public institutions: The city’s first theatre, the Schouwburg, inaugurated in January 3rd, 1630 (Kistemaker 1982: 259), obtained a new building in 1637. It was always vital, standing in the middle of civic comment and action, causing massive circulation of pamphlets. Several additional institutions appealing to the study of scientific knowledge were created or improved in Amsterdam: the Athenaeum Illustre the would-be-university, open to the publics, inaugurated in 1632, (Regin 1976:79), the relocation of the public library (1637), the renovation of the anatomy theatre (1639, open to the public), and the laying out of the Botanical Garden in 1638 (Davids 2001:318). The girl’s orphanage was upgraded (1634), a city gate was built in 1636 (Hart 2001:139).

1630- F - Layout + structure public transportation system: The haulage boat came into being. This barge could be towed along existing waterways, mostly in straight canals. 411 miles of canals and towpaths were constructed in two phases (1630-47; 1656-65), by 30 towns and cities in Holland. This involved a major organizational and entrepreneurial effort. These vessels transported masses (the line to Haarlem carried 250,000 people a year). Poor people traveled free of charge (Kistemaker 1982: 145-6). Pic 65: A haulage boat moored alongside a quay on the Amstel in Amsterdam, a drawing by Jacob Cats, in Kistemaker 1982:145.

1638 (September 3-5) O - Event A visit of the Queen mother of France, Marie de’Medici, the widow of Henry IV, mother of Louis XIII the present king (Schama 1987:225, 299). Accompanied by the Prince of Orange, there was a procession with guards ahead and militia behind, coming slowly to the Dam through a decorated arch of honor (with paintings and Latin poems), continuing to the Prinsenhof. The next day banquets were taking place, while in the evening an artificial island appeared on the Rokin water. The royal company was on a boat on the canal, circling around the island, enjoying theatrical scenes (watched by the happy crowds from the banks as well). (Cotterell 1973: 138-40)


10. Nevertheless, theatrical life did not produce any innovative quality for unclear reasons (Regin 1976:120-1)
11. A long narrow vessel, fitted with a mast and a long deck-house where the passengers sat on benches. A cable was stretched form the top of the mast to a horse, which pulled it from the towpath in the charge of an attendant.
12. The capital was amassed by the cities by issuing shares. The land for building the system was bought and the excavations and earthwork were put to tender to various operators. In order to pay for expenses, the cities levied transit dues, in addition to the sale of tickets. Tolls had to be paid by those using wither the canals or the towpaths. This system offered a safe means of public transport, during all seasons. Some night boats were famous and recorded in paintings.
1640 F – structure Blaeu’s map indicates the layout of the 1663 expansion project. An entire neighborhood outside the city’s boundaries was pulled down for that. (Amsterdam heritage site). Pic 68: 1640 Amsterdam by Blaeu in heritage site ⭐ +

1640’s F – layout + s.c. Entrance of saint Elisabeths guesthouse, located at the Gasthuissteeg, nowadays the palate street, beside the old town hall on the dam. Pic 69: 1639. The dam, the four shears and the elizabethsgasthuis The Vogelstee with a dwarstraat, the Gasthuissteeg and a part of the Kalverstraat. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 70: Source: Amsterdam archives. ⭐️⭐️⭐️

1644 (March) O – event on the anniversary of the holy miracle (from 1345) – two women had publicly said Catholic prayers in the chapel (the Nieuwezijskapel) during the Protestant service (Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:100) ⭐

17th century O – everyday clandestine forms of the famous annual Catholic procession (from 1345), made by individuals and small groups (Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:100) ⭐️


1648 F – layout drawing of the New Town Hall with the demarcation of the old town hall and adjacent housing blocks. Pic 73: 1648. Source: Amsterdam slides archives, map 622 ⭐️⭐️⭐️⭐️⭐️⭐️

1648 F – s.c. Replacing the Town Hall: Discussed already in 1625, but started only in 1639 with the winning design of Van Campen’s (Hart 2001:141). The old building became unwieldy for the city’s administration as the city council offices increased. From 1640 regents collected money and bought some 60 properties around the old building, and demolished them in order to build a New Town Hall (Kistemaker 1982:109). This operation involved considerable costs, rising over 270,000 guilders annually in the 1640’s (Hart 2001:143). The foundation stone was laid in 1648. There were a few disasters during the same years, (floods, plague of mice, war), imposing difficulties on the progress of the expensive Town Hall. The principles applied to the layout of the building displayed the same concern as Hendrick de Keyser’s Town Hall at Delft - a separate building with four decorated facades (Hart 2001: 121). The building was symbolic and full of allegories in many aspects (Hart 2001:141)

Pic 74: Old Town Hall, Amsterdam. Drawn in 1657 by Pieter Saenredam, collection Rijksmuseum.
Pic 75: Drawn in 1651. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 76: Detail 1648 the construction of the town hall in Amsterdam historical museum site. Pic 77: Johannes Lingelbach, The Dam, Amsterdam, with the Town Hall under Construction, c. 1670, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Pic 78: Typanum of the rear façade of the Town Hall, print by Hubertus Quellinus (brother of individuals and small groups) (Schama, 1987:117) with the Maid-of-peace (Mak 1994:104) The typanum was made by the Antwerp sculptor Artus Quellinus who came to Amsterdam in 1650 and worked for 15 years on the sculptures in the Town Hall. It exhibited the patronage of Amsterdam in center of the world; her outstretched arms receiving goods from every continent. Her feet rest on the world and Atlas holds up the sky above her head (Amsterdam archives).

13. The building had many opponents because of that. On 22 June 1653, the town council passed a resolution declaring that the New Town Hall would be only one story high. This decision was said to be irrevocable. Payments recorded in the city’s accounts, however, show that sandstone continued to be delivered to the building site. On 10 February 1655, the council’s ‘irrevocable decision’ was declared null and void, one reason being that the sandstone required had already been bought (Amsterdam archives).

14. Van der Heyden 1975:118-123) proclaiming an imperial ethos of a city-state (Schama, 1987:117) with the Maid-of-peace sculpture atop combining peace, commerce and prosperity (Schama 1987:241). The marble inlaid in the Burgerzaal (people’s hall) placed Holland at the center of the mappa mundi (Schama 1987:223). The symbolic medal showing Mercury, the God of Trade, with a motto: Omnis jubet idem – “To everybody the same”: morality and human’s impotence (Mak 1994:104) The typanum was made by the Antwerp sculptor Artus Quellinus who came to Amsterdam in 1650 and worked for 15 years on the sculptures in the Town Hall. It exhibited the patronage of Amsterdam in center of the world; her outstretched arms receiving goods from every continent. Her feet rest on the world and Atlas holds up the sky above her head (Amsterdam archives).
of sculptor), c. 1665-1668, Source: Amsterdam archives

1642 – 1648 ■ F – s.c. Discussions on the overall design of the Dam Square (Schama 1987:119), and the position of the Nieuwe Kerk (rebuilt after a fire in 1645) in it. Real estate business flourished around the Dam at that time. The clergy demanded that a tower is raised above the copula of the Town Hall, to demonstrate the supremacy of God (Mak 1994:143). The Magnificats did not want their Town Hall dwarfed by any tower, even God’s. Although a church tower was planned - it was never realized

Nevertheless, the plans for the integration of the church in the general configuration of the square went ahead (Hart 2001:141, Schama 1987:119). Pic 79: Dam Square with the Town Hall and the New Church with the steeple that was never finished, drawing by Jacob van der Ulf, 1653. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 80: Het stadhuis van Amsterdam (doek 1650) in www20eeuwennederland. Pic 81: One of the town hall’s unrealized alternatives: Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 82: the new church with the toren which was in reality never completed, looking from Nieuwezijds Voorgburgwal. Date 1666, Amsterdam archives.

1650- ■ F – s.c. (of infrastructure) paving the main square and the chief streets leading up to it with hard surfaces, thus hoping to promote commercial traffic. The middle of the road used by carriages and carts, was made of rough stone or brick. Alongside, tightly packed bricks provided pavement for pedestrians. The typical Dutch street usually had a canal flowing between its double row of houses and its double roadway. In wealthy districts the canals were often flanked with trees – elms or lindens (Vance 1973:220, Zumthor 1959:4). This street section was an early Dutch 17th century invention, given its classical form in the 1697 expansion plan. This section created a pleasant waterside promenade, a traffic artery and a working quay. However, this particular arrangement remained an isolated regional form (Kostof 1992:219; Kostof 1991:252).

1652 (July 7) ■ F - layout The half-demolished old Town Hall went up in flames, during night (2 AM) while the guards were asleep. The citizens helped rescuing the city’s letters, books, money, the bank’s gold and silver, to some extent, losing old archives and paintings. The next day, regents showed great resilience: the exchange bank opened for business two streets away, the burgomasters moved to a tavern on the Dam, the town bell was hung from an adjacent window as the sign of authority, and the council went to the Prinsenhof (and is still there nowadays). (Mak 1994: 104, Cotterell 1973: 152). Pic 83: Fire in Amsterdam’s old Town Hall, print by Jan van der Heyden, 1690, who invented the fire hose in 1670’s. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 84: Engraving by J. de Baen, in Kistemaker :260. Pic 85: Abrahamsz. Beerstraten, ‘De brand van het oude stadhuis in Amsterdam’, 1652, Amsterdams Historisch Museum. Pic 86: 7 July 1652: Ruins of the old town hall. Source: Amsterdam archives. Temporary changes:

1652 – 1655 ■ F – layout+s.c. The erection of the new Town Hall by architect Jacob van Campen (and the city master builder Daniel Stalpaert)’, complete only by the beginning of the 18th century. Most

15. mostly for the death of the tower’s greatest advocate (Becker) in 1647
16. The street between the church and the Town Hall was called “Moses and Aaron”, symbolizing the distinction between the spiritual and the worldly (Cotterell 1973: 174-6)
17. proclaiming the wealth and greatness of the city. Imposing outside “on a scale unknown at that time” Magnificent inside (Mak 1994:104).
important in the building was the concept of the public space – the Citizen’s hall and the **vierschaar**. The high court of justice where death sentences were pronounced (Hart 2001:143) In the Town Hall there were various institutions: **Pic 87**: After 1652, heyden in Musee du Louvre Paris, in web gallery of art, www.wga.hu

*The burgerzaal* (burgler’s great hall) was free to use by the public. (Mak 1994:104) **Pic 88**: The burgerzaal. (The chandeliers were installed at the instigation of king Louis Napoleon in the early 19th century). Source: Amsterdam heritage site.

*The bankruptcy chamber*, Decorated in a humanist rather than a Calvinist manifestation (Schama 1987:343)

**Chamber of marine insurance** – a safe zone in the Town Hall.

*Wisselbank*, or The city exchange bank – functioning in a side wing of the Town Hall since 1609, an initiative of the city administration, which made the trading considerably easier. It was the safest zone in Amsterdam, a public and not a private institution. **Pic 89**: front elevation. **Pic 90**: The burgerzaal (1) (Citizens’ Hall), galleries (2), individual rooms are accessible from these galleries. The most important rooms are on the first or main floor, the Burgomasters’ Chamber (3), the Burgomasters’ Council (4), the Council Chamber (5) and the Magistrates’ Court (6), with the exception of the vierschaar (7) (High Court, where death sentences were pronounced) and city goal on the ground floor. Source: Amsterdam heritage site.

*The Vierschaar*, or High Court of Justice - the room where death sentences were pronounced21: The court case itself, however, took place in the Magistrates’ Court upstairs. **Pic 91**: Vierschaar interior, from Amsterdam heritage site

There was also a jail in the building. It was a municipal service building. (Vance 1973:221). It was made of stone imported from Germany, contrasting the surrounding bricks. Its foundations rest on almost fourteen thousand stout piles hammered into the mud beneath the Dam (Hibbert 1987:123).

**Architectural attributes** – A magnificent building on vast solid base, but a very **modest entrance** consisting...
of seven back-like doors (probably due to space shortage and possibly crowd control precaution). Burke explains the taste of Amsterdam elite class as “sober with a dash of something grander, an impression summed up by the Town Hall- a plain building whose simple lines do not harmonize with the enormous pediments full of allegorical sculpture”. The monumental simplicity of the design combined with the baroque sculpture, reflected the bourgeois taste (Burke 1974:93, illus. 7).

Mid 17th century Mentality background Notwithstanding clichés about the “simplicity” of the Dutch, they developed an ingrained taste for public solemnities and festivities. To this day, public life in the Netherlands retains a pleasure in ceremony. Conventionally mistaken for royalism dressed down, it is in fact republicanism dressed up (Schama 1987:223).


4.1.2. Data during golden age era: 1655-1795

1655 (July 29) O – event inauguration of the Town Hall a festive procession of the mayor, burgomasters, jurors, former burgomasters, and other important officials crossed the Dam from the Prinsenhof after the early service in the Nieuwe Kerk, in order to occupy the new offices, although the second story was not yet finished. There was a stirring meeting in the burgomaster’s office, a speech, and everybody went into his own office. Outside festivities went all day on the Dam, with lots of Rhine wine delivered. In the afternoon, the meeting was followed by a banquet (Hart 2001:144, Kistemaker 1982:109, Cotterell 1973:247-8).

1655 (December) O – event In an inn on the Kalverstraat, Rembrandt held an auction of his belongings, including his paintings. Takings were small. Six months later he was forced to declare himself bankrupt (Mak 1994:131).

mid 17th century O – everyday Entertainment: [I] the citizens enjoyed outdoor life, which they exploited often- sports & ball games, accompanied with dancing, drinking and gambling. The kaatsen sport, similar to contemporary tennis, but with a bare hand; the kolven sport, the forerunner of modern golf, practiced in long tree-lines avenues, where the upper classes could assemble around the wine-house and watch the players. The urban ambiance made kolven a far more publicly shared game. (Regin 1976:138, Cotterell 1973:50). [II] In winter time, the ball was replaced by a flat disc, thrown over the ice. Neither this nor any other game could vie in popularity with the entertainment of skating. It involved a skill, which could be practiced on various level of virtuosity. It combined grace, exercise and sociability. (Regin 1976:138, Cotterell 1973:50).

mid 17th century O – event “kermises” were fairs, or feast days, held in summer highlights of

23. Vondel, the city’s prominent poet and playwright, and an epitome of the burgher, wrote a lengthy poem for the inauguration of the Town Hall. It is an ode to the history of Amsterdam, and to the “bourgeois realm”. As the temple is dedicated to the religion, just so is the city hall a monument to the “state of bourgeois government” (Regin 1976:117).
24. either to hit a specific target, or to make a pre-set distance in the least number of throws
25. at the beginning it was held on September and then changed to August, Regin 1976:123
26. The theatre in the tent was a vital attraction. Like the theatre, the Kermis originated in Catholic rituals, usually celebrating the anniversary of a church or chapel. The reformed church, fulminated against such pagan playgrounds, which fostered drinking fighting and kissing. The Dutch by and large were too outgoing and convivial to permit their favorite pastimes to be jeopardized by orthodoxy. By the seventeenth century the original celebration of “saint” kermis had become thoroughly secularized. Instead of the erstwhile procession, with priests in solemn vestments, a company of local militia now marched through the streets in motley, ostentatious colors, marking the emburghment
the annual markets (Kistemaker:166). There were dozens of holy days, involving the consumption of food and drink (Cotterell 1973:50). The Kermis, an expression of folk culture, represented among other things the great popular show business. Pic 93: Gerrit Lundens, Kermis by the Heiligewegpoort, c. 1650.

mid 17th century O – everyday market days. Pic 94: Market on the dam 1655. source: Amsterdam archives (one of many variations). Pic 95: A detail

1656 O – everyday Johannes Lingelbach painting of the Dam depicts the people of Amsterdam at that time, a high percentage of immigrants

1656 F – s.c. Behind this busy scene the row of facades of the Warmoesstraat and the tower of the Oude Kerk. (Mak 1994: 99). Pic 96: Johannes Lingelbach, ‘De Dam met het nieuwe stadhuis in aanbouw’, 1656, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam. Pic 97: Details: the maisonnette, where epidemics were probed and deaths were counted. Pic 98: detail - the fish market.

17th century O – everyday Street scene: all sorts of entertainers on the street: jugglers, bear tamers, puppeteers, street poets and story tellers, acrobats, and clowns always attracted a group of curious onlookers (Kistemaker 1982: 166).

17th century O – everyday Street scene: an obsession of the Dutch housewife with cleanliness, astound even foreign travelers. It became part of the myth of the Dutch Golden Age. It was cleaned on a daily, weekly and yearly basis (De Mare & Vos 1993:124). The streets in front of the houses were exceptionally clean as well, being regularly washed and frequently sprinkled with sand. This habit was found an annoying obsession by travelers (Hibbert 1987:118-220).

17th century F – s.c transitional space, between the private and the public: the doorstep was an important place, connecting the private and the public realms: it was where men ate their bread, smoked the pipe, where life and death were announced, where symbols were hanged to indicate familial occurrences etc. This area simultaneously separated and connected the house and the street. (De Mare & Vos 1993:124-5)

17th century background Public welfare and institutions: an elaborate system of social assistance for the disadvantages: orphans, widows, the poor and the elderly. The city was well ahead of the rest of Europe. It had benevolent bodies linked with various churches, expressing a spirit of Christian charity, supervised by the Town Hall (Regin 1976:125, Kistemaker 1982: 171). Charity was a privately religious duty, but within the civic system it was also a responsibility related to the concern for law and order.

of the modern community. The kermis was the single area, where virtually everyone shared in the common joy, city slickers and country bumpkins, mingling in the crowds united in simple fun. Everybody, from outside the city as well, could sell anything. The guild rules were waived for three weeks, except those regulating foodstuffs. The Amsterdam fair, not as glamorous and without courtly pretensions as that of The Hague, was nevertheless the most comprehensive. Throughout the city there were stands with toys, herbs, glassware, earthenware, porcelain, linen, clothes, shoes, haberdashery, copper and tinware, and all sorts of frying and cooking stands offered snacks. The city was well ahead of the rest of Europe. It had benevolent bodies linked with various churches, expressing a spirit of Christian charity, supervised by the Town Hall (Regin 1976:125, Kistemaker 1982: 171). Charity was a privately religious duty, but within the civic system it was also a responsibility related to the concern for law and order.

27. merchants from all quarters of the earth, three even in eastern dresses, sailors and bargemen, drummers, female pedlars, notables, beggars. Marriage registers from that time show over 50 percentage were immigrants from varied places (Mak 1994: 99).
Waste was intolerable, in this religio-moral climate interrelating public charity and public justice - the reason why institutions combined labor with godly occupations, such as the *rasphuis* or the *spinhuis* (Regin 1976:126-7).

17th century F-structure The marketplace was the center around which daily life was organized (Zumthor in Vance 1977:219).

1660's F- layout + s.c. Adjacent to the Dam Square were: the new church; the audible fish market; the House of Sail – later the commander’s house; the Waag – where the militia had its headquarters, a busy place because all wholesale goods had to be weighed there for the city tax, before they could be sold on. Demolished in 1808 (Mak 1994: 102-3); the merchants’ exchange (Bourse) where almost every imaginable luxurious item or curiosity was sold, altogether 400 different types of goods and services. There was access to everything in the world from there, including art collections, loans to build palaces or ordering war-fleets for princes. (Mak 1994: 102-3), the moral antithesis to the bank: it was as hazardous as the bank was secure (Schama 1987:347-8). Pic 99: The waag and the house of sail (later the commander’s house). 1650-1700. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 100: The waag 1665. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1660's O – everyday Newspapers – a few types were sold around these centers of trade. In 1618 Amsterdam had a regular paper, the first in the world, with mostly information for traders. Its power lay mainly in its thoroughness and speed. Continuity, efficiency and absolute trustworthiness were key element in this economic miracle. (Mak 1994: 102-3).

1660's F – layout The Damark was a hub, having the busiest atmosphere in town: The point of arrival for most travelers, exchange location of passengers cargo and harbor dues. The Damark was a hub, having the busiest atmosphere in town: The point of arrival for most travelers, exchange location of passengers cargo and harbor dues. The departure points always attracted porters, merchants, people seeking to rescue lost souls, and others hunting for customers (for lodging or other services). Mak 1994: 101-2. Pic 101: The damark and the fish market, a detail. Date: 1660. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 102: The damark and the fish market, a detail. Date: 1663. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1660's F – s.c. The decoration of the Town Hall interior was given to Govert Flinck. When suddenly died in 1860, Rembrandt undertook a small part of the project. (Mak 1994:132). Famous artists were hired to decorate the building (Hart 2001:143).

Notices were posted in a nearby room documenting the time of arrival and departures of all ships, and the ingeniously punctual system of barges operating around the city and throughout Holland. The hourly service between Amsterdam and Haarlem alone transported about 250,000 people a year.

The bourse was carrying its business only between noon and two o`clock. Opening times were strictly regulated by the great clock tower that dominated the courtyards. Members were fined for arriving after appointed hours. Behavior in the Bourse was outlandishly different, described as frenzied histrionics. (Schama 1987:347-8).

The most spectacular speculation was the tulip mania of 1636-7. the Bourse offered a kind of economic anarchy threatening to destroy the edifice of regulation. (Schama 1987:349-50).
1662
O – everyday The fish market on the Dam square. Pic 103: Emanuel de Witte, Adrianna van Heusden and her Daughter at the Fish Market, 1662

1662
F – structure + s.c. Fokkens’s text depicts the structure of the city through its distinct districts of commerce. The Kalverstraat area specialized in print shops and haberdashers. Warmoesstraat (between the IJ and the Dam) was the center of fabrics and furnishings. Fokkens also describes the opulent Amsterdam residences on the Rokin (next to the Damark). Schama 1987:300-4.

1663
F – structure the fourth expansion plan - extending the concentric canals beyond the Amstel river. The 1613 and 1663 projects, which are part of an overall plan, resulted in Amsterdam growing to four times the original size within the time span of half a century. (Amsterdam heritage site). The important commissions of these expansion plans and of the public buildings were public and not private, ensuring that the city builders will not remain unemployed (Burke 1974:88). Pic 104: After 1663. Amsterdam heritage site. Pic 105: 1662. Map 20, from Dijkstra et al.1999

1663

1664 (early May)
O – event The Execution of Elsje Christiaens, an 18-year-old girl (a new immigrant) on the Dam, for killing her landlady. Case number 84 presented on April 28, documented in the city confession books. Rembrandt drew her right after the execution (Mak 1994: 96-9). Pic 109: Rembrandt van Rijn, 1664, Metropolitan, NY

1665
F – s.c. The dome-shaped tower of the Town Hall, completed in 1665. On 4 April 1664, a carillon had been ordered for the tower from François Hemony. The carillon consists of 47 bells. Concerts now take place only in July, August and September on Mondays from noon to 1 p.m. (Amsterdam archives).

1667 - 1674

1668

1669
O – everyday French life styles are propagated in Amsterdam, mainly city living: theatres,

31. The last permanent carillon player of the Royal Palace was Jacob Vincent, who played the carillon between 1900 and 1952 in a solemn style all his own. Since then there has been no permanent player.
dresses, and also leisure: coffee houses are the place to discuss news instead of on the Dam (Cotterell 1973: 184).

1669- F – s.c. (infra-structure) artificial lighting: streets and canals were well lit during night by a system planned by the painter/engineer Jan van der Heyden. 2500 lanterns could be lit in 15 minutes. Public spaces were thus used also after dusk (Hibbert 1987:119; Cotterell 1973: 204-5). From the 1670’s an improved drainage system greatly reduced the smells of the canals during the summer. (Hart 2001:147).

1670- F – s.c. the housing fabric: the Dutch town contained very few large houses. Relatively small and separated structures were preferred, with a gap of an inch or tow. A house served one single family. Only a few houses had four-to-seven floors. The height of the houses became a symbol of wealth.

The rich lived in the four- to seven- story houses along the Herengracht. The less wealthy had narrower, lower houses on the other canals. They also tended to be plain, leaving little room for decoration, except for the top gable (Hibbert 1987:118).

1670- F – structure, s.c. street life (within housing districts) particular streets were devoted to individual trades – for example coopers, boot-makers or bakers. Concentrated activities made it easier for the guilds to exercise rights of control. A town thus became a conglomeration of little worlds, each with its own atmosphere, local gossip and smells. Houses often took their names from the profession of its occupant (Zumthor 1959:5-6).

1670- F – s.c. taxi station Carriages and sledges became commonplace. Those who did not possess a vehicle were able to hire one. Taxi ranks were set up in the Dam, with stables and drinking-troughs. A traveler rang a bell and several coachmen would then dash forward. They each threw a dice - the highest number won the fare (Hibbert 1987:118; Zumthor 1959:16-17). This comfortable service of horse-drawn carriages, allowed moving almost everywhere. Travelers spent time conversing (Mak 1994:145).

1673- background The modern fire engine invented by van der Heyden was tested on January12th, 1673, when the Admiralty was on fire, marking the beginning of efficient fire fighting. Civic security was a goal, especially for middle classes idolizing property, who put all their ingenuity in safeguarding home. In their world - fire was one of the major enemies (Regin 1976:87). Pic 120: Jan van der Heyden in 1677 betekende een grote stap voorwaarts.

1675 F – layout The demolition of the locks on the Dam, closing the connection between the Amstel and the IJ. (Mak 1994:36).

32. Many of the houses were bow-fronted, probably for preventing the rain to come in. The lowest storey leveled with the surface of the canal (below street-level); 4-5 steps gave access to it. The ground floor was slightly above street-level and opened into the roadway by a central door, with or without a flight of steps, and a small leaded window. Above these windows a canopy (luifel) of painted wood ran the length of the frontage and protected from rain and sun that part of the pavement where the craftsman worked, and where the merchant took the air on summer evenings on a bench placed at either end of the house front. These projections gradually disappeared during the course of the century. Just above the protective canopy appeared the first and second storey windows. The second storey, under the eaves, had usually only a single casement window. If the house belonged to a merchant, a great door would appear instead, with a large hook above, used to hoist up merchandise, as the upper floor was used as a loft. The steep tiled roof above had sometimes a dormer-window. This was a typical house. Details varied tremendously, according to the wealth and rank of the owner. (Zumthor 1959: 4).

33. A Street was more than just a row of facades and a passageway. It exercised a sociological if not political function.
1677 (March 18) ■ O – event Admiral De Ruyter’s funeral, a notable Dutch war figure, was a slow and long procession with great crowds watching. They marched across the Dam into the Nieuwe Kerk (Cotterell 1973:191-2). Pic 121: de Ruyter’s funeral procession on 18 March 1677 approaching the New Church. Source: Amsterdam archives. The print lists all the mourners.

1679 (February 8) ■ O – event Joost van den Vondel funeral, buried in the Nieuwe Kerk at the age 92. Although he took over his father’s shop in Warmoesstraat, he wrote a huge number of plays and epic poems, verses for special municipal occasions and satirical verses. His coffin was carried by 14 poets and poetry lovers, and was given a prominent place in the Nieuwe Kerk. That same day the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre put on one of his greatest plays. (Amsterdam archives)

1680’s ■ F – structure The scale of the latest expansion plan (1663) proved too ambitious. A large area east of the Amstel River remained open terrain and was finally turned into a recreational area (the Plantage). Apart from several large charity institutions and a spacious park, no building activities were undertaken until the 1860s. The Zoo (Artis) is a remnant of the original usage of this terrain. Pic 122: 1680 Nicolaas Visscher kaart2 in Amsterdam heritage site. Pic 123: 1689 map Scheepvaartmuseum. Source: Amsterdam heritage site

1682 ■ O – event hundred seventy-eight slaves from Algiers released by the burgomaster of Amsterdam in the Town Hall. Pic 124: Source: Amsterdam archives


1689 (April) ■ O – event official visits of famous people were festive occasions in the life of the city. Pic 129: Fireworks on the Amstel for the coronation of William III and Mary Stuart, in Kistemaker 1982: 109


1696 (January 31) ■ O – event Undertaker’s riots, for the high taxes on funerals, part of the costs of war (Cotterell 1973: 201). Enraged Amsterdammers broke into Burgomaster Jacob Boreel’s house and threw everything they found into the canal. Then they went to Captain Spaaroog’s house, the hated head of the militia. City authorities cracked down hard on the rebels, militia used live ammunition. Two ‘ringleaders or trouble-makers’ were hanged from the window of the Weigh-house (Waag) in Dam Square, and the uprising was swiftly put down. But the rioters achieved their goal — the tax on funerals was not introduced. (Amsterdam archives). Pic 135: The militia after putting down the undertakers’ uprising, etching by Romeijn de Hooghe, 1696. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 136: The riots, 1969.
The city expansion plan has been carried out, for over two hundred thousand inhabitants. City was colorful: Bricks were painted in red, while unrendered stoned facades were yellowish. Doors were usually red, later ochre or brown. (Mak 1994:145). Houses - Most were already built, although the great ones would be built during the 18th century –the time of the most elaborate interior). They were not so practical: Some rooms were unusable (especially the high lit ones), the reception rooms usually remained empty, while the family lived in upper floors, in a limited space. There were scant servants, having often nobody to answer the monumental front door, thus remaining a decoration. The kitchen back door was frequently used, requiring bending down or banging the head. Foreign visitors found that amusing about Amsterdam. Socio economic distribution was evident in the new city layout. Façades – over the centuries hundreds of façades have been appended to houses, according to the ruling fashion of the day. From stepped gables to the bell gable and in the 18th century - coffee clubs, for both men and women (though separate), started to spring up (Schama, 1987:172). Public places – coffee houses, taverns, and theatres – everywhere public was filled with tobacco smoke from clay pipes (Mak 1994:145). Not until early 18th century - coffee clubs, for both men and women (though separate), started to spring up (Schama, 1987:172). Public places – coffee houses, taverns, and theatres – everywhere public was filled with tobacco smoke from clay pipes (Mak 1994:145). Not until early 18th century - coffee clubs, for both men and women (though separate), started to spring up (Schama, 1987:172). Pic 137: The Golden Bend in Herengracht, coloured print by Jan van Call, c. 1690. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 138: Goudsbloemgracht, now Willemsstraat, just before filled in, drawing by W. Hekking, 1853. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 139: Herengracht by Berckheyde, 1685.

Since around 1725 – political and economical changes in Europe bring about the beginning of Dutch decline and decay. Industry falls away, trade and shipping flourish. That was the halcyon time of the rich and the privileged, although poverty and unemployment (Mak 1994:208)

There was a torture chamber in the Town Hall. Prison cells were available also at various gate towers, for men (rasphuis) and women (spinhuis) separately. These buildings were not medieval, but considered at that time to be penologically advanced. They were tourist attractions of a somewhat kinky nature (Schama 1997:21-22, Mak 1994:171, Cotterell 1973: 205-6).


Hustle and bustle in the marketplace: From the Middle Ages until 1841, the fish market was on the Damsluis. Saltwater fish were sold near River IJ, and the freshwater fish on the Rokin side. It was forbidden to sell fish anywhere but the market, except for the cheapest varieties. Storks were

34. The Herengracht near Spiegelstraat became the most fashionable part of the whole ring of canals. The great wealth of its inhabitants caused Amsterdammers to call this part of the canal the ‘Golden Bend’. Houses covered double lots and are therefore much wider and deeper. Many of them even have a splendid garden at the back. The Goudsbloemgracht in the Jordaan district on the other hand, was one of the poorest areas of Amsterdam.

35. It was not unusual, even for women or children, to be branded with a red-hot iron when caught thieving. Whippings were handed out freely. Despite the relative toleration for different religious sects – blasphemy resulted in severe punishments (years in prison or years in exile, fines, property confiscations, tongue pierced, thumbs cut off etc.).

36. On 29 January 1597, the town council passed a resolution allowing boys with no income to become fish-porters, so that they might learn a trade and earn a living. The Poorhouse issued identification papers and kept the boys under supervision. Perhaps the boy with a tray of fish on his head is one such official fish-porter.
always to be found around the fish market, waiting to snatch a fish. Markets played an important role in the life of the city in the 17th century. Nearly all goods were sold at separate marketplaces, examples being the apple market, the butter market and the flower market\(^{36}\). 

\[\text{Pic 142: Fish market in Dam Square, drawing by Pieter van den Berge, c. 1690. Source: Amsterdam archives.} \]

\[\text{Pic 143: The vegetable market, by Pieter van den Berge, c. 1690. Source: Amsterdam archives.} \]

\[\text{Pic 144: Appelmarkt by Pieter van den Berge, ca. 1690. Source: Amsterdam archives.} \]

1697 \[\text{O – event}\]

On Sunday, 25 August 1697 Tsar Peter the Great arrived with his entourage in Amsterdam. He spent four months studying shipbuilding at the wharf of the Dutch East India Company. On 29 August 1697, the Amsterdam city authorities gave a banquet for the Russians at the Kloveniersdoelen, after which there was a 42 seconds display of fireworks, launched from a 13 metres high triumphal arch floating on two boats in the Amstel River (Amsterdam archives).

\[\text{Pic 145: Fireworks pavilion in the River Amstel to honour Tsar Peter the Great, drawn by Isaac de Moucheron, 1697, Amsterdam archives.} \]

1700- \[\text{F – layout + s.c./ O-everyday}\]

Coffee houses for gentlemen were common by 1700 henceforth. Much of the notorious “wind” trade took place in coffeehouses, which in London offered a high standard of conversation. On the contrary, a scoffer described the talk as a concatenation of “amusing jokes and quaint ideas” around 1730 \[\text{(Kistemaker 1982: 211).} \]

\[\text{Pic 146: Plan of the Dam, 1700. Source: Amsterdam archives.} \]

1700- \[\text{F – structure}\]

at the beginning of the 18th century, it took almost two hours to walk from one end to the other of the semi-circular canals along the city banks (Zumthor 1959:9).

\[\text{Pic 147: 1708, Map 13. Source: Amsterdam Atlas.} \]

1680 - 1725 \[\text{F – layout + s.c.+ structure}\]

The center of the world’s printing activity \[\text{★ (Regin 1976:89))}^{37}\]. In the early 18th century, there were two Huguenots\(^{38}\) bookshops — opposite the Amsterdam Stock Exchange (Amsterdam archives). All booksellers clustered together along ‘Het Water’ (the old inner port of the city), on the Dam square next to the Town Hall and the Exchange, or in the adjacent streets and alleys \[\text{（Hoftijzer 2001:256).} \]

Since foreigners were admitted to the Amsterdam publishers’ and booksellers’ guild, many Huguenots worked in the book trade\(^{39}\). The printing culture of the city could have not become so unique if it was not for the freedom of press \[\text{(Regin 1976:90).} \]

\[\text{Pic 148: Huguenot bookshops opposite the Stock Exchange, as seen from the arcade of the exchange (Hoftijzer 2001:257) anonymous print, 1715. The illustration is the title-page print in a book about practices in the leading European stock exchanges, “Le loix et costumes” Source: Amsterdam archives.} \]

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37. In the 17th century Amsterdam developed into the center of the international book trade. Printers produced good work at competitive rates. As importantly, books had little to fear from government censorship, and books that were banned in other countries were published in Amsterdam. All this meant that people in the book trade flocked to Amsterdam from all over Europe. (Amsterdam archives).

38. François L’Honoré and Jacques Desbordes. Baleu’s greatest rival and his workshop next door to him, that is, “Op ‘t Water”, the street now called Damrak (Regin 1976:89)). 39. Eighty of the 230 publishers active in Amsterdam between 1680 and 1730 were Huguenots. Many of the books they published were in French. Huguenots were French Protestants, who were violently forced to convert to Catholicism. They fled the country. Some 12,000 of them escaped to Amsterdam. Around 1700, a quarter of all Amsterdammers were French. There were French neighborhoods and taverns and a French church in Amsterdam.

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1720 O – event Unemployed laborers came to the Dam with a puppet representing a shareholder, caused merchant’s wigs and hair to fly, and attacked the coffee house Quincampoix in Kalverstraat - a typical meeting place for “sellers of wind”40 (Kistemaker 1982:184-5).


1730 - 1736 O – everyday Pic 155: Winter Fun on the Amstel, etching -Tileman van der Horst


1746 O – event annual children’s feast: Until Berlage’s new Stock Exchange was opened in 1903, children were allowed to play at the Exchange once a year. In September, during Amsterdam’s yearly fair (kermis)41, the children dressed up as soldiers and paraded through the city to the Exchange, making a deafening noise on their drums and trumpets. Originated in 1621, after the Spanish attempted to capture Amsterdam42 (Amsterdam archive). Pic 159: ‘Drumming at the Exchange’ during the Amsterdam fair, drawing by Cornelis Troost, 1746. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1748 O – event rebellion: the population started demanding the return of the House of Orange, and the end of nepotism, especially when Holland faced dangers. A rebellion erupted on the streets: the Town Hall was stormed, a group climbed into the building. Although the militia cleared the building on that same day, the anger of the people made a profound impression: the House of Orange returned, and many administrators left their posts (Mak 1994:172-3, Kistemaker 1982:196-7).

40. This coffee house was chosen, not by accident, since rue Quincampoix in Paris was the wild site of share dealings in absurd companies or objects. The speculations of rich and poor, usually done in coffee houses, made many collapses bankruptcies. Such crises undermined confidence in credit, caused business stagnation, and led to unemployment. The authorities put an end to the uproar and managed to stop the trade in shares, which has gotten out of hand, just as they had stopped the “tulipomania” in the 17th century. (Kistemaker 1982: 184-5)

41. Amsterdam’s yearly fair (kermis), which took place in September, lasted three weeks. Everyone took to the streets. Most people had saved up for the occasion, and many employers even gave their workers a special bonus. There were tents and stalls everywhere. The centre of the fair was in Botermarkt, which is now Rembrandtplein. (Amsterdam archive).

42. A boy was playing surreptitiously in the Commodity Exchange, situated over the Rokin canal. When his ball rolled through a hole into the water, the boy discovered a barge full of gunpowder beneath the Exchange. He reported it to the authorities and as a reward the children of Amsterdam were allowed to play once a year at the Exchange. ‘Drumming at the Exchange’ was forbidden a couple of times in the nearly three centuries of its existence. When the authorities forbade it in 1850, the children of Amsterdam refused to accept the ban. They submitted a rhyming petition for its reinstatement, after which it was again permitted. (Amsterdam archive).
**1748** (June 24-28) **O – event** A rebellion against the taxation system and the people in the lucrative positions\(^\text{43}\). They plundered their houses but did not loot anything\(^\text{44}\), ending after four days, with drunkenness and fornication. On the fifth day, two ringleaders were executed on the Dam (hanged on the Waag): a fish buyer and a burgomaster. When the latter was hanged, the spectacle was so exciting to the crowd that they pushed to be closer. It seemed to the guards as an uproar, thus starting to shoot the crowd. A great panic ensued that caused a tragic calamity: hundred fell into the Damark, 60 drowned, many injured\(^\text{41}\) (Mak 1994:173-6). The state of Holland abolished tax farming at once. Burghers further imposed political demands, especially the reduction of the power of the ruling families.

**1748** (Sep 2) **O – event** following the June uproars, the Prince of Orange William IV came to the city. A crowd of thousands welcomed him with high hopes. *In the Town Hall*, he dismissed the burgomasters and council pleasantly and gently, and appointed new burgomasters and council, some newcomers and some from the old ruling families. In sum, the prince has done little. He shortly after left the city. Not much was achieved, but the years 1747 and 1748 saw the first inroads on the seemingly unimpeachable position of the rulers\(^\text{41}\) (Kistemaker 1982: 197-9). **Pic 160**: Looting of A. M. van Arssen’s house on the Singel, etching by Simon Fokke, 1777, Source: Amsterdam archives (Mak 1994: 174, Kistemaker 1982:191). **Pic 161**: The bodies of two hanged men dangled from the Waag at the Dam, while the civil guard fire on the crowd during the disorder of 1748. Drawing by Simon Fokke, in Kistemaker 1982: 264.

**1748 - 1854** **F-layout, s.c.** a post office building on the spot of the Magna Plaza\(^\text{42}\) The original post office was built on this spot in 1748. It was closed in 1854, demolished, and then in 1899 the building was built again, in its contemporary form. Glass steel and stone global architecture encyclopedia, in [http://www.glasssteelandstone.com/NL/AmsterdamMagnaPlaza.html](http://www.glasssteelandstone.com/NL/AmsterdamMagnaPlaza.html).

**1754** (Jan 15) **O – event** the death and burial of merchant Daniël Raap (from his house to the dam). **Pic 162**: A shouting with joy mob drags a part of the ingot of the deceased merchant Daniël raap, in triumph to the dam. Source: Amsterdam archives. **Pic 163**: Disorder in the house of the deceased merchant Daniël raap\(^\text{41}\). **1756** (Nov 4) **O – everyday** nighttime traffic in Dam Square was prohibited, with chains preventing access, although people perpetrated the curfew. A warning was therefore posted to announce that future offenders would be punished with a 25-guilder fine\(^\text{45}\). (Amsterdam archives). **Pic 164**: Proclamation against night-time traffic in Dam Square, 4 November 1756, Source: Amsterdam archives, Mak 1994: 174

**1760’s** **O – everyday / F-s.c.** The life around the Waag and on the Dam. **Pic 165**: The Waag on the Dam, by Van Eeghen, 1760 – 1775. Source: Amsterdam archives. **Pic 166**: detail. **Pic 167**: detail. **Pic 168**: A mirrored picture, looking north 1761. Source: Amsterdam archives. **43** Another problem of the city – nepotism, and the fact that it was ruled by a handful of rich families\(^\text{44}\). Throwing furniture, painting, clothes, crockery and even money, into the canals. **45**. The statute prohibits horse-drawn vehicles in Dam Square between ten o’clock at night and the time when the city gates open in the morning. Horses, carriages and carts would be impounded until the fine was paid. The penalty applied even if the owner was not actually driving the vehicle himself! Statutes were drawn up by the bailiff and aldermen in consultation with the burgomasters. A statute was announced on Dam Square by the town crier to a peal of bells, and published in the city proclamations.
Pic 169: Looking north 1761. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 170: The Dam and the Town Hall, by Simon Fokke, 1762. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 171: The Dam, 1750-1775. The waag is on the left (a look from the house of sail). Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 172: The fish wharf on the Dam, by Blondel George Francois, 1763. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 173: Dam, by Vinkeles Reinier, 1764. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 174: The houses of sail on the Dam, by Vinkeles Reinier, 1769. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 175: Entrance to the Beurs, by Vinkeles Reinier, 1768. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 176: The burgerzaal in the town hall, 1765. Source: Amsterdam archives.  

1766: F – layout the Dam from the nieuwezijds voorburgwal. Pic 179: 1766 The unfinished tower of the church, and its entrance towards the nieuwezijds voorburgwal. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
Pic 180: 1766 The rear side of the town hall, from nieuwezijds voorburgwal. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
1768 (May 30th – June 1st) O – event the visit of Prince Willem V and his wife in Amsterdam. Pic 181: May 30th, 1768, The visit of the prince with illuminated town hall. By Fokke Simon. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 182: June 1st, 1768, a banquet offered to the prince and princess by the city of Amsterdam. Source: Amsterdam archives.  
This house has been built in the year 1775 by J. Witte. The house was called “'t Huis onder ‘t Zeil” until the year 1807, after the name of the former houses built in the 17th century which displayed their goods under a sail, hence the name. So the names the Commandantshuis and the House of Sail are used for the same building. (source: correspondances with Corinne Staal, Amsterdam City Archives, Sect. Public Services)  
1778 F – s.c. In the Weigh-house, goods were weighed before being sold. Reliable scales were
therefore indispensable. Seven scales hung behind the open doors of the Weigh-house. There was another set of scales inside for valuable goods. Near the Weigh-house, porters and their horses stand ready to tow freight. Horses drew a coach on a sledge, traditionally used to transport people as well as goods. There were traffic rules for sledges, so apparently sledge traffic could become quite chaotic. The upper storey of the Weigh-house was used as a *watch-house for soldiers*. The Waag served as a *place of execution*. Those sentenced to death were hanged from the windows of the upper storey. The last death sentence in Amsterdam was carried out in 1854 (Amsterdam archive). These civic rituals occurred anywhere from one to four times per year. On justice days, the crowds who gathered to see the spectacle of execution also came to watch the burgomasters. The magistrates sat in the open window of the gallery of the second floor of the town hall, with their ceremonial robes and crosses, as visible witnesses looking down on the violent justice meted out on the scaffold in the Dam Square below. The official presence of town oligarchs at public executions was unique to Amsterdam. (Vanhaelen 2003: 150-1). If crowds swarmed to the Dam Square to witness public rites of justice with their own eyes, they took pleasure trips to Volewijk to picnic among the dead. Awesome ceremonies of suffering and publication seem to arouse a peculiar frisson of transgressive desire (Vanhaelen 2003: 155)

Some markets were located along the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, a winding river behind the Town Hall, which at that time had not yet been filled in. Some markets were located along the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, a winding river behind the Town Hall, which at that time had not yet been filled in. The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the flower market on the left, the dairy market on the right next to the visible Town Hall’s rear façade, drawing by Jan de Beyer, 1759. Source: Amsterdam archives. The milk market later became the pipe market. In 1884 this waterway was filled in and became a busy thoroughfare. In 1862 the flower market was moved to the Singel. Today there are permanent flower stalls here, floating on the water just like the barges that used to bring the goods to market. On the right are the ships of the ‘Goudse veer’, a *common-carrier service*. By the late 16th century there were vessels providing scheduled services to all corners of the country. The ‘beurtveren’ - were required to charge the tariffs established by the various cities. The ferries had their own mooring places on Amsterdam’s most important waterways. The ‘Goudse veer’ (the ferry to Gouda), had its mooring place near the Pijpenmarkt on the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal. (Amsterdam archives).

The execution of J.B.F. van Gogh on the Town Hall, for assassination. Source: Amsterdam archives.

Library and lottery agency of Jan Groot in Kalverstraat. Pic 199: Kanvas
by Izaak Ouwater 1779 (Rijkmuseum). Typical of the Dutch analytical style, the painting shows three facades in Kalverstraat linked with the city’s art history. The house that the crowd in trying to enter had been inhabited by Clement de Jonghe, who was painted by Rembrandt and was the editor of his etchings. The houses on the left and right belonged to famous Dutch painters. (Kistemaker 1982: 220).

1780’s O – everyday. Pic 200: the new church by Isaak Ouwater, expressing his everyday life as indicated “L’artiste et l’observateur ne s’intéressaient dans une ville qu’aux édifices le plus importants, sans paraître remarquer les couleurs et l’atmosphère” (in Meijer 1964:116-7). Pic 201 a detail. Note: the gentry stand at the back of the town hall, behind and far from the busy common square.

1781 (Aug 28th) O – event burial procession of Baron Bentinck from kalverstraat to be buried in the new church on the dam. Pic 202: Amsterdam archives.

Late 18th century F – layout the Damrak Pic 203: The Damrak in the late 18th century; ships still have free access as far as the Dam Square from heritage site.

18th century O – everyday Decade of poverty due to many frosts. It created severe problems with the distribution of drinking water. The frosts marked the beginning of the city’s slow decline, accelerated towards the end of the century (Mak 1994: 156-65). Mist, smoke and decay all over the town, especially during summer. The canals were a stinking sewer and a graveyard for rotting animals and garbage from the markets. Dutch smoked a lot just to escape the stench, according to writer Ireland (ibid168).

18th century O – everyday Amsterdam was filled with music halls, of various sorts and for various people (distinguished, men with prostitutes, gay, Jews). Musicians played every instrument on the street. Mak 1994:156-65

18th century background mentality: The Enlightenment was not revolutionary in Holland. Older views were attacked, but not as venomously as in England or France, for a few reasons: first, the Enlightenment principle was traditional in Holland – a climate of tolerance was not new in the Republic. The Dutch had a developed cultural relativism: as long as they were not affected, they did not mind other customs or religious views. Second, the republic differed from its neighbors also in the absence of state representation (all the more of absolute regimes) and church control over everyday life was moderate. Censorship was a rare occasion. Moreover, without the Dutch liberate atmosphere, especially of the book print industry, Enlightenment thought could not have been spread as it was. (Kistemaker 1982: 200)

1785 (February 27) O – event A mob besieged the Town Hall, when revolution was in the air due to French political changes. Nine councilors were forced to resign, and were replaced by “Patriot” nominees. Both in the great burgher’s Hall inside the Town Hall and on the Dam – Hooft was given an ovation. Enthusiastic militiamen escorted him through the crowd to his coach. People shouted “Viva Father Hooft”. There was a similar scene every day when he arrived or left the Town Hall, which lasted for a few months. He was the most loved of all burgomasters (Cotterell 1973:228).

Pic 204: “Father Hooft leaves the town Hall” 1787. Source: Amsterdam archives, and cotterell 1973:188
1785 (October 3) O – event The Prussians attacked the Dutch Patriots, who were mostly sheltered in Amsterdam. When they arrived Father Hooft resigned and the city surrendered. Prussian soldiers guarded the Town Hall. After a few weeks’ camping on the Dam, the Prussian departed, leaving aristocratic oligarchs to rule back for their last few years (Cotterell 1973:229).

1787 (February) O – event A crowd surrounded the Town Hall in order to force the council to make a decision, regarding the admission of Patriots into the government. In April, a college of burgher delegates was elected by Patriot societies, sergeants of the guard, and members of the free company. With a list of signatures, this committee could count on support from 15,000 Amsterdammers. (Kistemaker 1982:236).

1787 (April 21) O – event The guards and the free companies barred the Dam, after which a petition was handed in at the Town Hall asking for the resignation of nine council members. (Kistemaker 1982:236). The governor demanded that they relinquish their seats, thus igniting a revolution. Patriots entered the cafes and threw out customers loyal to Orange. The following day the houses of the Patriots were ransacked. The Patriots eventually ruled for a short span, until the assistance of the King of Prussia to Orange. (Mak 1994:185-6). The Orange side eventually won. The last years of the Republic were repressive (Kistemaker 1982:238).

1789 (April 21) O – event an execution on the town hall because of burning of the libel and calumny books by so-called emigrants. Pic 205: Amsterdam archives

1790 (Jan 28) F – s.c. / O – everyday Pic 206: Source: Amsterdam archives

1793 F- s.c. / O – everyday Pic 207: Amsterdam archives

4.1.3. Data during monarchic era: 1795-1855

1795 (January 18) O – event The appointment of Rayenhoff to have the command of the city, proclaimed from the steps of the Waag during midnight. It was part of the plan to turn the French occupation into a revolution from within, and set up a revolutionary administration so that the French would not enter as conquerors but as liberating brothers of the Amsterdam burgurers that are in favor of the revolution. Pic 208: "The beginning of the revolution in Amsterdam" on the steps of the waag. Source: Amsterdam archives

1795 (January 19) F – s.c. A freedom tree was brought in and set up in fragile equilibrium with weights and ropes. It couldn’t be planted owing to the frost. The colors of the Batavians (red white and blue) were hanging from the Town Hall’s roof. (Mak 1994:188, Cotterell 1973:229)

1795 (January 19) O – event Turnover to Batavians - Burgomasters, jurors and council appeared at nine o’clock at the Town Hall. After an hour’s reflection, they called for the revolutionary committee’s delegates to enter. Chairs stood ready for them in front of the open fire (Kistemaker 1982:242). They resigned quietly, and nine members of the revolutionary committee were led in the freezing Town Hall. The takeover went peacefully and with good manners (reading speeches, bowing, handing out keys
of the burgomaster’s room). Someone reported all of the above to the people on the Dam from one of the Town Hall’s window. Former regents were safely escorted through the crowd. (Mak 1994:187, Cotterell 1973:230-2). The French appeared on the Dam, which was renamed ‘the Square of the Revolution’. The crowd was wearing the Batavian colors (red white and blue), shivering of cold (Mak 1994:187). There was a little dancing around the “Freedom Tree” (Mak 1994:188). Pic 209: The removal of Amsterdam regents. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 210: Welcoming the citizen deputation to the town hall on the dam, Amsterdam archives.

1795 (March 4) O – event Speeches on the Dam, preaching for freedom. On the Revolution celebration day (March 3), a great procession from the Butter market (Botermarket, today’s Rembrantsplein) marched to the Dam, bringing a huge crowd into it. Processors consisted of all Batavian supporters, additional to the anti-Orange activists and thousands of armedburghers. There were speeches, dancing and general happiness. Inside the Town Hall the leaders had a banquet. (Cotterell 1973:235-6). Pic 211: The festival of the inauguration of the second freedom tree on the dam. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1795 (June 19) O – event A national holiday was proclaimed on 19 June 1795 to celebrate the accord reached by the French and Batavian Republics. Pic 215: Description of the national holiday proclaimed to celebrate the alliance between the French and Batavian Republics, 1795. The celebration in Amsterdam surpassed all other festivities throughout the land, in size and opulence. The alliance’s new flag was ceremoniously raised in Dam Square, which had been renamed Revolution Square. Insignias of the House of Orange were burned to the accompaniment of music. The festivities took place in various squares in Amsterdam that had been suitably decorated for the occasion. Pic 216: Festival for the alliance between the French and Batavian republic, drawing by Kuypers J. Source: Amsterdam archives.


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47. The festivities are described in a booklet dating from 1795, preserved in the library of the Municipal Archives.
48. The description of the holiday starts in Noordermarkt and follows a route around the city, ending up in Revolution Square (Dam Square).
A variety of structures, each of which bore a message, had been erected in the city’s squares. In Westermarkt one could see ‘the people destroying the aristocracy’, and in Botermarkt ‘the destruction of the old constitution’ was portrayed as an old, dilapidated Gothic building. In the afternoon a mock battle was staged on the River IJ. In the evening the main themes of the day’s celebrations were again pressed home by means of illuminated decorations. (Amsterdam archive). There were some hitches though; many lampions did not lit in the evening, the sea-fight on the IJ was a complete failure. It is unclear whether that was deliberate, a result of the rough weather, or a presage of the future to follow (Kistemaker 1982:244).
analyses: publicnesses in the dam square

1798 | O – event | the house of the municipality at amsterdam lighted from may 19th to june 19th, 1798. the occasion was the festival of the establishment of the constitution. pic 222: detail of working people.

1806 | F – s.c. / O – everyday | the beurssluis where water links the rokin with the damark, and a public place on top. the arcs on the right are the books and paper-works. pic 224: source: amsterdam archives

1806 | O – everyday | life around the royal palace. pic 228: 20-4-1808. at the day of the change into the royal palace: a view from the rear façade of the building. source: amsterdam archives

1806 | O – event | the city gave away the famous town hall to the brother of emperor napoleon, for temporary use as palace. (mak 1994:188) in the year 1807 the commandantshuis building was destined by king lodewijk napoleon as a residence for the commander of the city. in 1869 the last commander left the building. (source: correspondances with corinne staal, amsterdam city archives, sect. public services)


1808-1810 | O – everyday | life around the royal palace. pic 228: 20-4-1808. at the day of the change into the royal palace: a view from the rear façade of the building. source: amsterdam archives. pic 229: 1808. towards the imperial and royal palace of napoleon, and moses & aaronstraats. source: amsterdam archives. pic 230: 1810. the royal palace, amsterdam archives

1808 | April 20 | F – s.c. | napoleon bonaparte’s young brother, louis, endowed the reign on the dutch by his brother, moved to amsterdam, and used the town hall as his palace. the council moved out. napoleon, who wanted an unobstructed view of damrak, removed the weighhouse (cotterell 1973:238, 241). [abolition of] of this decision was never reversed: after the return of the house of orange in 1815, the bastion of the republic remained firmly in royal hands. the throne room was never again to serve as the citizen’s hall. the city administration found shelter in the prinsenhof (for 150 years). the place of execution was moved from the dam to the nieuwerkmarkt. [abolition of] (mak 1994:188). pic 231: 1790-1836. map no. dam602 source: slides in the amsterdam archives

1808 | F – s.c. | the young brother of napoleon bonaparte (louis) built a terrace on the façade of the royal palace. [enhancement of]

1811 (end of september) | O – event | napoleon bonaparte’s visit to amsterdam – ends in the palace. the young empress marie-louise arrives first, the emperor lingers behind (the crowd awaits for 1-2 hours) followed by a procession of spanish prisoners. excited amsterdamers decorate their houses, and wait to see him on the dam (cotterell 1973:247-8)

1813 | October | O – event | the french occupation of amsterdam came to an end and king william
I of Orange rode into the city. The question of the Royal Palace was raised: should it remain a palace or return to being a Town Hall. Although the king was willing to cede the palace to the citizens, his advisers felt the House of Orange should cultivate a certain court atmosphere in the city. Eventually, it was decided that Amsterdam would call itself the capital; the Town Hall will remain the Royal Palace. The House of Orange promised to stay in the city for a part of each year. In actual, the Palace stood as a dead block on the Dam for decades, used only for representative purposes, as a symbol of the almost permanent absence of the Oranges form the city (Absence of ). (Mak 1994:193-5).


**1815** The new church serves the royal family. In “Glass steel and stone, the global architecture encyclopedia”, http://www.glasssteelandstone.com/NL/AmsterdamNieuweKerk.html


**1820-44** The large picturesque city wall was demolished little by little although mentally, the city remained within its old ramparts (Mak 1994:195).


**1812 (and Early 19th century)** There were roughly speaking three social classes in amsterdam: the well-to-do, the middle class and the workers. Women had three appellations: ‘mevrouw’ (Madam), ‘juffrouw’ (Miss) or ‘vrouw’ (woman). Railway carriages also came in three classes: diligences, char-à-bancs and open wagons. (Van Leeuwen 2000:36-9).

great corn magazine built for the East India Company and the Hendrick de Keyser’s Exchange located next to the Dam. A temporary wooden structure for the exchange was put up on the Dam instead. There were symbols of decline everywhere in city’s physical surroundings (Cotterell 1973:256).


1820-1840 [F – s.c.] The Grote aristocracy Club of Amsterdam is located on the Kalverstraat corner of the Dam; The Palace is empty all year round, except for the annual and strictly limited visits of King William. Entertainment activities – inside clubs, coffee houses, theatres, halls etc., mostly indoor. Amsterdam is “cozy-sociable” and not very cultural (indoor) (Cotterell 1973:257-8).


1831 [O – event] the inauguration of queen Wilhelmina, in front of the palace on the Dam, next to the New Church. Pic 250: Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 251: Design of a stage on the façade of the royal palace that was never realized, for the occasion of the royal visit. Source: Amsterdam archives.


1842 [F – structure] Changes in public transportation: the end of the trekschuit (horse drawn barge) and the proliferation of the stagecoach service everywhere. Also – first suggestions for a railroad (lasted till 1830’s). The first line built 1842 Amsterdam-Haarlem (Cotterell 1973:258-9). Pic 279: 1839 transportation of omnibus his-img0047, source: Libraries of the Universiteit van Amsterdam, cartographic collections.

1845-1903 [F – layout, s.c.] A new exchange built on the Dam, a large and imposing neo-classical building, lacking taste and inspiration (designed by J. D. Zocher). To make room for it, part of the Damark (the major canal) had to be filled in [abolition of nature]. The old fish market was demolished [abolition of] (Cotterell 1973:259). This Exchange was replaced in 1903 by Berlage’s building. Now in its place is the great store the Bijenkorf. (Amsterdam archives). Pic 280: Van Zocher Bourse, 1845. Source: Amsterdam archives. Pic 281: Van Zocher Bourse, 1845. Source: Amsterdam archives.


1848 (March 24) [O – event] A small group of activists distributed pamphlets encouraging the jobless of
Amsterdam to congregate on the Dam. Thousands of people showed up. The authorities eventually put down the riots. The activists were put on trial. Nevertheless, this incident helped the new constitution to go through at The Hague because of authorities feared of revolution (Mak 1994: 198, Cotterell 1973:260). This incident is the result of the 1848 revolution, which set alight European capitals, hardly touching the city of Amsterdam.

**Mid 19th century** F - structure the social stratification, divided into districts. As seen on the map, the Dam Square was located in a district of middle classes, very close to one of the two elite districts. **Pic 283:** social segregation ca. 1850, in Van Leeuwen 2000:47.

1854 F- layout, s.c. By the 19th century, Dam Square had become a large open area serving as an imposing square in front of the palace (Amsterdam archives).

1854 O – event On New Year’s Eve there was always a huge crowd in Dam Square. Amsterdammers from all walks of life came together to celebrate. On New Year’s Eve 1854, Reinier Craeyvanger drew Dam Square bathed in moonlight with snow falling. A torchlight procession is making its way from Nieuwendijk to Dam Square, where a sledging competition is taking place. Boys are throwing snowballs and people are dancing merrily. Standing in the foreground are two fishwives, illuminated by candlelight. On the left a lemon seller is praising his wares by a brightly lit barrow. On the right stand the stables of Van Gend & Loos, from which a horse-drawn carriage is just leaving. The light of the evening service is shining through the windows of the Nieuwe Kerk. Next to the dark, snow-covered square stands Heyman's brightly lit shop "Pic 284: Festivities in Dam Square on 31 December 1854, drawing by Reinier Craeyvanger. Source: Amsterdam archives"

1854 F- layout design proposal for a fountain on the Dam, by Louis Royer and W.C. Brade (1830-1). A popular-taste monument, as a component of the water control system for Amsterdam. **Pic 285:** Source: Amsterdam archives.

4.1.4. Data during early modern era: 1855-1920

1855 F – s.c. (25 years after the successful ten-day invasion in southern Netherlands) Erection of the ‘Naatje’ monument (nicknamed after the symbolic female figure which crowned it, the “Netherlands maid”) in front of the palace on the Dam (Cotterell 1973:257). This monument, scorned and ridiculed by writers, suffered the indignity of losing first an arm, then its head (Mak 1994:200). **Pic 286:** Naatje - plan. Source: Amsterdam archives. **Pic 287:** Naatje - elevation. Source: Amsterdam archives

1856 (August 27th) O – event a memorial pole for the popular spirit of 1830-1831, “the Naatje of the Dam”, in front of the ‘Beurs van Zocher’ (a mirrored picture), revealed for King Willem the III. **Pic 288:** Steel engraving. Source: Amsterdam archives.

Mid 19th century O - everyday A new experience of sound and silence: noisier than today, with entirely different tones and rhythms, dominated by hoofs’ taps, rattling carts, shrieks of seagulls, calls of market traders, bells and especially footsteps (Mak 1994:190-1). In 1860, one could still

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49. Since 1850, Van Gend & Loos had operated public stagecoaches, which transported the post as well as people throughout the whole of Western Europe.

*Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square*
hear a pin drop in the city. Barely two decades after (1877), liveliness and vehicles woke the city, giving it a certain European air (Mak 1994:204). **Darkness** - an absolute pitch blackness in which the city was cloaked after nightfall. A red light glowed from the somewhat busier Dam. Even as late as hundred years ago, the number of streetlamps was a fraction of what it is now, and at full moon they were not lit at all. Many accidents happened in the dead of night: on a single misty December evening in 1893 – 96 Amsterdammers fell into the canals. Two drowned and six were never found. **Smells**, or more precisely, stench, in the picturesque Amsterdam had become so bad that it seemed to choke and poison every activity. Records depict the effects, especially the 1866 cholera epidemic that claimed 1100 victims (Mak 1994:190-1). **Information** – Amsterdam becomes a city of newspapers for everybody, time of social change (Mak 1994:213).


**Mid 19th century** - infrastructure Beginning of 19th century, 70 Amsterdam canals were filled, making way for main roads. In the Jordaan they were filled in mainly for hygienic reasons - water was extremely polluted and the retaining walls had collapsed (Amsterdam archives).

- 1839 – the opening of the first Dutch railway Amsterdam-Haarlem (Mak 1994:197). A new phenomenon: mobility. All of a sudden Amsterdammers could be in Paris within a day and not a week! (Mak 1994:205); 1853 - The first **water** pipeline; 1861 – **water** pavement in Kalverstraat. (Even as late as 1875 the Rembrandtplein was so quiet that the locals still kept chickens there).

City lacking monuments and monumental buildings, very different from grandiose urban spaces created elsewhere around Europe during that time. This can be explained with the absence of a princely rule, which is necessary for the erection of such large-scale projects. Also it fitted well the Dutch mentality (unimpressed with grandiosity, unbelieving in symbols) Mak 1994:200-1 (lacking monarchic)

The construction of the North Sea Canal in 1865 (opened 1876) – the great motor behind the modernization of the city – enlarged harbor, suitable for large modern ships. Amsterdam was transformed from a city of water into a landlocked city. (Mak 1994:206)

Industrialization brought about a new darkened skyline (Mak 1994:197) Pic 292: Van Zocher Bourse, 1845. Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 292: Van Zocher Bourse, 1845. Source: Amsterdam archives

**1858** - structure The Paleis voor Volksvlijt (Palace of National Industry) in Frederiksplein not on the Dam! (civic). Built 1858 opened 1864, huge building of cast iron and glass, the latest materials at the time (technology), inspired by the Crystal Palace in London, built to house the Great Exhibition- the center of leisure and entertainment: concerts, plays, opera, the annual dog show, the motor show and popular ballets. Destroyed in a fire in 1929 (Mak 1994:203, Amsterdam archives). Pic 293: The Paleis voor Volksvlijt, photograph by Jacob Olie, March 1892. Source: Amsterdam archives

**1864** - structure The first large park (Mak 1994:210), for ‘riding and walking’, located beyond Singelgracht. Called Vondelpark after the statue of Vondel (poet) erected in 1867. Enlarged a
few years later, designed in ‘English style’, a ‘natural’ picturesque landscape with paths lawns lakes, and romantic pavilions not on the Dam! (Amsterdam archives). Pic 294: Plan for the Vondelpark extension by J. D. and L. P. Zocher, 1878, Source: Amsterdam archives

1865 F – structure City expansion, beyond the Singelgracht by private enterprise. A large quantity of cheap homes (in the districts: Staatsliedenbuurt, Kinkerbuurt, Pijp, Dapperbuurt etc.), lacking the well-balanced structure and methodical approach of the earlier city projects. The plan followed the pattern of existing roads and ditches with poor quality of construction work (“Jerry-building”), resulting in working class district zones. Better plans were available (like 1867 Van Niftrik plan) Pic 295: 1867 plan of van Niftrik, Source: Amsterdam heritage site; but the 1877 Kalff plan took realization. It was a rough framework allowing private property developers considerable leeway (Amsterdam heritage site), offering only minimal improvement to the poor conditions found at the overpopulated city center. Only at the turn of the century (see 1901-structure), a reform came into being. (Stieber 1998: 17-19). pic 296: 1875-7 in Stieber 1998: p. 16 (negative E3762 - the municipal archives)

1865-1869 F – s.c. a profound transformation (first half of the 19th century) exchanging the city’s former glory of world commercial entrepot for the modest regional economic center (Jonker 1996:265). During 1845 - 1855 the disparate provinces moved closer together into a Dutch economy (ibid:271). The Nederlandsche bank replaced the motley collection of buildings that had housed the bank until then symbolizing the change from a city-centered bank to a national one following the 1862 Bank Act (ibid: 257). Pic 297: The headoffice of the Nederlandsche bank at the Turfmarket (Collectie audiobisueele materielen, De Nederlandsche Bank NV Amsterdam) in Jonker 1996:257

1867 (October 18th) O – event Revealing the statue of Vondel on the Dam. Pic 298, 299: Source: Amsterdam archives

1867 F – structure plan (by Outshoorn) for the Amsterdam Health Commission, for refreshing the canal water (after the 1866 cholera epidemic). The plan was never realized (Amsterdam archives). Pic 300: Map of a design for water refreshment, C. Outshoorn, 1867. Source: Amsterdam archives

1869 - 1891 F – s.c. The Commandantshuis is used by the National Railways Untill 1891. (Corinne Staal, Amsterdam City Archives, Sect. Public Services)


Early 1870’s O – everyday Kalverstraat – the busiest center of the city, full of coffee shops, restaurants and the best shops no other street like that in Holland, so perpetually crowded and noisy. There were singers and bands on various corners. Peak hours were during the business hours of the Exchange on the Dam, when brokers filled the spaces, and between 8 and 9 in the evenings. There was always something going on. Promenades on Saturdays, parade

50. The pollution of the water is as old as Amsterdam itself. Medieval statute books contain prohibitions against throwing manure and dead animals into the canals. It is not surprising that the stench could be appalling, particularly in the summer months. From the 16th century onwards, wealthier Amsterdamers increasingly spent the summer in their houses and estates outside the city. Most of the houses on the ring of canals were not actually connected to the sewers until the 1970s and 1980s!
of carriages on Sundays – on the way to the new Vondel Park. **On the Dam** – merchants, brokers and shippers making for the Exchange. They walked straight ahead, silently, hurriedly, intently, with absorbed seriousness (Cotterell 1973:265-6).

1874  ■ O – event 25-year celebration of the governing of king Willem III. [A] [Pic 303: Photographer: Greiner, Albert; Pic 304: Source: Amsterdam archives]

1870's- ■ F – layout, s.c. the rear façade of the palace (from the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal). Pic 305: Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal 147, Amsterdam archives; [■ Pic 306: Dam rear in 1884 [■■■]; Pic 307: Dam rear in 1999 [■■]; Pic 308: Postcard of Voorburgwal towards the church (on the dam rear) [■■■■]; Pic: 309: a detail; Pic 310: Voorburgwal towards the church (on the dam rear) in 1999 [■■■]; Pic 311: 1867, negative no. 298 from municipal archives; Pic:312: 1875 - 1884 negative no. 419 from municipal archives

1875  ■ O – everyday public transportation. [■■ Pic:313: The horse-drawn tram on Damrak, anonymous photograph]

1876  ■ O – event the visit of Deij van Algiers. [A]  Pic 314, 315: The Dam, Amsterdam archives

1879  ■ O – event festivities [A]  Pic 316: During festivities. In the middle: the Naatje monument from 1830. Source: Amsterdam archives

1879  ■ O – event the visit of King Willem and Queen Emma [A]  Pic 317: The commander’s house decorated for King Willem and Queen Emma. Source: Amsterdam archives


1880  ■ O – everyday People on the Dam  [■■ Pic 324: Between the palace and the new church. Source: Amsterdam archives

1881 (March)  ■ O – event a silent night-time march of Catholic men, commemorating the medieval procession along the old sacred route (see 1347-) [A]. Women were excluded from this ritual until 1965. this event symbolized the continuity between the old and new regimes (Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:100).

1882  ■ F – s.c. The opening of the Sinkel’s Store in the area of the Dam, selling woollen, cotton and silk goods in Nieuwendijk, first large department store in Amsterdam. no fewer than 50 people could all be served at the same time. Sinkel promoted his wares with striking displays and advertising. The Winkel van Sinkel introduced an entirely new shop concept. The goods were displayed in large windows, so that the customers could see them from outside 51. (Amsterdam archives).

1883  ■ F – layout, structure an early planning of Raadhuisstraat (a paved road), later implemented

51. for the first time, every article in the shop was priced, so that haggling became a thing of the past. Sinkel created different departments for different products: tailor’s and outfitter’s department at 177 Nieuwendijk, off-the-peg clothes and manufactured goods at 174, office at 176, furniture store in Damrak, ointments and confectionery in Kalverstraat. The Winkel van Sinkel closed in 1912.
analyses: publicnesses in the dam square

1886 (July 25) O – event the “Eel Riot” sparked off by lower class indignation about the banning of this traditional sport: eels hung on a line across a canal pulled at by contestants in boats not on the Dam! (Cotterell 1973:261) Pic 326: appearing in l’Illustration, August 1886. Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 327: Eel-pulling on Lindengracht, anonymous photograph, 25 July 1886. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1886 F – s.c. The founding of the current Krasnapolsky Hotel.

1887 (April) O – event The seventieth anniversary of King Willem III. The royal family stands on the palace’s balcony. Pic 328: The royal family standing on the balcony of the palace. Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 329: The palace and the balcony. Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 330: The Naatje monument (from 1830) is decorated for the event. Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 331: People on the square. Photographer: Greienr. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1888 F – s.c. the division of the Bourse’s ground floor. Pic 332: Amsterdam archives.

1889 O – event King’s jubilee – Dam is illuminated with five thousands electric lights, by the enterprising founder of Krasnapolsky Hotel located on the Dam (Cotterell 1973:275).

1889 F – layout, s.c., structure planning the tramlines. Pic 333: 1889, negative no. 617, Amsterdam archives.

1880′s – 1890′s F – s.c., structure the historical city centre changed considerably by 19th century technological adjustments, mainly trafficless: Between 1893 and 1896 the traffic breakthrough Raadhuisstraat-Rozengracht was realised. (Amsterdam heritage site). 16 canals vanished from the map between 1857 and 1895, a landfill mania that only abated around the turn of the century. (Mak 1994:208), Pic 334: Traffic breakthrough Raadhuisstraat (1890) Source: Amsterdam heritage site; Pic 335: 1890 (1893–) negative no. 314 Source: Amsterdam heritage site; Pic 336-7: NZ Voorburgwal then and now (1884, 1999), Source: Amsterdam heritage site; Pic 338-9: Warmoesgracht then and now (1884, 1999); Pic: 340-1: NZ Voorburgwal now and then (1999 – 1884); Pic: 342: Right – Breitner’s photo of the palace and the Magna Plaza after filling the canal.

52. Rioting broke out not on the Dam but rather in the Jordaan district of Amsterdam when police tried to prevent people playing the illegal game of ‘pulling the eel’ on Lindengracht. Twenty-five people lost their lives in the ensuing riots. Eel-pulling was an old Amsterdam pastime. A rope was suspended over a canal and a live eel was hung on it. The players rode beneath it in boats, trying to grab the slippery eel and risking ending up in the water. ‘Eel-pulling’ was outlawed in the 19th century as a ‘cruel popular amusement’. (Amsterdam archive) this yearly carnival provided an outlet for the pent-up frustrations of working-class life, which caused a tradition of riotous and sometimes violent behavior to develop in various neighborhoods. This extremely dramatic outburst occurred after several years of extreme unemployment (Stieber 1998:319)

53. In order to make the city centre more easily accessible canals were filled in, streets were widened, bridges were lowered and many old houses were demolished. The building of the Central station (1882-1889) cut off the city centre from the open water and ruined the view of the Amsterdam skyline from the IJ. To ensure easy access to the Central station the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal (the current Spuistraat) and Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal were filled in, in 1867 and 1884 respectively. Adjustments were made to many of the steep bridges, mainly to meet the requirements of the electrical tram. In 1883 e.g. the Hogesluis, a splendid arched bridge across the Amstel River was replaced by a lower bridge (Amsterdam heritage site). The central station (which was the largest construction project as was also the greatest planning blunder), changed the land-sea balance - Before its erection life on land and on sea went hand in hand there, but this project put an end to it (Mak 1994:207-8).
1880’s **F – structure** new 19th century public building (not on the Dam): a concert hall (Concertgebouw); the second university of Kuypers; the municipal theatre on the Leidseplein; the Gothic Rijksmuseum; six neo-gothic churches, neo-gothic central station all by architect Cuypers (Mak 1994:2000, Cotterell 1973:273-4).


1890 **O – everyday** people on the Dam Pic: 343: Source: Amsterdam archives organized: 1891 (May 26th) **O – event** The visit of King Willem III, queen Emma and princess Wilhelmina for her first time in the guest house. Pic: 344: People looking at the royal family arriving Source: Amsterdam archives

1891 **O – event** The visit of King Wilhelm II. Pic: 345: Entering the damark during the visit of Wilhelm the II Source: Amsterdam archives

1891 (July) **O – event** The visit of the emperor and empress of Germany. Pic: 346: the photo taken towards the decorated monument. Source: Amsterdam archives

1891 – 1912 **F – s.c**. The Commandantshuis is by then a ruinous building waiting to be demolished (source: correspondence with Corinne Staal, Amsterdam City Archives, Sect. Public Services).

1892-3 **O – everyday** Pic: 347: 1892-3 Kalverstraat by breitner Source: Amsterdam archives

1893-1900 **O – everyday, F-s.c.** Pic: 348: 1893-2000 Breitner photographed the palace street, and the commander house which stood on the dam Pic 349: 1893-2000 left the royal palace on the junction with the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal in municipality file

1894 (Aug 18) **O-everyday** Pic 350: taken from overtoom Source: Amsterdam archives; Pic 351: Singelbrug 1894 by breitner Source: Amsterdam archives

1896-7 **F – lay, s.c., O-everyday** Pic 352: dam, photo by George Hendrik Breitner 1896-7 Source: Amsterdam archives

1897 **F – lay, s.c., Pic 353: 1897 Mozes en Aaronstraat 1897 by breitner Source: Amsterdam archives

1890’s **F – s.c., structure** Public transportation: Bicycles and Trams that superseded the horse-drawn bus service. At first – they were horse trams as caught by Breitner (Cotterell 1973:275). In the 1890’s – first electric trams (Mak 1994:221). The first horse-drawn tram line was officially opened on 2 June 1875. They ran by the Amsterdam Omnibus Company until 1 January 1900 when the city of Amsterdam took over until 1922 that the last tram horses were sold at auction. After taking over the horse-drawn trams, the city began work on the electrification of the tram lines. The first electric tram ran on 14 August 1900; line 10 from Leidseplein to Zoutkeetsgracht. All of Amsterdam went out that evening to see the lights in the tram. By late 1904, 93 percent of the tram lines had been electrified. Called the Municipal Tram and from 1943 on, the Municipal Transport Company

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54. Firstly the enormous high front wheels (popular in the eighties) later from 1890 the air tire turned Amsterdam into one of the great bicycle city.

55. On 4 January 1904, 400 of Amsterdam’s 754 tram horses were sold at auction at the tram depot in Linnaeusstraat. The horses were no longer needed because the newer trams ran on electricity. Horse-drawn trams continued to run for a time after the introduction of electric trams. It was not until 1922 that the last tram horses were sold at auction. After taking over the horse-drawn trams, the city began work on the electrification of the tram lines. The first electric tram ran on 14 August 1900; line 10 from Leidseplein to Zoutkeetsgracht. All of Amsterdam went out that evening to see the lights in the tram. By late 1904, 93 percent of the tram lines had been electrified.

56. Called the Municipal Tram and from 1943 on, the Municipal Transport Company
Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square

1900’s | O – everyday | Kalverstraat was full of glamorous shops. But – between twelve and four o’clock in the afternoon it was effectively off limits for respectable ladies. During these hours menfolk went to the stock exchange, and only prostitutes were seen strutting on the Dam and Kalverstraat (Mak 1994:221).

1898 (September 6) | O – event | The inauguration of Queen Wilhelmina was a national event. Huge numbers of curious people visited the capital city during this week. The event was recorded with the new medium of film, existing for only a couple of years. Princess Wilhelmina arrived at the Weesperpoort Station, and rode through the city. The inauguration was not allowed to be filmed (the Dutch do not have coronations). A covered passageway was erected between the Royal Palace and the Nieuwe Kerk for the occasion. (Amsterdam archive). Pic 359 - 362: Source: Amsterdam archive

1899 | F- s.c. | the erection of the Magna Plaza building by architect C. P. Peters, originally a post office building, between 1748 and 1854 that was demolished, making room for the contemporary building. Many thought the Postkantoor was too ornate for a government building, especially in a city with such a strong Calvinist ethic. The building’s style was derided as “post office gothic” and a pale imitation of the grand Nieuwe Kirk next door. Today it gets more respect -- from admirers who appreciate its intricate stonework to teens who shop for the latest fashion in the “American Store” in glass steel and stone, global architecture encyclopedia, http://www.glasssteelandstonemagnaplaza.html

1900 | F-layout, s.c. | Pic 363: looking straight into Nieuwendijk -dam 1900 | (4 buildings x 4 floors x 3 windows) | (3 businesses on ground level)

1900 | F-structure | political shifts towards social housing: By 1919, ninety housing projects comprising some 14,000 dwelling units were approved, in neighborhoods throughout the city and its periphery (Stieber 1998:18-21).

1901 (March 6) | O – event | marriage of Koningin Wilhelmina and Prins Hendrik (http://home.casema.nl/a.tiggeler/dam.htm) Pic 364; 365; 366; 367

1901 | O – everyday | Pic 368 | Pic 369 | Source: Amsterdam archives

1901 | F- layout | demolition of the beurs, Pic 370 | Source: Amsterdam archives

1903 | O – everyday | municipal works, Pic 371 | Source: Amsterdam archives

57. The fact that a broad segment of Amsterdam’s population was so poorly housed made evident the need for reform. Reformers started to propagate their agenda. A 1901 study sponsored by the Amsterdam labor league described the misery and decay of the city’s slums through texts and illustrations assembled by socialist journalists. The outrage underlying these clinical descriptions fueled a growing movement to deepen government intervention in the design and production of housing. In fact, socialist movement pertaining to poor housing conditions began at the middle of the 19th century, as it did in other parts of Europe. However, its piecemeal efforts were proven sporadic and ineffective. In 1901, a housing act was proposed by Prime Minister Pierson, approved by the Parliament the year after. The new legislation began a new era in the city’s housing development.
1903 O – event people on a strike in front of the commander house, Pic 372 Source: Amsterdam archives

1903 F – layout, s.c. The erection of the new palace of trade (started 1898) the Exchange of Berlage (named after its architect). The new building required that more of the Damark be filled in (Mak, 1994:220, Cotterell 1973:274) Pic 373: Photograph by Bernard F. Eilers, 1903-1920, Amsterdam archives; Pic 374: source unknown; Pic 375: Interior. Source Amsterdam archives

1904 O – everyday Pic 376

1904 O – event socialists and trade unions strikes against government on the Dam, dismantled in April 4th by the government at The Hague (Cotterell 1973:276).

1905 F – s.c. Pic 377 Source: Amsterdam archives

1904-8 O-everyday Pic 380: 1904-8, source unknown; Pic 381: 1904 Rokin with the Nieuwezijdskapel Amsterdam by George Hendrick Breitner Property of the Bodde-Hodgkinson Collection

1903-7 F – layout demolitions. (Transferring the building elsewhere) Pic 382: The zocher bourse and the new berlage bourse behind it, simultaneously, in 1903; Pic 383: The demolition of the zocher bourse; Pic 384: “naatje” became in Amsterdam synonymous with “worthless”. the “young lady eendracht” had her nose frozen and then stood some time without a head. in 1907, it fell down, but was demolished in 1914. Source: gemeentearchief (municipality files) Amsterdam (the “dam in pieces” project)

1906 O – event The Rembrandt Festival mounted to honor the artist’s 300th birthday. Various ceremonies and festivities were staged in the city, including ‘a historical-allegorical parade’ and a flower pageant. On evening at 9.30, the Amsterdam Amateur Photographers’ Society projected slides of Rembrandt’s work on a large screen set up in Damrak. This was followed at 10 p.m. by fireworks. (Amsterdam archive). Pic385: Picture postcard of the historical-allegorical parade mounted for the Rembrandt Festival in July 1906, Source: Amsterdam archives

1908-1910 F – layout, structure the planning of infrastructure –spaces and public transportations: various proposals and the final plan. The future bijkenkorf building is already inserted within. Pic 386: 1908, negative no. 609, from municipal archives – planning the main city square; Pic 387: 1908, negative no. 610, from municipal archives; Pic 388: 1908, negative no. 629, from municipal archives; Pic 389: 1910, negative no. 587 from municipal archives; Pic 390: 1910, negative no. 589 from municipal archives; Pic 391: 1910, negative no 592 and 591 from municipal archives; Pic 392: The final plan - 1910 june, negative no. 586 from municipal archives; Pic 393: 1910, negative no. 593 from mun. archives; Pic 394: 1910, negative no.593 from municipal archives

58. The dramatic rise in the volume of traffic in the early decades of the 20th century meant that steps had to be taken. The first traffic police were appointed in Amsterdam in 1912. They wore the uniform of the Amsterdam police, with its double row of gilt buttons and flat cap, but also had highly visible black and white striped cuffs so that their hand signals could be seen clearly.

1912 (December) O – event At noon on 3 December 1912, the first Amsterdam traffic policeman took up his post in Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal behind the Palace in Dam Square ready to direct the traffic. However, the huge number of people flocking to see the novelty brought traffic to a complete standstill. (Amsterdam archives). Pic 398: ‘Watch my hand, obey my sign …’, poster by Henri Pieck, 1923. Source: http://gemeentearchief.amsterdam.nl/

1912 F – layout the demolition and removal of: of the commandants’ house and the adjacent block. The square increased to its present size with the demolition of the militia commandment’s house, an 18th century relic with taverns by the fish market including the famous “house under the sail”. With the old Exchange also drifting apart, the whole place was a terrible mess for several years (until the erection of the national monument) (Cotterell 1973:276). Pic 399: Pic taken 1913 from the rooftop of the palace (see the demolition below); Pic 400: the eighteenth century, this way called because the commander of the town guard was established there, stood up to 1912 middle on the dam. in the last years amsterdammers obtained their passports there; Pic 401: The back of the commandants house, before demolition; Pic 402: beside the commander house which stood there up to 1912 was a house block-system (the current East partition of the square). It was the place of the fishermen, making room for the present krasnapolsky. Source: “the dam in pieces” projects. Source: Amsterdam archives

1911-14 F – layout, s.c. the construction of the bijenkorf, a department store. Pic 403: The model of the new bijenkorf building. Construction lasted between 1911-14. source: http://gemeentearchief.amsterdam.nl, “the dam in pieces” projects

1914 F – layout, s.c. demolition of the naatje - and removal of: the monument that in 1856 had been erected (called initially “the eendracht”), Amsterdammers called it “the naatje”. the picture shows making place for the tram tracks in 1914, for the deflection of trade Pic 404: Source: Amsterdam archives

1914-17 F – layout, s.c. A new big store appeared on the Dam (*Peek & Cloppenburg), next to the Bijenkorf department store that settled in the former Exchange (Cotterell 1973:277). Pic 405: The bldg. of Peek & Cloppenburg, built between 1914-en 1917. the products’ house stood temporarily in its front; Pic 406: The bldg. of Peek & Cloppenburg, built between 1914-en 1917; Pic 407: The situation between 1914-7 from the commandants house. On the right (next to kalverstraat) is the building “see the sailor hope”, named after to the royal sailing college that was established there by this association aiming to take care for the well-being of the Dutch sailors; Pic 408: the passage to the rokin was narrower than it is in the present; Pic 409: The beurspoortje stood between 1613-1835 on the rokin. in 1912, its components were stored and later (1986) moved to the stedelijk museum, to be built again; Pic 410: the bldg. on the angle kalverstraat - palaisstraat made for 1912 place for the “groote” (large) club.; left is still the naatje and a kiosk; Pic 411: The new groote club, the place of society, its building accelerated towards 1912-14 (renovation?); Pic 412: in 1916, the industrial bldg. was opened on the angle of the rokin
and the East side dam. the insudtriele club sat there, visited mostly by Amsterdam wholesalers and entrepreneurs. Source: “the dam in pieces” projects source: http://gemeentearchief.amsterdam.nl; Pic 413: 410 beurspoortie07.

1917 F – structure Plan Zuid designed by architect H.P. Berlage, extending Amsterdam to the south. Pic 414: Berlage 1920, Amsterdam archives

1917 (June 28- July 7) F-structure a week of violence that became known as the potato riots, with many events but none on the Dam

4.1.5. Data during modern era: 1920-1980

1920 F – layout, s.c., structure plan of the square and the public transport system; Pic 415: 1920 – Negative no. 618, from municipal archives; Pic 416: 1921, December 16 – negative no. 616 – newspaper article with the arrangement of the transportation system, from municipal archives

1917-56 F – layout, s.c. Pic 417: a drawing from 1921 with the “dam pond”, the construction pit filled with water after the demolition of the commander house, which lagged behind for about 14 years. the situation of the dam was discussed extensively during that time. Pic 418: In 1926, a garden was planted on the middle-dam, a “temporary plantsoen”. There were plans to implement an insurance bldg. with shops can (by architect dudok). eventual authorities decided not to build it; Pic 419: The park from hotel krasnapolsky. the park with its high popularity was reserved for a provisional destination until it made room for the current national monument; Pic 420: after the second world war, in 1947, in the plantsoen, a provisional national monument was set up by the design of the architects Komter and Van der Steur, later to be placed; Pic 421: The provisional monument with the oldest house behind; Pic 422: the dam in 1952, as from the right side of the palace, with the provisional monument. It was taken down after the 1955 festival. Some of its elements were transmitted to the new church, to be later placed in the new monument. Source: “the dam in pieces” projects. Source: Amsterdam archives


1932 (March 6) O – event the Silent procession at night, commemorating the medieval

59. In 1917 the city council approved Berlage’s plan. The first houses were built in the 1920s. Berlage’s plan broke with traditional ways of building in Amsterdam up to that time. Instead of the narrow streets of the 19th-century developments, he designed neighborhoods with wide streets. The new quarter of the city featured not only broad avenues, large squares and shopping streets, but also intimate side streets affording surprising, picturesque views. (Amsterdam archives)

60. In 1916 the effects of the First World War were felt in Amsterdam. There was a food shortage and potatoes, the people’s staple food, became particularly scarce. Meanwhile exports of potatoes continued as usual, and this led to protests and looting. At the end of June 1917 feelings came to a head, and Amsterdam erupted into a week of violence that became known as the potato riots. On 28 June 1917 workers’ wives tried to get hold of potatoes that were reserved for the military. The police intervened. The women marched on the Town Hall (not the royal palace!) where Alderman Wibaut spoke to them. He assured them that there would be plenty of potatoes from the new crop within a few days. On Monday 2 July, demonstrators marched to the vegetable market in Marnixstraat, where they stormed barges carrying cauliflowers and potatoes. The police shot at the looters. In the evening a mob converged on Rietlanden, where waggons carrying potatoes were looted. Again, shots were fired. Soldiers and military policemen came to reinforce the Amsterdam police. They fired on the demonstrators with live ammunition. Nine people died and 114 were wounded. The city authorities took measures to restore order, and also tried to calm the people by issuing ration cards for potatoes. When new stocks arrived things quietened down in the city, and by the second week of July life was back to normal. (Amsterdam archives).
procession of 1345 and then the Catholic rituals from the 17th century (Frijhoff in De Mare & Vos 1993:99). This procession embarked from the Kalverstraat chapel, and crossed through the Dam Square on both its sides. Pic 424: photograph - The silent procession at night (De Mare & Vos 1993:99)

1934 O – event Sinterklaas (St Nicholas) visit to Amsterdam every year61, serenaded in Dam Square, after which he has a few words to say for the radio. Among the crowds is a group of Amsterdam street urchins. The celebration of Sinterklaas Eve (5 December) was revived in the 19th century62. (Amsterdam archives). Pic 425: Sinterklaas arrival; Pic 426: On horse Pic 427: Towards the Dam square Pic 428: On the Dam. Source: Newsreel pictures of the arrival of Sinterklaas, Polygoon Journaal, 1930s © Polygoon/NIBG. Source: Amsterdam archives

1934-7 F – structure in the historical city The Rokin was filled in in 1934 -1937, while in 1939 the Amstel embankment was widened. During this period, many splendid sites were lost. However, Amsterdam was never subjected to recurring large-scale innovation procedures comparable to the ones carried out in Paris. The opposition against such projects was too strong. + ( = with tension between). Besides, the city administrators - fortunately - lacked the courage. (Amsterdam heritage site).

1935 F – structure In the 1930s the future growth of Amsterdam was broadly laid down in Cornelis van Eesteren’s General Expansion Plan, first presented in 193463. Pic 429: Planning design for Amsterdam 1934, in Benevolo 1993:20

After WWI F – s.c. Continuation of the discussions (without result) whether to bring the palace into its original use as a Town Hall (Cotterell 1973:278).

WWII O – everyday, F-s.c. Nazi paraphernalia was used to drum up support – NSB youth movement parades on the Dam, swastika flags hanging from the Palace (Cotterell 1973:287)

1941 (February 25) O – event a demonstration of hundreds of people occurred in the center of Amsterdam, organized by various action groups (Jewish and communists) as part of their resistance to the German occupation. However, no serious incidents took place because the Dutch police did not interfere before noon, and even then used moderate methods in dispersing the crowds (Warmbrunn 1963:106-113).

1945 (May 7) O – event On 7 May 1945, two days after the German surrender, German soldiers caused a bloodbath among the euphoric crowds celebrating in Dam Square. Around three o’clock in the afternoon, drunken German sailors began firing at the crowd from the balcony of the Grote Club on the corner of Kalverstraat, killing some 20 people and injuring another 119. The day

61. Documented in the Polygoon Journaal newsreel footage of the 1930s, arriving by steamboat, a tug belonging to the Goedkoop shipping line. His white horse is waiting for him outside the door of St Nicholas’s church.

62. The arrival by steamboat at Prins Hendrikkade was staged for the first time in 1934

63. This plan follows closely the modernistic four functions of a city: living, working and recreation, with traffic as the linking factor. Residential areas were close to working places. In between were recreational areas with a lot of open space and landscaping. ‘Light, air and space’ were paramount. The buildings were designed in ‘strips’ - blocks of flats with long galleries — with parks and sports fields. Spaces for relaxation and recreation have been given a prominent place in the urban design. After WWII, Amsterdam continued to grow in line with the General Expansion Plan. Five garden suburbs — areas surrounded by open spaces — were built to the west of the old city center: Slotermeer, Slotervaart, Overtoomse Veld, Geuzenveld and Osdorp. The new districts were built around an artificial lake, Sloterplas. (Amsterdam archives). The differences between the periphery and the Baroque city were recognized. No attempt was made to combine these two (Benevolo 1993:203-4).
before liberation day, the orange flags appeared, food was dropped from the air to the hungry city. (Mak 1994:279, Cotterell 1973:307, Amsterdam archives). Pic 430: Crowds fleeing; Pic 431: Emptied square; Pic 432: A German shooting; Pic 433: injuries. Source: Pictures from a film of the shootings in Dam Square, 7 May 1945. Source: Amsterdam archives.

1945 (May 8) F – layout, s.c. A large maypole was put up in front of the palace (Cotterell 1973:307).

1945 (May) O – event A few days after the Dam Square massacre, the first Canadian jeeps really did roll into Amsterdam, followed by army lorries and armored vehicles. A delirious crowd of Amsterdammers waited for the British and Canadian liberators at the Berlage Bridge, decked out with flags and orange favors. The celebrations went on for days. (Amsterdam archives)


Mid 20th century onwards O – everyday promotion of civic order that had arisen in the 19th century in the face of the overwhelming administrative and practical problems posed by rapid urban growth. Workers were guided towards a new, orderly conduct modern urban civility. That campaign included the introduction of orderly infrastructure such as sewage, water and public transportation, and the regulation of social life. Police patrolled the streets: Amsterdam’s yearly carnival was abolished in mid-century; and public holidays such as Hartjesdag, which had traditionally been occasions for high spirits and vandalism, were curtailed. (Stieber 1998: 101).


1950’s O – everyday a familiar sight in town and village squares is Poppenkast, an itinerant marionette show which makes children laugh, and their parents too (Mac 1965:97). Pic 436-437: Mac 1965: Photo no. 86

1954 (October) O – event The film star Audrey Hepburn took part in a fashion show at Gerzon’s in Kalverstraat to raise money for the Joint Military Funds. (Amsterdam archives) Pic 438: Audrey Hepburn, standing in the middle, during a fashion show given by Gerzon in 1954, Source: Amsterdam archives

1960’s O – everyday Amsterdam, with its implanted instinct for tolerance, became the home of the youth movement (anti-anti). The Dam was part of the forum particularly favored by the young – the center of hipsters, with real freedom about everything. Authorities subsidized a center for

64. Housing reform was intended to contribute to this civilizing offensive, to the creation of modern pattern of urban behavior that would foster social order and perhaps even reduce urban unrest. An effort to reduce the carnival festivities from two weeks to one precipitated riots in working class neighborhoods. The most dramatic one took place in 1886 in the Jordaan, with the abolition of eel catching. (Stieber 1998:319).
66. Hepburn had a Dutch background. As a young girl she had already modelled in a show at Gerzon’s in The Hague.
67. In 1889, Eduard and Lazarus Gerzon opened up a shop at Nieuwendijk selling ‘knitted and woven goods, stockings, gloves, corsets, ladies’ blouses and novelties’. A year later, they opened a branch in Damstraat and in 1892 a third and much more elegant shop in Kalverstraat. The first two Gerzon shops were soon closed, but their shop in Kalverstraat continued in business until 1970.
the young, who could stay anonymous, helping them out with the troubles caused by drugs, pregnancy, police, money etc. an antiestablishment subsidy, the kind of comfortable paradox that Amsterdam can produce with beguiling ease. The major public squares had hundred of thousands of visitors. The Dam turned into a warm summer night dormitory, unappealing to squarer citizens.


1956 (May 4) F – layout + s.c. / O – event The erection of the national monument, the solution for the problematic square ~ merged with the need to commemorate the flooding memories of WWII in the city’s felicitous sites. It was unveiled by Queen Juliana, and financed by selling 400,000 certificates symbolically entitling its owners to a part of the Dam  Pic 441: Erection of the new monuments, inaugurated May 4, 1956; Pic 442: the current national monument under construction; the top is hoisted on the central pylon. the monument is was designed by architect J.J.P. Oud. on 12 January 1956, the day that the central picture “peace” against the pylon was introduced, the sculptor died. Source: “the dam in pieces” projects. Source: Amsterdam archives

1961 F-s.c. / O – everyday the city’s pigeons favorite place is Dam Square , which has on average 250 pigeons68. The Central Station is also popular, with an average of 125 pigeons. Pic 443: Pigeons above Dam Square, photograph by Aart Klein, 1961. Source: Amsterdam archives

1966 (March 10) O – event Princess Beatrix decided to have her wedding with a German diplomat in Amsterdam, in the Palace on the Dam  despite the severe antagonism of many Amsterdam opponents. They made many plans to interfere with the ceremony, but ultimately used only gas bombs. The opponent’s major problem was surprising: not enough people came to see the procession, because it was televised! Rather than customary cheering, there were whistling on the Dam, amplified by the acoustics of the square. An explosion of riots, barricades and plundering followed. The wedding pale into insignificance.  anti- Mak 1994:295, and also from the international institute of social history

1966 (April) O – event “white dwellings plan” a pamphlet  Pic 444: The white dwelling plan offers ‘a revolutionary solution to the housing problem’ and announces the squatter’s movement. Anyone may enter an empty apartment and live three. The royal palace on Dam Square should become the city hall.

1966 (June 13 Sat night – Tues eve) O – event An agitation over workers condition stimulated riots that took place in various places in the city for a few days, culminated on the Dam and the Damark. The big stores on the Dam lost their windows, parking meters pulled out, kiosks knocked over. By the evening the Dam was full of crowd, the police firing, cars were burning. Dozens of people and

68. The pigeons in Amsterdam’s Dam Square are famous. They are descendants of the rock pigeon, which was brought to Amsterdam in the Middle Ages to serve as food. The GG & GD (Amsterdam Area Health Authority) has done research on the pigeons at 225 locations in Amsterdam. Four pigeon counters have concluded that there are approximately 15,000 pigeons in the city.
police officers were injured (Cotterell 1973:318-21). Everywhere around the Dam there was fighting and destruction (Mak 1994:296).

1966 (December) O – event An agitation over the future building and demolition of central Amsterdam, mainly around traffic needs. "The national memorial was a monument of freedom rather than the old-fashioned patriotic militancy"…"a hippie totem pole" (Cotterell 1973:333)

1960's-70's F – s.c. “The monument was an insidious attraction to the masses of young tourists and hippies. The steps were extremely suitable for lying on. It was quite entertaining on a warm day just to sit down on the Dam smoke joint, and let the world go by”… “The sight of people doing this became itself a tourist attraction” (Cotterell 1973:333, Mak 1994:296). “Amsterdam is the hippie capital of the world and the Dam was the place to sleep”... "The ‘hurt’ middle classes whined about the desecration of ‘their’ national monument" (Mak 1994:296).

1970 (Aug 25) O – event People with businesses around the Dam had enough of the hippies. In august a thousand people were sleeping in the square, when the burgomaster decided to enforce a bylaw and evacuate. That morning the Dam was jam-packed with people watching the spectacle, people fascinated by people doing almost nothing at all. Police started gently to enforce decisions, but the hippies were aiming towards a riot. Fighting and looting spread to the streets around, the Bijenkorf windows were smashed, their contents looted. The riots did not spread more than half a mile radius. On other squares life went on normally. The next morning marines and sailors have taken upon themselves to “cleanse” the place. The hippies disappeared quickly. The marines cleaned the memorial. (Cotterell 1973:335-41)

1970 (Sep) O – event Crowded people on the Dam discussing the latest events – demonstrated the forum quality of the city center. (Cotterell 1973:341)


1974 (Nov 29) F-structure During the metro debates there were noisy demonstrations inside and outside the Town Hall (not on the Dam!). On 12 December, was a pitched battle between the police and
Analyses: Publicnesses in the Dam Square


1980 (Apr 30) O – event Queen Juliana abdicated in favour of her eldest daughter. The inauguration of Queen Beatrix took place in the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church). During the ceremony a flute concert could be heard outside in Dam Square. Numerous inflammatory posters were distributed in the weeks leading up to the ceremony, and the police made a number of arrests, which infuriated the demonstrators even more. They even drew up a plan to march into the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) to disrupt the inauguration. On that day, houses all over Amsterdam were broken into by squatters. Relations between Amsterdam and the Oranges have frequently been problematic, beginning as early as 1650, when the stadholder-prince William II staged an attack on Amsterdam. (Amsterdam archives)

Pic 445: Poster for the Inauguration of Queen Beatrix. Source: Amsterdam archives

1981 (November 21) O – event A large demonstration against the storing nuclear weapons in Europe took place in Amsterdam. Although there were protests in many countries, the demonstrations in the Netherlands were among the largest (International Institute of Social History, http://www.iisg.nl/today/en/21-11.php)

Pic 446: Queen Beatrix’s 60th birthday. Source: Amsterdam archives

1992 (Aug 27) F – layout, s.c. the magna plaza becomes the first indoor shopping center after a year of renovation (a 19th century building) (http://www.magnaplaza.nl/)

1998 (Jan 31) O – event On Saturday, 31 January 1998, Queen Beatrix celebrated her 60th birthday. The festivities marking this day were magnificent: three days of celebrations, to which many important guests were invited, taking place at various venues around the city: the Palace in Dam Square (a dinner and ball were held there), the Muziektheater and the Stedelijk Museum. Pic 446: Queen Beatrix’s 60th birthday. Source: Amsterdam archives

2002 (Feb 2) O – event On 2 February 2002, crown prince Willem-Alexander married the Argentine Máxima Zorreguieta in a popular union that has deepened the attachment of the normally dispassionate Dutch toward their monarchy. The civil marriage was solemnized in the ‘Beurs van Berlage’ (the former Stock Exchange) by the mayor of Amsterdam, Job Cohen. Though the ceremony was devoid of religion, the newlyweds immediately left for the 600-year-old Nieuwe Kerk, where they were to stand before a Dutch Reformed minister and a Catholic priest to have their marriage blessed (USA Today http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2002/02/02/wedding.htm; BBC news at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1797388.stm). Pic 447-450: source: BBC News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1797388.stm; Pic 451: Spectators watch the wedding of Dutch Crown Prince near the Royal Palace in the center of Amsterdam

73. Almost a million people came to the meetings in 1981 and 1983, which led to the movement being called ‘Hollanditis’ or ‘Dutch Disease’. The accompanying poster of a woman kicking a cruise missile designed by the Dutch artist Opland became widely known.
74. After the marriage was solemnized in the church, the royal couple went for a ride in the Golden Coach, proceeding via Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, Spui, Singel, Muntplein and Rokin to the Royal Palace in Dam Square. The Golden Coach was given by the citizens of Amsterdam to Queen Wilhelmina in 1898. The carriage was made at the Spijker brothers’ factory. With 90 horses in front and back, the length of the coach in full regalia extends to some 350 meters (Amsterdam Archives).
Contemporary | F – layout  Pic 452: Dam straat; Pic 453: Dam square air view; Pic 454: Dam square air view

Contemporary | F – structure  Pic 455: 2002 map; Pic 456: Amsterdam metro 2002; Pic 457: Bus and public transportation (in city center)

2002 (Apr 30) | O – event  queen’s day – the official national celebration of the birthday of the Queen Mother, in reality an excuse to party hard. The celebrations take place all over the Netherlands, but have a special atmosphere in big cities like Amsterdam, Rotterdam or The Hague - riots are extremely messy, with everyone dressed in orange (colour of the royal family). In Amsterdam, Queensday is by far the largest open-air festivity, with estimated 750-thousand people come to the city, wisely arriving by train. Places in centrum like Dam, Damrak, Rokin, Rembrandtplein, Spui, Leidsestraat and Leidseplein are bustling with crowds. On Queensday, all street trade all over the city is unregulated, so it is also the time for second-hand shopping. In Vondelpark the children show their business talents offering various attractions (http://www.amsterdam.info/events/). Pic 458: Queensday itself It had stopped raining by the time I had woken up, so it was a decent day for it The orange the boats the canals; Pic 459: And for sure- the crowds We tended to avoid the really crowded parts This is hardly crowded at all – photo by Ian Goldberg (home page :http://pix.paip.net/Travels/20020430/); Pic 460: Live music for the masses. One of the stages (not this one) had Queen performing; Pic 461: Fans of the House of Orange in Damrak near the department store; Pic 462: The further from Dam Square you are the more tolerable the crowds become. Photo by Ian Goldberg (home page); Pic 463: The usual junk sales Photo by Ian Goldberg (home page)

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2003 (Feb 15) | O – event  anti war demonstration in a day of protests across the world against the imminent invasion of Iraq. Millions of people protested in approximately 800 cities around the world. According to BBC News, between 6-10 million people took part in protests in up to sixty countries over the weekend of the 15th and 16th Pic 464- 468: the demonstration, source: Indymedia NL http://indymedia.nl/nl/2003/02/9388.shtml

2003 (Mar 22) | O – event  Pic 469: a political manifestation, source unknown

2003 (Dec 6) | O – everyday  a homeless on the Dam  Pic 470: Photo by Thomas Schlijper

2004 (Apr 30) | O – event  queen’s day – canal activities; Pic 471 – 472: Squatting around the monument; Pic 474: Crowds and hordes; Pic 475: queensday orangeflagslge; Pic 476: Queens Day fun in Dam Square; Pic 477- 478: Garbage after queensday

2004 | O – event  pop concert with DJ tiesto for 30,000 people Pic 479-80: the royal palace at the back; Pic 481-2: Dj tiesto

75. Among the slogans on many signs and banners were: “No to Balkenende and the [expensive US warplane which the government CTRL-ALT-DEL.” “Government, resign.” “Ministers, cut your own high pay.” “De Geus (Social Affairs minister) on the dole.” “Against privatization of energy.” “Construction corporations scandal: Betuwe railway, High Speed railway: the bosses get fraudulent profits, the workers get screwed.” There were stands by many organizations, including the International Socialists and the VVMC, a railway workers union, member of Keer het Tij, but not attached to a union federation. There were red and black anarchist flags, a Frisian flag with red PvdA [Labour] balloon attached to it, Che Guevara, and FNV and CNV union federation flags. Firefighters made pyrotechnic explosions.
2004 (Oct 2 Saturday)  O – event  Over 250,000 demonstrators (though expected only 100,000 by organizers) - the biggest trade union demonstration in Dutch history, and the biggest demonstration of any kind in Amsterdam since the anti nuclear missiles demonstration twenty years ago. The people protested the plans of the Dutch government for drastic cutbacks on social services and pension rights, while following George W. Bush’s war policy. There was a rock band from Eindhoven playing. Pic 483-486: Keer het Tij demonstratie (Indymedia NL: Independent Media Centre of the Netherlands http://indymedia.nl/nl/2004/10/21895.shtml)

2004 (Nov 2)  O – event After Theo van Gogh’s murder – a protest on the dam: “The Mayor of Amsterdam called for a rally (protesting murder as a weapon against free speech) that night in Dam Square. This type of protest is usually silent, but he said that tonight we should make a lot of noise”. There were many thousands of people at the protest. “Some noise was still happening when we got to the square, but I was sorry we missed the full blown heart of the action, including speeches in Dutch”. by Alan Grinberg Pic 487: An impromptu memorial in Dam Square. Photo by Alan Grinberg; Pic 488-9: Demonstrations after Theo’s murder (picture source: wikipedia);

2005 (Apr 29-30)  O – event Silver jubilee queen’s day celebrations. Festivities started on April 29 with a massive concert on the Dam Square in Amsterdam and the revealing of the new church window with the Queen’s portrait (the same spot where princess Beatrix was inaugurated on 30 April 1980). Dozens of events and activities are organized up to mid- December all around the Netherlands (’rtl’ Dutch electronic journal: http://www.rtl.nl//actueel/rtlnieuws/components/actueel/rtlnieuws/rtl_plus/oranjegeschiedenis/jubileumbeatrix_openingsverhaal.xml). The queen attended the evening, with the plenary royal family, the presence of burgomaster Cohen of Amsterdam, the President of the House of Commons, Weisglas, the Presidents of the states of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba and others. In electronic journal ‘planet’: http://www.planet.nl/planet/show/id=62967/contentid=572993/sc=434edc Pic 490: Voorbereiding van het concert op de Dam (construction preparation for the 25 year celebration concert); Pic 491: Jubileumconcert voor koningin Beatrix op de Dam in Amsterdam; Pic 492: The windows of Nieuwe Kerk are seen through a picture of Dutch Queen Beatrix; Pic 493-495: the Dam Square; Pic 496: Koningin Beatrix verlaat (leaves) de Nieuwe Kerk

Contemporary  F – layout, s.c. (small institutions); Pic 497-8: Swiss hotel (5 floors X 7 windows above commercial floor); Pic 499: Oldest lighting system (municipality) Pic 500: privates near krasnapolsky (2 blds X 3 floors X 3 windows above commercial floor) Pic 501: privates in front of the national monument (1 blds X 3 floors X 11 windows above commercial floor) Pic 502-4: privates in Damark st in front of Bierkhof. (row blds X 4 floors X 3-5 windows above commercial floor) Pic 505: private in the corner near krasnopoloky. (4 floors X 8 windows above commercial floor) Pic 506: rho hotel on dam square (on damark in front of Tussaud) Pic 507: private businesses, in the corner of rokin And Dam. (5 floors X 5 large windows (each comprising of a few small openings) above commercial floor) Pic 508-9: privates on the corner in front of the national monument (1 blds X 4 floors X 8 windows above commercial floor)

Contemporary  F – layout, s.c. (big institutions) Pic 510-11: royal palace and its limited opening hours (from royal web page) Pic 512: new church (exhibitions, organ concerts, shop and café) http://www.nieuwekerk.nl/en/index.htm serving as a church of the royal family only on

Contemporary O – events Pic 577: parade  Pic 578-9: Ferris wheel in Dam square A nice day the crowds are starting to come, photo from Ian Goldberg home page (April 2002)  Pic 580: Ian's photos (home page): A couple days before Queensday The rides were already running in Dam square http://pix.paip.net/Travels/20020430/ Pic 581:  Pic 582: happening with local identity  Pic 583:  Pic 584: Security forces on the dam  Pic 585: Firefighters standing in memorial for the 9-11 victims  Pic 586: Drums on the dam
Christmas 2006-7 O – events Ice skating and Christmas market on Dam Square

Ice skating rink (open from November 14 until January 7). From 14 November through 5 December Sinterklaas will regularly appear on stage to receive children and their parents, while a children’s train puffs across the cobbled square. From 7 through 26 December, the skating rink is surrounded by approximately 25 stands offering a wide variety of Christmas presents and wintry snacks. Naturally, this Christmas market also features a large crib and a festively illuminated Christmas tree. You can also board a hot air balloon, from which you have a view on Dam Square and its surroundings. Winterworld is located on Dam Square and open between 10am and 10pm. http://www.simplyamsterdam.nl/news

4.2. Data reorganization: division to six publicnesses on the Dam Square

In the following illustrations (no. iv/2-1.1, iv/2-1.2, iv/2-1.3), the times of changes in the Dam Square’s form and the times of relative stability are indicated.

Six historical phases emerge out of the graphic display. Only after paying heed to the precise division, and especially to the formal beginnings and endings of each era, that the spans have crystallized. The division attempted to adhere to renowned canonic historical divisions (classical history, modern history and so forth), taking into considerations the particular historical evolvement of Amsterdam and its central public place, concurrently. Eventually, three of the Dam Square phases pertain to classical times, and three refer to the modern times.

The history of the Dam Square’s form is briefly presented further below. After a short description, the rational behind the division will be explained.

The Dam Square came into being as an inborn part of Amsterdam, during the 14th century. Early documentations portray it as it was during the mid 14th century, based on presumably partial speculations. The only two known buildings that molded the place’s character were the ‘new church’ (a noticeable stone building) and the town hall (known as the ‘old town hall), a gothic wooden building, notwithstanding, of a great character. Only a century later that evidences of the place’s architecture seem to be growing in quantity. Between 1400 and 1556, not much happened to the place, in terms of building transformations. In 1556, the Waag (weighting house) was inaugurated, altering the place significantly. It is perhaps the first important project in this place, taking place a century after it firstly came about. The second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, were marked with numerous building projects, but none on the same scale of importance. In other words, the first 150 years of the Dam seem to have been stable (at least from our contemporary perspective and the amount of information that we have), that was interrupted by the new project of the waag, indicating the beginning of a new era for the place. The 100 years that followed have had some more building modifications, although they were not significant enough to change the ethos of the place.

The building expenditure that did change the place significantly was the 1652 erection of the new town hall. The old one was deemed inadequate, in terms of size and needs, and was planned to be replaces. However, only a fire expedited the erection of the new building. In 1652-1655 the new building was finished, rendering the Dam Square a new European style public place. The 50 years that followed comprised of various building projects that has to do with the new town hall, none of which was as significant though.

The 18th century seemed to provide a setting for mere mild developments. There were a few important projects taking place around the Dam area (the major post office building, the printing center, coffee houses, and the ‘house of sail’), but none changed the layout of the place, and except for the printing shops, none have had any crucial impact on the character of the place as well. Conversely, literature announces this century as a time of decline. After the 17th
golden age era, the political and economical climate of 18th century Amsterdam brought about degeneration in the condition of buildings and urban places, amongst which the Dam Square suffered greatly. Only in the first half of the 19th century that demolitions took place, after having a few important building subsiding.

The end of the 19th century saw a new regeneration phase. A few new big architectural projects took place on the Dam, mostly of department stores and other economic facilities such as the Industria building, the new bourse, Kransapolsky Hotel etc. In addition, the city infrastructure altered greatly, filling in canals and turning them to paved vehicular routes. The public transportation system developed concurrently.

Two world wars have slowed down the place’s physical transformation. As a matter of fact, the situation of the Dam Square layout has changed only little since then. The Dam Square buildings that we know today are mostly a late 19th century product.

Clinging to the history of form in the Dam Square, the division to spans is as follows:

1. The first span to analyze publicness, which is the longest one (but has the least information), begins with the earliest documentations found (a few from mid 14th century and mostly from early 15th century), and ends with the replacement of the town hall. This striking building project has conspicuously altered the character of the place, even though it continued to function unabatedly. The new town-hall marks a new era for the Dam Square, taking place sometime in the heyday of the golden ages. However, I believe that despite the strong impact that this building has on the place, it will not bear significant affect on the scission of publicness, but rather offer its flowing ‘natural’ continuation. The reason I postulate only a mild transformation is the fact that the building makes layout changes that are not acute for the way the place functions, and that in terms of social constellation, the new building changes are very subtle.

Important to note is that the first span comprises of two disparate eras: the days before and the days after the erection of the Waag. Because of little information on the phase prior to the Waag, an in order to reduce the amount of eras to be investigated, I have decided to regard them as one. Actually, the earlier phase presents a more religious-oriented place. The Waag building infused and induced an economical-authoritative facet into the place, which did not exist before. If it is possible to sect the profiles of real publicness into two phases, I believe that there will be mild changes between the two. The first will be suffused with more religious occasions and the latter with more economic and authoritative ones.

If the real publicness is accumulated between 1300 and 1652, the potential publicness is sampled in 1556 (after the erection of the Waag).

2. The second era begins with the new town hall (1655), ending with the political turnover to the Batavians (1795). There were many building projects and infrastructures during that time, although none was as meaningful as the Town Hall was. The potential publicness
was sampled at the situation of the square in 1715, which is right after most of the spatial changes took place

3. The third era, which I term the monarchical phase, begins in a new political climate (1795), a year that is marked with a political revolution, and ends in 1855, capturing a mere random moment in the advent of the early modern era. In between these times, spatial changes took place on the Dam, most of which were of demolitions of old existing buildings. Because of the degenerated condition of buildings, a transitional bourse was even erected during this era. Apart from a strong sense of decline, this phase is characterized by a new role for the town hall: instead of serving the city burghers, the building became the royal palace hosting kings and queens (not even on a regular daily basis), starting with Napoleon’s brother and continuing to the Orange Dutch royal family. Although the spatial changes in the square were not extreme (in fact, the place remained as it was, but merely degenerated), the social constellation of the place changed irreversibly and unidentifiably. I hypothesize that the change in the form of this phase will bear an expressive affect on its publicness (both real and potential). The potential publicness was sampled on this third phase at the year 1825 (after the political changes but before most of the various demolitions).

The next three phases belong to the modern era:

4. Starting in 1855 and ending in 1920, this early phase of modernism consists of big building expenditures. During this era, the spatial layout of place has changed completely, and with it, the social constellation of the place. The year 1920 was chosen because in 1921 the square was renovated, planted and landscaped for the first time in its history. The potential publicness was sampled on this fourth phase at the year 1855.

5. The fifth phase, the heyday of modernism, begins in 1920 and ends in 1980. This phase is characterized by very little spatial changes. The most significant one was the erection of the national monument, commemorating the Second World War victims, and the transportational changes that came with it. This ostensible minor spatial change has had in fact a significant implication on the layout of the square. The year 1980 was chosen as the endpoint of this phase because the social constellation of the place started changing in that same year, giving postmodern economies and cultures leeway to enter the square. Although ‘postmodernism’ has been formally introduced to the western world much earlier, the Dam Square appears to have made its entry into the postmodern era only then. However, the fifth phase seems to be more of a natural development of the former phase, then a new distinct phase in its own right. The potential publicness was sampled at the situation of the square in 1925, after the landscaping of the square but before the erection of the national monument. Actually, it could have been sampled almost at any time, because the transition from landscaping to the monument will not utterly change, I suspect, the profiles of publicness.

6. The sixth phase begins in 1980 and ends today, reflecting in many ways the ‘postmodern’ or ‘informational society’. During these years, mild modifications in the social constellation
have been taking place, whereas the layout remained intact. The potential publicness was sampled on 2004, during my visits to Amsterdam, as it enabled me to see and analyze the form of the square by myself.

The phases are not divided to equivalent lengths. The amount of information available on each phase is not similar as well. However, according to the above-mentioned division, the research spans comprise of more-or-less similar amounts of data sources, except for the monarchic and modern phases, which have around half the amount. The amount of sources on the form and on occurrences is extensive enough to be able to conduct a survey so that results are as justifiably reliable, and comparison is feasible.

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<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Era of publicness</th>
<th>Real Pss</th>
<th>Accumulated between:</th>
<th>Potential Pss</th>
<th>Sampled on:</th>
<th>Length of era (in years)</th>
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<td>Medieval</td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>Golden age</td>
<td>1655-1795</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Monarchic</td>
<td>1795-1855</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Early modern</td>
<td>1855-1920</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>1920-1980</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>contemporary</td>
<td>1980-2007</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>--- (40) ^1</td>
<td>--- (7) ^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three charts below (no. iv/2-1) depicts the chronology of a place, along a time axis, indicating the times when one can find changes in the form, as opposed to times of relative stability. Three strands run simultaneously in this chart:

1. At its basis (located on the left) are indications of changes in the form. They are indicated with black.
2. Located next to it, on its right, is the wider urban context: whether in the form of the city (structure) or in its management. These indications are marked with red.
3. On its right is the widest context, adding the major changes happening to society on the political, religious, economical etc levels. This information was sifted advertently: it had to bear an impact on the Dam square. It had to constitute a backdrop, explaining the changes taking place in the Dam Square. Otherwise, it was excluded. These are indicated with purple.

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1. This number can grow even further. Because I have been documenting myself many of the occurrences, and because every happening that takes place on the Dam Square is documented on the web and through the webcams - the amount of occurrences can mount up to endless. I have therefore picked the occurrences that I thought were significant and important. When occurrences started to repeat, I have omitted them from the text, for reasons of scope, but also because for knowing that doubled information does not change the profiles of publicness.

2. Because I was the main source documenting the form at this phase of study, the amount of data became much more extensive than in previous phases of the study. I have written in this account the number of different sources of information that gave information on the form (such as websites, books etc.), treating myself, as an observer, to be only one.
Curvilinear lines denote the times when there were spatial changes in abundance, or when they were very meaningful to the way the place was consequently functioning henceforth. A stark red square indicates the time when form should be 'sampled', constituting the most appropriate grounds for the analysis of potential publicness.

Illustration iv/2-1.1: history in and of the Dam Square: a chronological chart
Illustration iv/2-1.2: history in and of the Dam Square: a chronological chart
Illustration iv/2-1.3: history in and of the Dam Square: a chronological chart
4.3. analyzing the assorted data

The data that bolsters all analyses can be found in chapter 4.1, *the reedited history of the Dam Square*. Since the data is classified and sorted chronologically, and is labeled with a date, the following list clings to the classification of inputs. Arranging the information for the analyses necessitated a profound, deeply penetrating acquaintance with the material, relying on much contemplation and inspection. This stage lasted for months. Explaining every decision taken at this stage of analyses, how and why it transformed from the data the way it did, can provide with material of another whole dissertation. I have therefore decided to accumulate all the data that stood at the foundations of the analyses in this concise list. Since transformations from data to analyses are simple, I am sure that every reader can easily follow this list, trail and eventually track down my decisions. For reasons of scope, and to my regret - it is impossible to expatiate on every thought that directed and instructed the analyses.

- The data on layout that supported these analyses is found at:
  
  **phase I:** 1400; 1414; 1400-1450’s; 1450; 1480’s; 1500’s; 1510’s; 1544; 1556; 1592; 1600; 1609 (end May); 1609;
  
  **phase II:** 1609-; 1617; 1625; 1630-; 1640’s; 1648; 1652 (July 7); 1652 – 1655; 1660’s; 1660’s; 1675; 1690’s[1]; 1690’s[3]; 1700- 1715; 1725; 1748-1854; 1766; 1770’s; 1776; 1779; Late 18th century
  
  **phase III:** 1796-1800; 1820-44; 1822; 1823-; 1830’s; 1835; 1837; 1836 (Jan 10th) – 1845 (Sep 10th); 1835-1840; 1845-; 1903; 1847; 1854; 1854[2]
  
  **phase IV:** 1867; 1870; 1870’s-; 1879-80; 1883; 1889; 1896-7; 1897; 1900; 1903; 1903-7; 1908-1910; 1912; 1911-1914; 1914; 1914-17; 1920;
  
  **phase V:** 1917-56; 1945 (May 8); 1953[1]; 1953[2]; 1956 (May 4)
  
  **phase VI:** 1992 (Aug 27); Contemporary; Contemporary[2]; Contemporary[3];

- The data on institutions that supported these analyses is found at:
  
  **phase I:** 1345; 1400; 1414; 1400-1450’s-; 1450’s-; 1492-; 1500’s; 1510’s; 1556; 1566; 1560’s – 1640’s; 1578; 1578-; 1597; 16th century; 1600-; 1609 (end May); 1609;
  
  **phase II:** 1609-; 1609-; 1615-1634; 1617; 1630’s; 1940’s; 1648; 1642-1648; 1650-; 1652-1655; 1656; 17th century; 1660’s; 1660; 1662; 1665; 1669-; 1670-; 1670- [2]; 1607- [3]; 1680’s-1820’s; 1690’s [1]; 1690’s [2]; 1690’s [3]; 1700-; 1715; 1725; 1748-1854; 1760’s; 1775; 1776; 1778 [1]; 1778 [2]; 1778 [3]; 1779; 1793;
  
  **phase III:** 1795 (Jan 19); 1806; 1808 (Apr 9); 1808 (Apr 20); 1808; 1824-1840; 1845-1903; 1854; 1855; 1865-1869; 1870; 1870’s-; 1879 [1]; 1879-80; 1882;
  
  **phase IV:** 1880’s – 1890’s; 1886; 1888; 1889; 1893-1900; 1896-7; 1897; 1890’s; 1899; 1900; 1903; 1911-14; 1914; 1914-17; 1920;
**phase V**: 1917-56; WWII; After WWI; 1945 (May 8); 1953; 1956 (May 4); 1960’s-70’s;

**phase VI**: 1992 (Aug 27); Contemporary[2]; Contemporary[3];

The data on the structure that supported these analyses is found at:

**phase I**: 1340, 1410’s, 1414, 1400-1500, (1450’s), (1508), 1538, 1544, 1585, 1600-1615, 1609-, 1613, 1615-34, 1618, 1620, 1630’s, 1630-, 1640.

**phase II**: 17th century, 1662, 1663, 1670-, 1680’s, 1700-, 1715, 1766, 1778.

**phase III**: 1829, 1837, 1842, mid 19th century.

**phase IV**: 1858, 1864, 1865, 1867, 1883, 1889, 1880’s-1890’s, 1880’s, 1890’s, 1900, 1908-10, 1917, 1920.


**phase VI**: Contemporary.
4.3.1. Analyzing potential publicness: the analyses of form

4.3.1.1. Spatiality: layout analyses

**Phases I, II:** medieval situation (1556) and golden age situation (1680)

- Illustration iv/3-1.1: Layout analyses, medieval era
- Illustration iv/3-1.2: Layout analyses, golden age era
Phases III, IV: monarchical situation (1825) and early modern situation (1855)
Phases V, VI: modern situation (1925) and contemporary situation (1995)

Illustration iv/3-1.5: layout analyses, modern era

Illustration iv/3-1.6: layout analyses, postmodern era
4.3.1.2. content: social constellation analyses

Phases I, II, III: medieval, golden age and monarchic constellations (classic periods)

Illustration iv/3-2.1: social constellation analyses, medieval era 1556

Illustration iv/3-2.2: social constellation analyses, golden age era 1715

Illustration iv/3-2.3: social constellation analyses, monarchic era 1825
Phases IV, V, VI: early modern, modern and contemporary constellations (modern periods)

Illustration iv/3-2.4: social constellation analyses, early modern era 1855

Illustration iv/3-2.5: social constellation analyses, modern era 1925

Illustration iv/3-2.6: social constellation analyses, postmodern era 2004
4.3.1.3. context: structure analyses

Phases I: 1556 (1350-1652)
The city of Amsterdam developed around the dam (1340). In this regard, not only the place was the most exclusive - it is singled out in exclusivity. The matter of connectivity is irrelevant at this stage, since there is almost nothing to connect to, around the place (1410’s). The dam stands out in contrast to its wooden whereabouts due to the large stone structure of the church (1414). Yet, the earlier 'old' church (in the older parish) implies that the dam square is perhaps the most important place, but definitely not the only one (1400-1500). The acknowledged size of medieval Amsterdam is evident in 1538, 1544. The city grew bigger (1585) and developed its world economic institutions. Some were in the Dam (1609-), and some were not (1600-1615). In this sense, although the place remained the most significant in the city, it lost its unique exclusivity. Even the third expansion (1613) did not change the status of the dam within the overall structure. Traffic regulations around the dam area reveal the place was intensely linked to its whereabouts (1615-34), and mostly to other exclusive places in the city. In terms of urban appearance, the place is the most exclusive, standing in stark contrast to other places (1618). Additional churches marked the four directions of the compass. In terms of religious institutions – the dam square decreased in exclusivity (1620). Additional public cultural institutions were erected all over the city (but none on the dam) suggest another decrease in exclusivity (1630’s). If it was a major religious and cultural arena, now these two roles have shifted elsewhere. Yet, the place remains foremost in its civic role. Despite the decrease in exclusivity (especially of the religious and cultural role), the place’s status of connectivity increased, as it became a primary intersection of public transportation systems, mostly through the canal (1630-).

Phases II: 1715 (1655-1795)
The market place was the hub of the city and 17th century life (17th, 1778). Two markets were located on the dam, with provisional ones on occasions. The dam district specialized in haberdashers, but mostly in print (1715). Nearby were the opulent residential areas (1662). It was one of the most significant commercial places of the city. Streets belonged to guilds, exercising rights of control (1670-). Despite the fourth expansion plan (1663) and the enormous growth of the city, relative to the former period (1700-) - no building activities were undertaken until the end of the 19th century (1680’s). This means that the dam retained its high status of connectivity and exclusivity, and that despite the significant structural changes (1766)
– the Dam’s contextual situation did not change much.

**Phases III: 1815 (1795-1855)**

The most significant change in the city’s structure was the demolition of the city’s walls (1837), which has no impact on the status of the Dam. Public transportation changed to modern technologies (1842), nevertheless, the status of connectivity persisted, remaining the most intensely linked amongst the city’s public places. The Dam district became the district of the middle class (mid 19th). In sum, the Dam’s contextual status (since medieval times) sustains.

**Phases IV: 1855 (1855-1920)**

Two important public places were built in Amsterdam, competing with the Dam in terms of urban role as well as appearance: the ‘Palace of national Industry’ (1858), a glass and metal exhibition hall, and the great English style Vondelpark (1864). These places offered competing important and exclusive urban places, pushing the Dam to be one place out of many. New cultural and religious public buildings were built, none on the Dam (1880’s). The Dam square lost its exclusivity in terms of urban role. However, the 19th century expansion did not create new public places outside of the ancient city, because of poor planning and construction (1865), nor did it succeed in upgrading the existing poor hygienic situation (1867). Not until the early 20th century socials acts that housing projects developed on higher standards (1900), especially towards the south (1917). A major artery (Raadhuisstraat) leading to the Royal Palace changed the inner city structure (1883), while many canals were filled (1880’s-1890’s), thus increasing the connectivity status of the Dam. However, it also damaged the ancient canal atmosphere and its utmost characteristic as an historical core. In other words, if the Dam square lost its exclusivity in role and appearance over the years, it nevertheless retained exclusivity for its aura (as an arena of history and memory). Now that was also at stake. Public transportation continued to advance with the tramlines (1889), the omnibus (1890’s) and the Dam’s infrastructure (1908-1910, 1920) keeping the linkage capacity of the Dam with its whereabouts very high. In sum, the Dam’s exclusivity decreased during this period, giving leeway for new types of public places to emerge, that consist of new urban roles. Notwithstanding, the Dam’s connectivity retained its highest and
most intense level as it was in earlier phases.

**Phases V: 1925 (1920-1980)**

The growth of Amsterdam halted due to political and economical climates (1928, 1935). The inner city canals continued to disappear, now the Rokin (major water artery) next to the Dam (1934-7). The public transportation layout in the Dam was changed (1953[1]). The metro went into service (1977).

In sum – the context of the Dam did not change during this period – not its exclusivity (relative to others) or its connectivity (with other places).


No indications for changes in the structure of the city were found during this span. The Dam is one of the leading public places in the city, in terms of urban significance and importance, yet, it is neither exclusive nor primary. Its exclusivity lies perhaps in the rich history and exceptional architecture hovering above and inside the place, as acknowledged, for example, by the novelist Cees Nooteboom in his essay *Amsterdam*³. In terms of connectivity, the Dam is intensely linked with the rest of the city (both its core and its peripheries), by various transportation systems as well as by urban pedestrian spaces, despite the vast growth of the city, and just as it was in early medieval days.

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³ “Nothing has remained the same; everything is the same. This is my city, a token for the initiated. She will never fully reveal herself to the outsider who does not know her language and her history, because it is precisely language and names that are the keeper of secret moods, secret places, secret memories” in Wolf (editor) 2001:7-8
4.3.2. Analyzing real publicness: the analyses of occurrences

**Phase I: medieval occurrences**

Illustration iv/3-4.1: real occurrences during the medieval era, 1350-1652
Phase II: golden age occurrences

Illustration iv/3-4.2: real occurrences during the golden age era, 1655-1795
Phase III: monarchic occurrences

Illustration iv/3-4.3: real occurrences during the monarchic era, 1795-1855
Phase IV: early modern occurrences

Illustration iv/3-4.4: real occurrences during the early modern era, 1855 - 1920
Phase V: modern occurrences

Illustration iv/3-4.5: real occurrences during modern era, 1920 - 1980
Phase VI: contemporary occurrences

Illustration iv/3-4.6: real occurrences during contemporary era, 1980-2007
4.4. results and conclusions

4.4.1. towards potential publicness

4.4.1.1. spatiality: results and their graphical transcriptions

The presented plans are a graphic portrayal of territories with various modes or levels of dictations. As indicated in chapter 3.3, the yellow represents areas that consist of expectable spatial movements and flows, and thereby expected everyday occurrences; the blue represents condensed areas of collision and overlapping of various expected movements and flows, which becomes an area of unexpected occurrences (whether these take place on the everyday or on events). The red represents the leftover space, devoid of any particular spatial movement that pertains to the everyday, which is therefore the ultimate area of freedom and therefore the potential space for events. Although events are by definition an aberration from the everyday, notwithstanding one can claim that in areas of such freedom, their presence is ultimately expected.

The layout of three colors (representing some territorial division) is transcribed into simple graphic symbols. The work of transcription is done by activating logical consideration and reasonable sensibility, and not by any strict so-called scientific rules. The graphical transcription reflects sheer rudimentary situations, never claiming to offer an accurate portrayal of reality or any measurable account. It consists of a graphic symbol for each of the three territories, which can be presented in three level of intensity: normal presence (indicated with a solid line), scarcity (indicated in a dashed line), or abounding presence (then indicated in a thick line). The only way to know in which level of intensity a territory prevails is ONLY by means of comparison, as there are no absolute situations.

Important to note: if these six phases were compared to other public places, all three graphic depictions of lines (horizontal line, a small peak and a high peak) would have probably gotten a similar blunt presence,
as they are all vital constituents of the public place, in all its six eras. The differences between the colors throughout the six phases, if compared to other places, could have presumably been grasped as negligible. I have tried to indicate subtleties between the phases, although I believe that in some respect, these indications could be considered by some as somewhat artificial. However, fathoming the process that a place undergoes, I believe that there are eventually differences, and that even if they are mild - they can nevertheless be graphically depicted.

The graphic symbols of the three generic territories are as following:

Everyday expected territories (yellow) are places where expected everyday is likely to take place, and is therefore transcribed into a horizontal line, which represents the routine and the habitual on a supposedly time axis; Unexpected territories of collisions (blues) are places where unexpected occurrences are most likely to take place, and are therefore transcribed into a small peak sprouting from the placid and undisturbed horizontal everyday line.

Expected event territories (red) are places where it is expected to encounter events (which are by definition out of the ordinary). These territories are transcribed into high peaks. They do not originate in the everyday, but rather germinate individually (hence their graphic order).

The presence of colors depicts the presence of line types. The proportionate division of colors reveals whether the line types are rich (thick line), normal (thin line) or spare (hidden line). In cases a color is lacking, its graphic symbol will be absent. When a color decreases from one era to its successive - its level of intensity decreases respectively (and vice versa).

**Preliminary results of analyses:** During the first two phases of analyses, all three colors are evident and appear to be in abundance. The presence of the outstandingly abounding blue color in the second phase insinuates a rich everyday with frequent everyday aberrations and proliferating local events. After the political turnover (1975-1815) with its immediate consequence on the square (the advent of the monarchic presence), and following the command of Napoleon to demolish the Waag and erect the balcony on the Town Hall – the relative presence of ‘blue’ territories have been significantly diminished.

This deliberate change made by Napoleon reveals in my opinion a genuine understanding of how urban spaces function. By cleansing territories and thus preventing possible collisions and overlaps of public flows – chances for the unexpected aberrant occurrences are reduced, leaving room for mere everyday activities on the one hand and big events on the other. Napoleon changed people’s spatial comportment in the place by minimal physical alterations. The analysis indicates clearly that his spatial alterations have had substantial traces on the territorial division. In my opinion, this could have not been coincidental but rather intentional, and well calculated: he identified the places of so-called ‘disorder’ and rearranged them meticulously. The third and forth phases pertaining to the modern era reveal that changes in the form were insignificant since the third monarchic phase, offering the same potential for expected everyday and events (yellow and red), and relative meager chances for the unexpected (blue). The proportions between colors have slightly altered again in contemporary times (6th phase), revealing a
smaller and fractured space for events (red), yet a broader space for the unexpected (blue) and for the everyday (yellow).

This case study illustrates a situation in which the expected everyday (yellow) and the expected events (red) are evident and remain solid throughout the years. However, the most substantial change applies to the territories of the unexpected (blue), varying from stark presence (1715) to near absence (1825). In sum, although the place did not change in any extreme fashion, I assume that its alterations revolving around the territories of the unexpected (blue) are most likely to bear some affect on the profile of occurrences in real. In all phases, the everyday and events appear as bold, insinuating a rich everyday life as well as a rich profile of events. In the sixth phase, the territory of events seems to be a little smaller and more fractured. This might have some affect on the amount and breadth of events, although this assumption is uncertain and cannot assume to be quantitative in any way. The intensity of the territory ordained for events on the sixth phase can be therefore rightfully criticized. Unexpected occurrences (whether everyday aberrations or mere small events, indicated with blue) are bound to be rich on the first two analyzed spans, and meager on the third, forth and fifth. They seem to increase a little towards the sixth span, holding wider possibilities for the unexpected to come about, although they still do not measure up to the intensity of earlier classical days.
4.4.1.2. social constellation: results and their graphical transcriptions

**Method of analyses:** The color display is a graphic means to express the social constellation present in a place, as reflected in and through the buildings. It represents two levels of dominance indicated with thick and thin lines, reflecting major and secondary societal institutions. The various colors bear meanings appearing in the legend below. Their subtle differences are indicated in chapter 3.3.2.

In the case of potential publicness, the institutions biding in the place received a label in the form of a color. Choosing the color of institutions was not an obvious task. The reasoning behind the choices is presented in the theoretical chapter. The results of this choice making (which is in fact an inherent part of the data analysis) are presented in the body of research, intertwined in the data itself. After labeling institutions with colors, the gathering of all colors into the social constellation graphic display was an outcome derived of a sequential logical step.

**Preliminary results of analyses:** the social constellation in the first two eras of the Dam Square was very rich with colors, namely, an assortment of institutions that varied in the spectrum of motivations and raison d’êtres. In the medieval phase, a complete range of colors is evident, yet, some are more dominant and some are less. Civic, religious, existential, commerce, economic, and cultural dominated the square. There were also indications for communal, national and recreational institutions, and furthermore institutions of benevolence and economic affluence, but these were less discernable in the square and therefore less influential in the image of its social constellation. In the golden age, the complete range of colors is boldly dominant. There are indications that practically all types of establishments were located in the square, a situation that had never repeated itself in the square. Perhaps because it was the golden age, being a denotation of the golden age – the square was immersed with social

Illustration iv/4-2: social constellation analyses and transcriptions – all eras

Legend: institutions

- red: authorities - national
- orange: authorities - civic
- yellow: religion
- green: nature
- light green: existential - living
- green: existential - trade
- blue: economic
- blue: economic affluent
- dark blue: communal
- purple: existential - living
- pink: culture
- pink: entertainment
establishments of all spectrums.

After the political turnover and the advent of the monarchical institution (first with the French emperor Napoleon and later on with the house of Orange), and although the physical layout of the place changed only insubstantially, the social constellation did change considerably. During its monarchical phase, only the national, religious, existential and basic economic institutions remained dominant, whereas civic, cultural and communal institutions became secondary and low-leveled. Institutions of recreation, benevolence and superfluous commerce perished. The emblem of civic institutions - the Town Hall - has transformed into a Royal Palace, thus changing the social constellation at a stroke with no spatial impact whatsoever. The social constellation of this span reveals a significant reduction in the richness and variety of colors relative to its former span, the golden age.

In the next two phases, there were only subtle changes in the social constellation of the place. It remained meager relative to its heyday in the golden ages. Nature (in the form of seawater canals) has ceased to be present in the square, forever, whereas communal institutions toned up. Civic and recreational institutions appeared secondary. The spectrum of institutions has been further diminished. This situation persisted until contemporary times. Not only the range of colors did not increase, colors seem to have also changed nowadays: the religious institution have, for the first time in history, turned to be secondary in effect. Culture and recreation returned to the square in full vigor for the first time since the golden age. On the other hand, communal institutions have disappeared completely, for the first time in the history of the place as well. It would not be incorrect to assert that contemporary social constellation reveals some major alteration taking place. Since such an alteration has no evident root in either political or spatial changes, it is logical to assume that it is derived from cultural transformations.
4.4.1.3. context: results and their graphical transcriptions

Analyzing the position of the Dam Square in the urban structure reveals that the status of **exclusivity** changed only mildly throughout the years.

If it was unique and utmost exclusive during the first medieval phase (1556), it turned to be one place out of numerous important places in the golden age (1715); nevertheless, it retained its exclusive status all along. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the other additional public places could never mount up to its intricate richness, in terms of functioning but also atmosphere and aura. Indeed, the highest variety of colors appearing in the golden age’s social constellation means that all types of societal institutions found their location on the Dam Square despite having alternative places to reside in. This clearly supports the assumption that the place was preeminent.

The city structure did not grow much (or hence change much) during the monarchic phase (1825). The significant change in the structure did not evolve until the early modern era, with the advent of new types of technologies, cultural spheres and their inherent novel public places (the ‘vondel’ park, and the exhibition ‘crystal palace’ hall). Although the city expanded significantly in modern times (1855, 1925), it did not create any strengthened and viable public infrastructure, but rather produced sleeping neighborhoods around pallid new public places. Apparently, despite the fact that new public places did emerge, they did not forge substantial competition. Consequently, the Dam square retained its uniqueness throughout the years. To recapitulate - if the Dam Square was first in exclusivity during the first span of analysis, its status decreased in the following spans. Nevertheless – it has always been one of the most important places in the city.

Referring to **connectivity**, an opposite process took place. If the Dam Square was highly connected to the city’s whereabouts during the first spans of analyses because the city was then still very small (and the Dam is located in its geographical center) - its status of connectivity grew higher as the city grew bigger due to technological connecting modes. These became more efficient and abounding, adding up to the advent of the central station in the Dam’s vicinity. The more the place’s uniqueness decreased- the more its accessibility increased.

**Preliminary results of analyses:** although the place underwent structural transformations, these were mild, almost insignificant. If this public place...
is to be compared to other public places in the world, the ‘ranks’ of the structural statuses would have shown that the Dam Square gets the highest scores throughout all its historical phases in absolute terms. This has an enormous implication on the consequent phase of conclusions: the structure is no longer a factor in the comparison between the eras. If the context of all analyzed phases is similarly high, then publicnesses can be juxtaposed and compared without the contextual constituent. This, in fact, neutralizes one characteristic of publicnesses, leaving the two other components (spatiality and content) for scrutiny.

4.4.1.4 potential publicness: graphical results and conclusions

Illustration iv/4-4: potential publicnesses - results
Presenting the three disparate analyses of form, spatiality, content and context, in one graphical portrayal raises the following reflections:

Classical eras seem to comprise of the broadest potentials. When comparing the six potential publicnesses, it appears that the second phase in the case study (namely, the potential publicness of the golden ages) comprises of the broadest potential of spatial configurations and content. The prior era, medieval times, exhibits a somewhat narrower potential, although still larger than later monarchic and modern spans. According to these analyses, the potential publicnesses in the classical era seem to comprise of the richest and widest-ranging breadth.

The potential profiles of monarchic and modern eras appear more depleted, and pallid. After the political sway of the French Empire conquest, and later with the advent of the Dutch monarchy, the profile of potential publicness has changed considerably, reducing its range of possibilities in both the spatial features and contents. In the third span (monarchic publicness), room for potential unexpected occurrences has diminished significantly (although did not disappear yet), leaving room mostly for the expected – whether everyday flows or events. The social constellation of the place narrowed down as well, offering a poorer and more limited version of colored-palette. This apparent impoverishment of potentialities is expected (in light of this research premises) to bear an affect on the ‘real’ profile of publicness, by delimiting occurrences to bear, predominantly, political, religious, economical, and existential contents, whereas communal, cultural and civic occasions would become less dominant and sparser. Some societal domains might even vanish from the place’s disposition. In the next two spans or analyses (early modern and modern), the profile of publicness did not alter much. Room for the unexpected, which had previously been sparse, now became even scarce, suggesting that aberrations from the everyday as well as abrupt events are bound to become a rare sight. The deployment of institutions did not change significantly as well: nature’s representations have disappeared for good, whereas community’s establishments returned. Institutions of civic and recreational motivations continued to linger in the place, on a lower level of dominance.

The profile of potential publicness in the 5th era recovers slightly due to an improved spatial configuration. Towards the fifth span of analyses, the modern era, the profile of potential publicness seems to be recovering, widening up: territoires ordained for the unexpected started expanding, whereas the square’s degree of connectivity grew higher by the various transport technologies. The spectrum of social constellation on the other hand persisted without a change.

The sixth profile of potential publicness presents a mild alteration from its preceding one, in both its spatial features as well as social constellation. The vacant territory ordained for events has been fragmented into two disparate areas, and diminished in size. It is hard to say whether this change in this type of territory will bear any impact on the spatial properties of occurrences to come about, since there is, after all, a substantive territory remaining. The territory of the everyday seems to govern the square, although there is still high potential for all types of occurrences to take place. The social constellation indicates that some shift
is taking place: religion has become subordinate for the first time in the history of the place because the church started to act as one only on special occasions, serving as a museum branch, a souvenir shop and a café, as part of the everyday activities of the square. Religious events and ceremonies are therefore likely to become sparse, according to the premises of this research. Institutions of culture and recreation, mostly pop, have permeated the square, bringing back some of its golden age cultural aura, although in a different populist disguise. National, economical and existential institutions remain intact, and are evident all around the square. Representations of the national institution have grown bigger since the erection of the emblematic national monument, for all its symbolism. National representations are currently divided to the Orange monarchy on the one hand (with the royal palace and the adjacent new church serving the royal family on occasions) and the Dutch sovereignty on the other (symbolized by the national monument). This change might bear an affect on the content of occurrences by instigating more national and even international incentives behind the content of occurrences, more than in earlier times. On the other hand – communal institutions have evaded the square completely, for the first time in the history of the place since its earliest days. There are no indications that institutions of communities (whether large or small) have been based in the Dam Square. The only time where communal institutions did not prevail in the square was the third monarchical phase, and even so – they were still evident on some secondary level. Referring to Lofland’s distinction of the three realms of the city - the private (where relations are intimate), the parochial (where relations are communal) and the public (when relations are categorical)⁴, this change in the social constellation alludes to a cessation (and even possible disappearance) of the second type of urban realm, parochial - communal.

**Context broadens potential publicness in all six epochs, but mainly, I, V, VI.** Regarding the context of publicnesses, it appears that the location, linkage and uniqueness of the place to (and in) its surroundings raise the chances of potential occurrences to come about. Discerning the graphical analyses, the context of the Dam Square was significantly high leveled during its first phase, because of the small sized town and the fact that the square was the major public place in it. The high status of the medieval context can be ascribed to the place’s utmost exclusivity. The other two epochs in which the context received the highest rank are the fifth and sixth - modern and contemporary times, this time not so much for reasons of exclusivity (there are, after all, various competing public places in the city), but rather for the highest conditions of connectivity (relative to the other epochs).

The context of the Dam Square retained a high status of exclusivity and connectivity throughout the years, sometimes more sometimes less, but always in a high level. It is clear that all profiles of potential publicness obtained their richness and wide possibilities because of their immanent characteristics, but that they retained and even enhanced their potentialities due to this eligible contextual situation as well.

**Potential publicness was richer in classical eras than in modern times.** The foremost

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⁴. Lofland 1998:14
motivation of this research was to query whether the prevailing claim, that contemporary public realm is impoverishing, is just. Classical times do exhibit a wider range of possible uses for the public place, a wider potential that has been injured for political reasons in the Dam Square even before the modern era, and did not gain full recovery all along the modern and postmodern époques. This analysis attempted to disregard nostalgic considerations since its methods were activated in an identical fashion in all eras. If this is true and nostalgia was not a factor in these analyses, then classical publicnesses were indeed more colorful and open for the unexpected than modern and contemporary publicnesses.
4.4.2. Towards real publicnesses

4.4.2.1. accumulation of occurrences into graphical transcriptions

Every occurrence has a raison d'être, a motivation, an impetus, being part of a larger societal manifestation. Clinging to the classification of societal institutions and their inclusive array of 'colors', which are emblems of societal needs, the same colors can also represent motivations behind occurrences. Occurrences can hence be stamped with similar colors.

Formulating the color palette of the real publicness profile was a much more difficult task than in that of potential publicness profile. It necessitated the devising of a method, that can pile up all occurrences' colors into one sole rendering. This work of accumulating colors was ushered, just like the layout analysis, by logic and sensibility, following simple rules as describes in chapter 3.3. Since this graphical transcription opted to reflect the common and the prevailing situations, never claiming to offer an accurate or 'statistical' portrayal of reality - this phase was therefore accompanied with much heedfulness, in the following manner:

Everyday occurrences and events were not treated similarly. Everyday occurrences were summed up without exceptions or reservations quite automatically: every color that appeared in one particular occurrence, even if only once, remained. Colors that appeared often were indicated with a thick line. Those appeared seldom received a thin line. Events on the other hand were 'diluted' in the summation. Colors that appeared twice or less, and especially in cases their existence was equivocal – were ultimately excluded. That is because their impact on the overall profile of events was naturally found to be less significant. Such a decision to
exclude exceptional colors can be rightly criticized: if there were extraordinary events in a place – perhaps these should have been specifically illuminated, as they forge the unique ethos of the place, an ethos that enables deviating occurrences to come about at all.

However, since this research is foremost interested in the profiles of occurrences, their generalities and not their particularities – this decision was taken for the sake of crystallizing a clear graphic portrayal with least disruptions and disarrays. The reason for the different modes of analyses dealing with everyday and events is embedded in the nature of these two types of occurrences. Indications of everyday occurrences cannot be analyzed in any ‘statistical’ method, since there is no track of the every day. It means that if there is evidence of one supposedly everyday occurrence -then there are chances it took place on other days as well. Whether it was referred to once or many times in literature – there is no way to reveal its frequency in reality (at least not as far as this research is capable of, in light of its objectives). For this reason, one must assume that every ‘everyday occurrence’ mentioned in literature could have practically happened, indeed, everyday. Events on the other hand were often documented. Many of them were documented by more than one source, which allows crossing information and validating their correctness. In the cases of extraordinary events and especially in those whose exact characteristics are equivocal, the exceptional was treated in suspicion, and was not taken lightly. When the extraordinary event’s taking place was certain – it was included in the summation graph. When it was not - it was excluded.

In illustration iv/4-5, quantities are indicated. Although the numbers do not evolve in any way into a statistical quantitative study, they nevertheless offer some overall understanding on the intensities of events, their countenance, the characteristics of occurrences and how often or not they were documented. As explained, the quantities refer mostly to events and not to the everyday scenery because, as already stated, the everyday has no specific sole time or date, and could have therefore been taking place numerous of times. Events on the other hand are singular and exclusive, and can therefore be numbered.
The accumulation of all occurrences, everyday and events, into one graphical portrayal brings about the following impressions:

The first two spans of analysis introduce the richest publicnesses de facto taking place in the Dam Square, in both the broad variety of occurrence's spatial features as well as in their diversified social context. In the first span, one can identify abounding everyday activities as well as occasional aberrations from the everyday. Furthermore, there were plentiful events taking place, of two kinds: monumental and unique but also local and recurring. In terms
of occurrences’ spatial features - these came about in all types of arrangements. Everyday occurrences and events appeared in the highest intensity possible. Everyday aberrations were sparser then the rest of occurrences during the first span, and even scarcer during the second span.

The contents of occurrences were also prolifically diversified in these two early époques, exhibiting all possible colors (i.e. societal motivations) together in various levels of dominance. There are marked differences between the contents of everyday occurrences and those of events: The content of Everyday activities seems to be more versatile than that of events, consisting of a wider range of colors. In these two eras, events are prompted by mostly political (on both national and civic levels) or religious reasons, usually both at once. Communal and pastime are also dominant contents that propel events. During the medieval era, events have been also propelled by economical and cultural reasons, although on a lower-level scale. During the golden age, these two types of motivations have ceased to tinge events, whereas existential impetuses reined. Comparing the two classical eras – one can carefully assert that the content of medieval occurrences was richer and more versatile than its golden-age counterpart, although the latter seemed to have been more intense (thus expressed in starker and bolder colors).

The third era shows a blunt transition from earlier phases. Apart from everyday occurrences and grand events, there are no evidences for small events or everyday deviances. In terms of content, the rich variety of incentives has been significantly diminished, presenting only existential incentives for everyday occurrences (commercial and otherwise), as well as seldom communal and nature-oriented motivations. Everyday activities seem to have become more tedious and dull. Events have also lost their great variety of impetuses, exhibiting mostly political motivations on the sovereign level (in this era, events were mostly related to the monarchy), combined with communal and pastime incentives. This is not incidental: during these times, events were often decreed ‘from above’, by the sovereignty, designated for the populace, and were consciously tied to amusements. Regarding the content of events, one can also find civic and religious incentives on occasions. Another interesting distinction about the third era is that the contents of the everyday and the contents of events are entirely different. If there were similar motivations behind these two types of occurrences in earlier stages, now these motivations seem to have parted.

The successive forth span (early modern) portrays some mild return to the classical rich publicness that the places used to experience, although it does not manage to measure it up. In terms of occurrences’ spatial features – there are evidences that everyday deviances and small events have returned to appear, though rarely. In terms of occurrences’ content – the picture presented in this stage is far more colorful and enriching than its predecessor: the everyday is still dominant for its existentially oriented occurrences, yet one can find civic, religious, communal, cultural and recreational incentives on occasions as well. Events are still political and communal in character (again, on the national and not on the civic levels),
although in this span one can find proliferating events around existential needs as well. On a subordinate level, one can also encounter religious, economic and amusement incentives as well, on both the everyday and on events.

In the next modern and post-modern era, a subtle modification yet a very interesting one is exhibited in the profile of real publicness: in terms of occurrences’ spatial features – everyday and events are prevailing, whereas deviating occurrences are scarce. There are no evidences that small events (whether local or recurring events) took place. Religion ceased to color everyday occurrences. The political motivations behind grand events are now related not only to issues on the national level, but also to the urban civic level. Economical motivations are also dominant and tingeing events, for the first time in the history of the place. Community and religion are still evident, but have been scaled down in importance. The most startling discovery in this graph is the absence of existential economy (trade and commerce) from both the everyday and events. Since in those days there were commercial institutions providing basic needs of trade on the square, this revelation is very surprising. In the next concluding chapter, I shall try to delve into this finding.

The recent era (contemporary publicness) shows again some recovery in the profile of real publicness, in terms of richer spatial situations: small events have returned to appear on the Dam, although not dominant – yet, enough in quantity to modify the profile. The contents of occurrences demonstrate a colorful variety as well, yet – the range of colors has interestingly altered. Events are still, mostly, revolving around political national issues (although civic as well, on occasions). Commerce has returned to the square, both on everyday and events. Events are often motivated by cultural and recreational reasons, and seldom by economic and communal ones. Everyday on the other hand is lead by all existential motivations, as also by amusement. Yet, one can also find cultural, communal, economical and civic incentives behind everyday occurrences, but in a lower level of intensity. Religious motivations are absent from all types of occurrences.

Regarding the context of occurrences, the graphic analysis clearly shows that a vast majority of events was, in some ways, linked to the rest of the city. Whether these events spread from or continued to other places or whether they took place on the Dam because it was the only place for them to come about – these are indications of the effect of the context on the profile of real occurrences. In this regard, it is evident that the context played a significant role in all six profiles of publicness. The three epochs in which the context was paramount were the second (golden age), the third (monarchic) and the fifth (modern). In all these three epochs, the high rank of the contextual status derived mostly from the place’s uniqueness, more than from its location or connectedness with other places.

Discerning these conclusions together, some interesting indications can be made: the profile of real publicness seems to be the richest in classical times (medieval and golden age). The medieval profile and the golden age profile do not present a similar portrait.
Real publicness underwent the most severe change probably because of political and economical shifts and not because of spatial modifications. The third monarchic profile seems to be meager, relative to all other profiles in general and the first two profiles in particular. If the analyses of this research have managed to capture a somewhat verified picture of what happened in the place in real – then this perhaps can confirm what historians describe about the Dam Square after Napoleon’s conquest: “the old, lively heart of the city was suddenly transformed into a dignified, stiff and horribly boring square”\(^5\). Although the third era is acknowledged in literature as also economically stagnant - the stark difference between it and its former one, the second era, have only partial roots and cannot be therefore explained only by spatial changes. The third era exhibits an extraordinary case study combining significant spatial changes with a new political and economical climate. Its publicness cannot be explained without the severe cultural shifts that were brought on this region.

In modern era, the tendency of real publicness seems to be climbing slowly towards recovery, never reaching the full capacity of the golden age. This new dull profile of the square’s publicness during the monarchic era has been slowly elevated and upgraded in the succeeding phases, although it has never fully recovered. It seems as if the recovering tendency is unabatedly continuing until present days.

**Timeless and voguish motivations behind public occurrences.** In terms of contents of (or incentives behind) occurrences – there are clearly timeless motivations that pertain to humane traits, as well as also voguish ones (pertaining mostly to socio-cultural tendencies). Existential reasons (moving, going, living, buying food etc) have always been and will always govern everyday comportment. Political motivations (whether on the wider national scale or the local urban scale) have always tinges events. Amusement prevailed in classical times and in contemporary times. Although it was never absent from the motives of people’s behavior and doings, it did decrease in the monarchic and modern eras. One can see that it is back to govern again in contemporary times. Although this might seem illogical, it nevertheless resonates in Rabelais argumentations saying that:” all forms of protocol and ritual based on laughter… existed in all countries of medieval Europe; they were sharply distinct from the serious official, ecclesiastical, feudal and political cult form and ceremonies. They offered a completely different, nonofficial, extra-ecclesiastical and extra-political aspect of the word, and a second life outside officialdom, a world in which all medieval people participated more or less”\(^6\), giving this finding, perhaps, some justification. Another clear finding identifies culture\(^7\) as an incentive behind occurrences, although never a dominant one. It was present in classical spans, ceased to appear in the bare publicness of the monarchic era, and returned in the same low-leveled dominance afterwards, in modernity. Only in contemporary times does it turn into a dominant feature, for the first time in the history of the place. Inversely, ecclesiastic impetuses were always evident behind occurrences on the Dam Square, starting as strikingly dominant in

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5. Referring to the summer of 1808, Mak 1994:188
6. Bakhtin 1968:5-6
7. Without distinguishing between high and pop cultures, mainly because I have no ability to distinguish between them in classic times.
classical times (medieval and golden ages) in both everyday and events, reducing importance in later phases (monarchic, early modern and modern), and disappearing completely in contemporary times. Although the Dutch church underwent structural and ideological changes during the 16th century (that took place somewhere between the first span of analysis and the second one), and although the Dutch society was probably the most secular amongst European societies - religious motivations behind occurrences have not been reduced in dominance throughout the shift from medieval strict catholic rule to the Calvinistic golden ages. Moreover, if religious comportment was inherent to both everyday and events in classical times, its intensity was reduced from the monarchic era onwards, and was evident mostly on events (except for the early modern era in which there is documentation of religious incentives behind everyday activities as well). One can opt to explain both these cultural and religious tendencies in light of socio-cultural currents in the western world in general and in the Dutch society in particular. However (and this will be stated in the following sections of conclusions again, vis-à-vis potential publicness) – I claim that religious events have not been declining, but have probably been relocated. This means that even if religious events have a different facet in contemporary times, their absence from this square is not to be hung on mere cultural tendencies. It can also be that they just moved to a different location in the urban precinct.
4.4.3. Real & potential publicnesses juxtaposed: results and conclusions

Everyday and events are the types of occurrences that dominate both the potential as well as the real profiles of publicness, and remain constant throughout the six eras. The dam square retained a high measure of robust everyday altogether with rich spectrum of events, in all six eras. The analyses of space reveal that the place’s potentialities are rich as well. It is therefore evident that when it comes to these generic types of occurrences, everyday and events, potential publicness and real publicness coincide, alluding to a rich potential and a rich realization of this potential.

As opposed to the generic occurrences of everyday and events that retained a somewhat constant (and high) intensity – the presence of strayed occurrences, whether digressions of the everyday or of events, changed in extent throughout the phases, in both potentiality as well as realization: their intensity was high during the classical phases (both potential and real), and lower hence. These types of occurrences (divergences from the rigid division of everyday-events dualities), demonstrate a strong affinity between the potential and the real during
classical and contemporary eras, and a weaker linkage during modern eras. Along the two classical stages, the potential profile of publicness deems the chances to encounter aberrational occurrences very high, particularly in the golden ages. The profile of real publicness shows that during these two phases, deviating occurrences were indeed high, rendering corollary between potential and real. On the third era, after Napoleon’s allegedly modest changes in the square’s layout, territories that used to host the unexpected were abolished. Although they did not disappear completely – the chances for such occurrences seem to have diminished significantly, yet, leaving room for them to take place in some reduced intensity. Comparing this finding with the real profile on the third phase, deviating occurrences are entirely absent. Whether this is caused only by the different spatial configuration of the square or also by the harsher cultural and political ambiances is hard to tell. However, it is clear that there is some accord between the potential and the real profiles. The forth era presents another diminution in the potential places of deviating occurrences, bringing this potentiality to near scarcity. The real profile demonstrates that small recurring events were indeed sparse, but on the other hand, everyday aberration did take place on occasions. This means that the potential portrayal exhibits a slightly narrower image than the one coming about in real. During the fifth era, the potentiality of deviating occurrences has grown higher, although still not meeting the high extent as that of the everyday and events. In this phase, the real and the potential profiles demonstrate again a high affinity to one another. Lastly, in the sixth phase, the prospects of deviating occurrences to come about did not change, whereas in real, one can find them in a slightly wider extent although still far from being dominant and far from having the intensity that they used to have in classical times. In sum, deviating occurrences demonstrate the highest potential in the first two classic spans, corroborated with the highest presence in reality. From the third era onwards, this type of occurrences has been reduced significantly – both in its potential as as well as in its realization. In these sequential phases, the correlation between the profile of the potential and the profile of the real are not always corresponding, although they are still not extremely different from one another.

The evolution of the social constellation of the place vis-à-vis the content of occurrences has been changing regularly from one era to another, demonstrating an ultimately high resemblance between the potential profiles and the real ones. The first two phases exhibit the widest ranging portrayal of colors – both in the potential as well as in the real profiles. The major difference between the first two eras is the higher amount of dominant colors appearing in the golden ages (that represent various motivations or incentives), a characteristic that pertains, again, to both the potential and the real. In other words, the mild difference found between the two eras is matching both potential and real portrayals, leading again to infer that there is some high level of corollary between the potential and the real profiles. Scrutinizing the graphic portrayal furthermore, every color that appears in one profile exists also in the other, with no exception. Moreover, most of the colors that appear dominant in one are also dominant in the other. Yet, a few motivations appear in different levels of dominance: in the first span - state
authority, nature, economy, community, culture and pastime; in the second span – superfluous economy, philanthropy and culture. Since these analyses are qualitative in essence opting to give a qualitative appraisal of the situation rather than a scientifically accurate account, it is possible to carefully assert that there is a high linkage between the two profiles in the two first phases.

From the third era henceforth, color palette is minimized significantly, in both potential and real. In the next three sequential phases (third, forth and fifth), the range of colors appearing on the potential profiles is almost stably constant, displaying mere subtle changes. The color spectrums appearing on the real profiles on the other hand are different from one phase to another. Yet, there is clear resemblance between the potential and the real in all these three phases. In the third era, the colors tingeing the everyday are utterly different that those of events. This unique situation has no equal in other eras. When the disparate colors of everyday occurrences and events are combined together - they construct a resembling portrayal of colors as the one appearing on the potential profile. There are two exceptions to that: economy and culture appear as potential motivations in the social constellation but are absent in real, whereas recreation is absent from potential social constellation but is present and even dominant in real. In other words, although the potential and the real profiles resemble one another – they are not similar as they were in classical spans. All in all, the potential profile of the third phase seems to carry a slightly bigger opportunity than exploited in real. This apparent misusage (or under-usage) of the place, might indicate a time of inhibition, whether depression or repression, which will remain for historians to probe. However, from a rather shallow acquaintance with the history of Amsterdam and the Dam square, this finding makes sense: this era has been indeed mentioned for its bleakness, due to economical and political reasons (decay that started even before the French occupation and that later evolved into a severe stagnation, during the occupation and after).  

During the forth and fifth eras, the colors of occurrences appearing in real everyday and real events are still different in essence, yet, they begin to consist of some mutual overlapping colors that together introduce a similar spectrum to the one of the potential. In both these epochs, the sole cleavage between the potential and the real lies in the absence of cultural institutions and the presence of culture in real occurrences on the everyday. Apart from that – both profiles exhibit an identical range of colors. Moreover, the resemblance is so high that nearly all dominant motivations in potency are dominant in real, and subordinate motivations are subordinate in real. An exception to that, in both eras, rests in the religious institution which appears dominant in potential, but is not so in real. This gap is even more interesting when scrutinizing the development of religious institutions along the entire history of the place, as will be presented below.

8. If the potential spectrum of colors in the two classical eras was separately and independently concordant with the color spectrum of real everyday and the color spectrum of real events, from the third era onwards, the potential spectrum coincides with the spectrums of the everyday and events as they appear together. Its most acute example is evident in the third era.
In the last span, the color spectrum is a little different; the reasons for this change have been discussed in length in the results and preliminary conclusions of potential and real publicnesses, each separately. The marked difference from preceding epochs is the considerable growing intensity of culture and pastime in both potential and real profiles. This finding is logical indeed, when considering contemporary postmodern culture. Comparing the profiles - potential vis-à-vis real - it is clear that the change in the potential profile corroborates the changes that the real profile underwent, and vice versa. Despite the great resemblance, there are two un befitting results here as well: communal institutions are absent from the potential profile, yet communal doings are present on the real (although they are on a low level of dominance). Religion on the other hand is present in the potential profile (on a low-level of dominance) but is nearly absent from real occurrences 10.

In sum, one can cautiously assert that the real and the potential profiles attest to some reciprocating kinship, in all six phases. The first two profiles exhibit an image that has changed significantly in the third, and remained so until the fifth. The sixth phase presents once again a new image. In all these three groups of slightly different profiles – the potential and the real have always carried significant resemblance, with some mild differentiations.

The three types of color spectrums (as evident in the groups dividing phases 1-2, phases 3-4-5 and phase 6) can tell many tales about institutional development in the western (Dutch) society in general and in the Dam Square in particular. One such tale would focus on the institutions of superfluous economy and philanthropy. In the first two eras, they were present although not in any dominant buildings or locations, but later, they disappeared, never returning to govern the place. There are also indications that their corresponding societal motivations (affluence and benevolence) have been rooted in the content of real occurrences during the same two classical eras. Reading about the Dutch society in the golden ages, with its magnificent social welfare system unknown and unmeasured for its time 11, this finding is not surprising. Philanthropy is not a very common public institution one can easily encounter nowadays. Superfluous economy is on the other hand prevailing, notwithstanding it is often located in specialized areas within the urban precinct. These two institutions, and especially the surplus economy, have presumably not receded from the city of Amsterdam but have probably moved out from the Dam square and relocated elsewhere. The fact that the two colors have disappeared from the place (and therefore from its potential profile) at the same time that they disappeared from real occurrences, is, I believe, more than coincidental. This advocates furthermore the research’s postulation that there is apparently some relation between the potential and real profiles of publicness.

10. Apart from one documentation of a Christmas event, which seemed to be more about entertainment than religious ceremonies.
Authoritative institutions - civic and national, have always reined the Dam square, being alternately dominant. An inversion between the two coincides with the political history of the city, namely, the overturn from civic to nation-state rule. During medieval times, civic authority governed the burgher society by a political system that oscillated between some rudimentary form of democracy tainted with nepotism and oligarchy. Amsterdam stood independent, self-sustaining, detached from its surrounding provinces. During the golden ages, with the advent of mercantilism and the growing interest in Imperialism (that went in tandem with the emergence of the nation-state) – Amsterdam and the West Indian company have started to conflate with national economies (or businesses). During that time, political institutions of a scale that is larger than the city scale emerged on the Dam Square. Occurrences that took place on the square seem to have changed content accordingly. According to the analyses, the first medieval era is marked by dominant civic institutions (all accommodated within the Town Hall). Medieval occurrences were largely dominated by civic incentives respectively. During the second golden age phase, institutions consisted of both civic and national aims - the first was dominant the latter subordinate. During this phase, national incentives were already staring to dominate events. The stark transition took place with the Batavian turnover and later with the monarchic Dutch rule. From the third phase onwards, the political dominant institution present on the Dam Square began to act on the national scale, whereas the civic authorities’ affect decreased. This inversion persists until today, with one exception, during the modern era, when events imbued with civic incentives grew in dominance. However, this contingency was not remarkable in any way.

Nature is a substantial entity among institutions, accentuating the only institution that is not a manmade social artifact. It is often present in public places, transmitting deep meanings for being counterpoints of societal structures. Nature, in the form of sea-water in the largest canal, has been a dominant factor in the constellation of the place, standing vis-à-vis societal institutions. This entity has vanished from the square during the early modern phase, as part of technological endeavors to pave canals and make room for transportation. This change was irreversible. Nature is also a factor in people’s comportment (namely, feeding the doves, catching some sun, skating on the frozen canals etc.). Nature is documented in a low-level of dominance in everyday occurrences in all six analyzed phases. It has not been documented as a factor in events at all. There is probably very little corollary between the presence of nature in the social constellation of a place (and therefore in its potential publicness) and its presence in occurrences, and especially events. The only direct connection one can suggest is that when there is nature evident in a place, people tend to use it (i.e. – when there are trees, people will use their shadow on hot summer days, when there is grass, people will lie down on it). This is the reason why nature is bound with the everyday.

Religion. The religious developments in the Netherlands in general and Amsterdam in particular cannot be lengthily expatiated in this research. However, a brief outline will mention the year
1578 as the true beginning of Amsterdam’s unique burgher’s society with the Alteratie, as it was then called - the probably only true revolution, which the Netherlands have ever experienced\textsuperscript{12}. It was an organized bloodless coup by the Calvinist, that took place on the Dam Square on May 28. The Protestants took over power from the Catholics in Amsterdam, sending Catholic magistrates on a boat out of the city. Catholics were forbidden to worship in public henceforth (Amsterdam archives), but thanks to the Calvinist canon law, religious worship of various sorts was tolerated with unprecedented liberalism\textsuperscript{13} (especially Catholicism and Judaism).

Probing the graphical analyses, religion was dominant in the social constellation of the square in all of its first five stages, because the new church was (and still is) one of the most dominant and visualized buildings in the square. Until recently, the building served as a church, sometimes on a higher intensity of occupation, sometimes on a lower. Only in contemporary times did the building change its function, transforming to serve as a museum branch, souvenir shop and a café. Notwithstanding, the building still serves as a church on occasions, usually for the royal family (for example – the prince’s marriage in 2002 took place there), which means that the religious institution has not completely left the space, but merely delimited its significance. The profiles of real publicnesses show a rather different picture: during the first medieval phase, religion was dominant in both everyday occurrences and events. During the golden age era – religion was highly dominant in events, yet evident on a lower scale in the everyday. From the third era henceforth, religion took part only on events, although it was seldom a major factor in events. In early modern era, religion is evident in both everyday occurrences and events, as if there is some local revival of religious happenings, although these remain on a low-level of dominance. In the next modern era religion is evident again only on events, and on this same low level of dominance. In contemporary times, the religious content of occurrences has disappeared from both everyday occurrences as well as from events.

Religion remained dominant on the Dam Square in most of the potential profiles\textsuperscript{14}, except for the last sixth phase. In real publicness, religion started as highly dominant in the first classical era, and has decreased its importance and influence piecemeal. The first reduction took place with the ‘alteratie’, and the later ones came along with the modern project. This steady tendency towards reduction perseveres until the seeming disappearance in contemporary times.

**Community.** Various institutions of community\textsuperscript{15} were evident on the Dam Square throughout its six phases. There is not any identifiable tendency or some clear order in the development of this type of institution. Sometimes they were dominant in the potential profile (in space);

\textsuperscript{12} Regin 1976:6
\textsuperscript{13} The Dutch liberalism is reputed still today.
\textsuperscript{14} Taking into consideration that institutions, in the various different eras, represent different religious ideologies. For example, the church before and after the ideological revolutions of the ‘alteratie’ reflects some different premises and credos.
\textsuperscript{15} When mentioning community – I refer to small and varied communities of shared interests, without implying to the total populace of city dwellers. Even in classical times, most of the events that were documented and denoted as serving communal needs, used to host only segments of the urban society, usually a group of people with shared interests (such as the guilds). When events took place, the characteristics of participants were normally documented. And when they had specifications, I deduced that a specific community was involved.
sometimes they were dominant in the real (finding expression in occurrences). It does not seem practicable to explain these changes in light of historical, cultural or social changes. Moreover, the communal aspect in occurrences is not always easy to isolate and identify which means that amongst all institutions – the chances for an imprecise portrayal is probably the highest in this case. This does not mean that the picture presented in the analyses results is unreliable, but that the distinction between dominant and low-level impacts is likely to be uncertain.

It is clear though that the community played a great role on the Dam Square during the golden ages, probably more than all other eras. Another important, noticeable discovery is the absence of communal institutions from the square (and therefore from the potential profile) in contemporary times - it is the only era in which communal establishments are missing. Despite that, communal occurrences do take place nowadays, although not on a grand scale. Communal activities have always been part of the place’s real profile.

**Existential institutions (living, trade and economy).** These have always remained dominant without a significant change – both in the potential profile and in the real one. Interesting to note is the high dominance of existential motivations in the everyday occurrences, and its lower dominance in events. Apparently, events are less motivated by existential needs. The only two extraordinary indices that are worthy of mentioning are the absence of economical incentives in occurrences during the third era. It can probably be explained by the fact that the bourse has been degenerating, and the city’s economic structure began changing and relocating. The second indication of extraordinary finding lies in the absence of trade in the real profile of occurrences during the fifth phase (the modern era). This is surprising, by all means, because commerce and trade were always evident on the Open Square and the streets around the Dam, be it on a normal daily basis, or on occasional events. However, for some reason, trade is unmentioned at all in this era, in neither type of occurrence. This can perhaps be explained with the introversion of commercial institutions, their relocation into the great department stores, indoors. But then again, the above-mentioned department stores have been erected already in the earlier phase, and had no such critical effect on the content of occurrences. Another explanation can denote the fact that the modern era underwent two world wars and economic crises; therefore, the first half of the 20th century was an era of scarcity and austerity. Both explanations are partial and insufficient. The third explanation could also ascribe this result on a serious deficiency of data. The fifth era of the Dam Square seems to have somewhat fallen between two stools, presenting with the least amount of literature.

**Recreation and pastime.** Amusement is a basic need that has always been and will probably always remain an inherent part of people’s doings in the public. Among the various social motivations dwelling in public places, this one is probably befitting the category of the timeless and the (more or less) constant; more or less - because there are mild fluctuations that appear

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16. Perhaps this is because this time in the life of the square is not pre-eminent in historical texts yet, but is also not taking part in contemporary urban analyses that gathered momentum only after the world wars and with the development of the urban research disciplines.
to be connected to zeitgeists. During the first medieval era, recreation dwelled in the building’s square although it was not dominant. Referring to occurrences, it was a dominant part of events, and a low-leveled component in the everyday occurrences. In other words, it appeared on a low level in the potential profile, and on a high level in the real profile. The second era marked a change: as in all other social incentives, this one grew in dominance as well, in both potential and real profiles, as well as in both events and everyday occurrences. In the third monarchic era, again, one can denote an abrupt scission: recreation vanished from the square (leaving the potential profile without this color for the first and only time in the history of the place). Yet, one can find amusement documented in the events of that phase, although it was missing from everyday occurrences completely. There are chances that during the third monarchic phase, the big events that were usually initiated by the reigning power consisted of popular joyous background activities, as part of political dispositions. In the firth early modern era, recreation has returned to the square on a low level of dominance, in both the potential profile as well as the real one. This situation has remained nearly the same during the fifth era, with one exception – amusement seemed to be part of everyday occurrences solely, missing completely from events. This reflects a reversed situation to that of the third monarchic era, which had amusement only on big (usually hegemonic) events and not on the everyday. Lastly, in the sixth contemporary phase, recreation is a very dominant feature on the social constellation of the square, just as it is dominant in all types of occurrences – events and everyday. It has returned, in full vigor, after three phases of relatively weak appearance. In sum, amusement has always been an integral part of the square’s life. However, it became more dominant on the second golden age era, and returned after a long time of low dominance only nowadays, during contemporary times.

The context of potential and real publicness demonstrates sustaining high levels of exclusivity and connectivity that did not change significantly throughout the years. Although the position of the square changed relatively to other new public places in the precinct, it has always remained one of the most important and symbolic public places in the city. In addition, because of its notable central location and despite of the city growth in its various phases and mainly during the modern eras – the Dam Square remained highly connected to its whereabouts. Discerning the graphical analyses - it is clear that there were some differences in the levels of the two features when comparing the spans of research; nevertheless, these were clearly not significant enough to change the portrait of publicness.

The context have most likely enlivened and lifted the profiles of publicness, both the potential and the real. It is a mere hypothesis, although plausible, to claim that the potentialities of publicness have only grown bigger thanks to the excellent contextual disposition of the place. Naturally, this assertion cannot be validated or tested, because the Dam Square cannot be

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17. In my opinion, this reversion bears deep meaning on the two types of societies and political regimes: recreation on big events and no joyfulness on the everyday can allude to a stringent political control. Recreation on the everyday and none on events may allude to a liberal laissez-faire political ambiance.
located elsewhere in order to test what could have happened at a different situation. Besides, since the context has retained its fundamental high statuses all along, the comparison between the different epochs is hardly affected by contextual changes. This neutralizes any claim that differences between the profiles of publicness should be ascribed to different contextual backgrounds. In other words, the comparison between the profiles of publicness in the different epochs is feasible, worthy and viable – and can focus on the two major properties of publicness: the spatial features of the place and of occurrences, and the social content of the place and of occurrences, omitting the contextual issue for the sake of the argument.

To recapitulate, the development of profiles throughout the ages, and the juxtaposition of real and potential profiles, unfolds some interesting findings for investigation. First, from a glance, it is quite evident that the profiles of publicnesses underwent some evolvement, as they exhibit a different portrayal in each era. Second, it is also quite clear that this place, despite its transforming profiles, retained some omnipresent characteristics throughout the years that epitomize its quintessence. The Dam Square profiles seem to hold some consistency, emphasizing its being a prototype.

Envisioning an imaginary profile of publicness that consists of all possible features in their fullest intensity (all colors, all spatial options, the highest structural statuses etc.), knowing that such a place does not exist in the world - the Dam Square rich and prospering results reveal it is not a mere prototype, but an exemplar. The publicnesses of the Dam Square had their heyday (which happened to merge and overlap with the renowned golden ages of Amsterdam), and their bleak gloomy times (around political turnovers). However, its profile maintained an absolute rich portrait, throughout and despite these changes. Although readers might find it hard to envision imaginary scenarios of other publicnesses that pertain to other public places in the world, I hope that one will still be able to appreciate the intricacy, copiousness and richness of the Dam Square features, in absolute terms and measures. In order to emphasize this point furthermore, and help those who find it hard to imagine the profiles of publicnesses in other places in the world, the appending chapter (no. 7) presents thirteen different profiles of publicness, juxtaposed with two profiles of the Dam Square. I believe that this chapter will ultimately light the Dam Square as a genuine exemplar in this world.\footnote{Without stating or evaluating ‘good’ or ‘bad’, as there are multivalent worthwhile publicnesses in the western and non-western world, the Dam Square unfolds to be one out of numerous important leading case studies.}

Third, the juxtaposition of real and potential profiles unveils some very intriguing results. Although they are not identical, (sometimes they are more resembling, sometimes less) - both potential and real profiles seem to undergo through resembling drifts. When the potential profile seems to be declining, the real profile seems to be subjected to a comparable tendency; when the potential profile appears amplified and strengthened, real publicness appears reinforced as well (even if not on an equivalent level of robust). In the last chapter of conclusion (no. 5), I try to dwell upon these results, and contemplate on the methodology that brought them about.
Chapter 5: Conclusions

The conclusions of this research constitute two sequential parts: the results of the Dam Square analyses with their subsequent preliminary conclusions (presented in the previous section 4.3), followed by a synthesis of these conclusions (chapter 5).

The concluding chapter clings to the three objectives, as mentioned in subchapter 2.1.2., that deals with the research questions and hypotheses.

The task of writing conclusions for a qualitative research paradigm necessitates extra cautiousness. The process of analysis consisted of three formal stages that were all executed according to qualitative methods and derived by the desire to reach qualitative results:

1. The collecting and sorting of data (a taxonomy that followed qualitative principles – categorization and typification)
2. The analyses of the sorted data by drawings and graphic symbols, and-
3. The transcription of these results into a graphical expression, a procedure that followed qualitative principles

In other words, the qualitative results stemmed from three disparate stages of qualitative manipulations. I have dwelled upon validation issues of the research analyses, as an essential component in the methodology of the research (see subchapter 2.1). Notwithstanding, the accumulation of the three qualitative empirical stages one on top of the other, assembled into one final concluding portrayal - is by far not an obvious task. The work of interpretation and deduction that leans upon this final portrayal required much attentiveness.

I hope to have succeeded in portraying the results clearly, accurately, faithfully and with credibility. I have tried to be as critical as possible to the results, summarizing and analyzing them from a critical standpoint, as well as bearing in mind my own personal motivations that propelled this whole research endeavor, in order not to let them bias the findings. I hope that in this regard, I have succeeded to some extent, considering some of the results have been disappointing to me, and some have surprised me for the better, more than I initially anticipated.

5.1. Regarding the idea of publicness

The first part concludes on the theoretical construction. The following conclusions are leaning on the graphic results that are presented at the end of subchapter 4.4.3. A proper understanding of the following calls for looking again into the graphic presentation.

The first objective of the research is to find out whether the idea of publicness and its suggested graphical expression is sensible enough in identifying processes or developments of space and of society taking place in public places, each one separately.

Subsequently, a second objective is to learn whether these graphs are capable of offering a comparative tool in scrutinizing spatial vis-à-vis societal transitions. In other words, the second
aim is to offer some insights about the relationships between potential and real profiles, and find out if they are part of a concerted process that binds space and society.

Lastly, a consequential third objective opts to explore if one could attempt to explain the reciprocities between the spatial and the social transitions, should these exist. This last objective entails a critical thought on the development of publicnesses, as well as self-criticism directed at the methods of the research. It is mandatory to note that explaining relations between profiles was not an initial intent of the research, but rather to identify the real and potential profiles and discern correlations between them. In fact, the first two objectives test the hypothesis. The third exceeds beyond.

The following section will examine the research successes and difficulties, in light of its objectives.

◊◊◊ 5.1.1. On the first objective – identifying publicnesses

Applying to the first objective, the graphs of publicnesses, whether potential or real, express different situations in different eras. Just by a brief glimpse - it is easy to spot essential transformations: bolder and multicolorous expressions on the first two eras, a paler situation on the third, some partial intermediate colorful expression on the fourth and fifth, and eventually a different set of polychromatic spectrum on the sixth.

The transformation of the potential profile is discernable at a glance: the polychromatic spectrums representing the social constellation begin as rich and colorful on the first era, turn bolder on the second, lose some of their range on the third, fourth and fifth, and change their range on the sixth. The black diagrams depicting the spatiality of spaces retain similar attributes, yet begin bolder and end paler.

The transformations of the real profiles are not any less visible: they begin with colorful displays in both everyday and events at the first era, turning bolder on the second, and thinning out abruptly on the third. The fourth, fifth and sixth phases introduce a somewhat intermediate situation. Another interesting perceptible image is the difference between real everyday and real events, bearing observable differences throughout the entire history of the place. In the sixth contemporary phase, real everyday and real events seem quite close to one another whereas in the third phase, they drift apart and present some very different renders.

To conclude, the first objective of the research, i.e., identifying the various potential and real profiles of publicnesses has been attained. Now it is necessary to proceed to the second objective and see whether there is any logic inherent to these results, by comparing the potential and the real publicnesses. If there is, it gives a certain preliminary indication that the hypothesis is probably plausible and tenable.
5.1.2. On the second objective – identifying correlations between real and potential publicnesses

Observing the graphical expressions of potential and real publicnesses together, reveals that the processes of both profiles described above, consist of some mutual characteristics and bear some common denominators.

The following descriptions pertain to both potential and real profiles: the first two eras present a multivalent portrayal of polychromatic colors and bold schemas, including bold deviating occurrence. The third, fourth and fifth eras present a smaller range of colors, and a paler graphic delineation of occurrences (expressed in the black lines), whereas deviating ones are absent. The sixth era presents a different palette which represents a different configuration of social institutions, whereas the potentiality of occurrences (black lines) returns to be on a full range, yet, on low level of dominance. Important to note once again – these depictions of overarching processes and developments pertain to both the potential profile, derived from the scrutiny of form, and the real profile, accumulated from occurrences. This means that there are marked concomitant evolutions, which are legible on both profiles.

In terms of context, these have not changed significantly throughout the years. The only legible indication is the fact that context has always been an important enhancing factor in both potential and real profiles, in all eras. There were only mild differences, almost negligible, between the contextual conditions of the various eras, which is why it is impossible to tell if they bore impact on the profiles themselves.

Although this comparative depiction is qualitative in essence and has got no qualities of a trenchant argumentation - the abovementioned distinguishable list of common denominators seems to be an inceptive encouragement to the idea that publicness as a concept in general, and as a graphical expression in particular, depicting two profiles on two disparate strata (imagination and reality) – is valid.

5.1.3. On the third objective - attempting to discuss correlations: A critical thought

The third objective of the research attempts to discuss reciprocities between space and society and their idiosyncratic potential and real profiles of publicness. As already stated, this third section is not an integral part of the hypothesis, and should be therefore considered as an exceeding excess. It is presented here for one reason only: the analyses provided interesting results that aroused the henceforth preoccupations. It therefore seemed inappropriate to ignore the potentiality that lies in this emerging path.

One of the principal reservations that can be raised about the research hypothesis and methods of analyses lies in the query of whether the relations between potential and real profiles are indeed bound to one another, or is it that they both reflect cultural and social modifications and
are therefore projections of broader processes. In other words, can the results of the research affirm that the space affects occurrences, or perhaps it is that occurrences project back on the space, namely, that changing needs propel spatial changes. Or is it maybe that they are both affected by socio-cultural tendencies and developments simultaneously, separately, and even coincidently. The nature of the linkage between the potential profiles (which derives out of analyses conducted on form) and the real profiles (which evolved out of enumerating occurrences) is not at all obvious.

Reflections on the abovementioned conclusions will attempt to offer some insights about this essential query. They shall begin with the institutional posture.

The fact that two institutions - superfluous economy (light blue) and philanthropy (light purple) have disappeared from both potential and real profiles after the second era and never returned - raises some thoughts. Philanthropic institutions are not the most prevalent one can find in urban domains, certainly not today, and certainly not in western cities. The economy of profusion is on the other hand prevailing in the western world, and can be found in specializing quarters, in almost every western city. Although gone from the square, these two generic institutions have nonetheless remained part of societal needs. This can only mean that they have moved elsewhere. The dam square area is indicated more than once to be the place of middle class burgers and trade. The fact that one cannot find occurrences tinged with these two (extremely different) colors, or motivations, and knowing that such occurrences did come about in various other areas - brings to the conclusions that these types of occurrences have probably not found the Dam Square a suitable location for their activities. It would not-be illogical to claim that occurrences presumably search for the most proper, supporting and suiting locations.

The cultural institution (fuchsia) has been oscillating in dominance throughout the years, although it was present in all eras. Its fluctuations raise a similar thought: culture has been a dominant feature in classic times, growing smaller in significance during the third phase henceforth, and regaining dominance again in the sixth contemporary period. When it was significant in space (and therefore in the potential profile) – it was also significant in occurrences (and therefore in the real profile). During its weak spans – culture was usually evident on a low level in occurrences (real profile) but totally absent in the space (potential profile). During these exact same culturally weak phases of the Dam, the fourth and fifth – multifarious cultural public buildings were built in the precinct of Amsterdam: the Concertgebouw, the second university of Kuypers, the municipal theatre, the Rijksmuseum, not to mention the big exhibition hall. The few cultural institutions that used to dwell on the Dam Square in classical times have obviously relocated. As if by coincidence, at that same time, cultural occurrences have not found the Dam Square an appropriate location as well. Perhaps the settings were less suitable. It is clear though that the fluctuations in dominance collide with both the real profile and the potential profile, and that this is unlikely to be merely coincidental.

Recreation (pink) can be divided into two: carnivalesque type of amusement taking place on
events, and pastime on the everyday. It seems as if recreation during events had less to do with what the space offers, and more with what the organizing authorities wanted. Recreation is a seducing power behind events, and especially political ones. On the other hand, everyday pastime seems to go hand in hand with the potential profile: during the first span - recreation was a low-dominant feature in space, and a low-level incentive in everyday occurrences. During the second span – recreation became dominant in space as well as in everyday occurrences. On the third span – recreation disappeared, and so did it vanish from everyday occurrences. During the fourth and fifth eras recreation returned on a low level, just as it did on everyday occurrences. Last but not least, on the sixth span recreation regained full dominance, and so did it grow to its fullest in everyday occurrence as well.

These very close conditions of both potential and real profiles (in the case of the everyday) might point at cultural broader tendencies, for example, that the ostensible gloominess of the third phase in which recreation disappeared, perhaps affected the square and the people, without any necessarily link to one another. Yet, on the other hand, there is evidence that during the weak phases of recreation in the square – amusement on the everyday level took place elsewhere, for example – the ‘eel’ sports game that took place during the entire 19th century and brought much joy to people. In other words, when recreation was a low feature in space – it could have nonetheless retained a high level in occurrences and vice versa. However, according to the analyses – it did not. This probably strengthens the notion that there might be some correlation between the potential and the real profiles, and that they are tied to one another in some unclear way.

Exploring institutions that were constantly present and dominant in space and in occurrences is more difficult to discuss, referring mostly to the existential institutions (pea green, bottle green, blue). Within this statement, it is worthy to mention that the situation of existential institutions in space (in potential publicness) was almost always in high congruence with the presence of their collateral incentives in everyday occurrences (in real publicness). On the other hand, events seem to be less related to existential endeavors, although they can be identified on occasions. The same goes for authoritative (political) institutions (red and maroon): these were always dominant in space as well as in the motivations that propelled events, but as opposed to the existential impetuses, authoritative motivations were very dominant in events and sparse on the everyday. Consequently, one cannot deduce anything substantial about the relation of potential and real from these results.

However, looking at the two political institutions separately – the civic and the state-national (or the city-local scale and the national-global scale) – it is evident that there was a reversal switch in the dominance between the two, taking place right after the second classic phase. If the first two spans were marked with civic dominance, the third span onwards was marked with state-national dominance. This finding, which can be easily supported in historical writings, befits both potential profile and real profile in the case of events. The colors tingeing the everyday were sometimes in congruence with them both, but not always: the most significant schism
appears on the third era, again.

The main question is whether the close relatedness of potential profile and real profile (in the case of events), and the fact that they both swapped together simultaneously – imply anything about the potential-real duality. Alternatively, this can be the outcome of socio-political dynamics taking place in all spheres of society, naturally affecting the urban institutions dwelling in space as well as the content of occurrences coming about on the streets. It seems that in this case – the strong bond between the two profiles is rooted in the enormous power of politics over social dynamics, and hardly with the spatial situation of the square, which in this case can be marginal. In other words - politics, as one of the most powerful social institutions, seems to have a paramount influencing power over the public and its social dynamics, more than any spatial features would ever have over people in any space. One cannot exclude or dismiss the notion that space accommodating authoritative institutions is a tool in the hands of authorities. However, space should not be ascribed the main cause of political dynamics.

This is ultimately a question of who comes first, the chicken or the egg – socio-political changes or spatial changes. In fact, the research results delineate a close resemblance between the two profiles. This research has never attempted to explain why changes occur (physical or social), but rather to identify them and see if there is a connection between the two (physical and social). In this regard, one can say that the graphs of publicness prove sensible enough to spot changes, and to show that changes in space and changes in society seem to relate to one another, and are still waiting to be deciphered.

The religious institutions (yellow) residing in the Dam Square underwent an interesting process. Starting in classical spans with high domination in space (and therefore in potential profiles) as well as high prevalence in the content of occurrences (and therefore in real profiles). After the second golden-age era the dominance of religious institutions has began bifurcating. On one hand, it remained on a high level of dominance in space and therefore in potential publicness. On the other hand, its capacity and magnitude as the driving force of occurrences became smaller. On the third era, it was documented on a low level of dominance only on events. On the firth era it was low on both events and everyday occurrences. On the fifth - it appeared at the same low level merely on events, and eventually disappeared from the sixth era occurrences. During all these spans, the significant domination of this institution in space sustained. Only in the last couple of decades that the church building has changed its functioning roles, bringing about the first and only modification in the potential profile, along the history of the square. This depiction of two seemingly unrelated processes gives the feeling that in the case of religious institution, the potential and the real profiles are detached from one another, bearing no reciprocating relationship.

This assertion should be tested vis-à-vis other public places, that accommodate no religious institutions at all. One can assume that the significant religious institution (the "new church") that resided in the place brought about religious happenings at its footsteps. It is possible that the religious happenings found their natural location on the Dam Square because of
the presence of this institution, and that if it had not existed in this space, there would have otherwise been no such happenings. Although the religious occurrences reduced their volume throughout the years, one can still speculate that despite this reduction, those occurrences that remained adhered to the Dam Square because of the salient religious institution that was present there.

An additional contemplation about religion in the specific case of the Dam Square denotes that it had only one institution biding in one of the most significant and large buildings on the square, as opposed to other institutions like trade or recreation that are scattered in multifarious locations in small buildings. This means that its spatial dominance was stark, rigid and could have not changed throughout the years. This institution’s representative could have not divided itself or grow smaller, like other institutions could have done, because its building as a receptacle was far from being transmutable. Consequently, the potential portrait remained stiff because of physical constraints, whereas the real portrait which responded to the social tendencies, gradually turned less and less dominant. It is possible that the growing weaker real portrait, influenced by socio-cultural tendencies, has nevertheless adhered to the place because of its religious facet. In sum, cogitating about religion in general and in the Dam Square in particular, it is uncertain whether there is any noticeable relation between the potential and the real profiles, as they seem to offer quite unrelated portrayal. One contention can cling to the graphical results and claim that the two profiles do not coalesce at all. Opposing argumentations can assert that the fact that religion was evident in both profiles is already a sign of connection, and that the gap can be explained by the inflexibility of the religious building, the large ‘new church’. The latter explanation seems more acceptable and is worthwhile as a hypothesis for further study. In any case, at this stage it will remain unresolved.

Community (purple) was by far the most problematic institution to identify in the buildings, as it was also a problematic driving motive to identify in occurrences already at the first stage of data collecting and sorting. In events, communities (one or many) have been often mentioned, yet, not necessarily pertaining to the definition of communities that contemporary literature considers today, as a group of people with shared interests. In historical events that were led, for example, by guilds, the presence of communal incentives was obvious. However, in grand political or religious events it was difficult to decide, although there was often mentioning of activities ordained for the public - for specific sects in it (i.e. believers). The presence of the community as an institution residing in the square was also less obvious. There is seldom a pure communal institution, except for perhaps community centers, mostly in neighborhoods, that are a result of modern urban transformations. Community is therefore, almost always an additional raison d’être annexed to a complicated array of motivations. In this sense, the reader should refer to the conclusions on community with greater criticism, because the work of typification could be criticized by some, and rightfully so. I have tried to be as careful as possible and ascribe communal interests to events or to institutions only if I was sure these are in place. When there was uncertainty, I opted to omit this institution.
As for the graphic portrayals and what they convey, community was always an important part of the square’s life. It was dominant in its potentiality on the second, fourth and fifth eras, and appeared less dominant in potential profiles on the first and third eras. The only exception was in the sixth (contemporary) era, in which the community incentive no longer appeared to be in any institution biding in space. This means that it was completely absent from the sixth potential profile and for the first time in history. Referring to real profiles, community was highly dominant in events in all first four eras and lower in dominance on the two last eras. In everyday occurrences – community appeared on a low level of dominance throughout all the phases, except for the second one, which demonstrates higher dominance in practically everything. As already mentioned above, since the data collection is not unequivocal, the differences between the high and the low dominances might be inaccurate, and should therefore be treated with suspicion. The only graphical depiction that is more certain - is the absence of communal institutions from the sixth contemporary era. Although community is evident in the occurrences taking place during the sixth phase, the absence of this motivation from institutions probably carries meaning. It can bear significance on the values of contemporary urban society; it can unveil the function of urban cores as a place for tourists instead of burghers; it can convey significant implications on the development of the place, or can be a meaningless episode in the chorological development. This is only for time to tell. The only definite conclusion derived out of the analyses is that community was always an integral part of potential and real publicnesses in the Dam Square, changing only recently.

All of the above-mentioned refers to the third objective of the theoretical endeavor, that strives to find reciprocities between the real and the potential profiles of publicness, and particularly attempts to decipher the share of form in the creation of real publicnesses - if form has any power in mastering reality. Probing the relations between the presence of institutions on the one hand, and the contents of occurrences on the other – reveals that in some instances it may seem as if form and its institutions do have an impact on forging reality (the content of occurrences), whereas in other instances it seems contingent or accidental. The evident conclusion would propose that not all institutions have an identical impact on the performance of the public place, and that they should be therefore probed as disparate and independent cases.

Concerning the impact of space’s spatial features on occurrences’ spatial configurations, conclusions appear more blatant. For starters, it is clear that occurrences cannot evolve beyond the limits of the possible, or put differently, that the spatial layout of occurrences cannot exceed the space of its receptacle. A linear space cannot accommodate spacious events, just as a small space cannot accommodate thousands of people. In this sense, the prerogative of form is obvious.

Plunging furthermore into the subtle differences between the potential and real spatial features as evident in the graphical outcomes, it is clear that the potentiality of form encompasses the reality, and that it delimits the boundaries around the real. The real, on the other hand, is
subsumed and contained within the potential. In other words, the potential offers more.

The connection of real and potential in terms of their spatial properties corroborates an interesting assumption, thus providing an important understanding about society’s nature: people tend to make the most out of places, make use of its fullest potential. However, the third era Dam Square experience teaches that this argument is contestable. The utilization of spaces depends, so it seems, on the political and cultural settings in which the place resides. In days of economical or cultural scarcity or political oppression - the behavior of people in the public realm is not always predictable. The Dam Square revealed that the real is subsumed in the potential, and that the measure of its utilization depends on outer societal factors. In any case, it is clear that form has an outstanding power in delimiting the spatial characteristics of occurrences.

Lastly, the contextual condition of a public place has definite implications on the potential profile, and even more on the real one. The Dam Square case study demonstrates a high degree of connectivity and exclusivity in all six eras, with mere slight changes between the spans of investigation. The potential and real profiles delineate a resembling portrayal. This probably means that there is affinity between the two portrayals, but on the other hand, it makes it very difficult to distinguish mutual influences or detect the preeminent forces that govern reality.

In fact, the Dam Square case study was intently chosen because its context seemed to have remained nearly unchanged throughout the years. Two places with two disparate contexts can be compared with great difficulties, but when the context is similar, the task of comparison is easier and its results are ultimately more reliable and trustworthy. In so many words, a discussion on the context of the public place was intently neutralized and omitted. Exploring how contexts of public places affect occurrences coming about within the place – will remain the task of future researches.

5.2. Regarding the Dam Square

The second part of this chapter infers on the case study. As already stated in chapter two, the Dam Square case study was chosen for multifarious reasons. The following lists additional interesting a posteriori argumentations that support this choice, in light of the results.

5.2.1. A transforming case study. The six profiles of publicness, whether potential, real or their couplings – belong eventually to the same familial portrait of publicness, namely, they bear more resembling characteristic than less. It means that the Dam Square has not changed its face in any extreme fashion throughout its chronological development, but retained its basic features that were merely altered in the light of socio-cultural and political changes. In other words, the Dam Square case study consists of one, particular, publicness. Furthermore, it is clear that this profile provides one of the richest examples of western public places one could
opt for. Its plentiful transformations enable comparison between resembling profiles instead of a comparison between different kinds of generic publicnesses. Although the latter situation could have had its merits, this situation is favorable because it enables to fathom subtleties, nuances, small alterations, and thus reach local conclusions with probably a little stronger confidence and a little fewer speculations. The more common denominators situations have - the less pretentious their comparison becomes. In this sense, I would cautiously claim that the Dam Square case study sets the grounds for careful comparisons that in turn enable a much more deductive and firm process. Moreover, when conclusions are reasonably solid, one can infer back on the hypothesis and methodologies more easily. I believe that in this sense, the Dam Square is a certifying case study, enabling to render inferences on the theoretical construction that this research offers rather easily, and end up with grounded resolutions.

5.2.2. A generic publicness that pertains to historical public places. This particular publicness is an emblem of a generic type. It can be classified as a classical urban public square that began functioning as such during early European classical times (around the Middle Ages), and that adjusted itself to the changing social and technological needs. The Dam Square case study pertains to this typology of publicness in terms of its spatial attributes and its geographical location. Because of that, it belongs to the voguish club of venerated public places, one that sets a good example of how a public place should be - an object for replication. This gives enough justification for the study and for finding out what stands behind myths, if such veneration is justified, and if it is - why.

5.2.3. A unique combination: a salient place functioning on a daily scale. Although this case study comprises of generic classic attributes, it nevertheless bears unprecedented uniqueness: for one, it is the primary public square of the largest Dutch city, a city that was neither metropolitan huge nor small as a town. Because of that, there is enough data recorded to enable a satisfying research. Yet, it was never too big to become a specialized place (like the red square in Moscow, or the national mall in Washington D.C.). Furthermore, the Dam Square was always, and still is, a place of people and of abounding everyday activities. In this sense, it is big enough to get attention in literature, but small enough to accommodate daily multifaceted activities, which are of prime interest for this research. The combination of being an important and leading place while having so-called regular daily activities is not only important, but also quite outstanding.

5.2.4. Pertinent political backgrounds. In most of its spans, the Dam Square took part in the most pertinent political background for studying publicnesses: a liberal ambiance. However, there was one divergence, the French conquest, in which publicness was tinged with monarchic rule and therefore offered a different political atmosphere. The fact that this case
study comprises of one exceptional era surrounded by prevailing eras of liberal democracy, (for their various transformations from ancient to modern) – is a great opportunity to deduce about the concept of publicness in the democratic liberal world, and compare it with another type of sovereignty as an atypical example. Discerning the graphical outcomes, the impact of the political background on the expressions of publicness seems to be acute. The third era, which pertains to a monarchic political regime, expresses a different graphic ethos. Since this is the only era presenting such graphical expression, it would seem to exceed the coincidental.

This research was impelled by the wish to respond to the prevailing contemporary allegation that the public realm (or publicness) is impoverishing. Deducing from the Dam Square precedent, I assert that this allegation is partially true. Publicnesses have been far richer in classical times, for probably three reasons:

1. There were not many public places scattered in the city, which meant that most institutions (and their societal functions) were accommodated in one place. This automatically caused for places to be more colorful.

2. The other side of the same coin suggests that the place was unique also because of its exclusivity and even monopoly. This means that the context in classical days prosaically raised the place’s chances to be a leading public place. This conclusion is quite obvious.

3. The fact that places were practically smaller in size than they are today, caused for condensed activities and subsequent collisions, which entailed a bigger territory imbued with the unexpected. These areas in the Dam Square are referred to and documented in literature and in paintings, numerous. They are the territories that modernization, accompanied with its need for vast transportations, have been tearing down and erasing. Even in the case of the Dam Square, it is evident that if it were not for citizen’s care, the Dam would have lost most of its unique spatial attributes during modern times.

Publicnesses have lost their richness during modern times, for many reasons. In the Dam Square case study, this richness was lost even a little earlier – with the advent of the monarchic rule (first the French and then the Dutch House of Orange). Even if it was not the reason for the diminution, modernization did not help the place to regain status and recover after its difficult monarchic stroke. The condition today did not change significantly since then. Yet, there seem to be some recuperating signs of growing intensity and therefore a slight profusion in the new profile of contemporary publicness. However, as opposed to all other eras, and mainly to the classical ones – the contemporary new range of colors seems to be different, inclined towards colors that pertain to capitalistic lifestyles, an outcome that is not surprising at all. The problem with these colors is that they replace the communal and political colors, consequently drawing sedated people onto the streets, without their innate political conscience. In terms of quantity, there do not seem to be any less people on the street nowadays. On the contrary – there are probably many more. However, most of them are neutralized from their political propensities. In

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1. Mak 1994:101-
2. Crawford in Sorkin 1992:14
the research own terms, it means that the spectrum of colors is changing, without necessarily becoming less rich. Perhaps this research can offer a better depiction of the contemporary evolvement of the public realm: publicness is as strong as always\(^3\), but it did lose some of its colorfulness and subtleties.

To sum this part, in addition to the multifarious reasons for choosing the Dam Square as the case study for investigation, the results of the analyses and the conclusions arrived at have supported even further the compatibility of this place with the research’s aims and especially in demonstrating that the theoretical construction is tenable.

Eventually, the chosen case study befits the research aims elegantly. Some of the reasons for the case study compatibility were already known beforehand, at earlier stages, but apparently, some of them unveiled at a later stage, with the emerging conclusions. The next third part in the chapter of conclusions will attempt to conclude on the hypothesis itself. It will discuss the potency of form – the power of its spatial, social and urban features - and whether these have, indeed, a share in the creation of publicness as claimed at the beginning of this study.

\[5.3. \text{Regarding the share of form in the creation of publicness}\]

The third part of this chapter infers on the hypothesis that was surmised at the beginning of this research. Its conclusions emanate from the first two parts, which have demonstrated that the research theoretical construction holds water and that its basic concepts are tenable. They have shown that:

1. Potential publicness and real publicness are concepts that appear to be viable, and that hold a veritable relatedness that must further be explored.

2. The graphic expressions of publicness as presented in this research, even if not ideal, do manage to capture the essence of the concept and identify its refinements and nuances.

3. It is difficult to learn from the two profiles, potential and real, and their undeniable kinship, if occurrences are affected from space, or if space adjusts itself to society and its culture. In other words, explaining the kinship is far from obvious – raising again the chicken and egg query. Notwithstanding, there are indications from which one can begin to assume possible directions for answers.

The profiles of potential and real publicnesses have proven to carry some contiguity with the three properties - spatiality, content and context. The following conclusions pertain to the hypotheses that were surmised on the three properties, each one separately.

1. **spatiality.** The share of spatial features in the creation of publicness appears to be attested. The spatial features of the Dam Square show very clearly that there were abounding

\[^3\text{weaker than classical times for reasons explained, but stronger than modern times}\]
spaces for everyday occurrences (occupied by expected everyday flows) and for events (the vacant territories waiting to be exploited on occasions) in all six investigated eras. In the real profile, these two types of spatial configurations have been proven to appear in abundance. In other words, the Dam Square spatial configuration coincides with the spatial configuration of the occurrences that took place within it.

The spatial features ordained for the unexpected occurrences (places where activities coalesce or collide) have been growing stronger and weaker in the various phases of the place. Although the alternations in the potential portrayal are not always similar in intensity as the real portrayal, it is nevertheless evident that when the potential profile weakened – the real weakened, and when the potential strengthened - so did its collateral real profile. Since the comparison is not leaning on a quantitative scientific method, the only precise assertion to be made is that both profiles, potential and real, demonstrate tendencies that are in contiguity.

Finally yet important, it may be claimed that in the case of spatial features in the Dam Square, potential publicness precedes and therefore affects the real publicness. Form and its potentialities constitute the receptacle of occurrences. The latter have usually very little power in negating the delimitations of their physical whereabouts, depending of course on how pliable space is. Occurrences usually ‘manage’ within the space that encompasses them. They can use space creatively, to the extent that people are creative. However, form is usually a predetermined given. When people act in places, they usually adjust to space. The spatial features of space have power in dictating reality to a certain extent, or at least in delimiting it. In other words, the postulation that form delimits the spatial features of occurrences may be obvious to the point of being redundant. This issue should be explored in further case studies.

2. **Social constellation.** The presence of societal institutions and the contents of occurrences, in terms of their generic social driving motivations, have more resembling features in common than not. The closest resemblance is evident in the cases of cultural, recreational, superfluous economy and philanthropy - dwelling in institutions and as the driving forces of occurrences, demonstrating similar, almost identical, processes.

Relations between authoritative and religious societal institutions or motivations are harder to decipher, being part of broader socio-cultural atmospheres and tendencies. In these two instances, there is a solid ground to think that they can be both affected by political and cultural dynamics in society, and less by formal considerations such as space and its spatial features. Despite this difficulty, it is nevertheless possible to identify a kinship between the potential and real publicnesses.

In the case of existential institutions such as dwelling, moving, making a living, trading for basic commodities etc., it is difficult to say whether there is a kinship between the potential and the real. Perhaps the Dam Square case study makes determination difficult,
because existential institutions have been highly prevailing in the square, as also were the existential driving forces of manifold occurrences. Existential institutions are evident and abounding in all six eras - in space as well as in the content of occurrences. They are an integral part of people’s everyday lives, and cannot be ascribed to culture, politics and so forth. They transcend the level of social political or cultural dynamics. Regardless of social atmosphere, people will always have to move around, live and buy food, as part of their basic needs. Researching the connection between the presence of existential institutions and their interrelated incentives in occurrences should be therefore assigned for a different case study in which these motivations formulate a changing profile, and when they are scarce. When existential institutions are absent from a public place - no habitations around, and no functions of daily activities - then existential occurrences are bound to reduce significantly and become sparse, although they would probably never fully disappear. In other words, if the presence of societal institutions (other then existential) brings about corresponding incentives in occurrences, in the case of existential motivations this works on its negation: the absence of institutions propels scarcity in occurrences.

Contemplating about the share of social constellation in the creation of publicness, potential and real, there seem to be three levels of relations between the potential and the real. On the first level, one can clearly indicate that there is a strong linkage between the potential and real in some societal motivations, thus supporting the hypothesis that the immediate social context of a place affects happenings within it. However, on the second level, other societal motivations seem to be more related to political and cultural tendencies. These cultural external tendencies presumably constitute the true reasons for the resemblance between the two profiles, and not their intra-reciprocities. In fact, the resembling appearance of both the potential and the real profiles can therefore be deceiving. The third level cannot testify for any close relatedness between the potential and the real. This might result from the specific situation of the case study, or more complicatedly, from deeper meaningful reasons. It is possible that there are different dynamic interrelations between space and people, between the potential and the real publicnesses, hinged upon the differences between the various institutions and motivations of social life. Referring once again to the hypothesis, the affect of societal institutions on occurrences seems to be valid, although that is clearly not an immediate or an outright sort of impact.

3. **Context.** The share of context in the creation of publicness is neutralized in this case study for practical reasons. One of the reasons for choosing a case study in which its context remains nearly unchanged is the wish to remove the context issue from the equation, and consequently from the analyses. In all six eras, the context of the Dam Square proves to be leading in exclusivity and connectivity. There are mild changes in some epochs; nevertheless, the place retains its paramount position within the urban structure. This fact enables comparison between the first two properties of the place, spatiality and social constellation, while omitting the third property, context.
The research hypothesis was, and still is, that the context of a place has enough power to nourish or wither the profiles of publicness. Publicnesses can respectively flourish or shrivel because of different contextual backgrounds. A high status in the two contextual parameters, connectivity and exclusivity, can raise the potential profile, and may probably raise the real profile respectively. A low status in the context may not necessarily minimize the potentialities of a place, but will definitely not help it grow in importance.

However, the case study chosen for this research neutralized this unknown parameter, thus leaving this hypothesis pending.

These conclusions establish a basis for new hypotheses to be further researched, preferably the study of multifarious disparate case studies instead of one case study along historical transformations. Some suggestions for that are presented in the next part. The pedestal idea of this research’s conclusion - which asserts that space and its potential profile bear partial affects on the real profile, appears valid. Form does take part in the creation of publicness. The conclusions not only affirm the main hypothesis of the research, but also lay the ground for new hypotheses yet to come.

5.4. Thoughts on future elaborations of the research

The following four proposals suggest various directions for further research. They can constitute either a linear path for research or different concurring routes.

Because this research seems to truncate at a much too earlier stage, chapter 6 will gather all the research conclusions on the spatial features of form and the way these might affect occurrences, and will present a preliminary approach based on a list of advices and guidelines. This introduced draft, a blueprint, is designated for architects and those entangled with the design of urban spaces. It should be considered as an intermediating product, intertwining conclusions with new hypothesis to be further examined. The next suggested steps should further support and reinforce the research’s building blocks.

**Further study of generic public places.** If this research offers a survey of one particular case study that goes deep into history (as on a vertical axis) - the proceeding research should offer by contrast a wider and broader views (as on a horizontal axis). The study of multifarious configurations of public places, preferably of generic types (such as urban parks, small plazas, interior plazas, shopping malls, beaches, promenades etc.) will offer an interesting view on the differences amongst generic publicnesses.

**Formulating a new language that delineates public places.** Portraying various generic public places through their publicnesses might shade a new light on the types of public places, and presumably help in offering new definitions to replace the desirable and undesirable value-laden descriptions of public places, that have been part of this discourse so far. As stated in the introduction, the simplistic distinction between public reflecting a positive state and private a negative state should be renounced. Every public place is built on intricate combinations of
public - private dualisms that present an ultimate complex picture. These combinations pertain to legislation, economical considerations, sociological conditions and even architectural spatial circumstances. A place can legally belong to either privates or the public or both, (at least in the case of Israel). It can be run or maintained by either private or public bodies or both. Its profit can go either to private hands or to the public or both. Its costs can be a burden on either private or public entities or both. It can be open or closed to the public, allow or prohibit access. It can serve particular people or anyone interested. In other words, a public place run by governmental money can prohibit the entrance of the public (for example, industrial commercial companies, barracks, parks etc) whereas a legally private place can run on private money and make private profit yet remain accessible to all (i.e. shopping malls, banks). This list goes on, demonstrating that there is no clear or distinct definition of public or private. Every public place has its unique configuration of public-private interests or considerations. This complexity grows further when it comes to creative economical joint ventures in which the division between private and public entities is defined only by legal contracts, and not by classical divisions.

In 1748, Giambattista Nolli outlined his admirable division for public and private spaces in classical Rome using black and white poché technique, thus offering a strict division of two distinct conditions. Contemporary discourses in law and economy fathom the public and private dualism, especially in recent years, indicating that this dualism is definitely not a black and white division but rather a portrayal of different grays, depending on the situation and the context. The idea of capturing publicness, as presented in this research, ceases to rely on such dyadic distinctions anymore. Rather, the research hopes to offer a new tool with new graphic concepts, for indicating and delineating public places. This tool presented here is colorful, bearing multifaceted information on various features of the place. In this regard, it is more intricate, especially when compared to the prevailing black-and-white method. Generic and prevailing public places should be reexamined through this new tool.

**Guidelines, advices and some gentle prescriptions for architects.** If the language of publicness is capable of indicating the various generic types of public places, and if publicness is well understood in its relation to forms’ features, then it is possible to start raising ideas that may guide architects and urban designers in practice. Preliminary advises as such will be presented in chapter six, exemplifying this aim. These recommendations, on how to manipulate the spatial features that affect the potential profile of publicness, might eventually have some impact or partial control on the profile of real publicness coming about. It is important to indicate at this point that the writer has no omnipotent illusions that space and its procreators, the architect et al., have a genuine power in dictating realities. Nevertheless, and as the research seeks to prove, space can affect realities to a certain extent. This means that the architect can indeed aspire to reach certain realities, and can do everything within his/her power to plan and design the most suitable and convenient platform for it, hoping it will prove just. The guidance a research like this might offer will, hopefully, draw the architect closer to his/her aspirations,
but can never assure full success. The success of a place ultimately remains in the hands of society. The research further desire is therefore to bring forth a more pragmatic facet of the research’s theoretical credo and concepts, and advance even farther towards an applied theory.

**The new language of publicness as a method to analyze urban structures, and as a tool for urban decision-making.** Once the concept of publicness and its methods constitute a new language that assesses and defines every possible public place within the whole range of generic and particular public places, and once architects learn more about partially manipulating these profiles – the next phase of the research should proceed to a global scale. All public places, and their inherent publicnesses should be analyzed on the global urban level, referring to their spread in the urban structure. Lifting the discourse from local and particular public places to the global urban structure of the public domain, is eventually an effort to close the circle and return once again to Nolli’s endeavor to map public places and yet grasp the complete urban realm. When such a map is formulated, urban planners can grasp the urban structure by this new medium, through new lenses. The structure of the public domain is not synonymous with the structure of the city. In fact, the urban structure consists of various systems and entities that do not necessarily take part in the structure of the public domain, such as arteries, flows, functions etc. In other words, the urban structure should be deconstructed into a group of sub-systems that may overlap on occasions, and not always be in complete synchronization with the structure of the public domain. This new tool provides the foundations for producing maps of the public domain. Analyzing broad urban expanses by the concept of publicness may offer a new and different portrayal on cities. It may constitute a fundamental and basic document that urban planners can rely on, realizing if some types of publicnesses are absent in the city, if the mixture of publicnesses is diverse and rich, if it provides the best potential for the public domain, in terms of catering all of people’s needs.

This last proposal, being the farthest development this research can generate at this stage, can and should become a working tool for urban planners. Thoughts about this tool’s potency and how it can probe urban realms - is presented in the appendix.

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4. Attempts to define new urban landscapes can be found in abundance. Terminology ranges, often referring to similar phenomena using different words. See for example Vale’s division to *corridors, traces, watches and ways*, in Vale et al. 2001: 419-437.
6 Implications for the architectural profession

According to the research theoretical proposal, publicness is defined by and constructed upon three properties – spatiality, content and context. Studying these properties in various public places, and especially the way they changed throughout the years, raises further thoughts about their share in the creation of publicness. They stimulate the imagination thinking how places could have otherwise function if the conditions of these three properties were different. The emphasis in this chapter is on the how, postulating on the ways to manipulate spatial situations. Some of the ideas presented below emanate from the study of the Dam Square and will therefore appear reasonable and hopefully sensible. Other ideas may be more imaginative, yet hopefully resonate as logical as well, in light of the knowledge gathered in this research. This chapter leans considerably on the research’s conclusions, yet proposes some new assumptions. It hopes to haul the reader towards a new hypothesis.

6.1. Implications on the spatial configuration of public spaces.

The Dam Square is undoubtedly one of the richest public places one could have aspired to investigate. This is so especially in light of the vigorous everyday life one can encounter in its whereabouts, and for its impressive arena that has accommodated events and major occurrences since early days. Most public places that are known (referring mostly to ‘ordinary’ ones) are usually worthy for either their everyday activities (i.e. market places) or for their renowned events, even if they are seldom (i.e. outdoor concert halls). In other words, places tend to specialize either as places of everyday activities or as arenas of events. It is rare to have them both in a similar high level of intensity. Moreover, the Dam Square had some spans, especially during its nascence, in which small-scale events or everyday-aberrations were a frequent phenomenon. This turned the place richer with intense unexpected occurrences, in addition to the two expected ones (everyday and events). This attribute caused the Dam Square to be even more unique and outstanding.

In this regard, the first two spans in the life of the square demonstrate the highest levels of intensities. Although the place has retained its robust character all along the years, one can nevertheless compare situations before and after this subtle transfiguration, and deduce on the layout, on the spatial property of a place and eventually on its plans

The study of public flows and movements reveals the following:

If a place should consist of both everyday activities and events, then some of the territories within must be kept unplanned and unallocated. In contemporary urban conditions with mass populace, high densities and therefore costly real estate, every meter counts. Planners and architects will inevitably have a hard time justifying lavishness or squandering, when in fact, this is far from the case. In contemporary urban planning, when public places are designated for large events – they are given the necessary expanse for it (i.e. sports’ arenas). However,
when places are not meant to provide a setting for events, then every fraction in space is counted and measured. Under these conditions – one will probably tackle either places of everyday or places of events, apart. They will hardly coalesce by a nature. A shopping mall is for example a quintessential place of almost solely territories designated for everyday activities. Although there are some spacious areas in a shopping mall left for various activities other than meandering from one display window to the other (giving a pseudo geometrical feeling of a ‘square’), they are often clogged with children devices, games, exhibitions (like cars or home electrical appliances) or even transient sale stands. If one should delineate spatial dictations, in terms of movements and flows - the supposedly vacant areas of shopping malls would most likely be found filled with designated everyday activities (and their immanent movements) that would ultimately nullify chances for initiated large events.

The other side of the same token addresses spaces that are ordained for events. Public places as such are usually large and spacious and have no territories designated for everyday activities integrated within or around them, leaving these places abandoned before and after the eventuation. The best example for that are stadiums and their whereabouts.

The way activities are allocated and organized in space is crucial. A planning method that opts to be in control and maintain coherence can become a sore evil. The modern need to arrange and put in order might reduce some future vitality and vigor. By saying order, it does not imply in any way to geometrical attributes. A place can constitute irregular shapes, oblique directions and free flows, yet be delimiting and oppressing. A place can on the other hand be orthogonally allotted or partitioned by modules yet consist of numerous areas with some innate disorder. Put differently, order is not necessarily analogous to geometry. And furthermore - disorder is, to some extent– an advantage. This means that in order to increase chances for small recurring events or everyday deviations – places with alleged disorder are desirable.

This was acknowledged by Alexander some years ago. In his article, “a city is not a tree”, he wrote: “in Berkeley at the corner of Hearst and Euclid, there is a drugstore, and outside the drugstore a traffic light. In the entrance to the drugstore there is a newsrack where the day's papers are displayed. When the light is red, people who are waiting to cross the street stand idly by the light; and since they have nothing to do, they look at the papers displayed on the newsrack which they can see from where they stand. Some of them just read the headlines, others actually buy a paper while they wait. This effect makes the newsrack and the traffic light interactive”. Alexander explains that “this enormously greater variety is an index of the great structural complexity a semilattice can have when compared with the structural simplicity of a tree. It is this lack of structural complexity, characteristic of trees, which is crippling our conceptions of the city”.

Zooming into the place, one can delve into form’s detailed elements. The following will attempt to proffer some practical advices, on a small-scaled scope.

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5. Alexander 1965
Conclusions

One can assume that if places offered absolutely nothing to do or see - they would remain vacant. People go to places because of needs that are served. For that, they have to reach the place, for which they have to move and advance. Most movements are linear in essence. The simplest is a linear advancement or curvilinear, depending on the place’s spatial features. This type of public flow is evident in every place that accommodates people, even one person, since people have to change location. This is the most basic stratum of public fluxes molding a place. When this type of flux remains in solitude, without any different types of flows in proximity, places tend to turn unanimated and lifeless.

People naturally have to change location within the public place, which can be accomplished in practical manners, or can be accompanied by stimulating feelings or sensations. These happen when there is something to visualize simultaneously. Visualizations are, generally speaking, of two kinds: the images of humankind and his/her artifacts, or the images of nature. The former consists of display windows (stores, galleries, people’s locomotion – whether static images or dynamic ones), the latter consists of landscaping (whether original or man made), as in beach promenades, mountain scenic view paths etc. In other words, flows of linear movements become more vivid when their various types are integrated.

The Dam Square case study consisted of all three types of linear movements integrated in one small place, thus offering a basic rich layer with all types of everyday activities intertwined. On top of this layer – additional spatial features can transform the place into a more complex and stimulating arena. Referring to rich everyday comportment, this indeed assured the Dam Square a vantage starting point.

Inferring from the Dam Square - it is preferable to have all types of linear movements integrated. A shopping mall for example seems to offer stimulating linear advancements in space because they are all accompanied constantly and unabatedly by visual sceneries of commodities. However, in reality, the fact that there is no area within the shopping mall that enables movement without any visual stimulation at all, or at least attended with a different type of stimulation (for instance, a break from display windows for a short walk along the ocean coastline) may turn this basic type of activity to predominate. Domination in one type of movement might provoke negative feelings such as tiredness, wearisome and even repel. An advice to shopping mall planners and builders would inevitably call to waive on some expensive areas in the real estate for the sake of varied everyday activities (even in some cases - null activities). If possible, offer areas of linear movements with no particular purposes. Sacrificing some of the space, for all its economic loss, may eventually balance itself by a presumably larger populace who may find the place more pleasant.

In addition to the basic linear movements, the second layer consists of concentrating hubs that bring about congregated streams, whether gatherings or dispersals. These are of two kinds: breakthroughs and wavelets. The major difference between the two is that the former consists of two directions - entering and exiting (such as building entrances), whereas the latter is directionless, operating in centripetal and centrifugal directions (i.e. a street exit of a tram
Actually, the spatial difference between the two is of less significance. These two flows have often a rhythmical feature - they define places where people spread or gather in fluctuations and wavelets, according to timely schedules (i.e. underground exits). As already mentioned in the theoretical construction chapter, these hubs are the places where things happen due to the substantial alternating audience. Their location brings forward quite automatically higher chances for people colliding and intersecting, thus defining their encompassing territories as ordained for unexpected occurrences.

During the Dam Square’s two classical eras, these types of territories were exceptionally rich and abounding. During these eras, hubs of the two kinds, breakthroughs and wavelets, were located in proximity to the place where everyday linear movements altered intermittently, positioned around the Waag building and the moorings along the canal. They were above all – condensed. This was the most vivid and lively area of the square, as also mentioned in literature as “one of busiest parts of Amsterdam, the point of arrival for most travelers”…“the departure points that always attracted porters, merchants, people seeking to rescue lost souls, and other hunting for customers for lodging and other services”\(^6\). The spatial analyses of this research thus ratify what literature describes so well. As opposed to the first two vivid eras, the fourth one (early modern times) provides a contrasting example. One particular change is noteworthy: the main entrance of the church was removed outside the square’s ambits. This major concentrating point marked a significant difference in the divisions of territories, reducing the type of territories ordained for the unexpected. The new location of the church’s entrance had a substantial impact on the place, without any change in the buildings, without any architectural significant modifications in the square. This incident demonstrates how very minor details in the planning of a public place can account for major changes in the carrying on of the place. In contrast, one can also claim that major architectural modifications can mark very little changes in the way a place functions. The evidence for such assertion is, for example, the demolition of the old town hall and the erection of the new one on its approximate whereabouts (1652-1655), which changed the square’s appearance completely, but in terms of territories and their collateral occurrences, it has ultimately brought about some relatively minor changes.

Learning once again from the Dam Square case study, the location of both types of hubs—entering spots that connect building with the square to-and-fro, and stations which pour people around bases - is a crucial element in the planning and designing of the place, that must get full attention. The classical case study shows that, if possible, condensation of such hubs around specific locations in the square and in proximity to one another would turn the area of their location to be intensely vivid and crowded, whereas the rest of the square would stay calmer and more tranquil. If all hubs are scattered homogenously, the place’s liveliness may change dramatically.

The last two spatial movements are of a different generic type: as opposed to the former ones,
these occupy territories by staying in them. If the former flows are provisional in temper, they come and disappear, the two henceforth come to stay. The first type is the slowest movement of them all, the almost anti-movement type: residing. Sitting in cafes, on benches, on staircases – people come, and stay. This does not mean that there is no rotation of people, on the contrary, but rather that their replacement is slow, an almost insignificant change relative to the rest of the place’s fluxes. This type of slow movement was sparse in ancient times, and was therefore seldom documented. Only during the modern eras and especially after the erection of the national monument (1956) with the stairs around it - crouching people did appear. In contemporary era, the sole street café located on the Dam Square is located right next to the monument stairs, creating an even larger and more significant area for people to come to the square in order to inhabit it. Literature reveals that around this area, significant unexpected occurrences and even greater events have occurred. To name but a few, the hippie movement during the 60’s (clinging to concept of squatting as a credo) established a home on the steps of the monument; the anger towards Van Gogh’s murder, also found the stairs as the right location for political private manifestations.

The fourth type represents aimless movements, meandering, direction-less wandering. Such movements take place around counters, booths, stalls etc., in markets or during festivities. This type of public flow was recorded on every ancient era around and inside the fish market. In modern times, these types of spaces and their inherent movement have interiorized, introverted in huge department stores. They have consequently vanished from the everyday street scenes. This type of movement induces stimulation to the moving people, yet has its shortcomings - it preoccupies the mind of the person more than the rest of the flows. Wanderers are therefore mentally bounded within their own experience, being in a different mindset that is more often detached from the outer world. In this regard, and as much as the space designated for meandering may seem to provide a thrilling setting, it seems that in these places one will not likely encounter unexpected occurrences, but presumably around its peripheries.

The presence of these two above-mentioned types of flows can enrich a public place, but will not necessarily cause unexpected occurrences to come about. Learning the Dam Square experience, these types of flows were located in the interstice between the common everyday territories, and the spaces left vacant waiting for events to form, in particular around the fish market area. Only during the modern era, did the third (no-movement) occupy the central space. Resting in a place provides a good opportunity to observe, and contemplate. Contrary to what it may look, stairs are not a separating element, but sometime an opportunity to connect. The different height of stairs is a vantage point for the sitting and observing activity. Such static activity has nonetheless great merits in forging social connections inside the public space.

Meandering, in its nature, does the exact opposite, causing people to introvert within themselves and turn oblivious. If used in proportionate measures and located next to other types of flows with other sets of mindsets, these two can stimulate exciting encounters. When this movement becomes predominate, or located in strategic places, it might damage the prospects of
unexpected events to come about. When deciding to situate these types of flows, architects should bear in mind their ambiguous character.

Lastly, most places have always had, and will always consist of areas designated for vehicles’ passage. Vehicles have changed considerably throughout the years, yet their assigned spaces have not. Such spaces are divided into two: the private abounding relatively small vehicles, and public large tubes. The difference between them lies in issues of pace and safety. The former is frequent, occupying its route constantly, unabatedly and unremittingly. The latter appears on longer spans and on a slower pace, leaving the route empty at intermediate intervals. The more a private transportation is hectic, the more its territory is unusable for other simultaneous occupations. When vehicles leave their space vacant on occasions (what usually happens in cases of trams or bus routes) other activities can find ways to intertwine or intersect, on a temporarily basis.

Studying the Dam Square in its last contemporary era, after the major transportation changes of the 20th century, one can identify a prolific amount of everyday territories. A major part of them are, in fact, territories ordained for transportation. These types of territories are dual in nature. On one hand, they prevent other occurrences from evolving in their whereabouts. On the other, they bring spectators into space and foregather encounters. This connection has proven salient because many people experience public places, during most of their time, behind a vehicle’s window. However, these territories are space consuming, leaving very little space left for people and for a large variety of flows.

Contemporary everyday occurrences consist of a large portion of traffic movements. The presence of such activities should be considered imperative, at least in urban areas that still facilitate car entrance. Nevertheless, one must seriously contemplate on their quantity and location. These activities and their immanent movements must enter the public place and enable a visual connection between passengers and the crowd in the square. However, since the territories ordained for these activities consume a large part of the public place, they might come at the expense of the publicness’ quality. In addition, such territories are the least flexible. Nevertheless, a note must be made: this type of activity is often cancelled in events, by blocking off transportation arteries. It means that this everyday territory does not harm prospects of events, but only endangers the local deviating unexpected activities on the everyday. In other words, the most powerful and predatory activity, transportation, has usually less effect on large events when these come about, but is usually harmful when it comes to everyday expected occurrences as well as to deviating unexpected ones.

If rich everyday activities and events are desired, then the presence of transportation activities might not utterly harm the place’s profile of occurrences. However, if deviating activities are aspired, then their presence can be fateful. If such is the case, one should advise to locate transportation tangentially, in circumferences around parts of the space, and make a sincere effort to prohibit its entrance to the inner territories.
6.2. Implications on the dispersal of social establishments and their institutions.

The Dam Square is undoubtedly one of the richest public places one could have aspired to investigate, not only because of its vigorous profile of everyday occurrences and events, but also for its occurrences’ colorful range of contents and motivational variants.

One important attribute of the Dam’s social constellation is the variety of its institutions, both in terms of miscellaneous motivations as well as manifold sizes, dimensions and magnitude. Referring to the latter, the square has always accommodated a few large and even imposing establishments, which comprised of an interesting portrayal altogether - the civic town hall, the new church and the bourse, representing political, religious and economical establishments respectively. They all have sustained for many years, throughout almost all periods, with slight changes that are worthy of mentioning. The political establishment has changed its proprietors, from civic administrations to the monarchic family. The religious one endured some major cultural changes, turning pallid only in recent years. The economic establishment has relocated in modern eras, leaving the square devoid of any substitutes. On the other hand, during these same eras, big department stores have moved in, bringing a slightly different breeze of economy in (with its consumerism facet). In the last contemporary era, cultural institutions have found some great establishments in the Dam Square as well, in the shape of museums (both high and pop culture). Yet, in addition to this small but impressive range of big institutions, the Dam has always accommodated numerous small and colorful satellite institutions. They have always consisted of existential raison d’êtres, as well as cultural, recreational, communal and so forth, a situation that is not always prevailing in such predominant urban public places.

The fact that the three prime institutions abiding in the place have sustained, keeping continuity and tradition, whereas subordinate small institutions have altered in light of socio-cultural tendencies, the place has retained an impressive broad range of societal motivations which undoubtedly helped in keeping the place vivid and meaningful.

One can therefore assume that the assembly of societal institutions in a place has an enormous impact on its vitality and exuberance. Learning from the Dam Square experience, the presence of a few large and socially significant institutions in combination with smaller ones, should be sought-after.

The mixture of motivations abiding in a place (represented in this research by colors) is also a major consideration one must address. The colorful blending in the Dam Square’s classic eras, and especially during its golden ages, was conspicuously extraordinary, and very different in comparison to modern and contemporary mixtures. It can probably be explained by the scarcity of public places in ancient towns that brought about an impressive institutional amalgam, and that managed to sustain the growths of cities for centuries, until the social transformations of the modern project. Today, such mixtures are lacking. Places are inclined to specialize, tending to be tinged with economical forces and motivations above all other types of institutions.
Moreover, places tend to comprise of either public large institutions or small private ones, and seldom a mixture of both.

It appears therefore that the social constellation adhering to a place has even more impact in setting the place’s ethos than its spatial configuration. Architects commissioned to design places should state their views on the dispersal of institutions, in terms of location, whereas urban planners are those who set the place’s prescriptions, by deciding upon the preliminary mixtures of institutions. Although the latter determines the place’s resolution, the former has also extensive impact on its layout.

The presence of nature as part of the place’s institutional configuration is more than symbolic. It dilutes the heavy weight of society and inserts some freshness and nascence into the portrayal. It goes without saying that the position and intensity of nature in a public place can turn its ethos upside down. It marks a completely different situation if only one side of the place is tinged with asocial colors (i.e. an open plaza on a mountain’s brink), or if all encompassing surfaces do, like in parks or large gardens. Even when nature is not a critical component, it nevertheless makes a lot of difference if it hovers above the place (i.e. sky) or not (as in various introverted shopping malls). When there is no sign or indication of nature, not even above the head, the place propagates a sensation of incarceration, of institutions and their incumbents taking control over the people.

In addition, the facet of institutions and what they radiate towards space is crucial. A cordial inviting front façade compared to an indifferent and even apathetic one, can mark a difference. The old medieval town hall at the Dam Square had a porch gallery in its entrance, sheltering the populace or guests coming to the chamber halls from the rain. The 17th century splendor gothic town hall had a magnificent aura-quality attached, but had its main entrance made of narrow and small doors, surprising for their lack of grandeur. Although both buildings had chamber halls that served the public intensely and earnestly, the paintings of people at the thresholds of the buildings’ facades depict some very different situations. In the former, people were preoccupied with their everyday activities, whereas in the latter - they were often documented venerating the building; people who were busy with their everyday activities were usually farther away. Scrutinizing people’s behavior next to the building’s façades reveals that building can consist of different levels of cordiality and captivation. It seems that this has less to do with design matters (materials, styles etc), and more with matters of transparency, visual connections, location of entrances, sizes of entrances etc.

Architects should bear in mind that buildings, just like people, have articulating expressive appearances, just like faces. And just like people, these faces reveal their attitude towards the public, and the type of relationship they intend to have.
6.3. Implications on the positioning of public places in the urban system.

Not every public place in the urban precinct must be a leading or a unique one. Common and ordinary places are also needed and desired, just as unique and exceptional places are. Since urban places are seldom planned on a clean slate but are part of a wider context, every new or renewed public place should be thence formulated with reference to the situation of its immediate whereabouts as well as to its broader settings. Analyzing urban systems will result in an available profile, as opposed to a desired profile. Thinking about urban structures should include one major guideline, a reminder that publicnesses should be spread wisely.

Decisions on the profile of the place must be taken on the global urban scale. There are two decisions in which planners can find some relative leeway. The first is the place’s degree of uniqueness, taking into consideration that not every place should be outstanding; it is nevertheless possible to furnish ordinary places with singularity and thus a distinctive identity (i.e. by inserting a particular institution, using nature wisely etc.), pertaining to their idiosyncratic geographical and cultural situation. Secondly, the presence of connections that a place has with other locations is not less crucial. For this reason, the presence of transportation flows inside the public place is important and desired despite their ostensible damage. A place should enable various sorts of connections to other exclusive or ordinary places, in various means. The more connected and unique a place is – the richer profile of publicness it is capable to accommodate.

This chapter must be concluded with a note: professional that are entangled with the preliminary blueprint of a public place in its wider global context are dealing with different issues and decisions than those preoccupied with the materialization and realization of the place’s buildings and space. The former are usually planners in education, of all professional spectrums, whereas the latter are architects or designers in training. The research conclusions address both.

At the end of the day, this research can eventually contend that when it comes to the quality of public places and their inherent publicnesses - the size of the place is only secondary in importance, if at all. Size does matter in various aspects, but does not assure quality. The configuration of space and the relations between its immanent entities are much more influential on the ethos of a place.

Learning from our experience, architects cannot change reality. They can neither influence the institutions of society nor transform their nature, as these are part of stronger and larger cultural currents. However, architects can indeed control the presence of institutions and their location. Architects and planners should find a leeway, within contemporary cultural, political and economical rules of the game, in order not to become society’s pawns.
This appending text presents thirteen additional profiles of publicness. Six publicnesses represent European public places that most readers will find familiar. One of them is not even unique or exceptionally important, depicting a generic housing street to be found in some variation or another in most urban European cities. The other seven publicnesses are Israeli. Five present preeminent public places in the urban scene of Haifa, and two portray the most important public place of the Israeli (secular) society – ‘Rabin Square’ and ‘Rothschild Avenue’ in Tel-Aviv. These publicnesses will be eventually juxtaposed with two publicnesses of the Dam Square - in the golden age and contemporary times.

The objective of this section is not to delve into each of these places in great detail in order to offer a very profound, ruminative or even accurate portrayal of their publicnesses. Rather, the aim is to offer a brief and concise assessment in order to enable and authentic comparative analysis of the various places.

These examples were chosen for two reasons. First, for having an acquaintance with most of them, which gives a preliminary sense of what these publicnesses are all about. Second, these places portray distinctively different profiles, exhibiting a range of generic publicnesses. Being unable to review all existing publicnesses, this appendix attempt to cover a few important types, whether prototypes of recurring publicnesses or genuine originals which are unique in the world. Since the comparative aspect of this section is pivotal - the choices have had to supply the best grounds for a comparative assessment.

Another aim of this chapter is to discuss the idea of publicness on the wider urban scale context. The theoretical approach presented in this research can bear a powerful affect on urban planning, one that sees beyond the local considerations of the small and the particular place, one that transcends the issues of space and spatial configurations and considers society and its various cultural, political, psychological (thus existential) needs. If public places fulfill various necessities that people have or create to themselves as being part of society, then publicnesses are the embodiment of these needs in the urban spaces. The urban map of publicnesses reflects the way these societal needs are spread and scattered in the urban expanse, a dispersion that is surely pregnant with fervent meanings. Two major questions are, naturally, if professionals in charge of the urban policy-making consider urban space in such terms at all, and secondly, if all societal necessities are being answered in the city, or whether the map of publicness reveals lacks or deficiencies. Urban maps of publicness can portray the ‘available’; can they unfold a latent picture of the ‘desirable’ as well?

This chapter is suffused with ideas and thoughts about the possible future of this research methodology. It should be grasped as a conjectural outcome that emanates from the research’s future elaboration, advancing, perhaps prematurely, a few too many steps ahead. The work and development of these analyses, as imprecise they may seem, have stirred and inspired me to persist on this research and hold on to it throughout the years of study.
Worthy of mentioning - the graphic profiles of publicness presented below are all 'potential profiles'. They are a sheer speculation, emanating from a brief (and even somewhat simplistic) analysis of form. In addition, some insights on the ‘real publicness’ are also touched upon. Readers can naturally juxtapose the suggested potential profile with the partial information on the real profile, and fill missing information out of their own experience of these places, should it exist. With these brief analyses, I hope to prove that the thoroughgoing diligent analyses conducted on the Dam Square case study presented in this research were necessary for the sake of justifying and verifying the research methodology. I believe that once (and if) the theoretical approach is accepted, fully or partially, that publicnesses can be portrayed without painstaking excavations into endless sources of materials. Capturing publicnesses should ultimately be a simple, straightforward, brief and uncomplicated task. This affix aspires to prove that the work of transcribing places into the profile of publicness is attainable, very much within the reach of every one.
7.1. The European Experience

Illustration vii/1-1: European publicnesses

1. Piazza navona
2. Vatican - St. Pietro
3. bahnhofstrasse, stores (north), Zurich
4. bahnhofstrasse, banl (south), Zurich
5. Downing 10, London
6. a typical urban dwelling street
7. Dam, contemporary
8. Dam, golden age

Analyzing various publicnesses
The layout of Piazza Navona in Rome (illustration vii/1-1 profile no. 1), a residue of the ancient Roman circus, the 1st century Stadium of Domitian, accommodates territories for diverse everyday activities on the circumference of the square and around its three fountains, leaving an elongated grand space ostensibly ‘empty’ in between. This configuration bears high potential for rich everyday activities and for events to come about. The interface between these two territories is quite blunt. Within this configuration, it seems as if one can be posited either in the everyday territories or in the remaining ‘empty’ large territory, but hardly in places that pertain to both. Except, perhaps, for the areas around the fountains, which offer spaces for everyday activities (sitting, relaxing, meeting and talking). For this reason, the everyday (horizontal line) and events (high peaks) are indicated with a bold line. Everyday aberrations (small fluctuation) that can probably come forth around the fountains, are indicated only with a thin line. Context-wise, the exclusivity of this place received an intermediate mark, since it is predominant, but certainly not the only significant public place residing in the urban precincts of Rome. In terms of accessibility, it received a higher mark, for its logistic position within the city. The context of the piazza has definitely strengthened its potentiality to host events.

Referring to the social constellation residing in the square, a variety of establishments is accommodated within. These have changed throughout the centuries. The preeminent institutions reside in the various palazzo buildings of affluent historical families such as Palazzo de Cupis, Palazzo Pamphilij (one of the Papal families deeply entrenched in Roman politics of the 16th and 17th centuries), the Palazzo Torres Massimo Lancelotti, which host nowadays cultural establishments such as the Accademia Filarmonica Romana, galleries etc. There are also religious institutions on the square such as the Church of Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore, and church of Sant Agnese in Agone. Palazzo Barschi functions as the Museo di Roma. The square has a reputed history as the main market place of Rome, moving out in 1869 to Campo de’ Fiori. However, it still maintains a notable commercial role in contemporary days.

The place’s social constellation is rather colorful. It consists of authoritative institutions (assets that belong to Pope Giovanni Battista Pamphilij, who became pope in 1644, and to the city municipality), religious institutions (churches), existential institutions (dwelling units around), nature (water fountains, although minor in their presence), abounding cultural institutions (museums, philharmonics, statues of the greatest sculptures, Bernini, Borromini, Rainaldi), as well as commercial and recreational institutions (shops, cafes). In reality, the piazza has demonstrated a long and rich history of everyday life as well as of events.
The spatial properties of Piazza San Pietro in Rome (illustration vii/1-1 profile no. 2) are well known for their distinctiveness and uniqueness. In terms of territories for everyday activities, except for walking towards the basilica and back there are no other activities meant to take place. The large spacious and open square surrounded by elliptical colonnade leaves much room for freedom of movement, and for potential events to come about. Except for the obelisk posited at the square’s focal point (notable for being the second largest standing obelisk and the only one that has remained standing since it was erected during the Roman Empire) and except for the two fountains on the sides of the square, there are no elements disturbing the flows in space. Everyday life is rather plain, and is therefore indicated by a thin line.

The everyday life of the square consists of mostly people, tourists, believers and incumbents going to and fro, heading towards the basilica and its whereabouts. Events, when these occur, are colossal in dimensions, emotional intensities and publicity. The space seems to hold conspicuous potential for huge mega-events. The context of the place is exceptional. Being the central location of the Vatican City, the religious hub of one of the largest world’s populace - it has no equal in the world. For this reason, the place’s uniqueness received the highest indication possible in the graphs, strengthening considerably the potentiality of events to come about. The connectivity factor is less dominant, although it is too, posited in a logistical place within the city of Rome.

In terms of the square’s social constellation, its surrounded buildings represent one sole institution that has an immense power worldwide, the papacy. Located in the Vatican City, apart for its religious motivation, it consists of an authoritative aura as well. Moreover, this religious institution is inhabited by a renowned person (the Pope). Subsequently, this building represents not only a salient institution, but also a particular person of great stature, having a face and a name. This is indicated with the facial icon on the color sign of religion.

Piazza San Pietro has a history of accommodating the biggest world’s events. They are relatively scarce, but perhaps the most prestigious. One of the recent events taking place in the square, was the funeral of Pope John Paul II on April 2005. It is estimated that billions of people had watched the funeral.
either through actually being in Vatican Square or by watching it on television.

A public place that puzzled me most was the bahnhofstrasse in Zurich. How was it possible that on this street, which retains a more or less constant spatial feature in terms of street section and elevations - two of its areas, that are not even remote from one another, elicit different sensations? As a matter of fact, my ETH colleagues drew my attention to this street as a phenomenon, provoking furthermore my entanglement with the idea of publicness.

The concept of publicness can perhaps provide an explanation. Disregarding nuances in the different layouts of the northern and southern parts of the street and subtleties in the contexts of the two areas (such as proximity to the central station, river bank etc.) - there is one difference can probably explain the difference: the social constellation. Analyses were therefore simplified matters of layout and context, for the sake of argument. Naturally, a meticulous survey of the street would most likely unfold a more profound thesis. These analyses should be therefore considered supposition, a preliminary hypothesis to be further tested.

The Bahnhofstrasse’s northern part (in vicinity of the central station) consists of numerous small-scaled commercial retail and businesses alike. The five or six floor buildings, on both sides of the street, reveal multifarious diversified owners scattered within. The windows disclose different physical settings, which mean there are manifold proprietors behind these walls - different curtains, varied lighting fixtures, or motley wall paints. As one progresses towards the central part
of the street, large businesses of department stores proliferate. The same sized buildings accommodate in this part of the street a different type of commercial institutions: instead of multifarious small and unknown proprietors, the middle street section comprises of conspicuous sole business of usually reputed organizations. Windows of all floors reveal a sole proprietor behind, occupying the entire volume of the building. Progressing furthermore to the south, one can start to find banks amongst the large firms, which cast a completely different societal atmosphere: their interaction with the people on the street and their solemnity are of a different character.

The Bahnhofstrasse north (illustration vii/1-1 profile no. 3) and Bahnhofstrasse south (profile no. 4) comprise of different social constellations, and therefore different colors in the graph. If the graphs were more sensible and keen in reflecting details, such as the amount of institutions and their salience, it would show multifarious thin lines (representing numerous small institutions) on the northern publicness and a few thick lines representing a few big institutions on the southern. When a person is situated in the public realm, being part of society, he has a relationship of some sort with the societal institutions encompassing him. Apart for the types of institutions, there is a stark difference between being surrounded with many small institutions or with several large ones.

As opposed to the subtle difference in the social constellation, the layout of both areas is quite resembling, which explains the similar depiction of potential occurrences - everyday activities or events. The only distinguishable attribute that might change this picture is perhaps the presence of tram stations: these prompt a local tumult, defining territories around the stations that create a particular movement (of wavelets- centrifugal and centripetal), which collide with the ordinary linear streams and flows of the street. The tram station areas may therefore induce territories of surprise, of the unexpected. A large tram station is located near the area of the banks on the southern part (paradeplatz) whereas a few small stations are scattered in the street around the bustling commercial area (bahnhofstrasse and rennweg) in the northern and central areas. These different sized stations entail a different intensity in the potentiality of diverging everyday activities.

In sum, the layout of the two areas is nearly similar. It exhibits a rich everyday life with mild potentials for everyday aberrations. The context of the street reflects a high status of exclusivity and connectivity, enabling the prospects of everyday divergences to grow.

The chief distinction between the two parts of the street, I believe, derives from the different social constellation. In planning terms, the two areas consist of ostensibly similar ‘land-uses’. In terms of publicnesses, they inhabit different societal institutions thus tingeing the public place with different colors. This small difference (that evades the planning objectives) bears a conspicuous effect on publicness.

The spatial properties of 10 Downing Street in London (illustration vii/1-1 profile no. 5) resemble many ordinary urban street spaces (profile no. 6). However, it is exceptionally famous
worldwide for clear reasons. 10 Downing Street is the historic working place of governmental incumbents. A series of state rooms used both for official receptions and everyday meetings lie behind the black front door, serving Prime Minister and staff.

This public place, in terms of architectural attributes, is ultimately a housing street with no conspicuous spatial uniqueness relative to other common residential streets. However, the social constellation in this particular street presents an exclusive situation: it accommodates the chief person of British politics and his staff, dominating not only local politics but also world politics. If ordinary residential streets have no political institutions within, this particular street stands out. Moreover, if institutions behind the buildings in a residential street represent incognitos that are preoccupied behind the walls with their private everyday existence, in this case the figure behind the building is undoubtedly public, even though this place is also his or her private territory. Not only is the political institution evident in this street, but it also has a ‘face’ with a ‘name’ attached to it. In this sense, the place is extremely exclusive. It is no wonder that gatherings can be found on this street on occasions. According to the premises of this research, the motivation that propels the public gathering will most likely resonate with the raison d’être of the building (or buildings) in front of which the congregation occurs. In other words, the gathering in Downing St. will presumably have a political tinge to it. A market or a fair will most likely not come about in there.

In terms of layout, a residential street as such (or any other type for that matter) is by far not a convenient place for public gatherings. It is obvious that occurrences in such spaces have to ‘organize’ or ‘manage’ within the physical circumstances that the place renders. Every street (in the world) is a potential place for a gathering, especially if traffic is temporarily prohibited. The graphic indication of potential occurrences therefore appears with a thin line, suggesting that occurrences of the everyday life and (small) everyday divergences can indeed come about, although not in any intense format. The chart of publicness presented above refers to a layout of an open and accessed
street, which is how this place functioned until recently, enabling entry of passengers and traffic. Lately, it has been enclosed, for security reasons. Notwithstanding, public gatherings do take place in its proximity, and they are indeed political in essence.

Juxtaposition of the above-mentioned six publicnesses with two of the Dam Square in Amsterdam (the golden age and contemporary potential profiles) reveals these are all distinct situations. Most of these precedents are venerated. The first and foremost conclusion is that there is no sole ‘ideal’ publicness. Different profiles can forge disparate public places that are equally legitimate and worthy as part of the public realm. The self-evident question is therefore how the various types of profiles merge within the wide urban surroundings. I believe that if profiles cannot be labeled ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, ‘good’ or ‘bad’ in their own right, assuming that they all have room in our lives. However, the way they are dispersed and amalgamated in the urban expanse can indeed be valued according to such standards. I will attempt to expatiate this idea further in the following examples of publicnesses, all derived from the Israeli experience. The first five are located in Haifa, and the last two are from Tel-Aviv. A close acquaintance with the way the city of Haifa functions, in terms of its public life in public places, as also with the two Tel-Avivian public places, enables the following preliminary thoughts on the spread of publicnesses in the city of Haifa. The comparison with the two Tel-Avivian places, functioning as the heart of the public Israeli secular liberal society, enables further inference on the troublesome situation of the public realm in Haifa. Lastly, these following seven examples instigate some new thoughts about the concept of publicness in a broader urban context.
7.2. The Israeli Experience

The first Israeli profile of publicness and the ninth in this chapter represents a typical shopping mall in Haifa (illustration vii/2-1 profile no. 9), a city that has proliferating shopping-mall commercial spaces per capita relative to most Israeli cities in general and European countries in particular. The analyzed shopping mall, “the Grand Canyon”, is neither exclusive nor easily accessible, which is why its context does not enhance the chances for occurrences to come about. In terms of layout, the shopping mall is planned with spaces that consist of everyday dictated activities, all of which reflect the ‘lingering’ linear movement, a typical flow

1. The city of Haifa and its provinces consists of four regional roofed shopping malls (situated in huge buildings), three regional overt shopping malls and three local ones, employed by their intermediate surroundings. None of which are located in down town. They all serve nearly half a million people.
along display windows. There are hardly any other types of fluxes within the building. There are areas with local widened spaces, which constitute small hubs, located at the corners of the building. In these hubs, one can find locally enlarged spaces that create a potential for everyday divergences. In fact, when there are any activities taking place in the mall, they are always there, at these places. There is no territory in the mall that is left unoccupied, free of dictations; there is no centimeter of space unplanned. Lastly, the social constellation of the shopping mall is simple and clear consisting of existential commerce, luxury and entertainment. In this particular shopping mall, one can also find seven cinemas, airing movies that are not ascribed to the high cultural film industry, but rather to pop entertainment. Current trends attempt to insert cultural happenings into these buildings (in the shape of transient exhibition galleries, or children events), although these are usually pop in character.

The 'Louis Promenade' on the brim of Mount Carmel in Haifa (illustration vii/2-1 profile no. 10), is spectacular for its view and for its impeccable landscaping, but poorly planned in order to accommodate rich potential activities. The northern edge of the promenade faces the beautiful scenery, overlooking the city of Haifa. The southern side is bounded with the urban built fabric. However, except for one hotel located at the eastern endpoint of the promenade (having its restaurant facing the promenade), the rest of this impressive path walk has no institutions annexed to it. There are buildings defining its southern border. However, they do not face the promenade but turn their back onto it. Most of them are exclusive residential buildings, one is an exclusive hotel and one is a modern art museum. Reaching them necessitates a long circumventing stride. In such a situation, the linear walk along the promenade continues steadily, ceaselessly, unabatedly, formulating a monotonous and repetitive territory for one everyday movement (linear progression while observing long distant scenery). This territory is therefore suffused with one-dimensional movement that reaches no culminations, encounters or surprises. After explaining this, it is hopefully clearer why the potentiality of occurrences comprises of a feeble everyday depiction with similar frail potential for local unexpected everyday occurrences. The context of this public place is geographically unique, which somewhat enlivens its poor chances for the unexpected. However, these seem to be eventually sparse.

In terms of the place’s social constellation, that is in my opinion the greatest planning failure of this magnificent public place. Except for the beauty of nature and manmade urban sceneries combined, the societal institutions that are posited in vicinity to the promenade are neither sensed nor accessed. The residential buildings can be seen above the tall trees, as well as
the hotels peeking from behind, which induce the existential institutional strata into this space, but bears no effect on its layout. The Baha’i temple (their utmost sacred place in the world) is located on the western edge of the promenade. Unfortunately, it is unseen and unreachable from the promenade, requiring strenuous walk to arrive at its often-locked gate. The promenade could have had a religious tinge to it\(^3\), but has failed to exploit this potential as well.

In reality, this promenade accommodates people who wander about, stroll peacefully, move hither and dither, without specific aims. It has its peak hours (usually on weekends), but even then, people are not in abundance. Except for scant initiated events, usually set up by the municipality of Haifa, no occurrences are ignited in this place by the public itself, not even small local everyday aberrations such as panhandlers, street clowns or jugglers. When these happen, and they are sparse, they involve community and consumerism driving forces (for example, small bazaars of local people selling their crafts). The poor profile of occurrences is surprising relative to the incredible context of this place. It is a true lose especially since it could have easily been different.

The ‘Dado Beach Promenade’ along the Haifa seashore, on the footsteps of Mount Carmel, represents a different profile of publicness. This promenade is also architecturally well articulated. As opposed to the Louis Promenade, it combines scattered small buildings along its pathway. Unfortunately, it is disconnected from the city fabric by a wide artery. In terms of context, this promenade (as well as the former) is poorly connected to its whereabouts. However, in terms of uniqueness, this 5 kilometer long seashore has no equal in Haifa and apart from Tel-aviv and Netanya, it is unique even on national standards, which naturally enhances the place’s potentiality to become the locus of unique occurrences.

Referring to the social constellation, the promenade has small cafes or food stalls, restaurants and municipal beach services in intermittence, such as lavatories and showers. It also has two small buildings with municipal facilities - lifeguards, cleaning people, and a small first-aid medical service. In terms of social constellation, there are no signs for ‘existential’ institutions around (such as residential buildings), but there is commerce (mostly food) and entertainment. The municipal presence is starker than in the upper mountain promenade. The social constellations of the two promenades are mildly different. The fact that the latter hosts various buildings and institutions has severe implications on the place’s layout and on the potentiality of occurrences. Beautifully planned, the various scattered small buildings are usually located at the back of broadened and widened spaces. This created abounding territories for unexpected

\(^3\) And one that advocates an admirable humanistic doctrine for that matter, the Baha’is.
occurrences around and in proximity to them: not just mere linear meandering, but also lingering, sitting, resting, settling, skating etc., all taking place next to areas that are free from any type of dictation. The promenade is built in segments: one section is ordained for everyday, the next for the unexpected, following with another everyday territory and so forth. Analyzing the promenade’s layout, it seems like a good setting for rich everyday life, as well as for everyday diverging activities. The large open spaces of virgin sand, especially where there are no obstructing sunshades located on the shore, provide a solid potential for huge events to come about, despite the sandy ground that is not entirely comfortable. The potential profile of events is therefore indicated with a thin line, showing that big events are possible even if not always practical.

In reality, this promenade is much livelier than the mountain one although it is farther from the city center. It hosts multifarious local happenings, as well as huge ones, mostly during the summer days as also during sunny winter weekends. Recurring small everyday divergences can be encountered on a weekly basis - Israeli folk dances, drummers, kites festivities, as also sparse political manifestations (flying advertisements) etc. Big events are scarce, usually taking place at the end of the school year with a festival for youngsters, having a large stage erected for rock concerts at the promenade endpoint, on the sand.

The ‘Cinematique Square’ in Haifa has no unique geographical attributes as its promenades peers; nevertheless, it is a popular lively meeting place. It is quite small, can accommodate no more than hundreds of people, and has no cafes or sitting places around it. On its western side there is a small garden leading to an adjacent neighborhood. On its eastern side, there is a small shopping area leading furthermore to one of the city centers, the smallest of all, but presumably the most exclusive and fashionable. Its southern edge is in contiguity with an urban well-cultivated park, leading to hip cafes and restaurants on the street. The square provides with sitting corners and meeting places, shaded by heaps of trees, an important element in the harsh Mediterranean weather. It is located on the intersection between a neighborhood and the city center, between communal institutions on the back and commercial functions on the front, between the greeneries of the two adjacent gardens and the hectic commercial arteries.
In terms of layout, the variety of movements and flows that take place in and around the square is manifold. It consists of many passers by, crossing in all directions, but also of people lingering in the square, especially those arriving to the auditorium (the symphony, modern dancing, choirs etc.) or to the cinemateque. Although simply designed, the place does have a potential for a rich everyday life.

With regard to the social constellation, the place has a relative colorful portrayal. It consists of the following institutions: nature (the two gardens), existential (the adjacent neighborhood with the residential buildings encompassing space), commercial (both essential and affluent), community (a center for afternoon classes just behind the building, in the garden), culture (this place is perhaps the second cultural emblem of Haifa after the municipal theatre) and lastly, recreation (represented in the hip cafes across the street). The place has a municipal tinge to it, as the local authority is evident in the place. However, it has no political national layer attached.

Although this place does not stand out in its architectural parameters, according to a brief analysis, it consists of a rich profile of publicness, one that can accommodate prolific everyday activities, occasional everyday divergences, as also small-scaled events. In terms of the content of occurrences, these can potentially vary from cultural to communal, municipal and commercial contents quite easily, as also their various blends. Political contents seem, on the other hand, out of bounds.

In reality, the place’s portrait suits these assumptions quite accurately. Municipal summer events, bazaars, food festivals, cheese and wine, the film festival, dance festival and numerous events – all take place in the square and its whereabouts, swarming into the contiguous gardens. Political events are a rare occasion (and these happen, if they do, as an entailment of cultural events). In sum, although this place is small and has no architectural uniqueness, its publicness produces a buoyant and lively venue.

The ‘Government offices’ Square’ in Haifa, built in the last decade, serves as a leading hallway to two buildings without being a locus in its own right. If there were any places in Haifa that should have created a venue for gatherings, it would have had to be here. Thinking about this place in terms of its publicness, I believe that this square has missed its chance for becoming a genuine political public place.

The usable expanse of this spacious square was diminished by landscaping and gardening, so that people can cross this square only through a narrow pseudo arcaded path. An open territory at its end on the footsteps of the building is significantly smaller than the entire space.
of the square, enabling no more than tens of people to occupy the place at a time. The small cafeteria standing at the corner of the square and the street does not face the square itself, but the street. The gardening obstructs the direct flow from the cafeteria to the square. Winding up, the potential for manifold flows, movements and activities have been minimized to mere efficient streams of people walking from the street to the building and back, expeditiously. Territories with potentiality for everyday colliding movements do not exist. The result is a distinguished territory for everyday monotonous and dreary activities, and a disconnected small space for events (much smaller than the place permits). These two are indicated in the illustration with a thin line.

Context-wise, the square is located in the downtown area, not in its center but quite close to it. It is both accessible and exclusive in a high level. The potential of the place is definitely enhanced by its contextual conditions.

The social constellation consists of dominant authoritative institutions, having the two office buildings of the government posited above the square, and the Law Courts looking onto the square from the other side of the street. The municipal post office is located nearby, serving in this area as an economic institution as well. The municipality is evident in the arts (stone paintings) integrated in the stone flooring, and of course, nature is present in the landscaping of the square itself. In fact, the presence of nature is also the major reason for the frail potential of occurrences.

During working hours, this square is always filled with people. However, it is emptied from any occurrences. There were only sparse events documented, of small petitions or demonstrators, with no more than a dozen of people present. In my opinion, this place is the greatest miss of contemporary urban planning in Haifa. This city had no alternative place for political gatherings, whether big or small. Here, at the footsteps of the governmental buildings, and in front of the greatest law institution of Israel North, the natural political public arena should have evolved. Unfortunately, the way this square is planned right now will not amend this deficiency.

Deducing on the spread of publicnesses in Haifa, there are additional profiles that have not been surveyed in this preliminary brief analysis, which are not less important. For example, the ‘memorial garden’ in front of the city council, the market area in ‘Hadar Ha’Carmel’, the German Colony Avenue. Nevertheless, the five publicnesses that have been acknowledged are amongst the city’s prominent places. They illustrate the problematic situation of this city’s

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4. When these did take place, they were often situated in front of the Haifa municipal building, in a small park. However, the city council was not always the ‘right’ institution to address. The government square could have answered this need.
public realm, which is twofold.

First, in terms of spatial features - there is no one particular place in Haifa that yields a potential rich profile, consisting of all sorts of occurrences (expected everyday, unexpected divergences and events). Public places that combine these various types of occurrences are exceptionally vital and vivid. This vitality is unfortunately absent in Haifa’s urban public scenarios. Numerous vital places scattered in one city and places that are imbued with all types of occurrences - turn cities into a legend. Relatively small cities like Haifa cannot sustain manifold vital public places as such. Nevertheless, at least one is mandatory.

Secondly, with regard to the social constellation of public places, the situation in Haifa reveals that most of its preeminent places have ‘specialized’ in their urban role (either commercial or recreational or political etc.). Except for the cinemateque square, which specializes in cultural activities but has also little room for other urban activities, there seems to be no public place that can accommodate many types of occurrences, with varied contents. In this situation, compartmentalization prevails. People will go to one place to do A and to another place to do B, but will never go to just one place they are fond of, to do disparate things. This, in my opinion, impels detachment. As opposed to Tel Aviv in which various communities find themselves attached to public terrains, I can only assume that Haifa people would feel more indifferent towards their public places, with little sense of kinship or ownership. Of course, this is a mere assumption, and one that should be tested for that matter, derived from discerning Haifa through the lenses of the theoretical approach.

The next two and last examples take place in Tel Aviv. They are both beloved, hectic public places, considered ‘successful’ (if such an adjective can be affixed to a place at all...): Rabin Square and Rothschild Avenue. In congruity with the city of Tel Aviv, these places are the stronghold of secular, liberal and often politically left-winged Israeli citizens, who invented the Israeli ‘escapism’ or at least gave it a solid interpretation. Endless articles, paper reports, commentators, films, TV programs etc. discuss this aspiration to nourish and sustain the Tel Avivian ‘bubble’. Whether this is true or not, these two public places seem to be occupied (at least partially) by this section of society.

- ‘Rabin Square’ can accommodate hundreds of thousands of people. Encompassed with roadways on three of its edges, standing at the footsteps of the city council on the fourth edge – this rectangular huge square has been, in the last couple of decades, the foremost arena of political events. It exceeds various places in Jerusalem that have more reasons to lead political events due to their proximity to the government and the parliament. The four encircling roads are bounded by residential buildings of 5-6 stories high, hosting small businesses, offices and a continuous commercial ground floor. Restaurants, cafes, shops of all sorts, and an exclusive shopping mall nearby for the top echelon, this place presents a colorful range of societal institutions, specializing in mainly commercial and authoritative installations. A memorial commemorates Rabin’s assassination on the venue where it occurred, inserting a national strata into space. A statue of one of Israel’s leading artists (Tomarkin) is posited in the square,
infiltrating art into the public place as well.

The layout of the square produces a rich potential for everyday activities, which are territories imbued with dictated expected occurrences. These are located at the circumference of the square, around the streets. The immense central space is left free, almost entirely, for unexpected events. These happen in abundance, so much that they can hardly be termed ‘unexpected’. However, a distinct everyday territory on the boundaries and a distinct events’ territory in the center, with roadways severing these two areas – creates some poor conditions for diverging everyday activities. This is perhaps because of the clear-cut division between the two types of territories. They simply do not commingle which explains why there are hardly any collisions.

The rank of this place’s context is the highest, in both exclusivity and connectivity. It is situated on an intersection of major arteries in Tel Aviv. It has no equal, in all terms (appearance, dimensions, institutions), not only in Tel-Aviv but also in Israel.

It is no surprise then, that this place accommodates mostly big national events, demonstrations, protests, political gatherings (of usually left wing parties), assemblies and so forth. These are often combined with politically conscious musicians and artists, depending of course on the type of the event. One can also find there huge bazaars (such as the yearly book fair), although commercial impetuses are not the most predominant.

Apart from the great potential to accommodate huge events, due to the space’s spaciousness, the presence of a preeminent authoritative institution amplifies its magnitude. However, one issue needs some further clarification: this place habitually hosts political events that pertain to state matters. All these events have been unexceptionally facing the municipal building of the city council. Stages for performances and speakers are erected on the feet of this municipal building. Considering it is a local and not a national authoritative institution - this is, in my opinion, an interesting phenomenon. Why do national protests face the city council of Tel Aviv, on the northern edge of the square? They could have also been facing the southern façade, as
stages can be erected everywhere.

Explaining events in this public place can be easily cast upon the unique dimensions and magnitude of this space. A space as such, that is located within an urban fabric, has no alternative in Tel Aviv or Israel. However, according to the idea of publicness, this is not the only explanation. One could think of a few parking lots scattered in the city that could supply with similar spatial dimensions for such events. An additional explanation would cling to the presence of this local authoritative institution, the city council, that is by far more than mere ‘local’ or just ‘civic’ for the Israeli secular populace. It represents, together with the city of Tel Aviv, the western liberal democracy and capitalistic ostensible ‘sanity’, with all its immanent social and capitalistic problems (that people do not wish to renounce, but rather face with vehemence). Tel Aviv’s authorities in my opinion represent the wishful thinking of many Israelis, who would hope to confront western cultural problems solely, after having international political problems solved. I therefore believe that the authorities of this city represent much more than just civic jurisdiction and administration. They represent the cultural ‘condition’ in which a large portion of society is willing to be.

‘Rothschild Avenue’ has been undergoing architectural transformations in the last decade or so. In the center of one of the first Jewish neighborhoods (bifurcated from the Arab ancient center in Jaffa), this avenue and its whereabouts consist of the largest amount of buildings designated for preservation that were built during the early twentieth century (in the eclectic and later the Bauhaus style). Renovations of this avenue consist of landscaping, preservations of important residential buildings (considered monumental nowadays) and the erection of new high rises, in vacant lands or in places that permit. The latter capitalistic construction draws severe (yet barren) criticism. Rothschild Avenue is built in three segments, each in a slightly different dimension. However, the concept of this space remains constant: a wide pathway with greenery and high shadowing trees situated between two car-streets, and large sidewalks on each of its side. The linear park at the core consists of small areas designated for specific uses (children’s playground, chess tables etc.).

The space’s layout reveals that most of the area is occupied with territories ordained for everyday movements and flows—such as strolling, lingering, staying etc. even the middle park is not completely ‘free’ for creative use of people, because it consists of a linear pathway and places to sit on both its sides. However, it is wide enough and long enough to accommodate manifold small ‘empty’ territories within, spaces that are not dictated by any architectural artifact. These are not places for big events, but perhaps a few small ones. Notwithstanding, because of this public place’s context, in both connectivity and exclusivity, chances for big events to come about grow. It is quite logical that large events, should they take place, will consist of linear spatial features (such as processions, moving festivals etc.).

With regard to the place’s social constellation, and probably due to its substantial length, the place assembles an impressive range of institutions, varying from municipal to religious (although the latter is less dominant), as also nature, existential, commercial - mostly essential
but also (although less) affluent, economical (being one of the bank agglomeration areas in Tel Aviv), cultural (manifold galleries and museums along the streets, and the most prestigious “Habima” theatre at its end), and lastly, recreations, in the shapes of cafes, restaurants and other hedonistic pleasures. Naturally, this long avenue is divided to subspaces, each consisting of a different portrayal. It would be interesting indeed to bisect this space and analyze its subsets separately. It is very likable that one will find three variations for one publicness, which are not entirely similar.

Rothschild Boulevard is always vivid and vital, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. It is the place to see strollers, skaters, lovers, local residents taking the dog out, old men playing chess, people reading the newspapers on a sunny afternoon, group meetings as also small events as skaters’ performances. It is an important setting for the everyday life of the neighborhood, as well as a place where one can encounter divergences of all sorts (panhandlers, street juggling, homeless people), on a daily basis. Even small commercial or communal events are part of the place’s scenarios, quite often.

### Conclusions

The task of capturing publicness, a rather obscure and mercurial concept, was hopefully proven attainable in this chapter. The above 15 examples have exemplified different situations that received a different graphical representation. Although this method is far from being accurate or precise, it does manage to capture the essence of places, according to their threesome properties: spatiality, content and context. I believe that any place in the world, and not just western precedents, can be analyzed according to this method. It goes without saying that institutions, in different cultural backgrounds, will presumably radiate different values, drives or essence – as per their context. However, regardless of their content, a national authoritative institution for example in Eastern Europe or in Western Europe would carry similar characteristics and roles, even if its values are completely different, just as a religious institution in Europe
has common denominators with a religious institution in Iran or India, even though it relies on completely different credos and beliefs.

I believe there is something ‘universal’ to this method. It can be applied everywhere. Results on the other hand can never be universal. They are subjected to different interpretations, in accordance to the context.

Thinking about the Haifa experience, discerning a city through the concept of publicness raises many questions of values, ethics and virtues in city planning. Considering there is no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ publicness, and that all publicnesses have a legitimate room in our society – can it be that there is a ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ way of spreading publicnesses? Is it possible to say that there is a proliferation of some types of publicnesses and a lack of others? The Haifa case study would reveal manifold similar publicnesses (representing the shopping-mall type and the like), but not one place that resembles the colorful and blatant potential of the Rothschild Avenue, the Rabin Square in Tel Aviv, or the Dam Square in Amsterdam. Under such situation, the city is overlaid with similar publicnesses that are all quite pallid, dull and unstimulating, whereas a bold place that enables different types of events to come about (political, communal etc) is absent. Being acquainted with Haifa, I believe that this problematic spread of publicnesses genuinely prohibits the city’s progress, at least in several aspects.

The social duty of planners is to promote a rich potential for all types of activities. Some people will find their favored place in one type of publicness, and others in another. People can also find themselves attached to one place during the day and to another during the night; or to one place on a regular basis, and to others on occasions.

Learning from Haifa, the potential arenas for political and communal occurrences have been disregarded, even neglected. As opposed to them, the consumer and cultural arenas have been highly fostered and cultivated. This tendency may yield costly results in the future, not so much in the short run but rather in the long run: public places are eventually and ultimately the venues where history takes its course, where history is being ‘made’. With all respect to media and the virtual spheres, most important historical occurrences were real, took place in tangible places. As long as people remain social creatures, there is no reason to think that this will change. Architects and planners must make sure that society retains all possibilities to sustain itself, in all aspects of life— commerce, community, politics, culture, religion, economics, recreation etc. Countering Arendt - politics consists of, in my opinion, only one strand of life. When discussing the public realm, its political facet should not be propagated exclusively. All societal aspects are an inherent part of our lives, in different variations, in different intensities depending on the person or the time of the day. This is why all aspects of the public realm must sustain.

I believe cities should propagate a colorful and varied range of publicnesses.

The concept of publicness lies at the gist of our social being. A varied range of publicnesses is part of our well-being.
8. Images of data sources

1. 1345 (March 15)
   - Event

2. 1340
   - Structure

3. 1400
   - Layout + S.C.

4. 1400
   - Structure

5. 1414
   - Layout + S.C. + Structure

6. 1400-1500
   - Structure

7. 1535 (May 10)
   - Event

8. 1538
   - Structure

9. 1544
   - Layout

10. 1549
    - Structure

11. 1549 (March 20)
    - Event

12. 1550
    - Structure

13. 1556
    - Layout + S.C.
Images of data sources

181 1768 (May 30-June 1)
O - event

182 1770's
F - layout

183 1775
F - s.c.

184 1776
F - layout + s.c.

185 1777
F - s.c.

186 1778
F - s.c.

187 1778
F - s.c./O - everyday

188 1779
F - layout + s.c.

189 1780's
O - everyday

190 1781 (Aug 28th)
O - event

191 1785 (Feb 27)
O - event

192 1789 (April 21)
O - event

193 1790 (Jan 28)
O - event

194 1793
F - s.c./O - everyday

195 1795 (Jan 18)
O - event

196 1795 (Jan 19)
O - event

197 Late 18th century
F - layout + s.c.

198 O - everyday
F - s.c./O - everyday

199 F - s.c.

200 F - s.c.

201 F - s.c.

202 O - event

203 O - event

204 O - event

205 O - event

206 O - event

207 O - event

208 O - event

209 O - event
Chapter 8

Early 20th century
O - everyday

1912 (December) O - event

1911-4 F - layout s.c.
1914 F - layout, s.c.
1914-7 F - layout, s.c.

1917 F - structure

1917-57 F - layout, s.c.
Images of data sources
Chapter 8

2002 (April 30)
O - event

2003 (February 15)
O - event

2003 (March 22)
O - event

2003 (December 6)
O - everyday

2004 (April 30)
O - event

2004
O - event
Images of data sources
big institutions

contemporary O - everyday
In her book “The Human Condition”, Arendt was quite fervent and perhaps too decisive in ruling a pessimistic future for the public realm: “The rather uncomfortable truth of the matter is that the triumph the modern world has achieved over necessity is due to the emancipation of labor, that is, to the fact that the animal laborans was permitted to occupy the public realm; and yet, as long as the animal laborans remains in possession of it, there can be no true public realm, but only private activities displayed in the open”. As a matter of fact, Arendt wasn’t the only one to spread negativity and angst re the future of the public realm during her times: Sennett heralded “The Fall of the Public man”, Riesman fathomed “The Lonely Crowd” and Habermas discussed “The Structural Changes of the Public Sphere”- changes for the worst due to social transformations in modern times.

Arendt statement on the pivotal role of the public realm in the history of mankind (see the first page of this dissertation) is probably an everlasting utterance that can hardly be negated or debated. However, her strong assertion that the public realm is impoverishing, and the way she opted to prove that - must be suspected and reinspected. Concurring with her ideological starting point, this research opted to depart from it already at an early stage by applying to ideologically-free methods of analyses, as much as these can be free. Although this research fathoms public places and human behavior within them, and not the public realm, public sphere and their transformations, in the sociological sense – if one considers that the former is some mirror of the latter, then Arendt was probably too quick in offering verdicts.

This research was ignited by Arendt’s vehemence towards the public realm, subscribing to her concern for its future. However, it ends up with a different array of conclusions, bespeaking her pessimistic assumptions as being most likely imprecise. The public realm is indeed the backbone of society and public places are emblems of its reification. However, I believe that our contemporary perspective cannot clearly deduce on the public realm’s evolving dispositions, certainly not if these ‘improve’ or ‘worsen’ if such definitions are pertinent at all. Perhaps the humanly tendency to try and determine the world through a ‘good-bad’ (black and white) perspective should be waived in favor of a fresh and a more elaborated, multicolored, viewpoint.

1. Arendt 1958: 134
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- Amsterdam events http://www.amsterdam.info/events/
- Amsterdam webcams home page http://www.amsterdam.info/webcam/
- Amsterdam city portal http://www.iamsterdam.com/
- Amsterdam news on web http://www.amsterdamnews.net/
- The Dutch Royal House web page http://www.koninklijkhuis.nl/index.jsp
- The Royal Press Europe web page http://www.royalpress.nl/kd.html
- **Nos Journal** (television) [http://www.nos.nl/nosjournaal/voorpagina/index.html](http://www.nos.nl/nosjournaal/voorpagina/index.html)
- **Rtl Dutch television** [www.rtl.nl](http://www.rtl.nl)
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- Website of the Dutch **photographer Thomas Schlijper**: [http://www.schlijper.nl/schlijper.html](http://www.schlijper.nl/schlijper.html)
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- **Ian Goldberg Photo website of world travels**, [http://pix.paip.net/Travels/](http://pix.paip.net/Travels/)
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Curriculum Vitae

Name: Einat Kalisch Rotem
Date and place of birth: 03-Sep-1970, Haifa, Israel
Marital status: Married + 2

■ Academic Degrees
1990 - 1995 B.Arch. at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion – Israel Institute of Technology.

■ Academic Appointments
2005 - 2006 Adjunct teacher in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion (teaching 4th year studio).
2003 - 2004 Adjunct teacher in the Faculty of Architecture, Tel Aviv University (teaching 2nd year studio).
2000 - 2002 Adjunct teacher in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion (teaching 3rd year studio).
1996 - 2000 Assistant teacher in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion.

■ Teaching Experience
03/2002-07/2002 Initiator and teacher of the course “The Contemporary City – The Possible City” for senior first degree and master class students, with Dr. Iris Aravot – The faculty of Architecture, Technion, I.I.T.
2000 - 2001 Head of assistant teachers in the course “introduction to urban design” at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion – I.I.T.
1996 - 2001 Third year Urban design studio Instructor at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion – I.I.T.
■ Awards

2007  First place winners of a special award for the “improvement of existing urban fabrics” in the competition for ideas “building green high-rises”, initiated by the Ministry of the Environmental of Israel and the Israeli Architect’s Society. In collaboration with Arc. Arie Nashiv. Participating in a group exhibition at the House of Architects, Jaffa, Tel-Aviv, October 2007.


1999  Excellent associate teacher. The Technion - Israel Institute of technology.

1995  First degree studies for Bachelor of Architecture cum Laude. A grant for travel to the united stated to practice in a foreign architectural firm.

1994  Eitanit’s award for designing a new modular building method

1993  Ilana Libman award for excellency in studying

1993  President’s Award - Technion.

1991-2, 4-5  Dean’s Award - Technion.

■ Professional Experience

2003 -  Establishing a private firm, working on private and public projects

2004  Hosting a Television Program “Architecture In Tel-aviv – The story of Houses”, for channel “Teva Hadvarim”. A mini series done in collaboration with Ramat Gan’s municipal architect Sergio Lerman, sponsored by the municipality of Tel Aviv.

1999 - 2001  Project manager in Tzamir Architects Ltd.

1993 - 1998  Working independently on private projects


1993 - 1995  Team architect in Baruch Baruch - Yosi Salomom Architects, Ltd.

** Significant Professional Projects **

2007  
A competition for ideas “building green high-rises”, initiated by the Ministry of the Environmental of Israel and the Israeli Architect’s Society. **First place winners of a special award for the “improvement of existing urban fabrics”**

2006 -  
Golda Meir’s house renovation, Jerusalem.

2006 -  
A new neighborhood in Pki’in. Client – Ministry of Housing, Israel.

2006 -  
Various private houses – planning and interior design

2004 -  
Various interior designs of offices, shops and clinics

2003  
An international competition for ideas “Designing the Highline” – in Chelsea, New York, comprising of competence in urban design and urban planning. Receiving the title “winners of jury selection”

2001 - 2003  
A urban house of 4 dwelling units

2001  
Urban design competition in Israel: a plan for Magdiel’s town square. In collaboration with architect Irit Tzaraf-Netanyahu and Eran Zilberman. **Winning Special Commendation.**

1996 - 1997  
A public housing complex (79 dwelling units)

1995 - 1996  
Private houses, and interior design

** Publications **

2007  

2001  

2000  

1998  
Conferences

May 2007  “Phenomenological Re-presentations of the Public Place in the research: *The share of Form in the creation of Publicness*” in *Architecture & Phenomenology International Conference, Technion Israel*

May 2006  “Interdisciplinary pursuits in *The share of Form in the creation of Publicness*”  
In *Architecture and space: interdisciplinary views, Technion, Israel*

Sep. 2003  Invited head speaker in “Creativity and the City” held in Westergasfabriek, Amsterdam. Title of lecture: “Dualities within Western Urbanites: Meet our clients! From Madonna to Tel Aviv”.  
http://www.creatievestad.nl

Sep. 1998  ISIS-Symmetry: Culture and Science. Title of lecture: “Approaches in Urban Design: The disorder that results from ordering the disorder”.